UDK 336.717.061 (497.11) (091)

POLJOPRIVREDNI KREDIT U VREME STVARANJA KRALJEVINE SHS NA PODRUČJU VAŽENJA AUSTRO-UGARSKOG ZAKONODAVSTVA

Prof. dr Dragana Gnjatović

Megatrend univerzitet Beograd
dgnjatovic@megatrend.edu.rs

Povodom osamdeset godina od osnivanja Privilegovane agrarne banke - peti deo

Rezime

Seljaštvo Kraljevine SHS koje je živelo u nekadašnjim austro-ugarskim pokrajinama moglo je da se zadužuje lakše, brže i povoljnije od zemljoradnika sa područja koja su do državnog ujedinjenja 1918. godine bila u sastavu Kraljevine Srbije. Razlozi za to bili su višestruki. Prvo, početkom XX veka, u Austro-Ugarskoj je bila razvijena jaka mreža dobro organizovanih privatnih i javnih finansijskih institucija čiji su zajmovi bili dostupni poljoprivrednicima. Istovremeno, zemljoradnicima u Kraljevini Srbiji na raspolaganju su bili samo zajmovi poljoprivrednih kreditnih zadruga, pa je cvetalo zelenaštvo. Drugo, za vreme svetskog rata u Austro-Ugarskoj, bankarske institucije i nacionalne kreditne zadruge, sem onih srpskih, nisu prekidale sa radom, tako da nije bilo zastoja u finansiranju razvoja poljoprivrede. Sa druge strane, ratna razaranja u Kraljevini Srbiji opustošila su sela i prekinula rad poljoprivrednih kreditnih zadruga. Treće, posle državnog ujedinjenja 1918. godine, u oblasti poljoprivrednog kredita sve veći jaz su stvarale nasleđene razlike u pravnim sistemima na područjima važenja sprskih i austro-ugarskih zakona. Tzv. seljački zakoni Kraljevine Srbije bili su kočnica razvoju poljoporivrednog kredita, za razliku od austrijskog i mađarskog zakonodavstva koji je išlo u susret potrebama finansiranja poljoprivredne proizvodnje.

UDC 336.717.061 (497.11) (091)

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AT THE TIME OF CREATION OF THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES IN THE TERITORIES OF JURISDICTION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN LEGISLATURE

Prof Dragana Gnjatović PhD

Megatrend University Belgrade
dgnjatovic@megatrend.edu.rs

On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the establishment of The Privileged Agrarian Bank - part five

Summary

Peasantry of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, living in the former Austro-Hungarian provinces, had access to borrowing funds in an easier and more favourable manner than the farming population inhabiting territories of the Kingdom of Serbia until the unification in 1918. The reasons for this were multi-fold. Firstly, in the early 20th century, there was a strongly developed network of well organised private and public financial institutions in the Austro-Hungary, offering farmers easy access to loans. At the same time, farming population in the Kingdom of Serbia had available only the loans provided by the agricultural crediting cooperatives, and thus the loan-sharking flourished. Secondly, during the time of World War One, banking institutions and national crediting cooperatives in Austro-Hungary, unlike the Serbian ones, continued their work without interruption, thus without causing any delays in financing agricultural development. On the other hand, war-thorn villages in the Kingdom of Serbia were devastated and the work of agricultural crediting cooperatives suspended. Thirdly, after the unification of the State in 1918, in the field of agricultural crediting, a growing gap appeared created by the inherited differences in the legal systems prevailing in the territories under jurisdiction of Serbia and those under the Austro-Hungarian legislature. In the Kingdom of Serbia, the so-called farming or homestead laws were a stumbling block for the development of agricultural crediting, unlike to the Austrian and Hungarian legislature availing itself to the needs for financing agricultural production.

Područje važenja austro-ugarskih zakona u Kraljevini SHS

Dvojna monarhija se raspala 1918. godine, ali je njeno zakonodavstvo preživelo. U pokrajinama koje su pre svetskog rata bile u njenom sastavu, a koje su posle rata ušle u sastav jugoslovenske države, ostali su da važe svi propisi kojima je bio uređen poljoprivredni kredit. U Sloveniji i Bosni i Hercegovini primenjivano je austrijsko zakonodavstvo, dok su u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji i Vojvodini važili mađarski zakoni.

Ključna razlika između srpskog i austro-ugarskog zakonodavstva u oblasti poljopivrednog kredita bila je u načinu na koji je bila tretirana kreditna sposobnost zemljoradnka. Austro-ugarsko zakonodavstvo nije ni na koji način dovodilo u pitanje punu kreditnu sposobnost zemljoradnika a u srpskom zakonodavstvu postojao je čitav sistem tzv. seljačkih zakona kojima je ova sposobnost ograničavana ili uskraćivana [D. Gnjatović, 2009, (a)].

Kapitalističke institucije počele su da se razvijaju u Austrijskom Carstvu sredinom XIX veka. Donošenjem *Zakona o društvima* 1852. godine, stvoreni su uslovi za razvoj privatnog akcionarskog bankarstva, a usvajanjem austrijskog *Zakona o zadrugarstvu* 1873. godine i mađarskog Trgovačkog zakona 1875. godine, postavljen je poseban pravni okvir za osnivanje zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga.

Zemljoradnici u nekadašnjim austro-ugarskim pokrajinama koji su posedovali nepokretnosti mogli su nesmetano da uzimaju hipotekarne zajmove privatnih novčanih zavoda. Institucija neotuđivog zemljišnog minimuma nije postojala u austrijskom pravu, osim u određenoj formi na području Vojne Granice do 1873. godine [D. Gnjatović, 2009, (b)]. Tako su seljaci bili u mogućnosti da nesmetano stave pod hipoteku nepokretnosti kojima su raspolagali, da bi došli do dugoročnih bankarskih zajmova. Vlasništvo nad zemljom koju su stavljali pod hipoteku, dokazivali su prepisom iz gruntovnice odnosno zemljišne knjige. Prepis je sadržao obaveštenja o zemljištu, sačinjena na osnovu katastra. Zahvaljujući katastru i zemljišnim knjigama, banke su mogle da računaju na sigurnost u obezbeđenju hipotekarnih zajmova koje su odobravale. Istovremeno, na području važenja srpskih zakona, nije bilo ni katastra ni zemljišnih knjiga. Jedini dokaz o vlasništvu na nekom imanju bila je tapija koja nije sadržala informacije o geometriji i kvalitetu nepokretnosti, neophodne za obezbeđenje hipotekarnog zajma.

Prvi katastar na području Habsburške monarhije bio je sačinjen u vreme Cara Josifa II (1765-1790), radi pravilnog oporezivanja nepokretnosti. Na osnovu katastarskog premera zemljišta, koji je započet 1785. godine, iznikao je i danas poznat Jozefinski katastar. Precizan katastarski premer zemljišta i osnivanje katastarskih uprava u svim pokrajinama Austrijske Carevine pokrenuo je Car Franc I (1804-1835). Njegovom naredbom iz 1817. godine o katastarskom premeru za potrebe oporezivanja nepokretnosti, bili su pokrenuti obimni geodetski radovi na osnovu kojih je tokom narednih godina uspostavljen katastar na području čitave Carevine. Zahvaljujući stručno urađenom katastru zemljišta i urednosti u vođenju gruntovnice, u Austrijskoj Carevini bio je izgrađen visok stepen imovinsko-pravne sigurnosti. Kada su 1848. godine seljaci oslobođeni kmetstva i postali vlasnici zemlje koju su obrađivali, bili su već uveliko stvoreni pravni i faktički uslovi za zaštitu njihovih novostečenih prava privatne svojine. Precizan katastar i uredna gruntovnica omogućiće

Vojna Krajina 1875 - Bertrand
Military Frontier 1875 - Bertrand

Teritory under the jurisdiction of the Austro-Hungarian legislature in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

Dual monarchy collapsed in 1918, but its legislature survived. In the provinces that were within its composition before the world war, but have joined the territory of the Yugoslav State, all the rules and regulations regulating agricultural crediting remained in force. In Slovenia, and also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austrian legislature was in force, while in Croatia and Slavonia, as well as in Vojvodina, Hungarian laws were in force.

The key difference between Serbian and Austro-Hungarian legislation in the field of agricultural crediting was the manner in which the capability of farmers to sustain credit liability was treated. Austro-Hungarian legislature in no manner questioned full capability of farmers for sustaining credit liability, while in Serbian legislature there was an entire system present of the so-called farming or homestead laws limiting or denying this capability [D. Gnjatovic, 2009, (a)].

