Gábor Demeter
MTA BTK
Institute of History Budapest
demetergg@gmail.com

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN VOJVODINA
DURING THE HUNGARIAN RULE (1941-1944):
A COMPARATIVE REGIONAL GEOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

Abstract: This study investigates the effect of Hungarian rule on the local society in regional context using social geographical methods focusing on the challenges that the structural changes and the integration into a new economic and educational structure caused. In order to measure the role of Vojvodina in the Hungarian economic system and the development stage of the socio-economic life, based on data from the Hungarian Statistical Bureau, several variables were selected to compare the development level of the towns in Vojvodina and in Hungary. Such were the number of periodicals issued, the number of sports clubs referring to the self-organising and self-financing ability of the community, or the value produced by small enterprises, the invested capital, etc.

Key words: Vojvodina, economy, education, capital investment, production efficiency, social indicators, small enterprises.

1. The role of Vojvodina in Yugoslavia

Such an investigation drawn up in the introduction requires the analysis of the role of Vojvodina in former Yugoslavia between 1921-1939 in order to make the two era comparable (although the variables used did not coincide with each other). It is well-known, that Vojvodina was among the wealthier and developed regions of Yugoslavia, especially considering agriculture as it is confirmed by the data of Tomasevich summarized in table 1.[1] Net income of arable land was among the highest, husbandry and arable lands were overrepresented compared to other regions. But neither the redistribution of land nor the extensive agriculture could resolve most of the problems in the Yugoslavian state stemming from the high fertility rate resulting in overpopulation (table 2). These unresolved problems included the regional inequalities regarding land-structure, differences in the per capita volume production of small-

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[1] See more on this topic in László Bíró, *A jugoszláv állam, 1918-1939*, Budapest 2010, 201-237.

holdings, and scarcity of land compared to labour force as figure 1-2 shows. Banovina Dunav was characterized by relative good indicators compared to other banovine, it was among the least indebted regions regarding the % of indebted households (although the overall and per capita value of debt was high, but land revenues were also), and it was also under overtaxation regarding direct taxes compared to the state average because of its higher revenues.
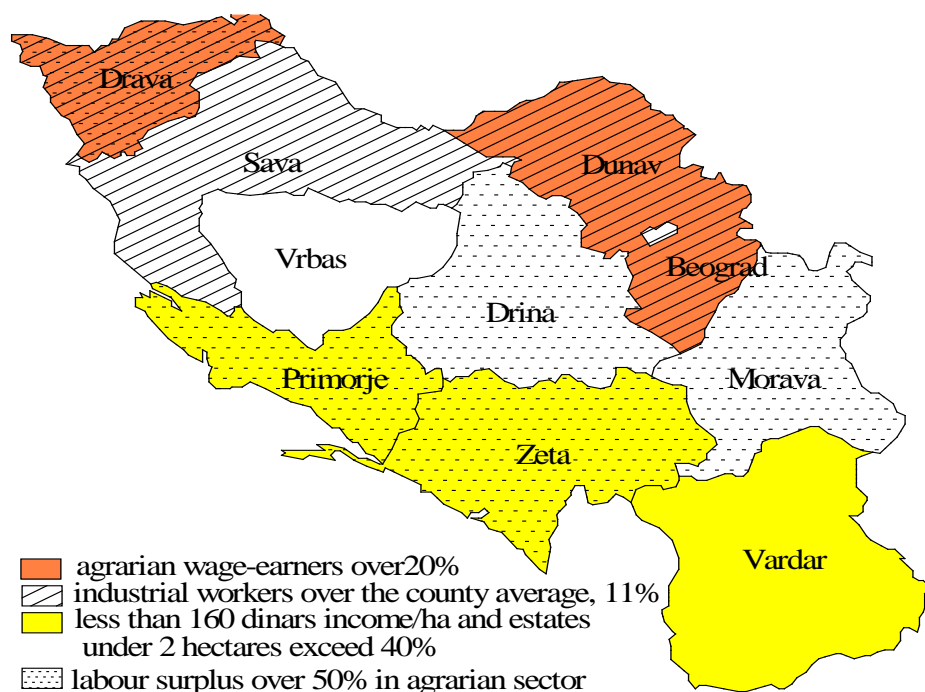

Figure 1. Relationship between the regional inequalities of agricultural production, welfare and indebtedness (see table 1-2)
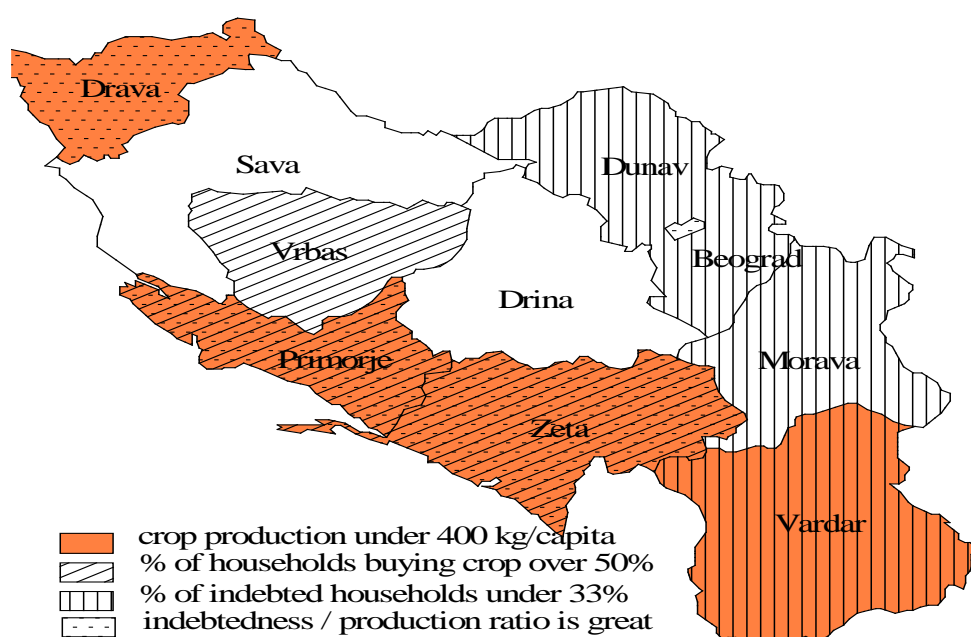
Figure 2. Relationship between the regional inequalities of agricultural production, welfare and indebtedness (see table 1-2)

