

## The Economic Consequences of the Occupation in Hungary 1919-1922

As a result of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867) economic life in Hungary developed considerably marking also the great achievements of middle class efforts bringing up Hungary to European level within almost fifty years, that is to say until the outbreak of World War I. The increase in number of factories employing more than 20 workers and the development of certain industrial branches indispensable for exports both characterize this period. Agriculture had been able to overcome the crisis years of the 1880s as well. Official transport services of Hungary (railways, post, phone, telegram) had also reached European standards, foreign trade rose steadily reaching a manifold turn-over of its earlier volume. Imports grew permanently thus covering enhanced home market needs while imported machinery guaranteed quality products which fulfilled foreign market demands.

Growing national consumption, the development of the school system and health service resulted in a remarkable increase of the population. Budapest became a European metropolis. Yet there did not go along a radical change in social structure at the same time. Poor peasantry people and the suburb workers suffered from privations. The obvious contrast to the privileged classes caused serious social tensions.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the general development in Europe 1913 Hungary already ranked ahead of the Balkan states as well as of Spain and Portugal, even reaching the level of Italy and had a good chance to catch up with the West European countries within a few decades. These hopes were annihilated by the outbreak of World War I.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the war Hungary had to deplore 500,000 of casualties.<sup>3</sup> As a con-

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<sup>1</sup> The Hungarian revolution of 1848/1849 was suppressed. Yet, the main changes caused by the revolution could not be eliminated nor the democratic efforts be extinguished serving later as a basis for the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (Act III 1867). The Compromise regulated Austria's relationship to Hungary, i.e. their relationship to each other, but it also guaranteed the constitutional rights of the country and the personal power of the monarchy itself. Act III acknowledged Hungary's public law and governmental independence, its pluralistic parliamentary system as well as its independent government only responsible to the Parliament. Foreign and military affairs were bound to Austria. In Act XXX 1868 extended autonomy and provincial diet was guaranteed by Hungary to Croatia. TAYLOR A. J.: *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918*. London 1960; MACARTNEY C. A.: *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918*. London 1969; KANN Robert A.: *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburgermonarchie. Geschichte und Ideengehalt der nationalen Bestrebungen vom Vormärz bis zur Auflösung des Reiches im Jahre 1918*. I-II. Graz - Köln 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Goos Roderich: *Das Wiener Kabinett und die Entstehung des Krieges*. Wien 1919; *Hungarian Peace Treaty Arrangements*. I-II. Budapest 1923, I, 73-81; HORVÁTH Jenő: *Magyarország háborús felelőssége* [The war responsibility of Hungary]. Budapest 1930, 271-277; BERNSTEIN Eduard (Ed.):

sequence of the peace treaty Hungary lost a great proportion of its territory. The secret agreement of the Allies<sup>4</sup> to destroy the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the promises<sup>5</sup> granted to Hungary's neighbours both contributed to dissolve the economic unity of a region which needed about 400 years to develop.

In the summer of 1918 the situation of the Central Powers turned to the worse. The lack of raw and war materials, the shortage of fuel, food, and other supplies caused symptoms of exhaustion among the population. People were already exposed to the influences of radical social movements and the desertion of troops. «The best troops are up in revolt not willing to use their weapons» – so a general.<sup>6</sup> In this critical situation King Charles IV (Emperor Charles I of Austria) sent a wire message to the German Emperor William II informing him about his decision to ask for armistice (26th of October 1918).<sup>7</sup> At the same time the Chief Commander of the Admiralty was given order to hand over the navy to the South Slavic Committee (28th of October 1918).<sup>8</sup> Croatia had already proclaimed its se-

A világháború okiratai. III. Az angol kékkönyv [Documents of the World War. III. The British Blue Book]. Budapest [1918], 5-10; GALÁNTAI József: Magyarország az első világháborúban, 1914-1918 [Hungary at the time of World War I, 1914-1918]. Budapest 1974.

<sup>3</sup> Reduced to the dismembered territory, the death toll was about 250,000.

<sup>4</sup> GALÁNTAI: Magyarország az első világháborúban, 202; ORMOS Mária: Padovától Trianonig, 1918-1920 [From Padua to the Trianon, 1918-1920]. Budapest 1983, 14.

<sup>5</sup> This paper does not aim at presenting a survey on the conception of Hungary's neighbours to dismember Hungary nor does it want to give details on their relations to the big powers, that is to say to the rivalry between France, Great Britain, and Russia. But it must be pointed out that from the 1800s on one of the greatest and unsolved problems of Hungary's politics was the question of the nationalities. Unfortunately, the Hungarian government had side-tracked the problem although Act XLIV made possible the reorganization of Hungary into a federative state within the scope of the Dual Monarchy. The attitude of the Hungarian government was an irreparable default because at that time an extended propaganda and aspersion campaign was launched on Hungary headed by the Oxford professor R. W. Seaton Watson receiving and accepting information only from high official circles of Hungary's neighbouring countries. His ambiguous views and superficial knowledge of the history of Central Europe were determinant in the judgement on Hungary all over the English speaking world. SEATON WATSON R. W.: Rumania and the Great War. London 1915; SEATON WATSON R. W.: Die südslawische Frage im Habsburger Reich. Berlin 1913; SEATON WATSON R. W.: Racial Problems in Hungary. London 1908.

<sup>6</sup> LUKACHICH Géza: Magyarország megcsonkításának okai [The reasons for dismembering Hungary]. Budapest 1932, 131.

<sup>7</sup> «[...] however difficult it is for me yet, it is my duty to inform you of the fact that my people are unable to put up with war nor are they willing to continue it.» Quoted by HORTHY Miklós: Emlékirataim [My memoirs]. Toronto 1974, 100-101.

<sup>8</sup> Captain Vukovich had taken over the navy of the Monarchy in the name of the South Slavic Committee on board of the flagship *Uniti*. Later Vukovich blew up the ship and himself, too. HORTHY: Emlékirataim, 103. – In course of the mobilization a considerable part of the merchant fleet was put under the supreme command of the navy. They also went lost, above all those lying at anchor in neutral ports were captured. These ships became the booty of Australia (!), Great Britain, Italy,

cession from Hungary, and the management of the Port of Fiume (Rijeka) had been taken over by the Croation-Slavonic-Serbian National Committee. In Hungary the so called Bourgeois Democratic Revolution headed by Count Mihály Károlyi had taken over political power (31st of October 1918), so armistice could be signed in the Villa Giusti near Padua (3rd of November 1918).

### I. The military convention of Belgrade, services for the Allies and their confederates

The armistice talks were held in Belgrade. The Hungarian delegation was led by Count Mihály Károlyi, the delegation of the Allies by General Franchet d'Espèray, Commander in chief of the Eastern Military Forces (7th of November 1918).<sup>9</sup> The armistice conditions were immediately handed over to the Hungarian delegation. They contained 18 issues of very rigid claims. The first issue dealt with the territories to be evacuated (in Transylvania limited by a line from the upper course of the river Nagy-Szamos to the town of Marosvásárhely, then along the river Maros to the river Tisza, and, following the line between the towns of Szabadka, Baja, Pécs to the south towards the river Drava).<sup>10</sup> To satisfy Serbian claims and to meet with the approval of its demands to a certain degree Rumania had joined the Allies in the last year of the war. Moreover disarmament of the Hungarian forces was postulated except for 6 infantry and 2 cavalry divisions needed for keeping up public order. This condition also allowed allied troops to occupy strategic positions in Hungary if necessary and included their free transport and moving in the country. The Hungarian government was given promise that the strategic positions would be occupied by French troops. They would also take care of coal transports and help to ease the problems caused by the economic embargo imposed on Hungary. Functional continuity of the Hungarian public administration in the evacuated territories was also guaranteed.

Issues 4-8 of the demands referred to the services Hungary was compelled to provide to the allied forces. For example Hungary had to repair the Serbian railway system, the telephone and telegraph lines destroyed during the war. In December of 1918 3,000 Hungarian workers were sent to Serbia, and in addition to

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France, Portugal and Serbia. LAKY Dezső: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai [The economic damages of the occupation of Hungary dismembered]. Budapest 1923, 33-36. – It has to be mentioned that the loss of the harbour of Fiume (Rijeka) was one of the greatest blows Hungary had to suffer. This was the port which linked Hungary with the oceans; it had spent 60 mill. gold crowns on building up the port and 200 mill. for its railways. The shipping companies were subsidized by the state and the turn-over of the port was 478 mill. gold crowns in 1913 compared to 23 mill. in 1867. 20% of the imports and 40% of the exports of the country were handled through this tax free area. *Hungarian Peace Treaty Arrangements* II, 68-71.