Capitalist institutions started to develop in the Austrian Empire in mid-19th century. Passing of *Law on Societies* in 1852 created a climate favourable for the development of private shareholding banking, while the adoption of the Austrian *Law on Cooperatives* in 1873 and the Hungarian *Trading Law* in 1875 set the grounds for a specific legal framework accommodating establishment of farming crediting cooperatives.

Farming population, in the former Austro-Hungarian provinces, who were the proprietors of immovable property, had unobstructed access to mortgage loans provided by the private monetary institutes. The institution of inalienable land minimum did not exist in the Austrian law, except in a certain form applied in the areas of the Military Frontier until 1873 [D. Gnjatovic, 2009, (b)]. Thus the peasants were able to mortgage freely their immovable property in order to obtain long-term banking loans. Ownership over the mortgaged land property was verified by the transcript, excerpt from the "gruntovnica" or a land register. Excerpt from the land register contained data on the real estate property registered in the cadastre. Thanks to the cadastre and the land registers, banks were assured of the security in extending their mortgage loans. At the same time, in the areas were Serbian legislature was in force, there were neither cadastre records nor land registers. The only proof of ownership over the homestead property was the "tapia deed" which did not contain data on either geometry or quality of the immovable property, necessary for securing a mortgage loan.

The first cadastre in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy was compiled at the time of Emperor Joseph II (1765-1790), for purpose of proper and fair taxation of the immovable property. On the basis of the cadastre survey of the land property, initiated in 1785, there was a cadastre created known today as the Josephian Cadastre. The precise cadastre land survey and measurement and the setting up of cadastre directorates in all of the provinces within the Austrian Empire was initiated by Emperor Franz I (1804-1835). Emperor's decree of 1817 on cadastre surveying for the needs of taxation of immovable property initiated and set in motion large-scale surveying operations that were to serve as basis in the forthcoming years for the establishment of the cadastre records in the area of the entire Empire. Thanks to the highly professional quality of the created cadastre of land property and the regular updated records kept in the "gruntovnica", in the Austrian Empire a high degree of proprietary legal security was established. In 1848, when the peasantry was freed from fiefdom bondage and rendered land owners in their own right over the land that they were cultivating, there were already in existence both the legal and factual requirements for protection of their newly-acquired rights to private ownership. The precise cadastre and proper "gruntovnica" will allow Slovene, Croat and Vojvodina farmers, who were land owners, to offer reliable security to those crediting institution where they applied for mortgage loans. In the year 1879, when Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, the reasons for proper and fair taxation implied that in this province also the work on establishing cadastre surveying of land property should immediately commence. The initial registration entries into the Bosnian and slovenačkim, hrvatskim i vojvođanskim seljacima koji su imali zemlje da kreditnim institucijama od kojih su tražili hipotekarne zajmove, pruže pouzdano obezbeđenje. Kada je 1879. godine Austrija okupirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu, razlozi pravilnog oporezivanja su nalagali da i u ovoj pokrajini odmah započne posao na katastarskom premeru zemljišta. Prvi upisi u bosansko-hercegovačke zemljišne knjige zabeleženi su već 1886. godine.

Jaka mreža slovenačkog kreditnog zadrugarstva

U Sloveniji, koja je bila podeljena na četiri pokrajine: Kranjsku, Korušku, Primorsku i Štajersku, kreditno zadrugarstvo se brzo širilo i razvijalo i do Prvog svetskog rata postaće ključni podstrekač razvoja slovenačke poljoprivrede.

Od ukidanja feudalnih obaveza 1848. godine, do kraja agrarne krize koja je trajala od 1873. do 1890. godine, slovenački seljaci su nalazili kredite uglavnom kod austrijskih banaka, tako što su stavljali zemlju pod hipoteku. Iako je razvoj kreditnog zadrugarstva započeo još početkom 1870-ih, kreditne zadruge su se čitave dve decenije koncentrisale u gradovima, zaobilazeći selo. Pojavile su se u seoskim sredinama tokom 1890-ih, kada započinje zlatni period razvoja slovenačkog zemljoradničkog kreditnog zadrugarstva. Ovaj period trajaće sve do kraja posleratne privredne konjunkture 1924. godine.

Car Franc Jozef I, vladalac Habsburške monarhije od revolucionarne 1848. do ratne 1916. godine, izdao je 7. septembra 1848. godine proglas kojim su seljaci dobili sva građanska prava i kojim su bili ukinuti svi oblici njihove zavisnosti od veleposednika, svi oblici radnih i naturalnih renti. Oslobađanje seljaka od feudalnih stega bio je dvosekli mač. Seljak je dobio jednako-pravni položaj sa ostalim slojevima stanovništva, ali mu je istovremeno bila nametnuta obaveza plaćanja otkupa zemlje. U Kranjskoj, na primer, ovaj obavezan otkup bio je u visini dve petine katastarskih prihoda sa zemlje. Pored toga, slobodan seljak je bio opterećen visokim poreskim obavezama koje je sada morao da plaća u novcu. Pored neposrednih poreza austrijskoj državi, seljak je plaćao niz posrednih poreza pokrajinskim i opštinskim vlastima.

Prodiranje tržišnog načina privređivanja u poljoprivredu, pad cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda, velika odšteta koju su seljaci plaćali za zemlju i visoke dažbine doveli su slovenačke seljake do prezaduženosti. Oni koji nisu bili u stanju da otplaćuju hipotekarne zajmove, gubili su zemlju i ponovo postajali zavisni od veleposednika. Od 1868. do 1893. godine, u Kranjskoj je bilo oduzeto za dug i prodato na licitacijama 13% zemljišnih poseda. Godine 1871., na primer, samo u okrugu Ljubljane više od 300 porodica je ostalo bez zemlje. Zbog toga je austrijska vlada, posle mnogih pritisaka, sredinom 1870-ih morala da unekoliko smanji lokalne poreze, naročito u Kranjskoj gde su dažbine bile najveće [Ž. Lazarević, 14-23].

Posledica zaduženosti i propadanja seljaka bio je beg sa zemlje u emigraciju. Smatra se da je teritorija današnje Slovenije izgubila polovinu prirodnog priraštaja stanovništva iseljavanjem seljačkih porodica u razne evropske države i u Ameriku tokom 1880-ih i 1890-ih [F. Gestrin, V. Melik, 243]. Tek početkom XX veka, zahvaljujući razvoju slovenačkog kreditnog zadrugarstva Rajfajzenovog tipa, seljaštvo Slovenije prestaje da živi u stalnoj neposrednoj opasnosti od gubitka zemlje. U kreditnim zadrugama, seljak je mogao da uzme zajam na lično jemstvo a ne na hipoteku zemlje.

Nacionalno zadrugarstvo je počelo da se razvija u Sloveniji 1870-ih godina, na inicijativu istaknutih prosvetitelja, braće Jožefa i Mihaela Vošnjaka. Pravila za osnivanje kreditnih zadruga objavljena su 1871., a več naredne 1872. godine osnovana je prva kreditna zadruga u Kranjskoj, u Ljutomeru, a 1873. godine u Koruškoj, u Rožnoj dolini. Ove zadruge bile su osnovane prema austrijskom *Zakonu o društvima* iz 1852. godine. Kako je 1873. godine bio donet *Zakon o zadrugarstvu*, obe zadruge su prilagodile svoju organizaciju novom zakonu. Posle ovih početnih koraka, za slovenačko kreditno zadrugarstvo bilo je značajno osnivanje zadruge u Celju 1880. godine. Ona je bila akcionarsko društvo sa neograničenom odgovornšću koje je imalo tri kategorije akcionara: one koji su upisali po 100, 10 ili samo po 1 austrijski zlatnik. Zahvaljujući malim akcionarima, prikupljen je veliki osnivački kapital. Posle zadruge u Celju, Herzegovian land registers were recorded as early as 1886.

Robust network of Slovenian cooperative crediting

Slovenia was divided into four provinces: Kranjska-Carniola, Koruska-Carinthia, Primorska-Slovenian Littoral, and Stajerska-Styria, where cooperative crediting swiftly started expanding and developing, and by the time World War One, it become the crucial force setting in motion the development of the Slovenian agriculture.

Since the abolishment of the feudal bonds in 1848, and up to the end of agrarian crisis which lasted in the period from 1873 to 1890, Slovenian peasantry availed itself of credits mostly from the Austrian banks, by pledging their land property under mortgage. Although the development of cooperative crediting started as early as 1870s, crediting cooperatives for the entire two decades were concentrated in cities, avoiding rural areas. They were to appear in farming environments during the 1890s, when the golden era was to begin for the development of the Slovenian cooperative crediting. This period was to last until the end of the post-war economic booming age, until 1924.

