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# OSTVARENJE PROJEKTA BANKE ZA POLJOPRIVREDNI KREDIT

*Povodom osamdeset godina od  
osnivanja Privilegovane agrarne  
banke - osmi deo*

## Rezime

U prvim godinama ličnog režima kralja Aleksandra Karađorđevića, privremeno je bilo skinuto sa dnevnog reda pitanje odlaganja otplate i otpisa zemljoradničkih dugova. Postojeći dužničko poverilački odnosi u zemlji sačuvani su, za još neko vreme, zahvaljujući tome što je na osnovu Zakona, usvojenog 16. aprila 1929. godine, bila osnovana Privilegovana agrarna banka. Zemljoradnicima je bila pružena mogućnost da hipotekarnim kreditima ove specijalizovane banke za poljoprivredni kredit refinansiraju dugove koje su nagomilali kod akcionarskih banaka i privatnih lica. Akcionarske banke iz svih krajeva zemlje su pozdravile osnivanje Privilegovane agrarne banke i upisale šestinu njenog, prvobitno utvrđenog, početnog akcijskog kapitala.

**Ključne reči:** zemljoradnički dugovi, hipotekarni krediti za refinansiranje, Privilegovana agrarna banka

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*On the occasion of the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary  
of the establishment of The Privileged  
Agrarian Bank - part eight*

### **Summary**

During the initial years of the personal reign of King Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, the matter of delaying repayment and writing off of the agrarian debts was suspended from the agenda. Debtor-creditor relationship present in the country was maintained, for some time to come, thanks to the fact that under the Law, adopted on 16 April 1929, Privileged Agrarian Bank was established. Farmers were offered the option of refinancing their debt, that was piling up with the joint stock banks and private persons, with mortgage loans to be granted by this bank specialised in agrarian crediting. Joint stock banks, from all parts of the country, welcomed the establishment of the Privileged Agrarian Bank and subscribed to one sixth of its originally set up initial equity capital.

**Key words:** agricultural debts, refinancing mortgage loans, Privileged Agrarian Bank

# IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROJECT BANK FOR AGRICULTURAL CREDITING

## Preokret u politici poljoprivrednog kredita Kraljevine SHS

Pitanje preuređivanja zemljoradničkih dugova, koje je tokom 1927. i 1928. godine unelo pometnju u privredni život Kraljevine SHS, privremeno je bilo skinuto s dnevnog reda u prvim godinama ličnog režima kralja Aleksandra Karađorđevića. Kralj je 6. januara 1929. godine suspendovao *Vidovdanski Ustav*, raspustio vladu i Narodnu skupštinu i formirao novu vladu, sa generalom Petrom Živkovićem na čelu. Nova vlada je već 11. januara 1929. godine iskazala izričito protivljenje uvođenju bankarskog moratorijuma zemljoradničkih dugova [„Osnovne ideje vlade generala Petra Živkovića“]. Na taj način je i formalno bio odbačen predlog „Zakona o dugovanjima i zaduženju zemljoradnika“ iz 1928. godine, koji je predviđao ne samo odlaganje otplate zemljoradničkih dugova već i diskriminaciju privatnog bankarstva u kreditiranju zemljoradnika [D. Gnjatović, (a)]. Prema izjavi P. Živkovića londonskom *Daily Express-u*, u zemlji u kojoj postoji privatna svojina nije moglo biti ni reči o razduženju seljaka [„Osnovne ideje vlade generala Petra Živkovića“]. Svesni činjenice da ovakvo vladino stanovište osigurava pravnu zaštitu postojećih dužničko poverilačkih odnosa, bankarski krugovi u zemlji su čvrsto podržali režim kralja Aleksandra. Bankari su posredstvom Udruženja banaka u Beogradu poručili Kralju da je povukao mudar potez koji je najbolji put da zemlja izađe iz unutrašnjih trzavica i nesređenosti koje su ometale njen kulturni i privredni napredak [„Industrijalci i bankari pozdravljaju novo

stanje“] [„Pozdrav Udruženja banaka“].

Odbacivši mogućnost uvođenja bankarskog moratorijuma i likvidacije zemljoradničkih dugova, general P. Živković je u pomenutom intrvjuu *Daily Express-u* najavio da kraljevska vlada priprema novo rešenje problema prezaduženosti seljaka: „Pomišlja se na osnivanje jedne specijalizovane ustanove koja će zemljoradnicima davati dugoročni hipotekarni kredit“. Država se, dakle, opredelila da prihvati predlog koji je u jesen 1928. godine iznelo Udruženje banaka u svojoj *Deklaraciji o bankarskom poljoprivrednim kreditu*, da hipotekarni kredit postane instrument za refinansiranje zemljoradničkih dugova [D. Gnjatović (a)]. Istina, tom prilikom je Udruženje banaka predložilo da se hipotekarni kredit za refinansiranje dodeljuje zemljoradnicima posredstvom posebnog odeljenja Državne hipotekarne banke, a ne posredstvom posebne institucije za poljoprivredni kredit. Kada je država, međutim, u prvim danima 1929. godine najavila da se za ovu namenu stvara

specijalizovana ustanova, banke nisu reagovalе. Bankarima nije bio bitan organizacioni oblik institucije koja će zemljoradnicima pomoći da redovno otplaćuju dugove; njima je bilo jedino važno da im se ovi dugovi vrate.

Na drugoj strani, najava o osnivanju s a m o s t a l n e , s p e c i j a l i z o v a n e ustanove za hipotekarni poljoprivredni kredit izazvala je otvoreni sukob među predstavnicima državnih i privatnih zadružnih organizacija. Rasprave o tome koja bi od ovih organizacija trebalo da bude favorizovana u povlačenju jeftinih h i p o t e k a r n i h poljoprivrednih kredita nove velebanke, pokazale



Kralj Aleksandar I Karađorđević  
King Aleksandar I Karađorđević

## Turning point in the agrarian crediting policy of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croat and Slovenes - SHS