Table 1. General features of agriculture in the different regions of Yugoslavia in the 1930s'

Banovina	area in % of the total	cultivated ploughland in %	pasture in %	ploughland in % of regional total	animals in 1000 meat units	animals in % of the total	industrial population in %	% of indebted households	net income of arable land in dinar/ha	net income of gardens in dinar/ha	net income of pastures in dinar/ha	average income in dinar/ha
Drava	6,5	4,6	7	24	544	6,5	22	46	350	560	60	160
Drina	11	11	9	32	946	11	8	44	240	780	40	160
Dunav	**12,5**	**28,2**	**6**	**74**	**1409**	**17**	**13,5**	**22**	**980**	**1100**	**260**	**760**
Morava	10,3	10,3	9	33	718	8,6	7	26	270	520	70	150
Primorje	8	**4**	14	17	508	6	6,5	52	150	210	10	55
Sava	16,4	17	15,5	34	1532	18,4	12	39	380	875	60	220
Vardar	15	11,4	16,6	26	1106	13	9,5	17	250	800	40	100
Vrbas	7,7	9,3	5	40	765	9,2	5	59	200	680	30	110
Zeta	12,5	4,3	18	11	802	9,6	6	44	133	340	20	40
Beograd	0,2	0,1	0	32	10	0,1	33		**Source:** Jozo Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia*, London 1955, 274-304.			
Yugoslavia	100	100	100	33	8340	100	11	**35**				

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Table 2. Overpopulation and its consequences in regional comparison

Banovina	agricultural population for 100 ha in 1921	overpopulation in % compared to agricultural population in 1938	population increase (%) measured to cultivated land	agricultural wage-earners, daily labourers (%)	population pressure: increase in % 1931-41	households buying crop to subsist in % (1932)	average indebtedness in dinar/ha (indebted lands)	average indebtedness of indebted households	indebtedness measured to yearly crop production (%)	direct tax/person	total indebtedness in million current dinars
Drava	197	58	-2	22	14,5	47	5500	19000	115	108	1192
Drina	136	52	23	3	59	56	1500	7000	15	48	625
Dunav	**82**	**2,5**	**0**	**22**	**18**	*30*	**3100**	**19000**	**14**	**164**	**1683 (25%)**
Morava	146	52	14	2	41	48	1600	5500	12	45	320
Primorje	235	68	7	5	24	95	7500	13000	63	35	839
Sava	151	49	4	10	23	49	2300	7300	15	117	1185
Vardar	135	46	9,5	5	39	47	1500	6300	19	43	209
Vrbas	138	42	0	4	46	61	1000	3900	9	31	328
Zeta	231	66	3,5	4	37	78	3000	8600	37	42	496
Yugoslavia	**135**	**44**	**7**	**9,5**			**2500**	**9800**	**18**	**98**	**6880**

Source: J. Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics,* 322. and *Statistique agricole annuelle 1938.* Beograd, 1939. and Milan Komadinić, *Problem seljačkih dugova*, Beograd 1934, 60-64.

2. Vojvodina in Hungary

Compared to N-Transylvania and S-Slovakia where a 10% population increase was measured within 10 years between 1930-1940, in Vojvodina the natural population increase of 50 thousand persons was eliminated by losses oriogonating from migration. The returning Hungarian government confiscated more than 100 thousand hectares of land, one third of these came from the estates of the 62 dobrovoljac-settlements, which was redistributed between the 3200 csángó families of Bukovina (Romania) who settled down substituting the expatriated 6900 Slavic families. 12 thousand of the dobrovoljac were forced to live in camps, as the Germans refused to allow their entrance in the area of occupied Serbia. According to Sajti the number of expatriated range from 35 to 50 thousand. Those, who were deprived of their lands during the Yugoslavian period were given their estates back.[2]

Investigations on the education system gives a good insight into the demands of the local sociaty and to the preference-system and aspirations of central political will. The local administration was filled up with clerks arriving from Hungary. The shortage in Hungarian-speaking teachers was handled by directing 1300 teachers to Vojvodina (in order to tackle the growing tensions within the middle class in Hungary) to teach at the numerous reinstalled

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[2] See details in: Enikő Sajti, *Impériumváltások, revízió, kisebbség. Magyarok a Délvidéken 1918-1947*. Budapest 2004, 217. and 254. and Enikő Sajti, *Székely telepítés és nemzetiségpolitika a Bácskában – 1941*, http://mek.niif.hu/01200/01275/. March, 2009

Hungarian schools. This action was carried out partly to mitigate the pressure coming from the large middle class of the 'Motherland' exerted on the central government of Hungary, but partly to 'domesticate' the population. Balogh Ányos, state official responsible for the reinstallment of Hungarian education in Vojvodina, wrote that the Hungarians have „*strong self-esteem and self-consciousness, also bearing competences that the Serbs do not own as a community, only individually. No matter how intelligent, hard-working and good tradesmen the Serbs are, in this suddenly gained leadership above other nations the Serbdom was unable to show the virtues of the balanced leading-nations, like generosity and understanding, therefore failed to secure the trust of other nations and their affinity to Serbdom in this oversized empire.*"[3] He also accused Hungarians of Vojvodina by revengefulness, impatience, whose sentiments should and could be restrained only by the careful administering of officials stemming from the 'Motherland' and not from the local elite.[4] The Hungarian government reasoned the growing centralisation with the impatience of the local elit and with the will to hinder the escalation of tensions. The activity of teachers was revised: from among the 57 Slavic teachers of the Óbecse (Bečej) district only 37 were allowed to continue teaching. Indeed it was a quite high ratio because in the secondary academic grammar school of Újverbász only one teacher was kept, while in the secondary academic grammar school of Zenta (Senta) only 4 out of the 14-18, the ratio in Szenttamás (Srbobran) was 2/13.[5]