Emperor Franz Joseph I, the ruler of the Habsburg Monarchy from the revolutionary 1848 until the war year 1916, issued an edict on 7 September 1848 proclaiming that peasantry was granted all civil rights and abolishing all forms of their dependency on feudal landlords, and was set free from all forms of labour and natural rents. Liberation of peasantry from feudal bondage, however, was to prove to be a rather doubled-edged sword. Peasant was indeed granted an equitable legal status together with other social classes, but at the same time he was hampered with the obligation to pay for the land property. In the province of Kranjska, for example, this mandatory purchase of land was to be paid in the amount equal to the two fifths of the cadastre land revenues. In addition, a peasant now liberated was burdened with high taxation liabilities that he was obliged to pay in cash. Further to direct taxes due to and collected by the Austrian state, peasant was also paying a series of indirect taxes and dues both to provincial and to the municipal authorities.

Penetration of the market oriented economy into agriculture, with the fall of prices of agricultural products, high restitution or redemption fees for land property and high taxes, brought Slovenian peasantry into over indebtnes. Those incapable of servicing their mortgage loans were losing the land, becoming in turn dependent again on the feudal landlords. In the period from 1868 to 1893, in Kranjska province, some 13% of land property was seized in debt collection and auction sold. In 1871, for example, in Ljubljana County alone, more than 300 households remained deprived of their land. Thus the Austrian government, after numerous pressures, in mid-1870s, was forced to reduce the amount of local taxes, especially in the province of Kranjska, where the taxes and dues were the highest [Z. Lazarevic, 14-23].


Ljubljana

As a consequence of excessive indebtedness, peasantry now rendered pauper, took a route of escape from the farming land and refuge in emigration. According to some estimates, the territory of the present day Slovenia lost almost one half of its natural birth rate of population through emigration of farming household families escaping into different European countries, but also to America during the 1880s and 1890s [F. Getsrin, V. Melik, 243]. Only in the early 20th century, and thanks to the development of the Slovenian cooperative crediting of a na istom principu su brzo nicale nove i već 1883. godine, radile su slovenačke zadruge u Celju, Ljubljani, Ljutomeru, Mariboru, Ormožu, Postojni, Sostanju, St. Jakobu, u Rožu, Jaku i u Vrhniki.

Mihael Vošnjak je 1883. godine osnovao Savez slovenačkih kreditnih zadruga koji je dobio zadatak međusobnog povezivanja i usklađivanja rada zadruga i pospešivanja osnivanja novih. Do kraja 1892. godine, radila je 61 slovenačka

Celje 1900.

Maribor 1900.

Ormož

zadruga: u Štajerskoj 21, Koruškoj 17, Kranjskoj 14 i Primorskoj 9. Ovo je bio nacionalni pokret koji je imao za cilj oslobađanje slovenačkog naroda zavisnosti od nemačkog kapitala. Od 1872. do 1892. godine, u Kranjskoj i Štajerskoj, na primer, bilo je osnovano 36 slovenačkih kreditnih zadruga, a istovremeno na tom prostoru bile su osnovane 34 nemačke zadruge.

U ovom, prvom periodu kreditnog zadrugarstva u Sloveniji preovladao je Šulce Deličev princip organizacije njihovog poslovanja. Herman Šulce Delič (Herman Schulze Delitzch, 1808 - 1883), osnivač nemačkog zadrugarstva srednjeg staleža zanatlija i trgovaca na malo, hteo je da kroz zadrugarstvo stvori jake novčane zavode koji će biti prvenstveno motivisani mogućnošću ostvarenja dobiti. Teritorija poslovanja ovakvih zadruga nije bila ograničena i mogle su da primaju članove iz čitave države kao i strance, ukoliko je to bilo zakonom dozvoljeno. Privlačile su velike kapitale koji su davali glasačku većinu i koji su na osnovu toga ubirali većinu dobiti. Glasačka većina je odlučivala o tome da li će i u kom iznosu deo dobiti biti namenjen rezervnom fondu. Posledica primene ovakve organizacije bila je visoka kamatna stopa, viša od kamatnih stopa zadruga Rajfajzenovog tipa. Šulce Deličev oblik zadruge odgovarao je prevashodno gradskim a nikako seoskim sredinama. Seoskim sredinama je više odgovarao Rajfajzenov princip, prema kojem su ulozi trebalo da budu što niži i zadruga je mogla da posluje samo sa svojim članovima, da bi se tačno znalo kome je stvarno bila potrebna pozajmica i za koje namene. Dok su članovi Šulce Deličevih zadruga bili ograničeno odrgovorni i jamčili samo svojim udelima u kapitalu, Rajfajzen je odredio neograničeno jemstvo. Na taj način je motivisao zadrugare na smotreno poslovanje jer bi u protivnom izgubili svu svoju imovinu.

U drugom periodu slovenačkog kreditnog zadrugarstva, koji je započeo 1892. godine, preovladalo je osnivanje kreditnih zadruga po Rajfajzenovom principu. Zadrugarstvo se pomera iz Štajerske u Kranjsku, od srednjeg staleža zanatlija i trgovaca ka slovenačkom seljaštvu. Počinje period pokreta “za socijalni preporod i privredno osamostaljivanje iskorišćavanih slojeva”. Tendencija ustanovljavanja malih seoskih kreditnih zadruga Rajfajzenovog tipa brzo je urodila plodom, pa je samo od 1892. do 1905. godine bilo osnovano njih 481.

Raiffeisen type, did the farming population of Slovenia cease to live in an immediate and direct danger of the loss of its homestead land. In the crediting cooperatives, a farmer could take a loan secured only by his personal pledge, and not by a mortgage on his land.

National crediting cooperatives started to develop in Slovenia in the 1870s, at the initiative of outstanding educators, brothers Joseph and Michael Vosnjak. The rules for establishment of crediting cooperatives were published in 1871, and already in the next year 1872 the first crediting cooperative was established in Kranjska, at Ljutomer, and in 1873 in Koruska, at Rozna Valley. These cooperatives were established in accordance with the Austrian *Law on Societies* of the year 1852. As the *Law on Crediting Cooperatives* was passed in 1873, both cooperatives adjusted their organisation in line with the provisions of the new law. After these initial steps, what was important for the Slovenian cooperative crediting was the establishment of a cooperative unit in Celje, in 1880. It was a shareholding company with unlimited liability, which had three categories of shareholders: those who subscribed to 100, 10, or even only 1 Austrian gold coin. Thanks to the small shareholders, a large founding capital was collected indeed. After the cooperative in Celje, in line with the same principle there mushroomed promptly many new ones, and already by 1883, there were Slovenian crediting cooperatives in operation at Celje, Ljubljana, Ljutomer, Maribor, Ormoz, Postojna, Sostanj, St. Jakob, at Roz, Jak, and in Vrhnika.

Michael Vosnjak, in 1883, established the Alliance of Slovenian Crediting Cooperatives, entrusted with the task of establishing mutual ties and harmonising work of cooperatives and fostering the establishment of the new ones. By the end of 1892, there were 61 Slovenian crediting cooperatives in operation: in Stajerska 21 of them, in Koruska 17, in Kranjska 14, and in Primorska 9. This was a national movement having as its aim the liberation of Slovenian people from the dependency on German capital. From the 1872 up to 1892, in Kranjska and Stajerska, for example, there were 36 Slovenian crediting cooperatives established, and at the same time in the same areas, there were 34 German cooperatives set up.

In this initial period of cooperative crediting in Slovenia, what prevailed was Schulze Delitzch principle of organisation of their business operations. Herman Schulze Delitzch (1808-1883), founder of the German cooperative crediting for the middle-class population of craftsmen and retail traders, strived to create through cooperative crediting strong monetary institutes that will be primarily motivated by the profit making opportunities. Business theory of such cooperatives was an unlimited access that could receive membership from the entire State, as well as foreign nationals, if so permitted by law. They were attracting large-scale capital funds that were providing a secure majority of votes that was in turn and on the basis thereof, collecting the majority of profits. Voting majority was deciding on whether and in what amount the share of profit would be allocated to the reserves fund. The result of implementation of such organisational function was a high interest rate, higher than the interest rates charged by the crediting cooperatives of the Raiffeisen type. Schulze Delitzch form of cooperative crediting was appropriate primarily for the urban environments, and not in the least for the rural dwellings. Rural communities were better served by the Raiffeisen principle, where the stakes were as low as possible and the cooperative could operate only within its own membership, in order to have a clear idea as to who was in real need of a loan and for what purpose. While the members of the Schulze Delitzch cooperatives had a limited liability and liable only with their own stake in the capital, Raiffeisen decided in favour of an unlimited liability. In this manner, Raiffeisen motivated cooperative membership to embrace a prudent manner of operation, because otherwise it could lose all of its assets.