The matter of rescheduling agrarian debts, that had during the years 1927 and 1928 introduced some confusion in the economic life of the Kingdom of SHS, was suspended from the agenda for a while during the initial years of personal reign of King Aleksandar Karadjordjevic. The king suspended *Saint Vitus' Day Constitution*, on 6 January 1929, dissolved government and National Assembly and formed a new government headed by General Petar Zivkovic. The new government, as early as 11 January 1929, expressed an extreme opposition to the introduction of agrarian debt moratorium ("Basic ideas of General Petar Zivkovic's government"). In this way, the proposed "Law on indebtedness and borrowing of farming population" of 1928 was also formally rejected, as it prescribed not only rescheduling of agrarian debt repayment, but also a discrimination of private banking in crediting farmers [D. Gnjatovic, (a)]. According to the statement given by P. Zivkovic to the London Daily Express, in the country in which private property exists there can be no talk of writing off of peasants' debts ("Basic ideas of General Petar Zivkovic's government"). Aware of the fact that such a stand by the government insures legal protection of debtor-creditor relationship, banking circles in the country strongly supported King Aleksandar's regime. Bankers conveyed to the King that he had drawn a wise move as the best way for the country to come out of the internal conflicts and confusion that were obstructing its cultural and economic progress. ["Industrialists and bankers welcome new situation"] ["Compliments of the Banking Association"]

While rejecting the option for introduction of a banking moratorium and liquidation of agrarian debts, General P. Zivkovic mentioned in his interview to the Daily Express that the King's government is preparing a new solution for the problem of rural population over-indebtedness: "There is thought given to the establishment of a specialised institution that will grant long-term mortgage loans to the farming population". The government,

however, opted in favour of the proposal which was tabled in the autumn of 1928 by the Banking Association, in its *Declaration on Banking Agrarian Crediting*, stating that the mortgage loan should become an instrument in the farming population indebtedness [D. Gnjatovic (a)]. In truth, what the Banking Association proposed on that occasion was for the refinancing mortgage loans to be granted to farmers through the mediation of special department at the State Mortgage Bank, and not through an institution specialised in agrarian crediting. When the state announced, however, in the early days of 1929, that a specialised institution for this purpose is to be established, banks did not react. Bankers did not find it important what organisational form the institution shall have, the one to be engaged in assisting farming population in regular debt servicing. What they did care about was for those debts to be repaid.

On the other hand, the announced establishment of an independent, specialised institution for mortgage agrarian crediting caused an open conflict between the representatives of both state and private cooperative organisations. Debates on which one of these organisations should be a favourite in drawing cheap mortgage agrarian loans from the new wholesale-bank demonstrated that between the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting, which was the seat of the state cooperative agrarian crediting system, and the alliance of agrarian cooperatives established on private initiative, there existed irreconcilable interests.

Dr. Milorad Nedeljkovic, in his capacity of the president of the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting, claimed that debt refinancing was necessary only for a limited number of over-indebted farmers in some of the Serbian counties, and that therefore, it was not necessary to establish a special institution for mortgage agrarian crediting. He proposed that the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting should grow into a strong Agrarian Bank that would continue to provide farmers personally with individual, both short-term and medium-term loans; being the headquarters of the cooperative system created under the *Law on Agricultural Crediting*, Agrarian Bank would force further creation of new local

su da između Direkcije za poljoprivredni kredit, koja je bila sedište državnog zadružnog sistema kreditiranja zemljoradnika i saveza zemljoradničkih zadruga stvorenih privatnom inicijativom, postoje nepomirljivi interesi.

Dr Milorad Nedeljković, kao predsednik Direkcije za poljoprivredni kredit je tvrdio da je refinansiranje dugova neophodno samo ograničenom broju prezaduženih zemljoradnika u nekim srezovima u Srbiji, pa da, samim tim, nije potrebno osnivati posebnu instituciju za hipotekni poljoprivredni kredit. On je predložio da Direkcija za poljoprivredni kredit preraste u jaku Zemljoradničku banku koja bi nastavila da snabdeva zemljoradnike ličnim, kratkoročnim i srednjoročnim kreditom; kao centrala zadružnog sistema stvorenog *Zakonom o poljoprivrednom kreditu*, Zemljoradnička banka bi forsirala dalje stvaranje novih mesnih zemljoradničkih zadruga, preko svojih oblasnih zadruga [M. Nedeljković, 1]. Istovremeno, dr Nedeljković je smatrao da je dovoljno da Državna hipotekarna banka otvori odeljenje za hipotekarni poljoprivredni kredit, gde bi najsiriomašniji seljaci bili u prilici da dođu do zajmova za refinansiranje starih dugova.

Predlog dr Milorada Nedeljkovića o jačanju sistema oblasnih i mesnih zadruga za poljoprivredni kredit izazvao je burno negodovanje kod predstavnika zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga stvorenih privatnom inicijativom. Naime, *Zakon o poljoprivrednom kreditu* iz 1925. godine, na osnovu kojeg je bila osnovana Direkcija za poljoprivredni kredit i sistem mesnih i oblasnih zadruga, zanemarivao je činjenicu, da je u trenutku kada je bio usvojen, u Kraljevini SHS poslovalo više od 2.400 zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga Rajfajzenovog tipa. One su bile udružene na teritorijalnom i nacionalnom principu u sledeće saveze: Glavni savez srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga u Beogradu; Savez srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga u Novom Sadu; Centralu zemljoradničkih kreditnih zadruga u Novom Sadu; Savez hrvatskih seljačkih zadruga u Sarajevu; Savez srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga u Sarajevu; Središnji savez hrvatskih seljačkih zadruga u Zagrebu; Zadružnu maticu u Splitu, Banatski savez srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga u Velikom Bečkereku (Zrenjaninu) i Savez slovenačkih

zadruga u Ljubljani. Čelnici zadružnih saveza su napominjali da se sa pravom moglo očekivati da će zakonodavac doneti takvo rešenje koje će uzeti postojeće, već razvijeno, organski uraslo u domaćoj sredini, zemljoradničko kreditno zadrugarstvo, da bude glavna podloga i glavna poluga poljoprivrednog kredita; da će se *Zakonom o poljoprivrednom kreditu* uspostaviti ustanova „u obliku centralne zemljoradničke banke, sa punim atributima jedne velebanke, prilagođena specijalnim zahtevima zemljoradničkog kredita“. Mislilo se da će ova ustanova svoje kapitale plasirati u pojedinačna seoska gazdinstva kao pozajmice preko postojećih zemljoradničkih organizacija, a da se neće upuštati u osnivanje naročitih svojih zadruga. „Međutim, zakonodavac je postupio baš suprotno. Umesto jedne centralne kreditne institucije u stilu i sa funkcijama jedne velebanke, dobili smo Direkciju za poljoprivredni kredit, jednu čisto administrativnu birokratsku ustanovu“ [I. M. Varga, 2]. Kritikujući predlog dr Milorada Nedeljkovića o pretvaranju Direkcije za poljoprivredni kredit u Zemljoradničku banku koja bi podsticala jačanje sistema mesnih i oblasnih zadruga, savezi zemljoradničkih zadruga su zatražili da nova specijalizovana ustanova bude „jedna velebanka“ koja bi davala hipotekarne kredite zemljoradnicima posredstvom postojećeg sistema, privatnom inicijativom stvorenih, kreditnih zemljoradničkih zadruga Rajfajzenovog tipa.