This policy of Hungarian authorities caused an unrest and disappointment among the members of the local elite (but at least, this was not targeted against the Serbs). 58% of the 98 thousand pupils in the elementary schools were not Hungarian-speaking coinciding with the ethnic composition. Hungarian-speaking students in secondary schools in 1942-1943 were overrepresented compared to the ethnic proportion. The proportion of Hungarians was especially high in secondary trading schools owing to the land reforms in Yugoslavia that were not favourable for Hungarians, referring to a re-stratification of Hungarians owing to the shortage of land.[6] Serbs were overrepresented in agricultural schools.

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[3] Ányos Balogh, *A délvidéki szellem kialakulásának tényezői,* Délvidéki szemle 2, 1943/8. November, 357.

[4] Á. Balogh, *op.cit.* 356-358.

[5] Enikő Sajti, *Impériumváltások, revízió, kisebbség,* 243.

[6] Local Germans pursuited one-child strategy, thus were able to avoid the fragmentation of estates, maintaining their welfare. The result of this strategy was the diminution of their ethnic proportion.

Table 3. Ethnic distribution of pupils in occupied Vojvodina

	primary school	(%)	primary trade school*	(%)	4-12 grade school	(%)	Secondary academic grammar	(%)	Secondary industrial school	(%)	Secondary trade school	(%)	high schools** and teachers'	(%)	ethnicity in 1910 and 1941 %
Hungarian	41400	42,2	162	53,1	3780	53,2	2900	52,6	143	46,4	470	71,2	412	59,7	**42/39**
Serbian	19000	19,3	75	24,6	480	6,8	975	17,7	88	28,6	66	10,0	52	7,5	**18/16**
German	18200	18,5	16	5,2	1850	26,1	1030	18,7	32	10,4	89	13,5	156	22,6	**26/20**
Bunevac	6100	6,2	28	9,2	285	4,0	225	4,1	21	6,8	26	3,9	38	5,5	**6**
Slovakian	4300	4,4	5	1,6	167	2,4	75	1,4	7	2,3	2	0,3	17	2,5	**4,5**
Rusin	2100	2,1	0	0,0	15	0,2	76	1,4	4	1,3	3	0,5	12	1,7	Ethnic data refer to total and not to school-aged population
Croatian	350	0,4	19	6,2	37	0,5	59	1,1	3	1,0	5	0,8	4	0,6	
Gypsy	730	0,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	
Jew	180	0,2	0	0,0	60	0,8	118	2,1	5	1,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	
Altogether	98200	100,0	305	100,0	7170	100,0	5510	100,0	308	100,0	660	100,0	690	100,0	

* without industrial primary schools,   ** without the Eastern Trade Academy

Source: Ányos Balogh, *A délvidéki szellem kialakulásának tényezői*, Délvidéki szemle 2, 1943/8. November, 356-370.

Many Serbs studied in Hungarian-language institutions, because among the 335 schools of Bács-Bodrog County (without the Baja district), there were only 21 Serbian schools (10%, while the proportion of Serbs in Vojvodina was 22%), while 175 (52%) pure Hungarian-speaking schools did exist at the same time beside the 17 German, 5 Bunevac, 3 Slovakian institutions. More than 300 Serbs (30% of the group), 200 Germans attended Hungarian-language secondary grammar schools. The students/teacher ratio was great, but not greater than in Hungary (48 for primary schools, 19 for secondary academic grammar schools). Of course, there were anomalies especially among the Csángó newcomers where student/teacher ration exceeded 200 in some cases.

Table 4. Indicators of education in occupied Vojvodina in 1942-ben

	school	classroom	teacher	boys	girls	student/ teacher	teacher/ classroom	teacher/ school	student/ school
primary schools	335	1444	2035	49800	48400	48	1,4	6,1	293
trade school*	3	9	24	300	***	13	2,7	8,0	100
4-12 grade school	24	142	228	3052	3622	29	1,6	9,5	278
secondary academic	12	139	286	3780	1730	19	2,1	23,8	459
secondary industrial	6	17	54	98	210	6	3,2	9,0	51,3
secondary trade	3	19	50	400	250	13	2,6	16,7	217
college	4			675	***			0,0	169
Trade Academy	1	2	27	97	16	4	13,5	27,0	113

*without industrial primary schools
Source: Á. Balogh, *op.cit.* 356-370.

In order to measure the development stage of the socio-economic life in Vojvodina, indicators referring to the self-organising and self-financing ability of the community, like the number of periodicals issued, the number of sports clubs or the value produced by small enterprises, the invested capital, etc. in Vojvodina were compared to that of measured in Hungary.