In the second period of the Slovenian cooperative crediting, which commenced in 1892, what prevailed was the establishment of crediting cooperatives based on the Raiffeisen principle. Cooperative crediting relocated from Stajerska to Kranjska, and shifted from the middle-class craftsmen and merchant population towards the Slovenian peasantry. This was the period of inception of the movement “for social revival and economic independence of exploited classes”. Tendency

Kada se kreditno zadrugarstvo proširilo među slovenačkim seljaštvom, postalo je važna osnova za osvajanje privrednih i političkih pozicija katoličke crkve. Katolička crkva je angažovala seosko sveštenstvo da zastupa široko rasprostranjenu mrežu zadružnih članova u Savezu kranjskih kreditnih zadruga koji je bio osnovan 1895. godine. Iste godine, bio je osnovan Privredni zadružni savez koji je okupio sve nemačke zadruge. Da bi finansijski poduprla nacionalne kreditne zadruge, katolička crkva je u Ljubljani iste 1895. godine inicirala osnovanje kreditnog zavoda *Ljudsko posojnico*, koji će 1903. godine da preraste u *Gospodarsko svezo*, centralu za novčana poravnanja među slovenačkim kreditnim zadrugama.

Do kraja 1910. godine, u slovenačkim pokrajinama delovale su 543 nacionalne slovenačke kreditne zadruge Rajfajzenovog tipa, a njih 314 za koje postoje podaci imalo je 164.954 članova. Ove zadruge su te godine odobrile kredita u vrednosti od 46.604.845 kruna, prvenstveno za kupovinu poljoprivrednih sprava i za otplatu hipotekarnih dugova kod privatnih novčanih zavoda. Zahvaljujući razvoju kreditnog zadrugarstva, početkom XX veka poboljšava se tehnički stupanj razvoja slovenačke poljoprivrede i teret hipotekarnih dugova slovenačkog seljaštva se smanjuje. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata, slovenačke kreditne zadruge su normalno funkcionisale. Zvuči paradoksalno, ali je Prvi svetski rat imao za slovenačkog seljaka neposrednih koristi. Zahvaljujući visokim cenama poljoprivrednih proizvoda za vreme i neposredno posle rata, slovenački seljak se razdužio [Ž. Lazarević, 24-32].

Sarajevo 1900.

Austrijske javno-pravne institucije za kreditiranje zemljoradnika u Bosni i Hercegovini

Tokom Prvog svetskog rata, poljoprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine je nazadovala kako zbog austro-ugarskih rekvizicija tako i zbog oskudice radne snage koju je prouzrokovao odlazak muškog stanovništva u austrijsku vojsku. Pod pritiskom posleratnih masovnih pobuna bosansko-hercegovačkog seljaštva, u Kraljevini SHS se već februara 1919. godine započelo sa agrarnom reformom [N. Vučo, 24]. Više od 100.000 kmetskih porodica je oslobođeno dotadašnjih feudalnih odnosa i zemlja koju su obrađivali data im je u puno vlasništvo. Na taj način su u Bosni i Hercegovini bili stvoreni uslovi za razvoj nacionalnog zemljoradničkog kreditnog zadrugarstva koje se tek bilo pojavilo u vreme austro-ugarske uprave (1879-1918). Jedine institucije za kreditiranje poljorivrede koje su preživele rat, bile su kotarske pripomoćne zaklade - javno-pravne institucije koje je do raspada Austro-Ugarske u Bosni i Hercegovini osnivala austrijska vlast.

Prvi oblici organizacije poljoprivrednog kredita pojavili su se u Bosni i Hercegovini 1865. godine, u vreme osmanske vlasti. To su bili *menafi-sanduci*, odnosno dobrotvorne kase javno-pravnog karaktera koje su zajmovima u poljopivrednim proizvodima i u novcu pomagale seljake u oskudici. Nastale su tako što je agama bilo naređeno da deo poljoprivrednih proizvoda koje bi prikupili od kmetova na ime naturalnih dažbina unesu u javne ambare, iz kojih bi im u slučaju nevolje davali hranu na zajam. U rodnim godinama, ovi poljoprivredni viškovi su prodavani i na taj način je stvaran fond koji je bio izvor kratkoročnih novčanih zajmova seljacima po godišnjoj kamatnoj stopi do 12%. *Menafi-sanduci* su bili osnovani u svim bosanskim nahijama i održali su se kao jedina ustanova za kreditiranje seljaka do kraja osmanske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. godine [O. Blagojević, 27].

Za vreme austrijske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini (1879-

for establishment of small farming crediting cooperatives of a Raiffeisen type quickly bore fruit, and in the period from 1892 to 1905 alone there were 481 crediting cooperatives of this type set up.

Once the cooperative crediting expanded amongst the Slovenian peasantry, it became an important platform for the conquest of both economic and political positions by the Catholic Church. Catholic Church engaged rural population in representing a broadly dispersed network of cooperative membership now gathered in the Alliance of Kranjska Crediting Cooperatives, which was established in 1895. During that same year, Economic Cooperative Alliance was also established, which gathered together all the German cooperatives. In order to provide financial support for the national crediting cooperatives, Catholic Church in Ljubljana, in that same year 1895, initiated the setting up of the crediting institute *Ljudsko posojnico*, which is to grow by 1903, into *Gospodarsko svezo,* a central headquarters for monetary settlement between the Slovenian crediting cooperatives.

By the end of 1910, in the Slovenian provinces, there were 543 national Slovenian crediting cooperatives of a Raiffeisen type in operation, out of which 314 with available data had 164,954 members. These cooperatives extended credit facilities during that year alone in the amount of 46,604,845 krone, primarily for purchase of farming utensils and for repayment of mortgage loans taken from the private monetary institutes. Thanks to the development of cooperative crediting, in the early 20th century, there was an improvement in the technical level of development of the Slovenian agriculture and the burden of mortgage loans of the Slovenian farmers was reduced. During the of World War One, Slovenian crediting cooperatives continued to operate in their regular fashion. It might sound paradoxical, but World War One brought a direct and concrete benefit to the Slovenian peasantry. Thanks to the high prices of agricultural products during the war and immediately thereafter, in the post-war period, Slovenian peasantry could finally relive itself from its indebtedness [Z. Lazarevic, 24-32].

Austrian public and judicial institutions for crediting farming population in Bosnia and Herzegovina

During World War One, agriculture in Bosnia and Herzegovina lagged profoundly behind, both because of the Austro-Hungarian requisition of land plots and due to the shortage of manpower and labour force, caused by the recruitment of all the able-bodied male population into the Austrian Army. Under the pressure of the post-war massive riots by the farming population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, already in February 1919, the agrarian reform was commenced [N. Vuco, 24]. More than 100,000 rural serf households were freed from their up to then prevailing feudal bondage and the land that they cultivated was awarded to them in their full ownership. In this manner, conditions were created in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the development of the national agricultural cooperative crediting which had already appeared at the time of the Austro-Hungarian rule (in the period 1879-1918). The only institutions for agricultural crediting that have survived the war were the *kotarske pripomocne zaklade (administrative district assistance trust funds)* - public legal institutions which were established by the Austrian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina until the collapse of Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The earliest forms of organisation of the agricultural crediting appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1865, during the Ottoman rule. They were the *menafi-sanduks,* i.e. the benefactor donated cashier funds of a public legal character that were granted in loans consisting of agricultural produce and also in cash money, thus rendering assistance to peasantry in dire need. They were established in such a way that the "Aga" - Ottoman local landowners and rulers were ordered to collect and store one part of agricultural produce that they collected from their serfs as dues to be rendered by peasantry in kind, into public storage facilities "hambars", from which they would be distributed in case of dire necessity as the foodstuffs given on loan. In the good bountiful years, these farming surpluses were being sold and thus a monetary

1918), bosanska zemaljska vlada je po ugledu na *menafi-sanduke* osnovala u svakom srezu kotarske pripomoćne zaklade, javno-pravne institucije za kreditiranje zemljoradnika. Ovakav način organizacije poljoprivrednog kredita bio je podesan zahvaljujući tome što austro-ugarske vlasti nisu menjale zatečene agrarne odnose u Bosni i Hercegovini, utemeljene na turskom agrarnom pravu. Naime, kada je na osnovu člana 25. Berlinskog ugovora Austro-Ugarska 1879. godine okupirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu, odmah je potvrdila važenje Saferske naredbe. Saferska naredba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, koja je doneta 31. avgusta 1859. godine, još jednom je ozakonila viševekovne obaveze kmetova prema agama. Prema ovoj naredbi, kmetovi su bili dužni da na ime zemljišnog zakupa, koji se nazivao *hak*, daju agama trećinu žita, polovinu voća i sena. Sa austrijskom okupacijom, usledilo je nekoliko uzastopnih nerodnih godina. Seljaci nisu bili u stanju da ishrane svoje porodice niti da ispune svoje feudalne obaveze. Zbog toga je bosanska zemaljska vlada bila prinuđena da kontinuirano pruža pomoć gladnima. Sačekavši 1886. rodnu godinu, zemaljska vlada je odlučila da bespovratnu pomoć seljacima zameni jeftinim kreditom koji bi bio organizovan po ugledu na *menafi-sanduke*. Te godine, zemaljska vlada je odobrila gatačkom kotaru kredit od 5.000 forinti na pet godina. Istovremeno je kotarski načelnik u Gackom sakupio od seljaka, na ime njihovih feudalnih obaveza, 1.000 tovara ječma i počeo da daje zajmove seljacima u žitu i novcu, po godišnjoj kamatnoj stopi od 4% do 6%. Tako je nastala prva kotarska pripomoćna zaklada. Do 1906. godine, u svim kotarima Bosne i Hercegovine bila je osnovana po jedna ovakva institucija za kreditiranje zemljoradnika. [O. Frangeš, 163]. Ove lokalne državne institucije odobravale su seljacima kratkoročne kredite, uglavnom od proleća do jeseni, sa rokom otplate od osam meseci.