Dok su se među predstavnicima zadružnih organizacija vodile rasprave o tome koja bi od njih trebalo da bude favorizovana osnivanjem specijalizovane ustanove za poljoprivredni kredit, zemljoradnici pritisnuti agrarnom krizom tražili su od države da što pre nađe rešenje za refinansiranje njihovih dugova. Njihovi glasovi su dolazili ne samo iz prezaduženih srezova Šumadije, već sve više i iz drugih krajeva zemlje. Na primer, na sastanku Banatskog poljoprivrednog udruženja koji je održan u Velikom Bečkereku 20. marta 1929. godine, apelovano je „da se za saniranje seljačkih dugova nađe puta, da zemljoradnici što pre dođu do jeftinog kredita da bi mogli odgovoriti svojim obavezama prema novčanim zavodima i privatnim zajmodavcima kojima plaćaju nepodnošljivu kamatu, čiju visinu

farming cooperatives, through its county cooperatives [M. Nedeljkovic, 1]. At the same time, Dr. Nedeljkovic was of the view that it is sufficient for the State Mortgage Bank to open a department for mortgage agrarian crediting, where the most impoverished farmers could obtain loans for refinancing of their old debts.

The proposal by Dr. Milorad Nedeljkovic, on strengthening the system of county and local cooperatives for agrarian crediting, caused a turbulent dissension among the representatives of the crediting cooperatives established on private initiative. Namely, *Law on Agrarian Crediting*, of 1925, on the basis of which the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting was formed and the system of local and county cooperatives set up, neglected the fact that at the time of its adoption, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes there were more than 2,444 farming crediting cooperatives of a Raiffeisen type in operation. They were united, along both the territorial and the national principles, into the following alliances: Main alliance of Serbian farming cooperatives in Belgrade; Alliance of Serbian farming cooperatives in Novi Sad; Headquarters of farming crediting cooperatives in Novi Sad; Alliance of Croat farming cooperatives in Sarajevo; Alliance of Serbian farming cooperatives in Sarajevo; Central Alliance of farming cooperatives in Zagreb; Cooperative home office in Split; Banat Alliance of Serbian farming cooperatives in Veliki Beckerek (Zrenjanin), and the Alliance of Slovak cooperatives in Ljubljana. The top officials of the alliances argued that it could rightfully be expected that the legislator would adopt such a solution, and take the already present and well developed, organically grown into the domestic environment, farming crediting cooperative structure as the main basis and the main leverage of agrarian crediting; but also

that the *Law on Agrarian Crediting* will establish an institution “in the form of an agrarian central bank, with full attributes of a wholesale-bank, adjusted to special requirements of the agrarian crediting”. The argument was that such an institution shall place its capital into individual farming homesteads as loans granted through the existing farming cooperatives, and that it shall not engage in the establishment of some other, particular cooperatives of its own. “Legislator, however, acted in an opposite direction. Instead of one central crediting institution in the style and function similar to a wholesale-bank, what we now have is a Directorate for Agrarian Crediting, a purely administrative and bureaucratic institution” [I.M. Varga, 2]. While criticising the proposal by Dr. Nedeljkovic for the transformation of the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting into an Agrarian Bank that will instigate strengthening of the system of local and county cooperatives, alliances of farming cooperatives demanded the new specialised institution to be “a wholesale-bank” that would grant mortgage loans to farmers through the existing system of the on-a-private-initiative created, crediting farming cooperatives of a Raiffeisen type.

As the debates dragged on between the representatives of the farming organisations on which one of them should be favoured by



*„U zemlji u kojoj postoji privatna svojina, ne može biti ni reči o razduženju seljaka.“*

Iz intervju generala Petra Živkovića, *Daily Express-u*, London, 11. januar 1929.

*“In the country where private property exists, there can be no talk of debt release of peasantry.”*

From the interview given by General Petar Živkovic to the *Daily Express*, London, 11 January 1929

poljoprivredni proizvodi ni pored najnapornijeg rada nisu u stanju da podnesu“ [„Zahtevi banatskih poljoprivrednika“]. Seljaci širom zemlje su sve teže podnosili dužnički teret jer su cene poljoprivrednih proizvoda bile u stalnom padu (Tabela 1). Oni su, dakle, bili prinuđeni da za otplatu dugova prodaju sve veće količine poljoprivrednih proizvoda.

Tabela br. 1. Indeksi cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda i opšti indeksi cena u Kraljevini SHS (Jugoslaviji) 1923-1939, u stalnim cenama 1938 = 100

| Godina | Indeksi cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda | Opšti indeksi cena |
|--------|----------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1923.  | 212.7                                  | 189.2              |
| 1924.  | 218.6                                  | 191.9              |
| 1925.  | 169.8                                  | 157.6              |
| 1926.  | 163.5                                  | 145.1              |
| 1927.  | 164.5                                  | 141.7              |
| 1928.  | 168.4                                  | 145.2              |
| 1929.  | 158.8                                  | 137.9              |
| 1930.  | 126.6                                  | 117.1              |
| 1931.  | 109.7                                  | 107.2              |
| 1932.  | 93.2                                   | 95.2               |
| 1933.  | 85.4                                   | 92.7               |
| 1934.  | 78.4                                   | 84.3               |
| 1935.  | 84.1                                   | 88.1               |
| 1936.  | 87.8                                   | 90.8               |
| 1937.  | 96.5                                   | 99.8               |
| 1938.  | 100.0                                  | 100.0              |
| 1939.  | 103.3                                  | 103.5              |

Izvor: [S. Stajić, 40, 48]

U nameri da pomogne seljacima tako što će osnovati specijalizovanu ustanovu za hipotekarni poljoprivredni kredit, vlada generala P. Živkovića morala je da obezbedi podršku ne samo akcionarskih banaka već i svih kreditnih zadruga, nezavisno od toga na koji način su one bile osnovane i organizovane. Bez široke podrške svih zemljoradnikovih poverilaca, projekat ovakve ustanove ne bi mogao da se realizuje. Zvuči paradoksalno to što su akcionarske banke podržale stvaranje snažne finansijske institucije za kreditiranje poljoprivrede, jer se radilo o ulasku jakog konkurenta na bankarsko tržište Kraljevine SHS. Međutim, u uslovima sve veće insolventnosti poljoprivrednika, interesi akcionarskih banaka su se poistovetili sa interesima države. Posredstvom svojih strukovnih udruženja, akcionarske banke iz cele zemlje su podržale stvaranje specijalizovane institucije za poljoprivredni kredit upravo zbog toga što je

bilo najavljeno da će njeni jeftini hipotekarni zajmovi biti namenjeni ne samo za produktivne svrhe već i za refinansiranje zemljoradničkih dugova.