<sup>9</sup> General Franchet gave Mihály Károlyi a cool reception and made the remark that Hungary will have to pay for marching together with the Germans. In: *Pesti Hírlap* 9th of November 1919.

<sup>10</sup> The Diaz armistice took the thousand year old borders of Hungary into consideration.

the material and wages of 3 mill. crowns (K), 10 mill. K had to be delivered in March of 1919. But the payments for the workers proved to be inadequate, their supply as insufficient (12 of them died). They were forced to carry out other works, too, and 400 sick workers had to be sent back after a short time.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore 6,000 and 30,000 head of cattle put into requisition in Hungary had to be delivered to Serbia. It is also worth mentioning that the military administration of the Allies insisted on 10,000 horses to be put at their disposal within four months after the end of the war.<sup>12</sup>

Pursuant to the issues, six Danubian monitors were handed over to Serbia and further six monitors were seized which had been sticking near the front line of the Serbian forces. The Rumanian troops tried to capture two other gun-boats and five river trails, when they occupied Budapest, but the British Mission could prevent this action by contributing them – together with three tenders, two other river trails and two tug boats – under the auspices of the «Commandement du Danube».

Further demands were: ten passenger steamers, ten steam tugs and 60 tow-boats which had to be handed to the Allies (violating the terms of convention, French military authorities granted another steam tug and three more tow-boats to Serbia). Other ships on the Lower Danube became prey of Serbia and Rumania. The capture of these 87 steamers and 838 tow-boats represented the heaviest loss the Hungarian river navy had ever suffered.

The Hungarian Railway Company had to render its share as well. The Allies had taken away half of its engine park (= 2,193) and other railway facilities in the occupied territories.<sup>13</sup> The Hungarian government was even prohibited to bring back a minimum of its railway park from beyond the demarcation line in order to alleviate its heaviest transport problems. And in this extremely grave situation with a starving population, clothing, cigarettes, and different implements in large quantities had to be sent to the French forces.

Moreover 24 mill. K (November 1918) and another 5 mill. K had to be transferred to the French treasury. The transport of British and French troops as well as that of foreign prisoners of war through this country had to be paid by Hungary. The expenses (including lodgings) for foreign delegations were also covered by Hungary. Being also forced to help Poland in its war against Soviet Russia, 168 cargoes of ammunition had to be delivered. The compensation for the coal consignment (1 truck of ammunition = 8 trucks of coal) promised by Poland sank into oblivion as so many others of their assurances.

<sup>11</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 16-18.

<sup>12</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 36-37.

<sup>13</sup> The attitude of the Károlyi government can be demonstrated by its benevolence in handling over 50 engines and 1,000 wagons to Serbia, in addition to the number of the rolling stock Serbia had captured in the occupied territories. LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 37. – The Hungarian railways possessed in 1918 4,949 engines, 8,718 carriages, 74 saloon carriages, 3,537 mail cars, and 105,837 trucks. *Hungarian Peace Treaty Arrangements I*, 111.

## II. The military occupation of Hungary

The Hungarian government was forced to sign the Belgrade Convention – after a few days of hesitation – on 13th of November 1918. Its idea was to give a certain protection and serve as a legal barrier against the greed of her neighbours.<sup>14</sup>

The efforts of the Hungarian government to consolidate the situation failed. The so called Vix note demanded a further withdrawal of the Hungarian forces from North Transylvania almost to a line, marked by the river Tisza, thus leaving this stretch of land to the following Rumanian occupation troops. Only a 40-50 km strip (along a line between the towns of Debrecen, Gyula, and Szeged) was declared as a demilitarized zone. This was the reason for the resignation of the Hungarian government.<sup>15</sup> The united social democrat and communist parties took over authority at once pronouncing the proletarian dictatorship (21st of March 1919) and rejecting the surrender of further territories.

Without an official declaration of war Rumania attacked the Hungarian Red Army (16th of April 1919), captured North Transylvania and even moved forward to the river Tisza (30th of April) near the town of Szolnok. The armistice offered by the Red Army<sup>16</sup> was refused.

Reorganized within short time, the Red Army started a successful counter-attack in the North against the Czech army (9th of May 1919). It succeeded in gaining terrain and splitting up the Czech and Rumanian forces. As a result of this success the Slovak Soviet Republic was proclaimed (16th of June 1919). At this moment Marshal Foch, commander in chief of the allied forces, sent an ultimatum demanding cease fire and the evacuation of the Hungarian troops from the reoccupied territories.<sup>17</sup> The Hungarian government accepted this demand and asked for guarantees concerning the withdrawal of Rumanian troops beyond the line of the river Tisza.<sup>18</sup> Rumania was not willing to accept the ultimatum before the demobilization of the Hungarian Red Army. The latter then asked Soviet Russia for mi-

<sup>14</sup> The Rumanian invasion of Transylvania started on 13th of November 1918. The Czech legion occupied North Hungary without resistance on 14th of November 1918, and on 3rd of December the allied governments recognized the so called «historical» Czechoslovakian state. *A romániai magyar kisebbség sérelmei* [The injuries of the Hungarian national minority in Rumania]. Budapest 1922, 7; *Hungarian Peace Treaty Arrangements* I, 343.

<sup>15</sup> The note of general De Lobit was handed over by Lieutenant-Colonel Vix, head of the military mission of the Allies.

<sup>16</sup> French troops stationed in Szeged occupied the town of Mako and its environs.

<sup>17</sup> Armistice was signed by the Czech and Hungarian officials on 1st of July 1919. The demarcation line became practically the border line of the peace treaty of Trianon except for a 4 km wide neutral zone.

<sup>18</sup> The Hungarian Soviet Republic had sent a note to Clemenceau asking him to exert his influence on Rumania in order to evacuate the territories beyond the river Tisza (11th of July 1919), the prompt answer (13th of July 1919) was that in case Hungary would not keep the conditions of the armistice the peace treaty negotiations with Hungary would be cancelled.

linary intervention which was refused.<sup>19</sup> It launched a counter-offensive on its own against the Rumanian troops which – however – failed (20th of July 1919).

Meanwhile the counter revolutionary groups of Hungary could reinforce themselves sufficiently and oblige the Revolutionary Governing Council to resign (1st of August 1919). This event was also precipitated by the declaration of the Paris peace treaty conference (20th of July 1919) pointing out that the removal of the Soviet power from Hungary was a precondition of the Hungarian peace treaty. The economic embargo decreed earlier was lifted, but in spite of the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the protests of the Italian General Romanelli Rumanian troops occupied Budapest and even part of Western Hungary (along the line between the towns of Győr and Székesfehérvár (4th of August 1919) under the pretext to overthrow the Hungarian Soviet Republic which did not exist any more at that time.

To consolidate the situation, the British diplomat Sir George Clerk arrived in Budapest on the 23rd of October 1919 in order to prepare – with the help of the Allies and with the agreement of the Hungarian political parties – the moving in of Miklós Horthy, Admiral of the Monarchy, to the capital. This took place on the 16th of November 1919. As a consequence the Rumanian troops began to evacuate Budapest and part of the country (14th-16th of November 1919), but they only withdrew to the positions they held earlier. Here they remained until the 30th of March, the date when Rumanian forces definitely evacuated Hungary.

### III. Economic damages caused by the occupation of Hungary

At the suggestion of the Hungarian Statistic Office (= Office) and by the agreement of the Armistice Commission (= Commission) residing in Budapest, the damages caused by the occupation troops were registered immediately after the foreign forces had left Hungary.<sup>20</sup> All damages being reported were controlled and registered according to their corresponding value by local authorities (goods put into requisition, expenses for quarters, forced labor etc.). These registrations were supervised later (by lot) through the staff of the Office.

However not all the damages could be registered properly because a great number of the population facing the hopeless situation of the country, did not find it worthwhile to declare their losses. Only after the Commission (Commission Spéciale des Réparations) had visited different places, damages were reported in

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<sup>19</sup> The Hungarian Soviet Republic asked Lenin to launch an attack on Rumania from Bessarabia to ease the military situation of Hungary.