Posle kotarskih pripomoćnih zaklada, početkom XX veka u Bosni i Hercegovini su se pojavile zemljordaničke kreditne zadruge Rajfajzenovog tipa. Bile su osnivane kao deonička društva, prema austrijskom Trgovačkom zakonu za Bosnu i Hercegovinu od 7. juna 1883. godine. Ove zadruge su bile osnivane isključivo na versko-nacionalnoj osnovi. Prva hrvatska zemljoradnička zadruga započela je sa radom u Orašju 1904. godine, a prva srpska zemljoradnička zadruga u Štrpcima, kod Višegrada, 1907. godine. Počev od 1910. godine, hrvatske zemljoradničke zadruge bile su finansijski vezane za *Hrvatsku zadružnu banku d. d.* iz Sarajeva, a od 1914. godine za sarajevsku podružnicu *Hrvatske poljodelske banke d. d*. U Sarajevu je, takođe, od 1911. godine bilo sedište *Saveza s*rpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga u kojem su bile okupljene sve zemljoradničke zadruge Srba u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Zemljoradničko kreditno zadrugarstvo Rajfajzenovog tipa u Bosni i Heregovini pod austrijskom vlašću razvijalo se relativno sporo zato što je Austrija imala negativan stav prema nacionalnim zemljoradničkim zadrugama. Pored političkih, za ovakav stav postojali su i sasvim određeni ekonomsko finansijski razlozi. Da su se nacionalne zemljoradničke kreditne zadruge nesmetano razvijale, u njima bi se postepeno koncentrisao slobodni novčani kapital namenjen finansiranju poljoprivrede i na taj način bi one postale konkurencija državnim kotarskim pripomoćnim zakladama i privatnim bankarskim institucijama. Da bi usporila razvoj nacionalnog zemljoradničkog zadrugarstva, bosanska zemaljska vlada je sprovodila neobično dug administrativni postupak za odoborenje osnivanja zadruga koji bi trajao dve do tri godine. Prvi svetski rat zatekao je u Bosni i Hercegovini 207 nacionalnih zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga. Za vreme svetskog rata, srpske zemljoradničke zadruge prestale su sa radom, a jače hrvatske zadruge preuzele su na sebe brigu obezbeđenja hrane za lokalno stanovništvo [*Zadružni leksikon,* 95]. Kotarske pripomoćne zaklade radile su sve vreme rata. Posle rata, nastavile su sa radom u obliku lokalnih, javno-pravnih institucija za kreditiranje zemljoradnika i bile su finansirane sreskim prirezom.

Nacionalno kreditno zadrugartsvo u sistemu kreditnih institucija u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji

Pre Prvog svetskog rata, u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji bila je razvijena mreža nacionalnih, hrvatskih i srpskih, kreditnih zadruga. Za vreme rata, nastavile su sa radom hrvatske fund was created which served as a source for short-term cash loans to farmers at an annual interest rate of 12%. *"Menafi-sanduks"* were set up in all of the Bosnian "nahija" - counties and prevailed as the sole institution serving for crediting peasants until the very end of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the year 1878 [O. Blagojevic, 27].

During the Austrian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1879-1918), Bosnian territorial government, in line with the fashion of the "menafi-sanduks", established in every county the so-called *"kotarske pripomocne zaklade" (*administrative district assistance trust funds), public legal institutions for crediting peasantry. Such a manner of organisation of the agricultural crediting was appropriate thanks to the fact that the Austro-Hungarian authorities did not change the already existing agrarian relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on the Turkish agrarian law. Namely, when under Article 25 of the Berlin Treaty, in 1879, Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, it had immediately confirmed the continuation of force and effect of the "Safery Edict". Safery Edict for Bosnia and Herzegovina, passed on 31 August 1859, once again legalised centuries-long bondage of serfs to their Aga-feudal lords and masters. According to this Edict, serfs were bound, in return for their farming land rental privilege, which was called the "*hak*", to render to their Aga landlords one third of their annual harvested crop produce, one third of their fruit collected and of the hay stacked. With the Austrian occupation, what followed were several consecutive bad years for agriculture and crops. Farmers were rendered unable either to feed their own families or to honour their feudal dues. Thus the Bosnian government was forced to continuously offer support and assistance to the impoverished and famine prone peasantry. Awaiting the bountiful year 1886, government decided to replace the non-returnable aid to farmers with a cheap credit which would be organised in the manner of the "*menafi sanduks"*. That same year, territorial administration approved to the Gatacki district a loan of 5,000 florins for a period of five years. At the same time, the administration chief in Gacko collected from farmers, in the name of their feudal dues, 1,000 barrels of barley and started giving loans to peasants in wheat and money, at an annual interest rate from 4% to 6%. Thus the first *kotarska pripomocna zaklada* - administrative district assistance trust fund was created. Up to 1906, in all the administrative districts of Bosnia and Herzegovina one in each of such institutions was established for crediting farming population. [O. Franges, 163]. These local state institutions were extending peasants short-term loans, mainly from spring to autumn, with the maturity of up to eight months.

In addition to *kotarska pripomocna zaklada,* in the early 20th century, in Bosnia and Herzegovina there appeared agricultural crediting cooperatives of the Raiffeisen type. They were set up as the shareholding companies, according to the Austrian *Trading Law for Bosnia and Herzegovina* of 7 June 1883. These cooperatives were established exclusively on religious and national grounds. The first Croat agricultural cooperative opened at Orasje in 1904, and the first Serbian agricultural cooperative was set up in Strpci, near Visegrad, in 1907. Starting from 1910, Croat agricultural cooperatives were financially linked with the Croat bank *Hrvatska zadruzna banka d.d.* in Sarajevo, and from 1914 with the Sarajevo branch office of the Hrvatska poljodelska banka d.d. In Sarajevo, from 1911 there was also a seat of the *Alliance of Serbian Agricultural Cooperatives* gathering together all the agricultural cooperatives of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Agricultural cooperative crediting of a Raiffeisen type in Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the Austrian rule, developed relatively slowly because Austria was nurturing a negative attitude towards the national agricultural cooperatives. In addition to political reasons, there were also very specific economic and financial grounds for such a stance. If the national agricultural crediting cooperatives were to freely develop, there would have been a gradual concentration in them of a free monetary capital designated for financing agriculture and in this way they would have become a competition to the state owned *kotarske pripomocne zaklade* and the private banking institutions. In order to slow-down the development of national

Pijaca u Zagrebu
Marketplace in Zagreb

zadruge, a srpskim zadrugama bio je zabranjen rad. Neposredno posle rata, u uslovima rasta cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda, hrvatske zadruge su doživele procvat, a srpske kreditne zadruge su obnavljale svoj rad.

Sa oslobođenjem zemljoradnika od feudalnih stega 1848. godine, u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji nastaje relativno veliki broj malih seoskih privatnih poseda. Godine 1895. veleposedi povšine preko 1.000 jutara zauzimali su 23% obradivog zemljišta, posedi površine od 45 do 500 jutara prostirali su se na 8% obradivog zemljišta, dok je 70% obradive zemlje bilo pod posedima površine do 50 jutara. Sitnosopstvenici su samostalno obrađivali zemlju, i to na relativno primitivan način. Pred kraj XIX veka, jedan plug je koristilo naizmenično 7 do 8 malih posednika, a ostalih poljoprivrednih sprava gotovo da nije ni bilo.