Regarding public accession to information Bács-Bodrog County (Vojvodina attached to Hungary) represented the Hungarian average. More than 40 periodicals were issued in the county, while in the neighboring Csongrád it was 41, in Baranya only 19. The number of periodicals was 9 in Novi Sad, 4-4 in Subotica and Sombor, but Apatin, Kanžija, Bačka Topola and Senta also run 2-2 dailies or periodicals. Only 3 of them were in Serbian. (As a comparison: in 1942 Szeged had 32, Pécs 18, Debrecen 23, Miskolc15, Cluj 41 periodicals, while in the northern peripheries in Nové Zámky, Rožnava and in Eger 4.).[7]

The 39 existing sports clubs put the county into the 3rd place (Békés 47, Heves 32, while in the neighboring Baranya it was only 9, in Csongrád 10). From among these 26 were

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[7] Dezső Elekes, *A szellemi kultúra, különösen az időszaki sajtó számbavételének problémái,* Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1943/4, 169-170.

established between the 2 world wars. After 1941, 21 clubs were re-established, 9 continued to operate, while other 9 ceased to exist. Subotica had 17 sports clubs lagging behind the neighboring Szeged (31), but overtaking Pécs (14) and Novi Sad (8) or Cluj (15). Sombor had 5 clubs, like Satu Mare or Užgorod.[8] This meant altogether 4800 members in Vojvodina (including those 1300 who forgot to pay their annual contribution), while in Szeged alone the numbers exceeded 4000 men and 1500 women, in Pécs 3400 men and 750 women. Subotica with its 1300 members was no match for these organisations.[9] Of course these *sports clubs in the 'Motherland' served as basis and instrument for the revisionist activity and often offered limited-level paramilitary training*. This is confirmed by the fact, that sports clubs in Vojvodina had averagely 100 members, while Hungarian clubs 200.[10]

These above mentioned parameters indicated the inner strength and mobility of the society, while comparative data on invested capital, industrial workshops, enterprises set out the role of Vojvodina *in the national economy*. The average density was 4.4 factories for 100 km^2 in the Trianon-Hungary, while in Vojvodina it was only 2.8, overtaking southern Slovakia with its 2.2, and northern Transylvania with its 1.1 factory/100 km^2. If the number of industrial workers (working in factories) is measured to the population, the 1.3% in Vojvodina was lagging behind the 3.8 measured in the territory of Trianon-Hungary slightly overtaking S-Slovakia (1.1%) and N-Transylvania (1.1%).[11] The reason of the small proportions and bad indicators can be found partly in the physical geographical background and in the Yugoslavian industrial policy. While in 1913 there were 27 thousand industrial workers in the Vojvodina, in 1941 only 13.5 thousand was conscribed. Although the industrial output increased by 50% within these years at current prices, this increase was eliminated by the constant inflation. Indeed a 10% decrease was measured at real prices (170 and 97 million P). However, per capita outputs were still improving due to the decrease in number of workers. Average industrial production per factory was only 540 thousand P compared to the Hungarian 1200 thousand P.[12]

In Vojvodina there were 460 factories in 1942, while in N-Transylvania there were 600, in S-Slovakia 290. Within a year more than 140 new factories were installed in Bács-Bodrog County, which is enormous, compared to the 20 in South-Slovakia (with similar population number) and 60 in Transylvania.

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[8] Gyula Mike, *Magyarország sportegyesületei 1941-ben*, Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, Budapest 1943/4, 187.

[9] Gy. Mike, *op.cit.* 189. o. Sports clubs in Vojvodina had averagely 100 members, while Hungarian clubs 200.

[10] An unique phenomenon, that the proportion of women exceeded 20% in the modern towns of the western part of the country, while in Satu Mare, Kecskemét and Debrecen, zones of agricultural townships it remained under 10%, such as in the Vojvodina, referring to a more traditional society, where women were more subordinated.

[11] Sándor Farkasfalvy, *A gyáripar 1941-ben*, Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, Budapest 1942/9. 564.

[12] S. Farkasfalvy, *op.cit.* 570.

Table 5. Regional increase of industrial factories and invested capital (1941-1942)

	factories (1941*)	factories (1942)	growth pieces**	increase in %	increase of capital invested in %	increase of output at nominal prices	increase of industrial output measured to invested capital 1941-1942
Hungary total	5070 (5190)	5650	120	2%	-2%	+25%	127%
Vojvodina*	318	460	142	44%	-21%	+36%	172%
S-Slovakia	290	310	20	7%	+20%	+44%	120%
N-Transylvania	600	660	60	10%	+9%	+33%	122%
Transcarpathia	90	130	40	44%	-10%	+44%	160%

*Bács-Bodrog County   ** only for Trianon-Hungary

Calculated from: Sándor Farkasfalvy, *A gyáripar 1941-ben,* Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, Budapest 1942/9.

It is also important to note, that in Vojvodina (Bács-Bodrog County) the average size of factories did not exceed 45 employees (the same as in S-Slovakia and 60 in Transylvania), but within the Trianon borders it was over 100. The reason of this is, that 16% of the plants were bricklayer-factories, 17% belonged to mill-industry, 9% to energy-supply (exceeding the Hungarian average), which required limited labour force. The 4.7 million working days in Vojvodina and the 92.6 million P capital only represented 3.7 and 3.3 % of the country total.[13]

Table 6. Regional features of industrial consumption and output in 1941

1941	Trianon Hungary	S-Slovakia	%*	Transcarpathia	%*	N-Transylvania	%*	Vojvodina	%*	aver-age
number of factories per 100 km^2	4,4	2,4	55	0,7	16	1,3	30	**2,8**	**64**	3,1
number of workers per 100 000 person	3800	1460	38	650	17	1150	30	**1330**	**35**	2840
invested average capital (1000 P) per factories	550	406	74	430	78	225	41	**290**	**53**	490
average size per factory	89	58	65	66	74	54	61	**42**	**47**	80
working hours per factory	3320	3460	104	2440	73	2730	82	**2740**	**83**	3220
HP	480	340	71	178	37	212	44	**230**	**48**	430
average coal consumption in q per factories	15140	7400	49	3800	25	2440	16	**5220**	**34**	11950
energy consumption in 1000 kWh	266	344	129	75	28	55	21	**50**	**19**	210
industrial output per factory in 1000 P	1230	890	72	500	41	500	41	**540**	**44**	1080

* compared to Trianon-Hungary

Calculated from: S. Farkasfalvy, *op.cit.* 571.

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[13] S. Farkasfalvy, *op.cit.* 570-576.