<sup>20</sup> Already in October of 1919 the ministries concerned decided on the registration of the damages. Minister Gyula Pekár elaborated a uniform method and treatment of the problem. It was also due to his efforts that the plundering of the Royal Palace by Rumanian troops could be checked. He was for example in permanent contact with the American Colonel Lorce who was of great help to him in personally saving the Royal Palace from plundering.

the hope of a quick recompensation.<sup>21</sup> Permanent, sometimes even heated debates occurred between the Hungarian officials and members of the Commission on the extent of the damages. The Commission was not willing to accept higher prices appointed by Hungarian officials insisting on fixed currency values introduced during and after the war.

Yet prices at that time only had a nominal value which did not correspond at all to the market prices, on account of the desorganized economy of the country, the embargo, and the serious shortage of goods.

These divergences of views existed primarily with respect to the industrial prices. The market and the official prices of agricultural products did not differ too much.

The Commission however insisted on the fixed industrial prices of January 1919, i.e. the prices before the Rumanian occupation, thus leaving out of consideration the immense shortage of industrial goods which was above all caused by excessive requisition. They even did not accept the real post-war value of the K and its inflation rate in those days (1/8th to 1/9th in relation to the value of 1913). No wonder that the sum total registered by Hungarian officials was reduced by 25%. Especially the sum of the damages caused by the Rumanian occupation was found too high by the Commission. According to our own calculations the value of the damages caused by the occupation and indicated by the Office comes close to the real amount of the losses. It is quite sure that losses were about 20-25% higher than declared at that time.<sup>22</sup>

The Office estimated the damages caused by Rumanian, Czech and French troops respectively, corresponding to prices of August 1919, the losses caused by Serbia to prices of August 1921.

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<sup>21</sup> The damages caused by Rumania were so heavy that the Hungarian government asked the Allies to send a special committee to Hungary. This committee sent by the Allies was a department of the Compensation Committee dwelling in Paris. The committee arrived in Budapest at the end of 1919. The members were: Major A. Lyons (Great Britain), Lieutenant-Colonel S. Gerard (France), Judge-advocate General E. Noseda (Italy), Major I. Emminger (Czechoslovakia), Lieutenant-Colonel M. Body (Serbia), Major Tsonderos (Greece) and Attaché of legation R. Dembyczyk (Poland). Rumania refused to be represented among the delegates. The secretary of the committee was Count G. Chevigne. The costs of the committee were paid by Hungary amounting to 22,000 gold crowns per month. The regular talks between the Hungarian and the allied compensation committees started on 2nd of January 1920. It is worth mentioning that the actual head of the committee was Lieutenant-Colonel S. Gerard serving at the general staff of Marshall Foch during the war and well known for his blinded fanaticism and hatred against Germany.

<sup>22</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 115. – The registration of the damages caused by Rumanian and Czech troops was closed at 30th of September 1921. In 1922 the Hungarian government had sent a note to the Paris Compensation Committee asking for the recompensation of the damages caused by Rumania. *Mémoire de Gouvernement Hongrois à la Commission des Réparations relatif à l'exécution de l'Article 181 du Traité de Trianon*. Paris 1922. Only the amount of the direct damages was mentioned.

### 1. Damages caused by Rumanian occupation

The sum total of the damages caused by the occupation of Hungary was 26,216 bill. K (table 1),<sup>23</sup> 93.23% of it were caused by Rumania. Requisitions and misappropriations carried out by Rumanians referred to towns (54%) and villages (45.5%) (the capital itself had lost more than 2.5 bill. K). The sum of total damages was 1,539 K per person. 2,327 K for the towns and 1,073 for the villages. To demonstrate the extent of the damages it is worth comparing it with the amount of taxes in Hungary before World War I now corresponding to the reduced territory of the country. This amount was 40 gold crowns per head; the value of the private properties put into requisition by Rumania was fourfold (in eight months) and, including the losses of railway material, post and treasury, it was tenfold per head.<sup>24</sup>

The Rumanian military authorities gained ground in the economic life of Hungary, and even court martials of two to six months imprisonment and fines were proclaimed if their orders released in public summons were not followed by the population.<sup>25</sup> First of all the agricultural prices were fixed by the Rumanian command thus disregarding all international Hague conventions.

Requisitions for example can only be effectuated at current market prices. In contrast to the terms of the armistice it also took control of Hungary's economic administration.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The damages of the different occupations only concerned the territory of the dismembered country (peace treaty of Trianon, 4th of June 1920). There are no data available of the damages caused to Hungarians in the relinquished territories. – The losses declared in foreign currencies were (LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 134):

51,236.123 RM	1 RM =	2 Hungarian gold crowns;
94.500 Frf	1 Ffr =	4 Hungarian gold crowns;
16.528 Sfr	1 Sfr =	8 Hungarian gold crowns;
81.232 Czech crown	1 Czech crown =	2 Hungarian gold crowns;
251 £	1 £ =	170 Hungarian gold crowns;
2,482.978 Lei	1 Lei =	2 Hungarian gold crowns.

<sup>24</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 135, 141, 143.

<sup>25</sup> The public summons of the VII and XVI Rumanian division were signed by General Constantin Dumitrescu (5th of May 1919).

<sup>26</sup> For example in the town Debrecen for example the differences between fixed and market prices were the following (See: *Egyetértés* [Debrecen] 9th of May 1919):

	<i>fixed</i>	<i>market</i>
	<i>(prices in K)</i>	
Wheat 1 q	90	120-140
Beef 1 kg	9-14	25-30
Hay 1 q	170	120
Straw 1 q	40	90

Mill owners, tradesmen, merchants were obliged to declare the stock of their materials, half processed and processed goods in order to cover the demands of the Rumanian troops.<sup>27</sup> Further embargo was laid on agricultural products, and crop dealing was bound to permission.<sup>28</sup> The farmers were ordered to render account of their products within four days after finishing threshing.<sup>29</sup> A farmer could keep back seed corn for only one year needed for his own fields and 120 kg of bread-stuffs and 75 kg potatoes per person for his family. Dealing with live-stock was also put under military control. Cattle markets were cancelled, and in each case a cattle was sold, 20% of the meat had to be delivered.<sup>30</sup> The meat supply of the population became limited and was reduced to a three days consumption a week, though actually there was no meat in the shops.

Wages were also regulated: for a one day work in agriculture (13-14 hours) 16 K had to be paid – the market price of wheat was 120-140 K/q – and 2 K per hour in industry though for work of more than ten hours an extra of 50% was permitted.

Continuing the catalogue of measures taken by Rumanian authorities: Already from the 4th of December 1919 on some customs junctures were set up in the occupied territories. This meant that if a farmer had crossed the demarcation line with his animals and tools to work on his land beyond the demarcation line his name was registered and he was only allowed to return at the same place. Several times animals and tools were confiscated on his way back and sometimes ransom had to be paid for the farmer himself. The allied mission protested several times, yet its efforts failed. There were, of course, still other means for looting. The Rumanian authorities announced that 300 wagons of bread-stuffs already called into requisition would be conveyed to the starving population of Budapest against a 1 mill. K bonus (autumn of 1919). This equalled 125 wagons of wheat counted at the official price of 80 K/q. 100 wagons were immediately put into requisition, and Budapest was obliged to pay the expenses of 425 wagons of wheat, yet receiving only 200.<sup>31</sup>

Another item: The Hungarian Soviet Republic had emitted a new currency, the so called «white money». The Rumanian governor general only permitted the circulation of the bank notes issued by the Austro-Hungarian Bank being also

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<sup>27</sup> The registration of the properties and stocks had to be presented within one day to the Rumanian authorities. – In the town of Debrecen and in its environs the Rumanian occupation forces insisted on taking over 75% of the beef, cattle and other animal stock, 30% of the draught and 50% of the breeding animals at fixed prices. A head of oxen achieved 500 K, a bull 2,000 K, a horse 500 K, a stallion 1,000 K, and a pig per kg 1.60 K. – And another item: In the town of Nyíregyháza and its environs 80,000 q barley and oats were demanded to be delivered ignoring the fact that the sowing areas of these plants were 3% and 9% respectively. Report of the sub-prefect of the county of Szabolcs. Quoted by LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 270-274.

<sup>28</sup> *Egyetértés* 29th of June, September 1919.

<sup>29</sup> *Egyetértés* 30th of September 1919.