Kada je u pitanju šarolika struktura zadružnih institucija u zemlji, da bi one sve podržale osnivanje „jedne velebanke“, bilo je neophodno da im njen kredit bude dostupan pod jednakim uslovima. Zbog toga je trebalo da država prestane da favorizuje kreditne zadruge stvorene na osnovu *Zakona o poljoprivrednom kreditu*. Na sednici Ministarskog saveta, 21. marta 1929. godine, kojom je predsedavao kralj Aleksandar, u tom pravcu je doneta odluka da se Direkcija za poljoprivredni kredit „preudesi na autonomnom i bankovnom osnovu“ [„Radni program vlade generala Petra Živkovića“]. Kao razlog za institucionalnu transformaciju Direkcije za poljoprivredni kredit bila je navedena činjenica da država nije bila u stanju da iz budžetskih sredstava odgovori obavezama po *Zakonu o poljoprivrednom kreditu*. Zbog toga je bilo neophodno da se pođe drugačijim putem u organizaciji poljoprivrednog kredita, da se kapital neophodan za rad specijalizovane institucije za poljoprivredni kredit prikupi ne samo iz državnih već i iz privatnih izvora. Tako je na istoj sednici Ministarskog saveta doneta odluka o osnivanju Privilegovane agrarne banke, kao akcionarskog društva u mešovitoj svojini, „koja će služiti omogućavanju jeftinog kredita i olakšanju teških obaveza seljaka“. Bilo je utvrđeno da osnivački kapital ove banke bude 300 miliona dinara, sa mogućnošću povećanja do jedne milijarde dinara. O kom redu veličine osnivačkog kapitala se radilo, postaje jasno kada se ima u vidu da je u vreme osnivanja Privilegovane agrarne banke, u svim akcionarskim bankama u Kraljevini SHS bilo uplaćeno ukupno 3,46 milijardi dinara sopstvenog kapitala [B. Kršev, 59].

Preokret u politici poljoprivrednog kredita Kraljevine SHS, do kojeg je došlo kada je *de facto* bilo odlučeno da se likvidira Direkcija za poljoprivredni kredit i osnuje Privilegovana agrarna banka, izazvao je negodovanje oblasnih i mesnih zadruga za poljoprivredni kredit. Postojala je bojazan da će sa insititucionalnom transformacijom Direkcije za poljoprivredni kredit biti doveden u pitanje rad čitavog zadružnog sistema koji je bio ustrojen *Zakonom*

the establishment of the specialised institution for agrarian crediting, farming population, under the burden of crisis, demanded of the nation State to find urgently a solution for the refinancing of its debts. Their voices were coming not only from the over-indebted counties of Sumadija, but increasingly so also from the other parts of the country. At the meeting of the Banat Farming Association, for example, held in Veliki Beckerek on 20 March 1929, an appeal was launched “for a road to be found for rehabilitation, reorganisation of peasants’ debts, for the farming population to be given access promptly to cheap credit in order to be able to honour its obligations towards monetary institutes and private lenders to whom they are paying an insufferably high interest, at such a rate that no farming produce, even in spite of the most tedious labour, can be sustained” [“Demands of Banat Farmers”]. Peasantry throughout the country was bearing a growing burden of debt, while the prices of agricultural products were constantly plummeting (Table 1). Thus, they were forced to sell ever larger quantities of farming produce for repayment of their debts.

Table br. 1. Agricultural products price index and general price index in the Kingdom of SHS (Yugoslavia) in the period 1923-1939, in prices fixed at 1938 = 100

| Year  | Agricultural products price index | General price index |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1923. | 212.7                             | 189.2               |
| 1924. | 218.6                             | 191.9               |
| 1925. | 169.8                             | 157.6               |
| 1926. | 163.5                             | 145.1               |
| 1927. | 164.5                             | 141.7               |
| 1928. | 168.4                             | 145.2               |
| 1929. | 158.8                             | 137.9               |
| 1930. | 126.6                             | 117.1               |
| 1931. | 109.7                             | 107.2               |
| 1932. | 93.2                              | 95.2                |
| 1933. | 85.4                              | 92.7                |
| 1934. | 78.4                              | 84.3                |
| 1935. | 84.1                              | 88.1                |
| 1936. | 87.8                              | 90.8                |
| 1937. | 96.5                              | 99.8                |
| 1938. | 100.0                             | 100.0               |
| 1939. | 103.3                             | 103.5               |

Source: [S. Stajić, 40, 48]

Government of General P. Zivkovic, in its attempt to render assistance to farmers by establishing a specialised institution for

mortgage agrarian crediting, had to secure support not only from the joint stock banks but also from all of the crediting cooperatives, irrespective of the manner in which they were set up and organised, Without a broad grass-root support of all the creditors lending to farming population, the project of such an institution could not be brought into life. It may sound paradoxical that all the joint stock banks actually did support the creation of a strong financial institution for agrarian crediting, as it allowed the entry of a powerful competitor into the banking market of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Under the circumstances of a growing insolvency of the peasantry, however, the interests of the joint stock banks concurred with the interests of the government. Joint stock banks from the entire country, through the mediation of its professional associations, offered support to the establishment of an institution specialised in agrarian crediting actually because it was announced that its cheap mortgage loans shall be used not only for production purposes, but also for refinancing debt of the farming population.