Factories of Vojvodina lacked sufficient capital: while in Trianon-Hungary the capital/factory value reached 571 thousand P, in Vojvodina only 500 thousand P for the new (290 thosuand for old) investments after 1941. Considering mechanized energy installed, Vojvodina gave only 2.5% of the total HP of industry, which is a small value compared to proportion of population, while regarding the consumption of eletricity Vojvodina constituted only 1.5% of the total.

Economic reintegration and reorganization in Vojvodina took time, however the small-scale industry had several advantages: their demand on raw material was low (4.5% of the total, 150 million P) compared to the population, such as the demand on fuel. Labour wages were similar (54-56 fillérs per hour) in Vojvodina and in the country.

Industrial production reached 7 billion P in the country in 1942, which meant a 25% increase, from which 5%, 265 million P was generated by the incorporation of Vojvodina. The latter showed a 70 million P (36%) increase in output between 1941-1942. This increase was smaller than in S-Slovakia (44%) and similar to N-Transylvania (33%). This number seems to be impressive, but after adjusting the current values to the inflation, the 25% shrinks to 8% (5% in Trianon-Hungary and somewhat higher in the peripheries). Per capita output hardly hit 50% of the state average in Vojvodina (1 million persons for 265 million P output compared to 14 million and 6735 million), although the output in absolute numbers was higher than in S-Slovakia (171 million P) and similar to industrial production in N-Transylvania (275 million P).[14]

However, from two aspects the industry in Vojvodina is worth further mentioning. One is the fact that the value of industrial output compared to (the shortage of) invested capital in Vojvodina was among the highest in Hungary in 1941-1942. The other is, that small-scale industry and crafts were more important than factories in this periphery.

Vojvodina represented an important territory for Hungary regarding small enterprises. The 15700 small enterprises located in Bács-Bodrog county constituted 6% of the total of the country, resulting the 2nd place among counties (Somogy county in the 3rd position reached only 3.7%). Cumulative value of production reached 100 million P in 1940, also resulting the 2nd place with 5% of the total output in the country following the huge Pest-Solt-Pilis-Kiskun county. The production value per workshop was also high, reaching 6300 P, following Esztergom county which was ranked the producing 7000 P per workshop and Pest-Solt-Pilis-Kiskun with 6700 P, overtaking Nógrád (6100 P), Bereg (6300 P) and Gömör (5500 P/workshop).[15] This also refers to a self-organizing, self-sustaining viable local civil society. The Hungarian average meant 4800 P and 1.1 workers per workshop in 1930 this increased by 1940 to 6000 P and 1.5 persons. Number of workshops increased by 16% in Trianon-Hungary, number of workers by 66%, the value of output by 50%.

Regarding the spatial distribution of workshops 1600 were enumerated in Subotica, 1500 in Novi Sad (as in Kecskemét), 640 in Sombor, while in Szeged it was 2800, in Pécs 2000, but in Baja (county seat of mutilated Bács-Bodrog in Hungary) only 1000. Considering

[14] S. Farkasfalvy, *op.cit.* 563. 578-581.
[15] Zoltán Szalay, *Az 1941. évi népszámlálással kapcsolatban végrehajtott általános iparstatisztika első eredményei,* Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, Budapest 1943/5-6, 277.

the value of output Subotica led by 16 million P, followed by Novi Sad with 15.5 million P and Zombor by 5.5 million P. In Szeged this value ranged up to 30 million P, in Pécs 19 million in Kecskemét 21 million. Thus, by dividing the values of the two aforementioned indicators industrial output per workshop was 10000 P in Subotica and Novi Sad, such as in Szeged and Pécs, and 8500 in Sombor. It was Csongrád that showed the largest concentration of workshops, although Bács-Bodrog had more towns at higher hierarchical level.[16]

   Summarising the role of large- and small-scale industry, the 20500 workshops and factories in Vojvodina (7.8%) were proportional compared to population number. Regarding the peripheries returned, the number of workshops per 1000 person (20) was the greatest in Bács-Bodrog county (11 in the less industrialized N-Transylvania and 14 in S-Slovakia), and equaled with the Hungarian average (without the capital city it was 19). Production efficiency (per one person employed in industry) fell below S-Slovakia, while overtaking N-Transylvania. The total industrial production exceeded 330 million P (5%), the same was in N-Transylvania and 270 million P in S-Slovakia. 20 thousand or 40% of industrial workers worked for large-scale industry (factories) in Vojvodina, while in N-Transylvania and S-Slovakia it was over 50%.[17] Lacking industrial raw materials the structure of industry in Vojvodina was similar to the Hungarian and differed from the heavy industry in N-Transylvania or S-Slovakia. It meant that *owing to the change of rule Vojvodina had to face with increasing competition compared to its position in royal Yugoslavia.*

Table 7. The significance of small-scale industry, trade and commerce and its territorial concentration in Vojvodina in 1942

towns and counties	workshops	output (million P)	output per worksop in P	trading shops	value of trade (million P)	persons employed in trade	trade value per employed in P	shops per 1000 person	value of trade per shop
Subotica	1594	16	10000	534	25	1120	22000	5,3	47000
Sombor	640	5,5	8594	223	12,3	519	24000	7	50000
Novi Sad	1472	15,5	10633	636	60	1913	30000	10,4	95000
Baja	1030	6,8	6600	394	18	672	26000	12,2	46000
Pécs	1987	19,5	9750	978	43	2016	21500	13,4	45000
Szeged	2785	29	10357	1190	54	2480	21600	8,7	46000
Kecskemét	1511	21	14000	665	37,3	1327	28000	7,6	41000
Bács-Bodrog	15743 (25%)*	98,8	6300	4119 (40%)*	79,5 (65%)*	5200 (50%)	15000	5,9	19000
Baranya	7556 (25%)*	24,7	3300	1627 (40%)*	36,8 (60%)*	1856 (55%)	18000	5,3	23000
Csongrád	2956 (45%)*	13,2	4500	1151 (50%)*	27,3 (70%)*	1420 (66%)	19000	7,1	24000
Hungary	**256 000**	**1866**	**7300**	**110 100**	**5075**	**188 000**	**27 000**	**7,5**	**46 000**

* in brackets see the proportion of towns compared to county total

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[16] The hierarchy of cities in Bács-Bodrog was controversial. Subotica had the greatest population number, Novi Sad was the most developed, Sombor owned the central functions as county seat.
[17] Szalay, 272-280.