<sup>30</sup> *Egyetértés* 20th of September 1919.

<sup>31</sup> On basis of the report of the sub-prefect of the county of Szabolcs. Quoted by LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 274.

devaluated. It was called «blue money». This practically meant that they only accepted the bank-notes of the Monarchy, they themselves on the other hand insisted on paying only in «white money» which they had captured in large quantities when crossing the river Tisza. The «white money» circulating again intensified inflation to such an extent that goods could only be bought for the currency of the Monarchy.<sup>32</sup>

Investigating the patterns of damages caused by the Rumanian occupation (see table 2) it is obvious that 15.87% out of all the losses concerned the agriculture. From the damages of about 4 bill. K, 13.2% corresponded to crops or food, and 56.3% to livestock (see table 3).

The damages caused by requisitions are manifested on table 4. The reader is struck by the fact that 800,000 q of bread-stuffs were called into requisition from the farms. Requisitions only were justified to supply the occupying forces. Now, apart from the question of the legitimacy of the occupation, what number of Rumanian occupation troops did Hungary have to supply?

<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Number of the Rumanian occupation troops</i>
1919	August	60,984
	September	70,643
	October	46,164
	November	40,038
	December	26,600
1920	January	26,600
	February	22,300
	March	10,000

According to these data it turns out that the occupying Rumanian troops were about 40,000 as a medium within one year. Estimating 160 kg of bread-stuffs per head it comes up to 64,000 q. Inevitable is the question: Where might have been the rest?

On the territories under Rumanian control, 20-30% of the wheat and rye harvest, but sometimes 50-90% of the large farm products were confiscated in 1919, even disregarding the needs of the workers employed on the estates.<sup>33</sup> No wonder that in spring of 1920 Hungary, a predominantly agrarian country, was obliged to import 230,000 q of wheat. The monthly ration per head was no more than 6.4 kg in the capital and 3-4 kg in the country except for farmers.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Rumanian military authorities ordered the population over 12 years to obtain an identity card also bearing the photo of the owner. In addition, for a voyage for example from one county to another a special traffic licence was necessary. Its validity expired after one trip.

<sup>33</sup> On some large estates 60-90% of the bread-stuffs was put into requisitions. LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 175.

<sup>34</sup> There were reports about Rumanian troops reaching Hungarian authorities saying that they fed their horses with wheat and rye.

The amount of fodder put into requisition was extremely large. The Office knowing the number of horses of the Rumanian army, estimated a consumption during 7 mill. days. Counting with 3 kg of fodder a day (not mentioning the amount of hay) this estimation equalled 260,000 q of barley, oats and maize. However, the total amount of fodder called into requisition was 844,000 q.<sup>35</sup> There were large farms where 30-85% of the barley stock or maize and 60-100% of the oat harvest was confiscated.

The losses of the Hungarian livestock were extremely serious, due – above all – to the losses of cattle and horses (78,858 and 51,455 head). Considering these losses by value, 36.2% of the cattle losses fall to the share of milk cows, 31.6% to draught-oxen, 18.6% to heifers and steers, 9% to beef cattle, 3.5% to breed bulls, and 1.1% to calves. There existed large farms where 60-80% of the cattle stock and most of the breeding animals were simply stolen.

Horse breeding was a very important field of the Hungarian economic life. The different state owned stud farms and horse breeding establishments were always subsidized by the state. The Rumanian authorities had decimated the stock of these breeding animals. Only from the state owned stud farms 1,279 stud horses and 831 brood mares were confiscated, not mentioning the breeding animals of the private farms. As to the losses of the horse stock and expressed in percentage according to their value, 11.1% corresponded to stud horses, 17.6% to brood mares, 57.9% to draught-horses, 9.3% to foals, 3.7% to saddle horses, and 0.4% to government property horses. Considering the cattle stock, the loss of draught animals (draught-cows inclusively) was 23.3%, that of the draught-horse stock about 60%. This loss of draught-animals meant that foals, mules, donkeys were used as draught-animals sometimes yoked together with cows to finish agricultural work.

Requisitions were carried out by commissions; they selected the animals and had them also transported to Rumania. But besides the requisitions the farms were obliged to render transport duties as well. (According to our estimation, the value of compulsory transport costs and daily wages reached about 215 mill. K).

The pig stock could not escape requisitions either (56-57,000 head). This quantity equalled 20-25,000 q of meat which exceeded by far the requirements of the Rumanian army, especially if the number of cattle and poultry called into requisition is taken into consideration.<sup>36</sup>

The losses of the agricultural machine park must also be mentioned. The machine park was already in bad condition before, because during the war there practically were given no means for reparation and imports. Requisitions mostly affected medium size and large farms. Some farms lost to 75% of their machine park by confiscation. The complete breakdown of the agricultural machine park was the reason for the imports of 1920 and 1921 undertaken by Hungary even in that grave financial situation in order to keep production running somehow.

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<sup>35</sup> In some places Rumanian forces had cleared the goods for selling them somewhere else at exorbitant prices. From the tobacco put into requisition 170 wagons were sold to the Czech army at 46 mill. K. LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 277.

<sup>36</sup> The ratio of the poultry put into requisition was 30-40 pieces per head.

<i>Imports</i>	1920 ( <i>pieces</i> )	1921 ( <i>pieces</i> )
Motor ploughs	56	48
Steam ploughs	19	3
Steam locomobiles	9	5
Steam threshers	28	50
Sowing machines	122	221

The damages caused by the occupation were not only direct but also of indirect character though these losses could not be registered by statistical means. To fill the gap (to compensate animal draught-power, fodder, seed, corn, etc.) the farmers were forced to raise loans and to encumber their land property. The burdens of the large farms became even heavier by supplying the workers living on the estates. The death rate of the pig stock was rather high because of the lack of vaccination. (Rumanian authorities prevented inoculators to be sent from Budapest to the country.)

The decrease in size of the sowing areas caused one of the heaviest losses in the economic life of Hungary (see table 5 and 6, for the animals table 12). Already in 1913-1917 as a result of the lack of labour force and draught-animals production (reduced to the territory of the dismembered country) had fallen back to about 8%. But the decrease became even more extended on the occupied territories (further 6%) especially on those occupied by Rumania. The decrease in the non-occupied territories was 2.4% in 1917-1920. Public supply became insufficient in the meantime and therefore, even in post war years, Hungary was unable to export agrarian goods and thus also being robbed of its foreign currency income. (Lack of meliorization and manuring caused a heavy decrease in crop production.)

Industry had also suffered considerable losses; its damages amounted to 2.4 bill. K, that is to say 9.68% of the total damages caused by the Rumanian occupation. Among the damages of the big industry 56.5% had struck the iron mills and metallurgy works, 19.4% the machine industry (table 7). The losses according to industrial branches are reflected on the tables 8 and 9. The volume of the industrial production, reduced to the diminished territory of the country, was one third of the output of 1913.<sup>37</sup> Following the estimations of the Office, plant production suffered a damage of 20-25% in 1919, 35-40% in 1920, 45-50% in 1921, compared with the output of 1913. This deficit in production equalled 950, 800 and 650 mill. gold crowns respectively. From these amounts 40%, 20%, and 15% were due to the Rumanian occupation in the corresponding years. As the sum total reflects, Hungary's economy was deprived of a production of 637.5 mill. gold crowns in these three years (380 + 160 + 97.5). This was an enormous amount; as counted at prices of 1913, it corresponded to 300 mill. gold crowns, that was a loss of 100 mill. K a year. But the indirect effect of the industrial decline was even heavier than the indirect losses of the agriculture.

<sup>37</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 55, 56, 57.

The loans to replace damages caused by requisitions and the imports to be paid in foreign currency made production extremely expensive. Imports could be accomplished only by paying in foreign currency; thus the balance of foreign trade worsened also the increasing budget deficit. In context with this topic the question of labour force has also to be mentioned. Under the Rumanian occupation the number of unemployed raised to an extent never seen earlier. Not only the depression of the industrial life caused this dilemma. On account of a lack of raw material and energy the war-time boom had already ceased before the occupation. For social-political reasons the Hungarian Soviet Republic insisted on keeping the working places but Rumania was not interested in Hungary's economic life nor to keep organized production running. By the end of 1919 unemployment culminated and the dismantled plants only increased the number of the starving population.