Od 1873. do 1890. godine, Austro-Ugarsku, kao i čitavu Evropu potresala je agrarna kriza. Tokom trajanja krize, cene žitarica opale su za dve trećine. Proizvodnja na sitnim posedima postala je nerentabilna i neisplativa, pa su seljaci bili prinuđeni da se zadužuju. Kao i u Sloveniji, oni zemljoradnici koji nisu uspevali da zarade dovoljno da bi vraćali dugove, gubili su zemlju. Mnoge seljačke porodice koje nisu opstale na zemlji potražile su spas u emigraciji, u prekookeanskim zemljama.

Počev od 1860-ih pa do pred kraj XIX veka, zemljoradnici u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji zaduživali su se isključivo kod privatnih novčanih zavoda koji su osnivani na osnovu austrijskog *Zakona o društvima* iz 1852. godine. Početni kapital za osnivanje privatnih banaka i štedionica na području Hrvatske i Slavonije uglavnom su obezbeđivali domaći trgovci i veleposednici. Banke su osnovane u Zagrebu, Osijeku i Rijeci, tada najjačim privrednim središtima, dok su u manjim mestima osnivane štedionice, osnivačkim kapitalom između 10.000 i 40.000 forinti. U to vreme, mađarske vlasti su još uvek bile nezainteresovane da zemljoradnicima u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji obezbede jeftin poljoprivredni kredit. Naime, na osnovu austro-ugarske nagodbe iz 1867. i hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe iz 1868. godine, kada su Hrvatska i Slavonija potpale pod vlast Mađara, unutrašnja autonomija ove dve pokrajine bila je ograničena na administrativnu upravu, sudstvo i školstvo, dok su svi finansijski poslovi bili u rukama Mađarske. Mađarske vlasti će se zainetresovati za pitanje poljoprivrednog kredita u ove dve pokrajine tek kada je hrvatsko i slavonsko seljaštvo počelo da se samoorganizuje i da osniva zemljoradničke kreditne zadruge na nacionalnoj osnovi.

Kao pravni osnov za osnivanje nacionalnih kreditnih zadruga u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji poslužio je Trgovački zakon, usvojen na zajedničkom hrvatsko-ugarskom saboru 1875. godine. Zadruge su osnivane prema Rajfajzenovoj formuli.

Godine 1897. započelo se sa osnivanjem nacionalnih kreditnih zemljoradničkih zadruga u srpskim selima na teritoriji Slavonije, a već naredne godine i u srpskim selima Hrvatske. Srpske zemljoradničke zadruge bile su okupljene u Savezu srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga sa sedištem u Zagrebu. Ovaj Savez je bio relativno samostalan u svom radu do 1905. godine, kada je osnovana *Srpska banka* u Zagrebu, koja je plasirala svoj kapital u srpska sela posredstvom lokalnih zadruga.

Godine 1898. u selu Končanici, u kotaru Daruvar osnovana je prva hrvatska poljoprivredna kreditna zadruga. Ona je bila usamljen slučaj do katoličkog kongresa koji je održan u Zagrebu 1900. godine. Na tom kongresu se raspravljalo o ekonomskom položaju hrvatskog sela. Zaključeno je da su seoska domaćinstva prezadužena i da pod relativno nepovoljnim uslovima nabavljaju kapital od privatnih novčanih zavoda. Doneta je odluka o pokretanju široke akcije osnivanja agricultural cooperative crediting, Bosnian territorial government conducted an extremely long and protracted administrative procedure for granting its approval for establishment of the cooperatives, that would take almost two or three years to conclude. By the World War One, in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were 207 national agricultural crediting cooperatives. During the world war, Serbian agricultural cooperatives suspended their work, and the stronger Croat cooperatives took upon themselves the care for providing food and nourishment for the local population [Zadruzni leksikon, 95]. *Kotarske pripomocne zaklade* were in operation throughout the war. After the war, they continued their work in the form of local, public legal institutions for crediting farmers and were financed from the municipal dues.

National cooperative crediting in the system of crediting institutions in Croatia and Slavonia

Prior to World War One, in Croatia and Slavonia there was a well developed network of national Croat and Serbian crediting cooperatives. During the war, Croat cooperatives continued their work, while the Serbian cooperatives were banned. Immediately following the war, in a climate of sharp rise in prices of farming products, Croat cooperatives flourished, while the Serbian crediting cooperatives were just reopening.

Srpska banka u Zagrebu
Srpska banka in Zagreb

With the liberation of farming population from feudal bondage in 1848, in Croatia and Slavonia there appeared a rather large number of small rural private homesteads. In 1895, large estates covering an area of over 1.000 acres were occupying 23% of arable land; land estates of 45 to 500 acres were covering 8% of arable land, while 70% of farming land was under homesteads of up to 50 acres. Small land owners cultivated their land by themselves and in a rather primitive manner. By the end of the 19th century, one plough was used in turn by 7 to 8 small land owners, while some other farming utensils were almost entirely absent.

From 1873 to 1890, Austro-Hungary, but also the entire Europe, was shaken by agrarian crisis. During the crisis, prices of wheat fell for two thirds. Production on small estates was both unprofitable and costly so the farmers were forced to borrow. Not unlike the situation in Slovenia, those farmers who failed in earning sufficiently to repay their debts were losing land. Many farming households that did not succeed in keeping their land took refuge in emigration to overseas countries.

Starting from the years 1860s and up to the end of the 19th century, farming population in Croatia and Slavonia borrowed funds exclusively from the private monetary institutes that were established under the provisions of the Austrian *Law on Societies* of 1852. The initial capital for establishment of private banks and savings banks in Croatia and Slavonia was mainly provided by the local merchants and large estate

СРПСКА БАНКА У ЗАГРЕБУ
објављује да
поводом настале летње сезоне за путовања у купатила
ПРИМА НА ЧУВАЊЕ
ПАПИРЕ ОД ВРЕДНОСТИ
СРПСКА БАНКА У ЗАГРЕБУ.

landowners. Banks were established in Zagreb, Osijek, and Rijeka, at that time the strongest commercial centres, while in smaller townships savings banks were set up, with the founding capital ranging between 10,000 and 40,000 florins. At that time, Hungarian authorities were still uninterested in providing farmers in Croatia and Slavonia with cheap farming loans. Namely, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian covenant of 1867, and

Seoska kuća u Hrvatskoj
Village house in Croatia

zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga Rajfajzenovog tipa. Katolička crkva osniva 1902. godine *Hrvatsku polodeljsku banku* koja postaje središnja finansijska institucija hrvatskih zemljoradničkih zadruga. Zemljoradničke zadruge su imale zadatak da odobravaju kredite za kupovinu zemlje, popravku poljoprivrednih zgrada, nabavku poljoprivrednih sprava, ali i za otplatu starih dugova. Prema podacima o stanju kredita hrvatskih zemljoradničkih zadruga 1909. godine, trećina zadružnih zajmova bila je namenjena za otplatu seljačkih dugova privatnim novčanim zavodima.

Pojava nacionalnih kreditnih zadruga u Slavoniji i Hrvatskoj krajem XIX i početkom XX veka samo je u manjoj meri mogla da zadovolji potrebe seljaštva za kreditom. Glavni finansijeri zemljoradnika ostaće privatni novčani zavodi. Obaveze slavonskih i hrvatskih seljaka po meničnim, hipotekarnim zajmovima i zajmovima na obligacije iznosile su 1880. godine 30 miliona kruna, 1890. godine 60 miliona kruna, 1900. godine 171 milion kruna, a 1910. godine 438 miliona kruna. U nemogućnosti da vraćaju dugove, siromašniji zemljoradnici su gubili zemlju. Zbog toga, pred kraj XIX i na početku XX veka počinje da opada broj seoskih domaćinstava koja su uspevala da žive samostalno od zemljoradnje. Od 1895. do 1910. godine broj gazdinstava do 50 jutara površine, na kojima je radio njihov sopstvenik smanjio se sa 372.180 na 367.082 [J. Lakatoš, 47]. Gubitak zemlje bio je neposredni uzrok novog talasa emigracije. U vremenu od 1900. do 1910. godine, iz Hrvatske i Slavonije iselilo se oko 450.000 žitelja, najviše u SAD. Pritisak na iseljavanje povećan je i naglim porastom stanovništva, od 1,9 miliona stanovnika 1840. godine na gotovo tri miliona stanovnika 1910. godine [I. Balta, 396].

Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata, u slavonskim i hrvatskim selima nastavile su sa radom sve finansijske institucije, osim srpskih zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga kojima je bio zabranjen rad. Od 1914. do 1918. godine, cene poljoprivrednih proizvoda bile su udvostručene. Kao što je to bio slučaj i sa Slovenijom, ratna konjunktura omogućila je hrvatskom seljaštvu da se razdužuje i ulaže u tehnički napredak poljoprivredne proizvodnje.