Table 8. Regional disparities in small- and large scale industries (altogether) in 1942

	units per 1000 persons	units	(%)	large-scale factories	large-scale units to total	industrial workers altogether	(%)	small-scale workers	(%) within the region	total production (in million P)	proportion to country total (%)	output per industrial workers (in P)
S-Slovakia	14	15 000	5,3%	310	2,2%	36 000	4%	17 000	50%	270	4%	7500
N-Tran-sylvania	11,5	29 000	11,2%	660	3,3%	67 000	7,5%	30 000	46%	316	5%	4800
Trans-carpathia	5,5	4 000	1,5%			8 000	1%			45	0,7%	5500
Vojvodina	20	20 000	7,8%	460	2,3%	50 000	5,7%	30 000	60%	328	5%	6500
country total with Budapest	19	263 000	100%	5650	100%	880 000	100%	462 000	53%	6581	100%	7500

Speaking about trade and commerce the number of shops increased by 55% in Trianon-Hungary between 1930-1940, while the number of employed increased from 52 thousand to 116 thousand (+122%). 75% of shops and 80% of employees and 86% of trade value fell to the territory of Trianon-Hungary (which gives less than 66% of the territory) owing to the distorting effect of the capital city, Budapest. Vojvodina represented 5% of the shops and employees, while the four times greater N-Transylvania gave only 9.5%. The value of trade was 173 million P constituting only 3.5% of the country total (N-Transylvania gave 4.7%). Average value of trade per shops was 30 000 P in Vojvodina (the same as in Hungary without Budapest), 35 000 in S-Slovakia, 23 000 P in N-Transylvania. Shop density per 1000 inhabitants was also low.[18]

Table 9. Regional differences in the characteristics of trade in 1940

	shops	proportion (%)	tradesmen	proportion (%)	value of trade per shop (P)	total trade (P)	proportion (%)
S-Slovakia	5700	5	9000	5	35 000	200 000 000	4,7
N-Transylvania	10800	9,5	16200	9	23 000	200 000 000	4,7
Vojvodina	5700	5	9000	5	30 000	173 000 000	3,5
total country with Budapest	110000	100	187000	100	46 000	5 100 000 000	100

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[18] Zoltán Szalay*, Az 1941. évi népszámlálással kapcsolatban végrehajtott általános kereskedői statisztika első eredményei,* Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, Budapest 1943/9. 480-481.

Bács-Bodrog was 2nd in the country regarding the number of shops and employees and 3rd regarding the value of trade (Vas overtook Vojvodina). The value of trade per shops was mediocre, Baranya, Bars, Békés, Csongrád overtook Bács-Bodrog. The same was true for shop density. Vojvodina's contribution to the Hungarian economy was largely owing to its great territorial extent, than to its level of development. Novi Sad had 630, Subotica 530, Sombor 220 shops, while in Baja one could find 400, in Pécs 980, in Szeged more than 1200 trading companies. Szeged and Novi Sad (55-60 million P, 1900-2400 persons), Kecskemét and Subotica (24-27 million P, 1200-1300 persons), Baja and Sombor (10-18 million P, 500-600 persons) were at the same level of urban hierarchy based on the value of trade and number of employed in the sector. Trade values per employees were similar, but trade value per shops showed remarkable differences (Novi Sad, 95 000 P, Subotica, Sombor, Baja 46 000 P), meaning that Novi Sad had larger shops (3 employees per shops, compared to the average 1.7). Here the trade value per shops was twice as much as the country average and five times greater than the county avarage. The number of shops here was 10/1000 inhabitants, while in Subotica and Kecskemét it reached only 5-7.[19]

3. Conclusion

Summarising our remarks, one may come to the conclusion, that the role of Vojvodina in the Yugoslavian and Hungarian economy did not alter remarkably with the change of regime.

| Vojvodina 1921-1941	Vojvodina 1941-44
food supplier and exporter	food supplier and exporter
Serbian colonisation	Hungarian colonisation
economic center – political periphery	economic frontier – political periphery
overtaxation, repressions	atrocities, distraction of resource surpluses
distorted market - redistributions	distorted market – redistributions (war economy)
bureaucratic pressure – new elite	bureaucratic pressure – new elite