The losses of Hungarian railways (*Magyar Állami Vasúttak*, MÁV) were 7.2 bill. K (29.54% of the total damage). 54.9% of this amount fell to the share of the wagon park (tables 10, 11 and 13).<sup>38</sup> As a result of the requisitions only that part of the vehicle stock remained Hungarian property which was of poor quality. From 2,031 carriages left, only 615 were ready for use, from 100,000 trucks 17,070 were left, yet only 10,000 were in a good working condition.

From the engines, 276 already had an age of 40-50 years. The whole engine park was under permanent repair. Already in the spring of 1918 – Hungary was still at war – 35% of the engine park permanently was in the repair shops. This rate amounted to 45% in 1920 which indicates the miserable quality of the engines. The percentage of carriages under repair in these years (1918-1920) was 28% and 43% respectively, and 13% and 22.6% respectively of the trucks.<sup>39</sup> Meeting transport demands, the MÁV would have needed another 1,100 carriages and 15,000 trucks which would have required an investment of 90-95 mill. gold crowns, estimated on the basis of 1913. These losses and the compensation of the damages only could be made up fifteen years later.

The share of losses in public offices and institutions was 3.9%.

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<sup>38</sup> The manager of the Rumanian railways declared that from 26th of September 1919 on engine and wagon requisitions will stop. In spite of this official announcement 11,206 more wagons were transported to Rumania. Rumania acknowledged the fact and promised to return the wagons. In 1923 Rumania still owed 3,000 wagons to Hungary besides those put into requisitions earlier. LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 374.

<sup>39</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 378, 293.

	<i>The damages of equipments and installations (of educational establishments, 1,000 K)</i>	<i>The damages of the buildings</i>
Kindergarten	690	1,012
Primary schools	24,819	8,196
Secondary schools	7,231	3,970
Higher elementary schools	3,279	1,087
Industrial trade schools	4,181	72
Universities and colleges	18,500	43

These losses could only be made up by the end of the 1920s.

The losses of the households (listed under «other» categories) caused by individual looting and by delivery orders of certain Rumanian headquarters should also be mentioned. The main items were clothes, shoes, underwear, furniture, etc. totalling to a value of 277.8 mill. K.

There were, of course, personal tragedies, too, the killing of 647 people (among them also children) was not due to any military action. To escape from a personal tragedy or not sometimes was the whim of a sheer chance.<sup>40</sup>

The main reason given for such action was that the murdered persons were bolshevists. In fact, there were red soldiers among them, but they were captured unarmed and they were under the protection of the international military law. However, it has also to be mentioned that when 66 people were killed all of a sudden in the country near the town of Hódmezővásárhely the Rumanian military commander had the instigators executed.

Now also some items should be given about the damages caused to foreign citizens under Rumanian occupation. The sum total of their damages was 177,25 mill. K.

<sup>40</sup> It remained an open question e.g. whether a 12 years old boy was wilfully hit by a bullet or if it was only an accident caused by Rumanian target practice. In fact 11 red soldiers were executed in a Hungarian prison. *Béketárgyalások* [Peace Treaty]. Budapest 1923. Vol I, 228-257.

*The damages by countries (1.000 K)*<sup>41</sup>

Czechoslovakia	78,240	Fiume	1,400
Germany	43,910	Greece	1,210
Italy	36,600	France	225
Austria	7,830	Serbia	160
Denmark	3,500	Switzerland	160
Poland	2,200	USA	10
Great Britain	1,790	Turkey	5

Finally, a regrettably overshadowed question has also to be met with: What did Rumania pay for the requisitions? From the damages of 7,889,707 mill. K caused to *private property* (agriculture, mining, industry, trade, etc.), 178,55 mill. K were reimbursed by Rumania completing this amount with a voucher of 31,96 mill. K. Summing up our investigations it can be put down that 32.28% of the damages concerned the private and 67.72% state property. But there was no word about the recompensation of the losses caused by occupation to the Hungarian state itself.

*2. The damages caused by the Czech occupation*

The Czech occupation in Hungary and the attitude of the forces was rather moderate keeping themselves to the rules of the international conventions. The share of the damages caused by them was 1.22% of the total amount of the damages (table 1). Losses of private property were 70,974 mill. K (=22.14%), the rest (77.86%) concerned state possessions (table 2).

From the private property agriculture suffered most (table 2), and first of all the losses in number of the livestock were high (table 3 and 4). The losses of the industry ran up to 1.2% (67.2% for metallurgy, 24.3% for the tobacco industry, table 7). Other private losses (registered under «other damages») were due to the unfortunate idea of the Czech authorities to give over a village (Sajószentpéter) as a prey to the forces. The blood toll of ten persons falling victims to atrocities were also counted in (1.2 mill. K).<sup>42</sup>

As to the state property the Hungarian railways suffered the heaviest losses (73.20%; tables 10, 11, 13), and especially the damages of the vehicle park were

<sup>41</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 415, 422. – On 14th of March 1924 in Geneva Hungary gave up its compensation demands concerning the occupation damages caused by Rumania as a result of the talks with Rumania.

<sup>42</sup> LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 422, 13-14. The famous public air collections of upper Hungary suffered heavy losses as well. By way of illustration two towns (Iglo and Lőcse) were subjects to free plunder carried out by Czech soldiers and former Serbian prisoners of war. But besides personal ambitions 75 wagons of treasure of art were transported only to Prague from the palaces of Upper Hungary (furniture, carpets, goblets, china, paintings).

high (88.3%). Among the public offices and establishments the educational institutions were mostly concerned (11.4 mill. K).

The question of recompensation of the damages caused by the occupation was settled similarly as with Rumania. For requisitions 1.1 mill. K were paid and a voucher of 12,000 K was conveyed. This sum in value only corresponded to 0.35% of the damages caused by them.

### 3. *The damages caused by the Serbian occupation*

The Serbian occupation lasted for more than 2 1/2 years causing damages of 1,405,377 mill. K, 5.43% of the total loss (table 1).

As to the reason of this long staying: In order to prevent atrocities being earlier the results of the Rumanian withdrawal<sup>43</sup> the Allies urged the government in Belgrade to evacuate the occupied territories (spring of 1920) and to withdraw Serbian forces back to the lines fixed in the convention (13th of June 1919). Serbia, however, ignored these summons hoping Hungary would not accept the conditions of the peace treaty thus also giving legal ground for the annexation of the occupied territories. But at their surprise Hungary did accept the hard conditions and as a respond Serbian authorities gave orders for further requisitions (November 1920, March 1921) already suspended in April of 1920.<sup>44</sup> These actions called the attention of the British government to the inadmissible measures taken by Serbian forces, and even the British foreign minister, Lord Curzon, disapproved in his speech delivered to the House of Lords the suppression and exploitation of these territories.<sup>45</sup>

To the Serbian government it appeared quite clear that the withdrawal of the forces could not be postponed interminably. Thus a solution had to be found for fixing that moment. The political aims of the Socialist Party of Pécs (a town in South Hungary) founded somewhat earlier, came in due time. This new political

<sup>43</sup> In his report to Lord Curzon Sir Thomas B. Hohler, British general consul to Hungary expressed his hopes that the occupation of South Hungary would not bring about all those cruelties performed and sufferings caused by Rumanian troops. Public Record Office, London FO 371/3552 C 201.953. Another report (25th of May 1920) of Sir Thomas B. Hohler to the British foreign minister informs on the large scale (first of all) railway requisitions carried out by Serbia ignoring the armistice agreement of 13th of November 1918. FO 371/3552 C 201.953. Quoted by SZABÓ Erzsébet N.: Angol dokumentumok a Baranyai Misszió működéséről [British documents on the activity of the Mission in the county of Baranya]. In: *Történelmi Szemle* 24 (1981) No. 4, 611-624.

<sup>44</sup> *The Hungarian Questions in the British Parliament, 1919-1930*. London 1933, 228-229. Quoted by SZABÓ.

<sup>45</sup> On the territories occupied by Serbia the National Council was proclaimed (8th of August 1920) also ordering municipal elections. The Council was headed by Béla Linder, earlier defence minister of the Károlyi government though members of the Socialist Party were also among the town-councillors.

party pleaded for the annexation of South Hungary by Serbia in those days.<sup>46</sup> These ideas were supported by Belgrade. The result of the joint efforts was the declaration of the *Baranya* (a county in South Hungary) *Baja* (a town in South Hungary) *Serbian Hungarian Republic* under the protectorate of Serbia. The republic was proclaimed on 14th of August 1921 and lasted for eight days. It was overthrown by Hungarian troops marching in on 22nd of August. This event also marked the date when Serbian occupation had come to an end.<sup>47</sup>

The agricultural damages caused by the Serbian occupation are shown on tables 2, 3, 4, the industrial losses on table 7. On the whole the losses of private property were 30.82%, those concerning Hungarian state possessions 69.18%.