With a broadly diversified structure of cooperative institutions in the country in mind, for them all to support establishment of “one wholesale bank” necessitated its lending to be made accessible for all under equitable terms. Hence, the government had to stop favouring those crediting cooperatives founded under the *Law on Agrarian Crediting*. At the session of the Council of Ministers held on 21 March 1929, chaired by King Aleksandar himself, a decision was made in that direction by stipulating that the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting “shall be restructured on an autonomous and banking basis” [“Action programme of General Petar Zivkovic’s government”]. The reason for institutional transformation of the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting was contained in the fact that the State could no longer respond, with its budgetary funds, to the liabilities incurred under the *Law on Agrarian Crediting*. It was necessary, therefore, to venture along a different path in the organisation of agrarian crediting, and the capital required for work of the institution specialised in agrarian crediting to be collected not only from the state funds

o poljoprivrednom kreditu. U Memorandumu, upućenom kralju Aleksandru 1. aprila 1929. godine, predstavnici svih šest oblasnih zadruga: iz Beograda, Ćuprije, Skoplja, Sarajeva, Splita i Zagreba zahtevali su da se očuva njihov zadružni sistem. Oni su tvrdili da oblasne i mesne zadruge za poljoprivredni kredit mogu da funkcionišu samostalno, čak i ako se ukine Direkcija za poljoprivredni kredit. Svoju tvrdnju potkrepili su činjenicom da je „uprkos skromnim (državnim) sredstvima koja su u tu svrhu bila stavljena na raspoloženje, stvorena za nekoliko meseci jedna široko zasnovana organizacija koja danas već broji oko 1.000 mesnih kreditnih zadruga sa preko 50.000 članova“. Istovremeno, oni su predložili da šest oblasnih zadruga formira Središnu zadrugu za poljoprivredni kredit koja bi, umesto Direkcije za poljoprivredni kredit, postala centrala njihovog autonomnog zadružnog sistema [„Memorandum“]. Vlada generala P. Živkovića je prihvatila ovaj predlog i na taj način konačno obezbedila podršku svih zadružnih organizacija u zemlji, da se osnuje Privilegovana agrarna banka.

## Zakon o Privilegovanoj agrarnoj banci

Dana 16. aprila 1929. godine, donet je *Zakon o Privilegovanoj agrarnoj banci* koji je obnarodovan u „Službenim novinama“ od 22. aprila 1929. godine. Ovim Zakonom, nova institucija za poljoprivredni kredit dobila je zadatak „da povoljnim kreditom pomaže poljoprivredu i poljoprivrednika“ [Čl. 1. *Zakona*]. Njegovom primenom, konačno će biti realizovana zamisao dr Velizara Jankovića iz 1920. godine „o osnivanju jedne naročite ustanove, koja će raspolagati velikim kapitalom i koja će moći davati pozajmice zemljoradnicima na brz način i s jeftinim interesom, kako to priroda same poljske privrede zahteva“. Međutim, *Zakon o privilegovanoj agrarnoj banci* i prvobitni predlog dr Velizara Jankovića razlikovali su se po dva važna pitanja. Ove razlike nastale su kao rezultat spoznaje nosilaca politike poljoprivrednog kredita u Kraljevini SHS tokom 1920-ih godina, prvo, o realnim mogućnostima države da kreditira poljoprivredu i, drugo, o konkretnim finansijskim potrebama zemljoradnika pogođenih agrarnom krizom.



Beograd 1930.  
Belgrade 1930

but also from the private sources. At the said session of the Council of Ministers a decision was passed to establish the Privileged Agrarian Bank, as a joint stock company in mixed-ownership, “which shall serve the purpose of granting cheap loans and alleviating heavy burden of peasantry.” It was determined that the founding capital of this bank shall be 300 million dinars, with the option of increasing this amount up to one billion dinars. The order of magnitude of this founding capital becomes clear when we bear in mind that at the time of establishment of the Privileged Agrarian Bank, in all the joint stock banks in the Kingdom of SHS there was the total of 3.46 billion dinars of capital funds paid [B. Krsev, 59].

The turning point in the policy of agrarian crediting in the Kingdom of SHS, that occurred when it was decided *de facto* to liquidate Directorate for Agrarian Crediting and establish the Privileged Agrarian Bank, caused dissent both of county and local agrarian crediting cooperatives. There was apprehension that the institutional transformation of the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting will bring under the question mark the entire functioning of the cooperative system, which was set up under the *Law on Agrarian Crediting*. In the Memorandum, submitted to King Aleksandar on 1 April 1929, representatives of all the six county cooperatives: from Belgrade, Cuprija, Skopje, Sarajevo, Split, and Zagreb, demanded continuation of their cooperative system. They argued that the county and local agrarian crediting cooperatives can function autonomously, even if the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting is dissolved. They substantiated their argument with the fact that “in spite of modest (state) funds which were placed at the disposal for these purposes, in over a few months a broadly based organisation was formed which today numbers some 1,000 local crediting cooperatives with more than 50,000 members.” At the same time, they proposed for the six county cooperatives to form a central cooperative for agrarian crediting which would, instead of the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting, become headquarters of their autonomous cooperative system [“Memorandum”]. Government of General P. Zivkovic accepted this proposal and thus finally secured the support of all the

cooperative organisations in the country for the establishment of the Privileged Agrarian Bank.

## Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank

On 16 April 1929, *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank* was promulgated in the “Official Journal” of 22 April 1929. This Law prescribed that the new institution for agrarian crediting is entrusted with the task of “assisting with soft loans agriculture and farming population” [Article 1 of the Law]. Implementation of the Law shall finally bring into life the idea of Dr. Velizar Jankovic of 1920 “on the establishment of a particular institution that will dispose with large capital and which will be able to grant loans to farmers in an expedient manner with cheap interest, as the very nature of agrarian economy so demands”. Nevertheless, *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank* and the original proposal by Dr. Velizar Jankovic differed in two important points. These were the differences that resulted from the newly gained awareness by the authors of the agrarian crediting policy in the Kingdom of SHS during the 1920s, firstly, of the real capacity of the state to credit agriculture, and secondly, of the concrete financial needs of the farmers burdened by the agrarian crisis.

Firstly, while Dr. Velizar Jankovic was proposing for the institution for agrarian crediting to be a state-owned one, featuring as a departmental financial institution at the Ministry of Agriculture, *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank* prescribed establishment of a separate, specialised banking institution in mixed ownership [Law, Article 7]. Decision in favour of a bank with a mixed ownership structure and specialised in crediting agriculture with financial funds to be collected at the capital market, was the result of the awareness that the state is not capable of allocating in its budget sufficient funds for crediting agriculture. Immediately following the promulgation of the *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank*, Dr. Oto Franges, Minister of Agriculture in the Government of General Petar Zivkovic, stated that the experience with the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting, with the scope of work limited by the state