Oslonac poljoprivrede na bankarski hipotekarni kredit u Vojvodini

Posle neuspelog pokušaja nacionalizacije stranih banaka u Kraljevini SHS neposredno posle državnog ujedinjenja 1918. godine, u Vojvodini je nastavila sa radom razgranata mreža banaka sa nemačkim, srpskim, mađarskim, slovačkim i rumunskim kapitalom. Za vreme svetskog rata, srpske nacionalne kreditne zadruge obustavile su rad, pa ga je posle rata trebalo obnoviti.

Pre Prvog svetskog rata, poljoprivreda Vojvodine se pretežno kreditirala putem hipotekarnog kredita. Zemljoradnici koji bi stavili zemlju pod hipoteku, uzimali su dugoročne bankarske kredite, sa rokom otplate od jedne do 40 godina, sa kamatnom stopom od 4% do 8%. Prve novčane zavode u Vojvodini osnovali su lokalni trgovci i zanatlije u drugoj polovini 1890-ih. Početkom XX veka, dolazi do prodora stranog kapitala u Južnu Ugarsku: nemačkog, engleskog i francuskog, a potom su stigle i najveće peštanske banke. Do 1914. godine, u Bačkoj, Banatu i Sremu poslovalo je 230 novčanih zavoda. Njihov ukupan osnovni kapital bio je relativno mali, o čemu govori podatak da je 1914. godine odgovarao osnovnom kapitalu jedne prosečne budimpeštanske banke. Osnovni kapital Peštanske Trgovačke banke, na primer, bio je te godine 60 miliona kruna, koliko su imali svi novčani zavodi na području današnje Vojvodine zajedno. Međutim, prema oceni Udruženja vojvođanskih banaka, “novčani zavodi u Bačkoj, Banatu i Sremu, iako usitnjeni i sa relativno skromnim sredstvima, the Croat-Hungarian covenant of 1868, when Croatia and Slavonia fell under the Hungarian rule, interior autonomy of these two provinces was limited to an administrative governance, judiciary and schooling system, while all the financial businesses were in the Hungarian hands. Hungarian authorities were to become interested in the matters of agricultural crediting in these two provinces only when the Croat and Slavonian peasantry started to self-organise and establish agricultural crediting cooperatives on a national basis.

For the establishment of national crediting cooperatives in Croatia and Slavonia the leed basis was the *Trading Law,* which was adopted at the joint Croat-Hungarian assembly in 1875. Crediting cooperatives were set up in accordance with the Raiffeisen formula.

In 1897, the formation started of national crediting agricultural cooperatives in Serbian villages situated in the territory of Slavonia, and already the following year also in the Serbian villages in Croatia. Serbian agricultural cooperatives were gathered together in the *Alliance of Serbian Agricultural Cooperatives* with the seat in Zagreb. This Alliance had a relative autonomy in its work up to 1905, when the *Serbian Bank* was set up in Zagreb, placing its capital in Serbian villages through the mediation of local cooperatives.

In 1898, at the village of Koncanci in the administrative district of Daruvar, the first Croat agricultural crediting cooperative was established. It was to remain a solitary case until the Catholic Congress was held in Zagreb in 1900. The topic discussed at this Congress was the economic status of the Croat village. It was concluded that the farming households were deeply indebted and that they are accessing capital under rather unfavourable terms from the private monetary institutes. Therefore, the decision was made to set in motion a broad-scale action for the establishment of agricultural crediting cooperatives of the Raiffeisen type. Catholic Church formed in 1902 *Croat Agricultural Bank,* which was to become the central financial institution of the Croat agricultural cooperatives.

Agricultural cooperatives were entrusted with the task of extending credits for purchase of land, for financing repairs to farming buildings, for supply of farming utensils, but also for repayment of old debts. According to the data on the balance of credits extended by the Croat agricultural cooperatives in 1909, one third of cooperative loans were used for repayment of peasant debts owed to private monetary institutes.

The appearance of the national crediting cooperatives in Slavonia and Croatia in the late 19th and the early 20th century could only to a lesser degree satisfy the needs of the farming population for credits. The main financiers of the farming population were to remain private monetary institutes. Liabilities incurred by the Slavonian and Croat peasantry for drafts, mortgage loans and debenture loans amounted in 1880 to 30 million krone, in 1890 to 60 million krone, in 1900 to 171 million krone, and in 1910 to 438 million krone. Being unable to repay their debts, the impoverished farmers were losing land. Thus by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the number of farming households that were capable of providing independent subsistence from farming started to fall. From 1895 to 1910, the number of households holding up to 50 acres of land cultivated by the owner of the land, fell from 372,180 to 367,082 [J. Lakatos, 47]. The loss of land was the direct cause for the new wave of emigration. In the period from 1900 to 1910, from Croatia and Slavonia some 450,000 inhabitants immigrated mostly to the United States. The pressure for emigration was increased also by the sudden growth of population, from 1.9 million inhabitants in 1840, to almost three million inhabitants by the year 1910 [L. Balta, 396].

During World War One, in Slavonian and Croat villages all financial institutions continued their work, except for the Serbian agricultural crediting cooperatives which were banned. From 1914 to 1918, prices of agricultural products were doubled. And as was the case with Slovenia, when the favourable war-time market conditions allowed Croat peasantry to repay its debts, the investments started into the technical progress of the agricultural production.

odgovarali su srazmerno potrebama privrede i omogućavali uspešno poslovanje u periodu do Prvog svetskog rata" [B. Kršev, 31-40].

Sistematski rad na osnivanju srpskih nacionalnih zemljoradničkih zadruga u Vojvodini započinje 1897. godine, sa osnivanjem srpskih zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga Rajfajzenovog tipa i Saveza srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga u Zagrebu, centralne organizacije i za zadruge u Vojvodini. Prve zemljoradničke kreditne zadruge bile su osnovane u Sremskoj Kamenici i Inđiji, a zatim i u drugim srpskim mestima. Snabdevale su svoje članove kreditom za nabavku poljoprivrednih sprava i omogućavale im da ih zajednički koriste. Takođe, zadruge su omogućavale zemljoradnicima da zajednički arendiraju zemlju, a često i da je zajednički obrađuju. Pored srpskih, u Vojvodini se tada osnivaju i hrvatske nacionalne zemljoradnike zadruge.

Po završetku Prvog svetskog rata, došlo je do ujedinjenja *Saveza srpskih zemljo*radničkih za*druga* u Zagrebu sa *Savezom* u Beogradu. Vojvođanske zemljoradničke zadruge Srema i Bačke ušle su tada u člansvo Saveza srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga u Beogradu, a zemljoradničke zadruge iz Banata su osnovale Banatski savez zemljoradničkih zadruga, sa sedištem u Velikom Bečkereku.

Mađarske komunalne štedne zadruge u Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Vojvodini

Mađarski državni kapital prodro je u hrvatska, slavonska i vojvođanska sela posredstvom državnih, komunalnih štednih zadruga koje su bile poznate kao *veresijske udruge*. Ove svojevrsne komunalne štedne zadruge pojaviće se neposredno posle osnivanja prvih nacionalnih zemljoradničkih zadruga u srpskim i hrvatskim selima Hrvatske, Slavonije i Vojvodine. Osnivala ih je mađarska lokalna upravna vlast na osnovu Zakona XXIII od 11. juna 1898. godine [N. Gaćeša, 179]. Radile su pod stalnim nadzorom centralnih mađarskih

vlasti u Pešti i preko njih je vršen ekonomski i politički uticaj na nemađarsko stanovništvo. Cilj njihovog rada je bio da se sela i seoske institucije stave u finansijsku zavisnost od Pešte.

U Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Vojvodini, mađarske komunalne štedne zadruge su bile ispostave Centralne nacionalne unije za kredit, odnosno *Zemaljske središnje veresijske udruge,* čije je sedište bilo u Pešti. Ova javna peštanska finansijska institucija otvorila je svoje filijale u Zagrebu i Osijeku. One su poslovale kao posrednici između peštanske centrale i lokalnih komunalnih štedionica u hrvatskim, slavonskim i vojvođanskim selima.

Veresijske udruge su radile u Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Vojvodini za sve vreme Prvog svetskog rata. Posle rata, izgubile su svoju peštansku centralu. Godine 1922, u Beogradu je bila osnovana nova centrala koja je dobila zadatak da prikupi sav kapital *veresijskih udruga* koji se posle raspada Austro-Ugarske našao na teritoriji Kraljevine SHS. Tada je bilo utvrđeno da je u Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Vojvodini poslovalo 446 ovakvih mađarskih komunalnih štedionica, sa 110.500 članova i 241.800 udela u ukupnoj sumi od 12 miliona zlatnih kruna [*Zadružni leksikon,* 372, 1426].