Among the measures taken by Serbian officials there was a special one not applied by any of the other occupation forces, i.e. the sequestration.<sup>48</sup> All pretexts were used to oust the owners from their farms and plants in order to replace them with their own meritorious soldiers. The accounts of these properties were made by Serbian commissioners and the surplus was transferred to Belgrade to the so called *Uprava Fondova*.<sup>49</sup>

The office had also listed the share of the damages caused by sequestration.

	<i>Damages of properties caused by sequestration (%)</i>	<i>the share of damages caused by sequestration in relation to the total amount of losses (%)</i>
Agriculture	86.1	59.9
Mining, industry, transport	4.7	12.5
Public offices and establishments	2.0	1.3
Other damages	7.2	20.9

Agriculture suffered most by sequestration (86.1%), the table below reflects the catalogue of the losses.

<sup>46</sup> The British colonel Francis William Gosset proposed (15th of August 1921) to the British High Commissioner to do everything in order to check further Serbian requisitions. GB. 26. FO 371/6132. Quoted by SZABÓ.

<sup>47</sup> Sequestration is known as a legal measure of the civil law and carried into effect by the belligerents on foreign citizens in war time.

<sup>48</sup> The list of the damages was sent to the Compensation Committee in Paris. The material was not sent back. – The Piarist Order paid 190,000 Serbian crowns to the lawyers to escape sequestration. LAKY: *Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai*, 425.

<sup>49</sup> LAKY: *Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai*, 427, 428.

	<i>Damages in %</i>
Crops and food-stuffs	70.5
Beverages	19.5
Fodder	65.1
Lesser damages	65.7
Forestry	87.4
Cargoes, daily wages	10.3
Equipment	51.0
Animals	41.0
Breeding animals	45.4

Sequestered forest damages were most extended though plant cultivation losses reached two thirds as well.

In case of the Serbian occupation the indirect damages were even heavier than those of the occupation itself because the surplus of the agricultural production of 0,5 mill. kat.hold was sent to Serbia.<sup>50</sup> These farms had to make great efforts later to make up for example for their animal stock and machine park.

Considering the rather small territory occupied by Serbian troops, the losses of the Hungarian railways were very heavy (tables 10, 11, 13). Practically, there hardly were any facilities left for cargo transport. The big railway service station in Pécs was dismantled and 878 persons of the labour staff were dismissed.

In order to help the unemployed the Hungarian government had to transfer their wages (1.539 mill. K) and to support the retired railway men with cheap food and clothes. In this context it is worthwhile mentioning that pursuant to Act III, §48 of the Hague Convention the Serbian authorities should have paid the wages of the railway employees in the territories concerned. Yet this Act of the Hague Convention was ignored as so many other items of the different agreements.

The losses of the private households disclosed on table 2 under the category «other groups» above all affected the owners of the sequestered properties (12.7 mill. K). The damages of personal injuries amounted to 2.1 mill. K.

The main reason for these grievances was that the detention of persons in large number had financial consequences.<sup>51</sup> The death toll of the atrocities was four.

For the damages caused by the occupation Serbia had paid 2,804,694 K in cash, additionally a voucher of 3,094,214 K was conveyed to Hungary. Both transfers corresponded to 0.42% of the total damages.

Finally we give some information about the land reform carried out by Serbian officials on the occupied territory. These steps also indicated the ultimate purpose, i.e. to manage this part of Hungary as a future protectorate of Serbia.<sup>52</sup> Already in

<sup>50</sup> 1 acre = 0,703 kat.hold, 1 acre = 0,466 ha.

<sup>51</sup> See table 1.

<sup>52</sup> Because of pressure of space we don't intend to deal with the Serbian landreform, yet it should only be pointed out that it was performed with nationalistic intentions.

the spring of 1919 the population had been summoned to present their demands for land lease. Three categories were set up:

- a) petitioners not possessing land,
- b) petitioners possessing less land than their family members could cultivate,
- c) petitioners possessing more land than their family members could cultivate.

At the end of 1919 2.5 kat.hold grounds were let on lease for each petitioner. They paid 80-120 K/kat.hold a year, 75% of the farm rent left with the owners of the land though they never received it. The realization of the orders was in contrast to the original aim of the decree because the number of the family members and their financial situation was left out of consideration.

Already in June 1920 the Serbian authorities decided on a further landreform carried out by a Commission. The local officials had registered the claimants for land but only those were taken into consideration who did not own land themselves. The Hungarian and German householders received 1 kat.hold, and their children under age 0,50 kat.hold each. The Catholic Serbians (*bunyevec*) and also their grown up children got twice as much though many of them were already landowners. The list was sent to Belgrade for approbation but it was arbitrarily modified rather soon, and a great number of invalids, widows, and petitioners not owning grounds were left being replaced by persons not entitled to receive grounds. The grounds of those very few landowners not possessing land earlier yet, (remaining on the list) by chance were taken over as tenancy by well off people, sometimes as a result of an act of terrorism. Thus this kind of landreform by confiscating the land property from larger farms failed, it only aimed at taking away the grounds of the Hungarian and German larger farms, leaving behind but a desorganized economy.<sup>53</sup>

#### 4. *The damages caused by the French occupation*

There was a small corner in Hungary where none of the occupying forces entered but the French. The French had set up an example to their allies how in practice to interpret the question of jurisdiction obligatory to all occupying forces. It is only a pity that the French authorities did not pay attention to the abuses of their friends.

The French occupation lasted for nearly one year in the areas of the two towns of Szeged and Makó in South Hungary. The damages caused by them were 51,266 mill K (0.12% of the total losses), private property losses came up to 5.80%, 94.20% concerned state property (table 2).

Among the damages the Hungarian railways suffered the heaviest losses, i.e. 58,80% of the total damage caused by French occupation (tables 10, 11 and 13), and especially the losses of the wagon park must be underlined because the wagons used for French troop transport were left in Serbia.

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<sup>53</sup> There are no data available of the extent of the territories under landreform, but the amount of the rent is known: it was 160 K a year (1920/1921) and an extra of 33 K had to be paid.

The damages of the public offices and establishments (10,190 mill. K) caused by quartering the French troops (schools, hospitals, public buildings, private flats) should also be supplemented by a 2 mill. K tax deficit due to the large amount of tax-free tobacco brought into Hungary by France.

The loss of 7.9 mill. K regarding military establishments included a share of 3.2 mill. K, which fell to destroyed military buildings.

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We have tried to give a survey on Hungary's post World War I occupation and the enormous losses caused by foreign troops. But worst was still ahead. On 4th of June 1920 the peace treaty was signed by Hungary losing two thirds of its territory to be exact, a thousand years old Central European country was dismembered and proclaimed the scapegoat for all disasters. Reclus, the well-known French geographer wrote that the great advantage of Hungary was due to the geographical unity of its territory. It was he who considered Hungary – from a geographical point of view – the most continuous part of Europe.<sup>54</sup> And following his train of thought, both dismembering Hungary and changing the map of Central Europe to such an extent also initiated the first step to split up Europe itself.

### Appendix

Table 1	Amount of damages caused by occupation of Hungary
Table 2	Compilation of the amount of damages caused by occupation of Hungary
Table 3	Compilation of the amount of damages in agriculture caused by occupation of Hungary
Table 4	Losses of the producers caused by requisition of...
Table 5	The sowing area under Rumanian occupation
Table 6	Plant cultivation on the territory of Hungary
Table 7	Industrial branches, damages
Table 8	Requisition damages of the industry
Table 9	Requisition damages of the industry
Table 10	Losses of the Hungarian State Railways, local trains, and private railway companies
Table 11	Losses of the Hungarian State Railways caused by requisition
Table 12	Head of Animals on the territory of Hungary
Table 13	Requisitions of foreign trucks and wagons

<sup>54</sup> Quoted by PETHŐ Sándor: Világostól Trianonig, 1849-1920 [From Világos to Trianon, 1849-1920]. Budapest 1925, 249.