funds and those of state institutions, showed that even with the best of intentions, it had not been possible to pool together a sum of 120 million dinars [“G. Dr. Franges on the Privileged Agrarian Bank”]. Dissolution of the Directorate for Agrarian Crediting will turn this state-owned capital into participation or a stake that the State shall have in the joint stock company capital of the Privileged Agrarian Bank. Namely, *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank* prescribed that in the founding equity capital of the new institution for agricultural crediting, the participation of the state shall be 120 million dinars. Secondly, according to the proposal of Dr. Velizar Jankovic, specialised institution for agrarian crediting should grant farmers long-term mortgage loans exclusively for production purposes: purchase of livestock, farming machinery and seed material, and also for land reclamation. Long-term mortgage loans of the Privileged Agrarian Bank, however, were to be earmarked not only for production purposes but also for refinancing of the debt arrears owed by farmers to banks and private persons. In Article 11 of the *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank* it was stipulated that “long-term loans may be granted to farming population... for purchase of land, debt conversion, secured by mortgaging immovable property, and also for construction of farming buildings or for land reclamation works.” Therefore, legislator gave priority to the purchase of land, to be followed by refinancing of debt. However, in the situation where serious agrarian crisis prevailed, it was clear that the primary aim of the wholesale bank for agrarian crediting, at least at the time of its establishment, will be “debt conversion, secured by mortgaged property”.

Regardless of the above mentioned differences between the project of Dr. Velizar Jankovic of 1929 and the solution which, actually, came from the Banking Association in Belgrade in 1928, promulgation of the *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank* showed that the state had finally achieved its target to offer all the agricultural producers in the country a good and soft loan. New financial institution could grant loans “to farmers as well as to agrarian crediting organisations, cooperatives, auxiliary institutions, agrarian communities and similar

institutions”. Its credits were, thus, equitably accessible to the farmer as an individual, and to all the organisations that were extending him credit. In this manner, all the farmers, not only cooperative members, but also those who were not in the cooperative membership, were offered a legal option of obtaining favourable credit. In addition, *Law* neither favoured nor discriminated between any of the already set up systems of cooperative crediting in the country, as the intention of the legislator was to allow all the existing organisations for agrarian crediting, without any differences, to be able to borrow under equitable conditions.

Although the *Law* prescribed the institution to be projected as a joint stock company in mixed ownership, legally speaking, the Privileged Agrarian Bank could not be established at a private initiative and neither governed by private capital. Established to serve public interests and to grow into a key instrument of the agrarian crediting policy in the country, the Bank had to comply with two crucially important conditions: firstly, it had to avail itself with large own capital in order to develop its business up to the scale appropriate to its task; secondly, it also had to be organised in a special way and to receive from the state a series of privileges. Essentially, legislator had in mind a banking institution under strict state governance. Namely, the *Law* prescribed that the Board of Directors of the Bank shall have 15 members, eight of them to be appointed by the Council of Ministers, and from amongst them chairman of the Board to be elected; the remaining seven members were elected by the Shareholders Assembly [*Law*, Article 15]. Board of Directors was to decide on all the key matters in the business operations of the Bank [*Law*, Articles 19 and 20], while the Shareholders Assembly was entrusted with the adoption of the balance sheet of Bank’s operations and the allocation, distribution of its profit [*Law*, Articles 19 and 20]. Regarding the matter of profit distribution, however, Shareholders Assembly could not decide outside of the in advance prescribed rules. Namely, the *Law* sanctioned the obligation of the Bank, warranted by the nation State, for the dividends to be paid on regular basis to the shareholders, up to the amount of 6% of the shares [*Law*, Article 50].

namenjeni ne samo za produktivne svrhe već i za refinansiranje ranije nagomilanih dugova seljaka bankama i privatnim licima. Članom 11 *Zakona o Privilegovanoj agrarnoj banci* bilo je propisano da se „dugoročni krediti mogu davati poljoprivrednicima... za kupovanje zemlje, konvertiranje duga, obezbeđenog zalogom na nepokretnosti, zatim za podizanje poljoprivrednih zgrada ili za provođenje melioracija“. Prema tome, zakonodavac je dao priritet kupovini zemlje, a zatim refinansiranju dugova. Međutim, u uslovima teške agrarne krize, bilo je jasno da je primarni cilj velebanke za poljoprivredni kredit, bar u trenutku njenog osnivanja, bio „konvertiranje duga, obezbeđenog zalogom na nepokretnosti“.

Bez obzira na pomenute razlike između projekta dr Velizara Jankovića iz 1920. godine i rešenja koje je, u suštini, poteklo od Udruženja banaka u Beogradu 1928. godine, donošenjem *Zakona o Privilegovanoj agrarnoj banci*, država je konačno ostvarila cilj da svim poljoprivrednim proizvođačima u zemlji ponudi povoljan kredit. Nova finansijska institucija mogla je da odobrava kredite „poljoprivrednicima kao i poljoprivrednim zadružnim kreditnim organizacijama, zadrugama, pripomoćnim zakladama, agrarnim zajednicama i sličnim ustanovama“. Njeni krediti bili su, dakle, podjednako dostupni zemljoradniku kao pojedincu i svim organizacijama koje su ga kreditirale. Na taj način, svi zemljoradnici, ne samo zadrugari već i oni koji nisu bili učlanjeni u zadruge, dobili su zakonsku mogućnost da dođu do povoljnog kredita. Takođe, *Zakon* nije favorizovao niti diskrimisao bilo koji od izgrađenih sistema zadružnog kredita u zemlji, jer je intencija zakonodavca bila da sve postojeće organizacije za kreditiranje zemljoradnika, bez razlike, mogu da se zadužuju pod jednakim uslovima.

Iako je *Zakonom* bila projektovana kao akcionarsko društvo u mešovitom vlasništvu, u pravnom smislu reči, Privilegovana agrarna banka nije mogla da bude osnovana privatnom inicijativom niti da njom upravlja privatni kapital. Određena da služi javnom interesu i da postane ključni instrument politike poljoprivrednog kredita u zemlji, Banka je morala da ispuni dva ključna uslova: prvo, da raspolaže velikim sopstvenim sredstvima,