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[19] *Ibidem.*
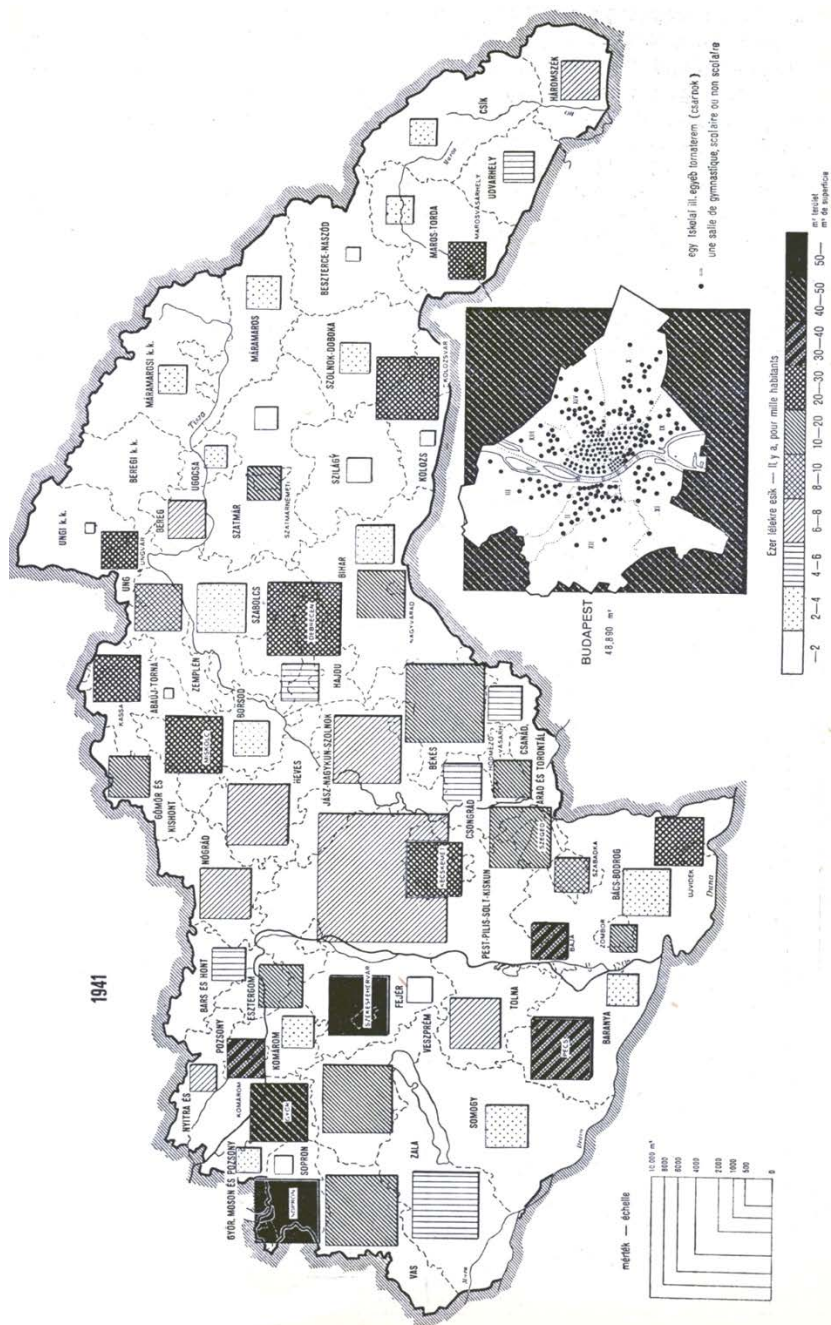
Gym rooms in Hungary measured in m² and per 1000 inhabitants.
Source: Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1943/1. 46.
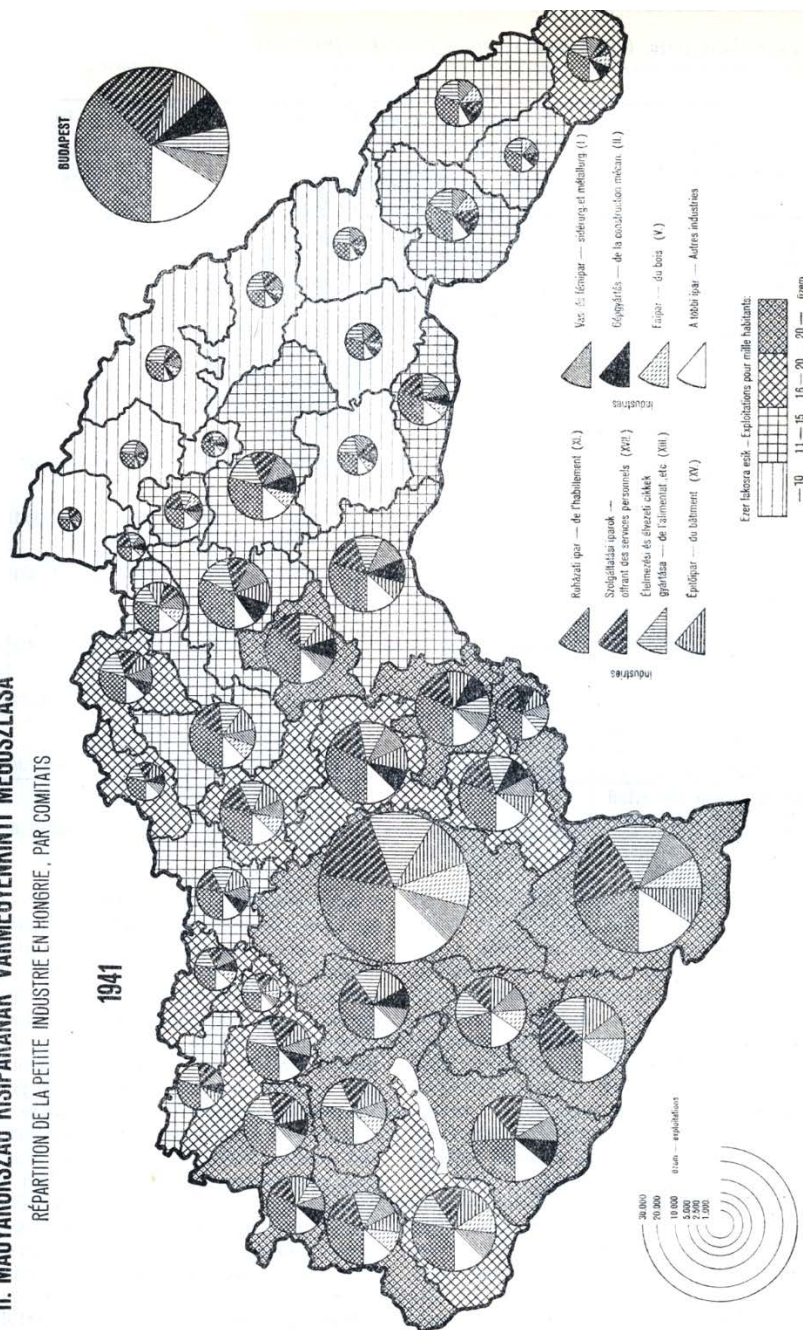
Number and sectoral distribution of small-scale industrial units in Hungary.
Source: Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1943/5-6. 278. p

Value and sectoral distribution of trade in Hungary in 1940.
Source: Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1943/9. 491.