Table 1

*Amount of damages caused by occupation of Hungary  
(expressed in crowns August 1919 by value)<sup>1</sup>*

	<i>1,000 crowns</i>	<i>%</i>
Rumanian occupation	24,438,838	93.23
Czechoslovak occupation	320,582	1.22
Serbian occupation <sup>2</sup>	1,405,377	5.43
French occupation	51,266	0.12
Sum total	26,216,063	100.00

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 465.

Table 2

*Compilation of the amount of damages caused by occupation of Hungary*

	<i>Rumania</i>	<i>Czecho- slovakia</i>	<i>Serbia</i>	<i>France</i>
	<i>in 1,000 crowns</i>			
Agriculture	3,879,312	45,003	288,426	1,417
Industry	2,364,641	6,179	67,878	528
Mining	2,600	595	1,216	—
Trade	948,653	2,470	6,632	—
Public offices, public institutions	972,359	12,521	301,281	10,190
Railways	7,220,265	234,678	333,407	30,160
Post, telegraph offices	203,985	—	19,930	39
Military dead stock	8,104,649	—	315,945	7,900
Military police	47,873	2,401	1,608	—
Other damages	658,501	16,727	68,889	1,032
Sum total	24,438,838	320,583	1,405,212	51,260

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the Serbian amount of damages our source presents the amount partly in Hungarian crowns and partly in Serbian crowns. For a better understanding the author gives the amount in crowns having converted the Serbian currency into Hungarian. 100 crowns = 12.68 Sfr (Zürich, August of 1919), 100 Hungarian crowns = 361.9 Serbian crowns. The amount of the damages of the Serbian occupation was 5,085,459,000 Serbian crowns, but on account of reduced exchange rates the final score of some tables are 165,000 Hungarian crowns less.

<sup>2</sup> From 1st of December 1918 Serbian-Croatian-Slavonic Kingdom, hereafter Serbia.

	<i>in %</i>			
Agriculture	15.87	14.04	20.53	2.77
Industry	9.68	1.93	4.83	1.04
Mining	0.01	0.19	0.09	—
Trade	4.03	0.77	0.47	—
Public offices, public institutions	3.98	3.91	21.44	19.0
Railways	29.54	73.20	23.73	58.79
Post, telegraph offices	0.83	—	1.42	0.08
Military dead stock	33.16	—	22.48	15.41
Military police	0.20	0.75	0.11	—
Other damages	2.70	5.21	4.90	2.01
Sum total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 134, 150, 160, 427, 463, 464.

**Table 3**

*Compilation of the amount of damages in agriculture caused by occupation of Hungary (in %)*

	<i>Rumania</i>	<i>Czecho- slovakia</i>	<i>Serbia</i>
Loss of buildings	—	7.5	6.8
Crop and food	13.2	5.8	23.5
Prinks	6.1	10.0	2.8
Animals	56.3	55.2	21.0
Fodder	5.7	2.7	6.6
Catering, transportation of military forces and compulsory work	7.5	2.3	7.2
Requisition of vehicles	2.9	—	—
Machines and tools	5.1	7.0	—
Material	0.3	—	10.1
Firewood and timber	0.7	—	—
Lumbering	—	—	22.0
Other agricultural damages	2.2	9.5	—
Sum total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 157, 420, 428.

Table 4

*Losses of the producers caused by requisition of...*

<i>Damages</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Rumania</i>	<i>Czecho- slovakia</i>	<i>Serbia</i>
Wheat and rye	q <sup>1</sup>	798,608	1,467	136,021
Flour and bread expressed in wheat units <sup>2</sup>	q	54,236	2,165	6,360
Barley, oats, maize	q	843,670	960	120,992
Legumes	q	7,373	—	5,969
Potatoes	q	135,274	830	33,394
Fodder	q	1,844,860	7,554	77,861
Green fodder	q	135,983	1,535	15,603
Different fodders	q	36,167	17	61,131
Bran	q	1,375	10	66
Sugar beets	q	13,725	—	—
Tobacco	q	210,000	—	—
Wine	hl <sup>3</sup>	132,961	2,559	—
Vegetables	q	68,341	—	7,762
Fruit	q	53,198	—	3,078
Straw	q	291,237	1,458	103,505
Milk and milk products	q	819	—	120
Fat	q	3,990	—	678
Bacon	q	9,304	—	—
Poultry	piece	1.2 mill.	—	31,204
Eggs	piece	2.7 mill.	—	257,464
Different foods	q	—	—	2,126
Wool	q	36,557	—	—
Breeder bulls	piece	1,750	17	346
Cows	piece	22,359	86	4,182
Heifers and steers	piece	24,128	371	2,632
Oxen	piece	18,417	104	1,905
Calves	piece	3,216	22	444
Slaughter cattle	piece	8,988	112	646
Stud-horses	piece	2,112	11	238
Stock-mares	piece	5,351	48	595
State owned horses	piece	273	—	809
Riding horses	piece	1,247	—	—

<sup>1</sup> 1 q = 100 kg.<sup>2</sup> Grinding rate 75, 0.50 kg flour = 1.50 kg bread.<sup>3</sup> 1 hl = 100 liter.

Draught-horses	piece	39,382	831	2,492
Foals	piece	3,090	—	—
Boars for service	piece	977	—	—
Brood sows	piece	10,655	98	1,335
Pigs	piece	24,271	282	5,034
Piglets	piece	6,317	—	—
Fattened pigs	piece	14,497	—	—
Bucks	piece	1,244	2	36
Lambs	piece	12,880	—	6,887
Sheep	piece	62,278	488	—
Colonies of bees	piece	1,200-1,400	—	—
Steam ploughs	piece	29	—	5
Locomobiles	piece	124	—	15
Motor ploughs	piece	32	2	1
Ploughs	piece	4,458	—	378
Harrows	piece	2,483	—	90
Riddles	piece	641	—	21
Chopping machines	piece	703	—	15
Sowing machines	piece	833	—	47
Threshers	piece	238	—	10
Petrol engines	piece	75	—	3
Smaller machines and tools	piece	1,716	11	415
Farm wagons and cars	piece	11,205	600	608
Harnesses	piece	27,040	1,162	1,534
Sacks (75 kg)	piece	714,146	3,836	194,708
Canvasses	piece	2,977	33	462
Barrels (of different size)	piece	—	565	1,111
Motorcars	piece	—	4	2
Firewood and timber	m <sup>3</sup>	84,553	1,800	330,177

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 186, 192-197, 220-225, 236-249, 253, 421-422, 430-433.

Table 5

*The sowing area under Rumanian occupation (kat.hold<sup>1</sup>)*

	<i>Sum total of the sowing area</i>			
	1913	1917	1920	1921
On territories occupied by Rumania	6,751,017	6,160,996	5,794,138	6,042,780
On territories unoccupied by Rumania	1,247,613	1,224,690	1,195,151	1,218,462
Sum total of the sowing area	7,998,630	7,385,686	6,989,289	7,261,242

Sources: LAKY: *Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai*, 287.

Table 6

*Plant cultivation on the territory of Hungary 1920*

	<i>Area under crops, kat.hold<sup>1</sup></i>				<i>Average crop, q/kat.hold<sup>1</sup></i>				<i>Crop quantity, mill. q</i>			
	1913	1917	1920	1921	1913	1917	1920	1921	1913	1917	1920	1921
Wheat	2,260,700	2,041,130	1,662,955	1,718,651	7.8	6.7	5.4	6.6	17.7	13.7	9.1	11.4
Rye	1,071,499	1,008,812	892,309	844,050	7.2	5.8	4.9	5.7	7.8	5.9	4.4	4.8

<sup>1</sup> 1 acre = 0,703 kat. hold, 1 acre = 0.46 ha.

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Barley	865,253	692,126	803,633	762,807	8.7	4.8	5.2	5.3	7.5	3.3	4.2	4.0
Oats	510,384	469,880	464,886	480,562	7.6	4.4	5.7	5.0	3.9	2.8	2.7	2.4
Maize	1,311,359	1,102,247	1,291,563	1,306,347	11.5	5.8	8.9	4.8	15.1	6.4	11.5	6.3
Potatoes	365,519	358,616	372,737	411,464	50.9	23.7	45.3	25.7	18.6	8.5	16.9	10.6
Sugar beets	105,013	69,091	46,901	63,484	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clover	145,023	186,591	185,876	204,314	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lucerne	193,701	176,603	223,781	267,196	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fodder beets	160,332	156,609	159,075	203,291	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Green maize	123,064	102,609	116,922	148,895	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vetches	313,479	229,471	191,593	253,046	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 290, 296.