da bi razvila svoje poslove do razmera koje su odgovarale njenom zadatku; drugo, da zbog toga bude organizovana na specijalan način i da od države dobije niz privilegija. U suštini, zakonodavac je imao na umu bankarsku instituciju pod strogom državnom upravom. Naime, *Zakon* je propisao da Upravni odbor banke ima 15 članova, od kojih je osam članova postavljao Ministarski savet, među kojima i predsednika Upravnog odbora; ostalih sedam članova birao je Zbor akcionara [*Zakon*, Čl. 15]. Upravni odbor je odlučivao o svim ključnim poslovima Banke [*Zakon*, Čl. 19, 20], dok je Zboru akcionara bilo povereno usvajanje bilansa poslovanja Banke i raspodele njene dobiti [*Zakon*, Čl. 19, 20]. Po pitanju raspodele dobiti, međutim, Zbor akcionara nije mogao da odlučuje mimo unapred utvrđenih pravila. Naime, *Zakonom* je bila sankcionisana obaveza Banke, za koju je jamčila država, da se akcionarima redovno isplaćuje dividenda do iznosa od 6% na akcije [*Zakon*, Čl. 50]. Pored toga, zakonodavac je predvideo „nadzorno pravo države nad Bankom koje vrši kraljevska vlada preko naročitog Komesara“. Vladin Komesar je bio dužan da nadzire rad upravnih organa Banke i Zbora akcionara i imao je diskreciono pravo da obustavi izvršenje njihovih odluka ukoliko bi smatrao da su one protivne zakonu i interesima Banke [*Zakon*, Čl. 43, 44, 45]. Banka je bila oslobođena plaćanja svih državnih i samoupravnih taksi, a njeni prihodi oslobođeni svih vrsta poreza, prireza i drugih nameta [*Zakon*, Čl. 52].

Da bi obezbedila dodatne izvore kapitala za kreditiranje zemljoradnika, Privilegovana agrarna banka je dobila zakonsku mogućnost da se zadužuje na domaćem i stranom finansijskom tržištu izdavanjem založnica [*Zakon*, Čl. 53]. Kako je *Zakonom* bilo predviđeno da Banka izdaje ove dugoročne hartije od vrednosti na podlozi hipotekarnih zajmova koje su uzimali zemljoradnici, vrednost emitovanih založnica nije smela da prekorači vrednost odobrenih hipotekarnih zajmova. Jasno je da je, zakonskim rešenjem o izdavanju založnica Privilegovane agrarne banke, država računala ne samo na domaći već i na strani zajmovni kapital za kreditiranje poljoprivrede. Radilo se o prvoklasnim hartijama od vrednosti, čiju isplatu je garantovala država.

In addition, legislator stipulated that “the supervisory right of the state over the Bank is to be exercised by the King’s government through the special Commissioner”. Government’s Commissioner had the task to supervise work of the managing bodies of the Bank and of the Shareholders Assembly, and had a discretionary right to suspend execution of their decisions if he should deem them contentious in the eye of law or interests of the Bank [Law, Article 43, 44 and 45]. The Bank was exempt from payment of all the state and self-governing taxes and its earnings free from all fiscal dues or other charges [Law, Article 52].

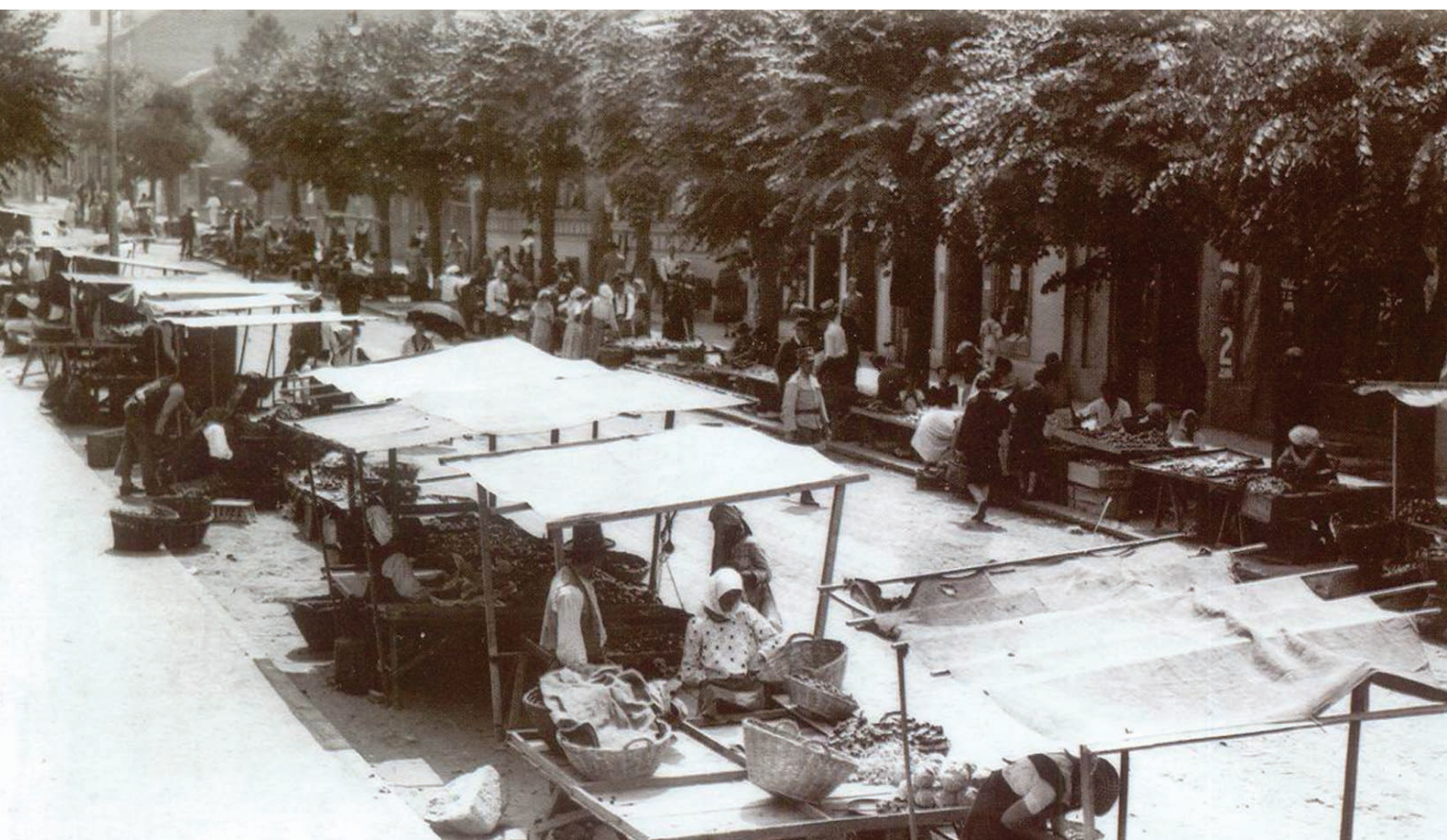
In order to secure additional sources of capital for crediting agriculture, Privileged Agrarian Bank was given a legal option to borrow both at the domestic and the foreign financial markets by issuing mortgage bonds [Law, Article 53]. As the *Law* prescribed that the Bank shall issue these long-term securities on the basis of mortgage loans granted to the farmers, the value of issued mortgage bonds could not exceed the value of approved mortgage loans. It is clear that the legislative solution of the issue of mortgage bonds by the Privileged Agrarian Bank was a move signifying that the state was counting not only on the domestic but also on the foreign lending capital for crediting agriculture. They were, actually, prime class securities guaranteed by

the nation State. In designing such a solution, state followed positive experience with the issue of mortgage bonds by the State Mortgage Bank, the issue dated from the period 1923 to 1927, in the name of its communal loans in Switzerland and the USA [D. Gnjatovic (b), 145, 146].