Reliance of agriculture on banking mortgage loans in Vojvodina

Following an unsuccessful attempt at nationalising foreign banks in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes immediately after the State unification in 1918, in Vojvodina a well developed network of banks with German, Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian capital continued its work. During the world war, Serbian national crediting cooperatives suspended their work, thus after the war they had to restart their operations.

Prior to World War One, agriculture in Vojvodina was mainly credited through the mortgage loans. Farming population mortgaging its land was taking long-term banking loans, with the maturity from one to 40 years, and an interest rate from 4% to 8%. The earliest monetary institutes in Vojvodina were established by the local merchants and craftsmen in the second half of the 1890s. Early in the 20th century, there was a penetration of the foreign capital into the Southern Hungary: initially it was an inflow of German, English and French capital, to be followed by even the largest Pest banks. By 1914, in Backa, Banat, and Srem there were 230 monetary institutes in operation. Their total founding capital was relatively small, as illustrated by the fact that in 1914 it corresponded to the founding capital of any single medium-sized Budapest bank. The founding capital of the Pest Trading Bank - *Pestanska Trgovacka Banka,* for example, amounted that same year to 60 million krone, the level of the amount held by all the monetary institutes in the territory of the present-day Vojvodina together. However, according to the estimates of the Association of Vojvodina Banks, "monetary institutes in Backa, Banat, and Srem, although fragmented and holding rather modest funds, were proportionally adequate for the needs of the economy and were offering sufficient opportunities for successful business to be carried out in the period up to World War One." [B. Krsev, 31-40].

Systematic work on the establishment of Serbian agricultural cooperatives in Vojvodina started in 1897, with the setting up of Serbian crediting cooperatives of a Raiffeisen type, and the formation of the *Alliance of Serbian Agricultural Cooperatives* in Zagreb, also a central organisation for all the cooperatives in Vojvodina. The earliest agricultural crediting cooperatives were formed in Sremska Kamenica and in Indjija, and thereupon also in other Serbian townships. They were providing for their membership credits for purchase of farming utensils and were allowing their joint and common use. In addition, cooperatives also provided the opportunities for farmers to jointly rent the land, and often even to cultivate it together. Further to the Serbian national agricultural cooperatives, the establishment also started of the Croat national agricultural cooperatives in Vojvodina.

When World War One ended, there was a unification of the *Alliance of Serbian Agricultural Cooperatives* in Zagreb with the *Alliance* in Belgrade. Vojvodina agricultural cooperatives of Srem and Backa joined at that time the membership of the *Alliance of Serbian Agricultural Cooperatives* in Belgrade, while the agricultural cooperatives in Banat established their own *Alliance of Banat Agricultural Cooperatives,* with the seat in Veliki Beckerek.

Hungarian communal savings cooperatives in Croatia, Slavonia, and Vojvodina

Hungarian state capital entered into the Croat, Slavonian and Vojvodina villages through the intermediation of state-funded, communal savings cooperatives known as the *veresijske udruge.* These distinctive communal savings cooperatives were to appear immediately following the establishment of the initial national agricultural cooperatives in the Serbian and Croat villages in Croatia, Slavonia, and Vojvodina. They were established by the Hungarian local governing administration in accordance with the provisions of the Law XXIII of 11 June 1898 [N. Gacesa, 179]. They were working under the constant supervision of the central Hungarian authorities in Pest and through them an economic and political influence was exerted on the non-Germanic population. The objective of their work was to place the villages and rural institutions under the financial dependency of Pest.

In Croatia, Slavonia, and Vojvodina,

Zaključak

Uvidom u zatečeno stanje poljoprivrednog kredita u Kraljevini SHS neposredno posle državnog ujedinjenja 1918. godine, ministar poljoprivrede i voda dr Velizar Janković je mogao da zaključi da na području važenja austro-ugarskog zakonodavstva postoji razvijen sistem institucija koje poljoprivrednike snabdevaju relativno jefitnim kreditom. Sa druge strane, dr Janković je mogao da vidi da su na području važenja srpskih zakona, koje je teško stradalo u Balkanskim i Prvom svetskom ratu, zemljoradnici bili prepušteni sami sebi. On je smatrao je da bi na ovom području bilo nerealno oslanjati se isključivo na obnavljanje rada zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga jer one ne bi mogle same da odgovore potrebama poljoprivrednog kredita, čak ni uz eventualnu širu finansijsku potporu države. Iz svih ovih razloga, dr Janković je 31. decembra 1920. godine podneo predlog Ministarskom savetu Kraljevine SHS da se osnuje državna zemljoradnička banka čiji bi osnovni zadatak bio da snabde poljoprivrednim kreditnom područja koja je zahvatio rat. U protivnom, upozoravao je on, seljaštvo u krajevima pogođenim ratom ponovo bi moralo da se zadužuje kod zelenaša i zelenaških banaka.


Budapest 1900.

Literatura / References

1. Balta, Ivan: “Iseljavanje iz Slavonije u Ameriku od 1905. do 1910. godine”, *Radovi Zavoda povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, sv. 45/2003., ss. 393–417. [I. Balta]
2. Blagojević, Obren: *Ekonomska misao u Bosni i Hercegovini do Drugog svjetskog rata,* Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Beograd, 1993 [O. Blagojević]
3. Frangeš, Oto: “Uređenje seljačkog kredita putem kotarskih pripomoćnih zaklada”, *Ekonomist,* br. 4/5, 1940, Zagreb, ss. 161-167. [O. Frangeš]
4. Gaćeša, Nikola L., redaktor: *Istorija bankarstva u Vojvodini,* Novi Sad, 2001. [N. Gaćeša]
5. Gestrin, Ferdo; Melik, Vasilij: *Slovenska zgodovina od konca 18. stoletja do 1918,* Ljubljana, 1996. [F. Gestrin, V. Melik]

Hungarian communal savings cooperatives were outposts of the Central National Credit Union, or the *Zemaljske sredisnje veresijske udruge,* with the seat in Pest. This public Pest financial institution opened its branch offices in Zagreb and Osijek. They were operating as intermediaries between the Pest headquarters and the local communal savings units in the Croat, Slavonian and Vojvodina villages.

Veresijske udruge were working in Croatia, Slavonia, and Vojvodina throughout the World War One. After the war, they lost their Pest headquarters. In 1922, the new headquarters were established in Belgrade entrusted with the task of gathering together of all the capital of the *veresijskih udruga,* which had after the collapse of the Austro-Hungary remained in the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It was recorded that at that time in Croatia, Slavonia, and Vojvodina there were 446 of such Hungarian communal savings units in operation, with 110,500 members and 241,800 shares in the total sum of 12 million golden krone [Zadruzni leksikon, 1426].

Conclusion

After an insight into the state of facts prevailing in the agricultural crediting in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes immediately following the State unification in 1918, Minister of Agriculture and Waterways, Dr. Velizar Jankovic, concluded that in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Austro-Hungarian legislature there existed a well developed system of institutions that were supplying agriculture with a relatively cheap credit facilities. On the other hand, Dr. Jankovic could observe that in the teritories under the jurisdiction of the Serbian laws, that were tremendously devastated during the Balkan Wars and the World War One, farming population was left to their own devices and to cope for itself. He was of the view that in these teritories it was unrealistic to rely exclusively on the revival of work of the agricultural crediting cooperatives, because they could not alone respond to the needs and requirements for agricultural crediting, not even with an eventual broader support from the state institutions. For this reason, on 31 December 1920, Dr. Jankovic submitted a proposal to the Ministerial Council of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to establish a state-funded agricultural bank with the main objective of providing agricultural crediting to the war-torn devastated areas. In the case of contrary, he warned, farming population and peasantry in the war-torn areas will be forced again to borrow from the loan-sharks and from the loan-sharking banks.

6. Gnjatović, Dragana: "Seljačka menica u Srbiji", *Ekonomika poljoprivrede, br. 4, 209,* ss. 535-550. [D. Gnjatović, 2009, (a)]
7. Gnjatović, Dragana: "Prva mera kreditne politike u Srbiji", *Bankarstvo*, br. 11-12, 2009, ss. 40-61 [D. Gnjatović, 2009, b]
8. Kršev, Boris: *Bankarstvo u Dunavskoj banovini,* Novi Sad, 1998 [B. Kršev]
9. Lakatoš, Josip: *Narodna statistika*, Zagreb, 1914. [J. Lakatoš]
10. Lazarević, Žarko: *Kmečki dolgovi na Slovenskem,* Ljubljana, 1994. [Ž. Lazarević]
11. Vučo, Nikola: *Poljoprivreda Jugoslavije 1918-1941,* Beograd, 1954. [N. Vučo]
12. *Zadružni leksikon,* Zagreb, 1957. [*Zadružni leksikon*]