Table 7

*Industrial branches, damages*

<i>Industrial branches<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Rumania</i>		<i>Czechoslovakia</i>		<i>Serbia</i>	
	<i>1,000 crowns</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1,000 crowns</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1,000 crowns</i>	<i>%</i>
Iron and metal industry	1,336,175	56.5	4,160	67.2	1,583	2.6
Machine industry	459,019	19.4	-	-	316	0.5
Stone, pottery, and glass industry	14,581	0.6	69	1.2	1,371	2.3

<sup>1</sup> In case of Yugoslavia the sum total of the damages of certain industrial groups does not equal the sum total of the damages caused to the whole industry, because our source only mentioned the damages of the big industries. The difference is 8,012,000 Hungarian crowns, and this was the amount of losses of the small industry.

Timber and bone industry	2,455	0.1	-	-	97	0.2
Leather and bristle fur industry	33,942	1.4	-	-	1,606	2.7
Spinning and weaving industry	101,880	4.3	-	-	5,923	9.9
Clothing industry	83,718	3.5	-	-	-	-
Paper industry	47	o <sup>2</sup>	-	-	22	o
Food industry	94,288	4.0	120	1.9	5,259	8.9
Tobacco industry	121,782	5.2	1,500	24.3	43,582	72.8
Chemical industry	100,242	4.2	-	-	17	o
Reproductive industry	7,993	0.3	-	-	54	0.1
Catering industry	3,903	0.2	-	-	-	-
Building industry	1,519	0.1	-	-	36	o
Other industrial branches	3,097	0.2	330	5.4	-	-
Sum total	2,364,641	100.0	6,179	100.0	59,886	100.0

Sources: LAKY: *Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai*, 317, 421, 446.

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<sup>2</sup> o = incomputable.

Table 8

**Requisition damages of the industry**

<i>Industrial branches</i>	<i>Patterns of the damages, %</i>						<i>Sum total</i>
	<i>Machines</i>	<i>Equipment</i>	<i>Tools</i>	<i>Raw material</i>	<i>Products</i>	<i>Other industrial damages</i>	
Iron and metal industry	46.6	18.0	0.1	8.1	26.3	0.9	100.0
Machine industry	19.2	4.0	0.7	13.5	57.1	5.5	100.0
Stone, pottery, and glass industry	27.5	19.0	3.8	17.0	16.3	16.4	100.0
Timber and bone industry	32.4	8.4	4.6	15.2	10.9	28.5	100.0
Leather and bristle fur industry	—	—	—	0.1	99.2	0.7	100.0
Spinning and weaving industry	34.0	2.4	—	6.1	50.1	7.4	100.0
Clothing industry	8.0	4.9	0.1	3.1	83.1	0.8	100.0
Paper industry	—	—	—	—	100.0	—	100.0
Food industry	18.2	16.7	0.4	2.2	47.1	15.4	100.0
Tobacco industry	8.3	0.3	—	85.2	4.7	1.5	100.0
Chemical industry	3.8	79.7	—	0.2	8.9	7.4	100.0
Reproductive industry	69.6	2.4	—	5.6	17.2	5.2	100.0
Catering industry	—	20.6	—	—	—	79.4	100.0
Coal mining industry	—	31.3	—	27.6	—	41.1	100.0
Building industry	0.9	61.2	2.8	4.3	—	30.8	100.0
Other industrial branches	2.6	—	—	—	4.0	93.4	100.0

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 317.

Table 9

*Requisition damages of the industry*

<i>Industrial branches</i>	<i>From the amount of industrial damages, %</i>						<i>Total damages of the industry</i>
	<i>Machines</i>	<i>Equipment</i>	<i>Tools</i>	<i>Raw material</i>	<i>Products</i>	<i>Other industrial damages</i>	
Iron and metal industry	78.4	65.6	19.0	37.4	42.3	15.5	56.5
Machine industry	11.1	5.0	60.2	21.4	31.5	32.1	19.4
Stone, pottery, and glass industry	0.5	0.8	10.3	0.9	0.3	3.0	0.6
Timber and bone industry	0.1	0.1	2.1	0.1	0.0	0.9	0.1
Leather and bristle fur industry	–	–	–	–	4.1	0.3	1.5
Spinning and weaving industry	4.4	0.6	–	2.1	6.1	9.6	4.3
Clothing industry	0.8	1.1	1.6	0.9	8.4	0.9	3.5
Paper industry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Food industry	2.2	4.3	6.0	0.7	5.3	18.5	4.0
Tobacco industry	1.3	0.1	–	36.0	0.7	2.4	5.2
Chemical industry	0.5	21.8	–	0.1	1.1	9.4	4.2
Reproductive industry	0.7	–	–	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.3
Catering industry	–	0.2	–	–	–	3.9	0.2
Coal mining industry	–	0.2	–	0.2	–	1.0	0.1
Building industry	–	0.2	0.8	–	–	0.6	0.1
Other industrial branches	–	–	–	–	–	1.4	–
Sum total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 317.

Table 10

**Losses of the Hungarian State Railways, local trains, and private railway companies  
(1,000 crowns)**

<i>Damages</i>	<i>Rumania</i>	<i>Czecho- slovakia</i>	<i>Serbia</i>	<i>France</i>
Track maintenance	50,423	250	5,443	231
Turn-over	403,288	10,300	2,459	—
Safety appliances	6,833	5,550	14,369	1,432
Material (railway-sleepers, rails)	2,005,638	5,550	72,727	—
Vehicles	3,965,494	205,200	202,680	28,354
Loss of the employees (loss of wages, etc.)	6,575	—	24,344	—
Loss of transport income	1,168	—	—	—
Food	1,960	—	—	—
Loss of fare	483,000	—	9,561	—
Other damages	—	5,550	—	2
Losses of the Hungarian State Railways	6,924,379	232,300	331,583	30,019
Losses of the intercity trains and private railway companies	295,886	2,400	1,824	—
Sum total	7,220,265	234,700	333,407	30,019

Sources: *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* (1923) No. 9-12, 406-410; LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai, 372-376, 420-422, 452-454, 464.

Table 11

*Losses of the Hungarian State Railways caused by requisition (pieces)*

<i>Damages</i>	<i>Rumania</i>	<i>Czecho- slovakia</i>	<i>Serbia</i>	<i>France</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Sum total</i>
Engines	1,302	25	71	—	1,398
Heating trucks	35	—	—	—	35
Court wagons	20	20	—	—	20
Dining cars	45	45	—	—	45
Sleeping cars	33	33	—	—	33
Railway carriages Ist class	382	—	—	—	—
Railway carriages IIrd class	341	86	143	40	1,971
Railway carriages IIIrd class	1,019	—	—	—	—
Luggage wagons	533	—	—	—	—
Conductor wagons	128	38	40	3	742
Covered wagons	7,754	—	—	—	—
Uncovered and flat wagons	6,448	1,365	1,315	101	16,882
Tank wagons	529	—	—	—	529

Sources: *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* (1923) No. 9-12, 406-410; Laky: *Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárai*, 422, 453, 464.

<sup>1</sup> Trucks and wagons used by the French army and left in Yugoslavia.

Table 12

*Head of Animals on the territory of Hungary (1920)*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Pigs</i>	<i>Sheep</i>
1911	1,418,636	669,544	2,296,015	1,875,098
1918	1,520,262	552,756	2,653,618	1,407,266
1920	1,373,461	544,289	2,296,592	1,159,984

Sources: LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárjai, 302.

Table 13

*Requisitions of foreign trucks and wagons (pieces)*

	<i>Rumania</i>	<i>Czecho- slovakia</i>	<i>France</i>
Railway carriages	172 <sup>1</sup>	1,634	2
Covered wagons	14,714	1,594	174
Tank wagons	1,815	-	-
Service wagons for post officers and conductors	129	18	1
Sum total	16,875	3,246	177

Sources: *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* (1923) No. 9-12, 406-410; LAKY: Csonka-Magyarország megszállásának közgazdasági kárjai, 42, 422.

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<sup>1</sup> 100 belonging to Austria.