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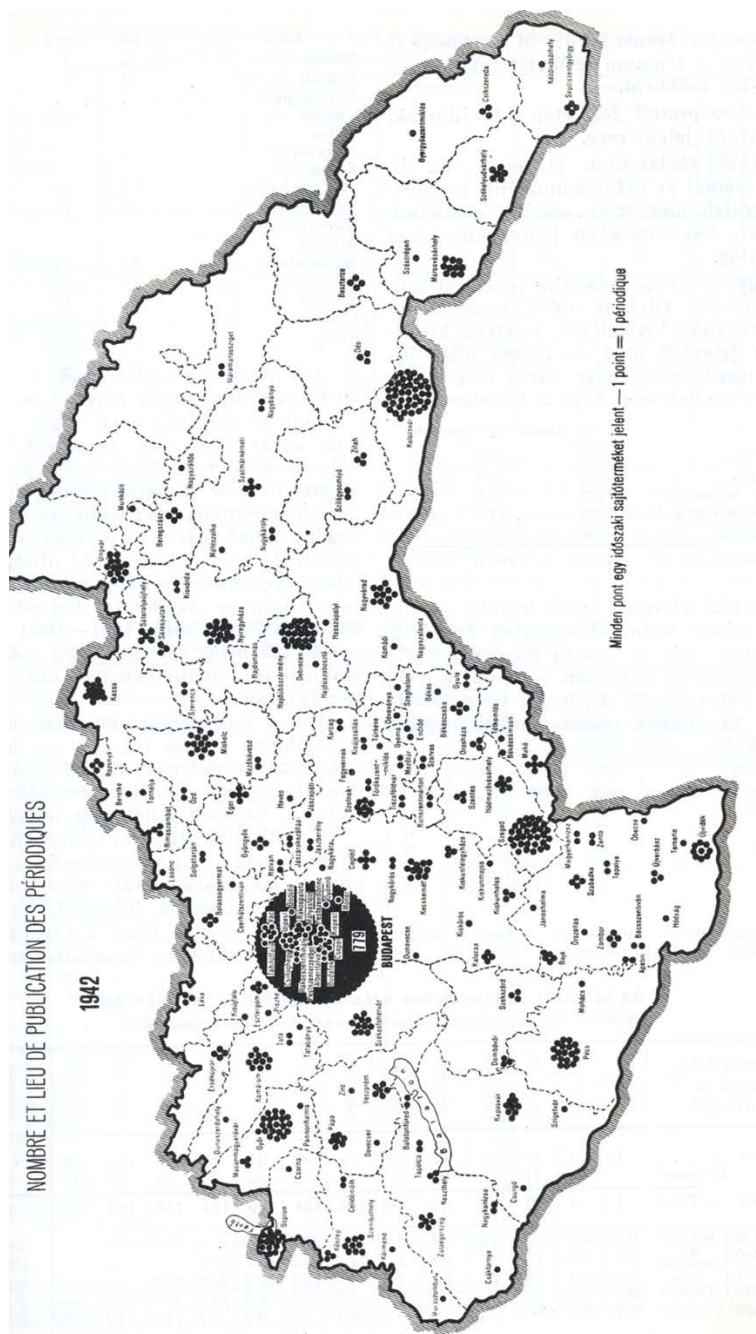
Periodicals in Hungary.
Source: Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1943

ГАБОР ДЕМЕТЕР

ЕКОНОМИЈА И ДРУШТВО У ВОЈВОДИНИ У ВРЕМЕ МАЂАРСКЕ ВЛАСТИ 1941-1945

Сажетак

Овај рад истражује утицај мађарске власти на локално друштво у регионалном контексту, користећи методе друштвене географије, базирајући се на изазове који су се догодили структуралним променама и интеграцијом у нову економску и образовну структуру. Како би измерили улогу Војводине у мађарском економском систему и стопу развоја друштвено-економског живота, на основу мађарских статистичких података из 1941, неколико варијабли је коришћено за поређење нивоа развоја градова Војводине и Мађарске. Такви су били подаци о броју периодике која је изашла, број спортских клубова у односу на самоорганизовање и самофинансирање од стране заједнице, или продуктивност малих предузећа, капитал који је инвестиран, итд.

Војводина је представљала значајан део Мађарске што се тиче малих предузећа. Уку пно 15 700 малих предузећа у Бачко-бодрошкој жупанији чинили су 6% укупног броја у земљи, резултирајући другим местом међу жупанијама. Укупна вредност производње је била 100 милиона пенги, такође други резултат у земљи. Продуктивност по глави је била такође велика, 6300 П, док је Острогонска жупанија била прва са 7000 П по глави. Више од 40 периодичних публикација је излазило у Бачко-бодрошкој жупанији, док је у суседној жупанији Чонград било 40, а у Барањи само 19. Укупно 39 спортских клубова ставају жупанију на треће место (Барања 9, Чонград 10, Хевеш 32, Бекеш 47). Од укупног броја 26 је настало између два рата.

Истраживање о образовном систему даје добар поглед у захтеве локалног друштва као и у систем преференција и аспирација централне политичке воље. Локална администрација била је препуна службеника који су пристизали из Мађарске, чак је и недостатак учитеља који говоре мађарски био решен упућивањем њих 1300 у Војводину да би се смириле нарастајуће тензије средњег сталежа у Мађарској. То је изазвало незадовољство и разочарење међу припадницима локалне елите. Од 98 000 ученика основних школа њих 58% нису говорили мађарски језик, што је коинцидирало са етничком припадношћу, док је ученика који су говорили мађарски 1942-1943. године било више у односу на етничку пропорцију.

Кључне речи: Војводина 1941-44, друштво, економија, интеграција, развој, образовање, централна управа.