### **Subscription to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank**

King Aleksandar issued a Decree on 30 April 1929 nominating Vojin M. Djuricic, director of the State Mortgage Bank, government’s Commissioner in charge of the Privileged Agrarian Bank. His task was, in accordance with the *Law on the Privileged Agrarian Bank*, to make all the preparations necessary for its establishment and start of operations. Preparatory work lasted up to 22 May 1929 when the subscription to shares was inaugurated. On that day, “The call for subscription to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank A.F.” was publicly announced. In this call, in a simple and clear way citizens of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovene were explained the reasons for the establishment of the Privileged Agrarian Bank.

*“Adverse economic circumstances in which, in most cases, our farmer lives, works and produces, have greatly deteriorated of late. For three consecutive years, drought has heavily stricken our*



## Upis akcija Privilegovane agrarne banke

su na jednostavan i jasan način građanima Kraljevine SHS bili objašnjeni razlozi za osnivanje Privilegovane agrarne banke.

Nepovoljne privredne prilike pod kojima u većini slučajeva živi, radi i proizvodi naš zemljoradnik u poslednje vreme znatno su se pogoršale. Tri godine uzastopne suše pogodile su teško naš najmnogobrojniji stalež - zemljoradnika i još više otežale uslove za njegovo dalje ekonomsko napredovanje. Slab žetveni prinos naterao je seljački svet da se zadužuje, često puta sa velikim i neizdržljivim kamatama. Uz to još i neravna konkurencija naših poljoprivrednih proizvoda sa stranom konkurencijom na spoljnim tržištima i pojačana carinska zaštita kojom mnoge zemlje osiguravaju svoju poljoprivrednu produkciju, dovele su do pada cena naših seoskih proizvoda.

Nastupila je potreba hitna i neodložna da se ovom nesnosnom stanju učini kraj, da se zemljoradniku odlučno pritekne u pomoć, kako u interesu njegovom neposrednom tako i u interesu opšteg privrednog b o l j i t k a ostalih slojeva narodnih.

Kraljevska Vlada, brižljivo proučavajući pitanje kako da se zemljoradniku u ovim teškim prilikama pomogne, odlučila je da se odmah pristupi osnivanju naročite novčane ustanove u cilju kreditovanja poljoprivrednika jeftinim, kratkoročnim i dugoročnim zajmovima. Toga radi, Zakonom od 16. aprila ove godine, osnovana je Privilegovana agrarna banka. [Poziv].

Na upis akcija bili su pozvani svi privrednici i privredne ustanove, zemljoradničke zadruga i njihovi savezi, ostale zadružne ustanove, novčani zavodi, banke, osiguravajuća društva i svi građani „kojima napredak našeg poljoprivrednika i naše zemlje na srcu leži“. Nominalna vrednost akcije bila je 500 dinara. Pri upisu akcija, trebalo je odmah uplatiti najmanje četvrtinu njene nominalne vrednosti, a ostatak u tri jednake rate do kraja 1930. godine. Akcije su mogle da budu upisane

[illegible]

*most populous population class - farmers, having additionally levied the burden on their further economic progress. The poor harvesting yield forced the peasantry world to venture into indebtedness, often with extremely high and unbearable interest rates to be paid. In addition, the inequitable competitive position of our agricultural products in comparison with foreign competitors on foreign markets, and the intensified customs protection, which serves many countries for insuring their agricultural produce advantage, have brought about the fall in prices of our farming products. .*

*An urgent and immediate necessity has arisen for this insufferable situation to be put to an end, to decisively come to the rescue of the peasantry, both in the interest of farming population itself, but also in the interest of a general economic recovery of other people strata.*

*King's Government, while carefully examining this matter of rendering assistance to farmers in these tedious circumstances, decided to proceed promptly with the establishment of a special monetary institute for purpose of crediting agriculture with cheap, short-term and long-term loans. To that end, under the Law of 16 April current, the Privileged Agrarian Bank was established. [The Call].*

The call for subscription to shares was an invitation addressed to all the businessmen and economic institutions, agricultural cooperatives and their alliances, other cooperative institutions, monetary institutes, banks, insurance companies, and all the citizens "who hold dear in their hearts progress of our farming population". Nominal value of the share was 500 dinars. When subscribing to shares, it was necessary to pay promptly at least one fourth of its nominal value, and the rest was to be paid in three equal instalments until the end of 1930. Shares could be subscribed to at the National Bank, State Mortgage Bank, Postal Savings Bank, branches of these three privileged monetary institutes, at the cooperative alliances, in the county cooperatives established under the *Law on Agrarian Crediting*, but also at the private joint stock banks: at 67 banks in Serbia, 23 banks in Croatia and Slavonia, eight banks in Slovenia, 25 banks in Vojvodina, 27 banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, five banks in Dalmatia, and four banks in Montenegro. Subscription to shares was serviced by 243 commissioners, recruited from amongst the staff of the State Mortgage

Bank [Business report PAB 1930, 15, 16].

In the press and other media an extensive campaign was organised under the slogan "For subscription to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank". The campaign started from the very first day of the subscription to shares, when the public was informed that the nation State, together with the three privileged monetary institutes (National Bank, State Mortgage Bank, and the Postal Savings Bank) had already secured subscription to over one half of the foreseen principle amount of 300 million dinars, and that the national duty of every citizen was to subscribe to the shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank ["Today the subscription to shares begins"].

The campaign for the subscription to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank was conducted by daily advertising: in the daily and periodic press, by throwing leaflets from the airplanes in Belgrade and Zagreb, by advertisements in cinemas in 20 cities in the Kingdom. In addition, Office of the Government's Commissioner dispatched to the joint stock banks and private persons over 12,000 letters, with correspondence conducted in Serbo-Croatian language, but also in Slovenian, French, German and Hungarian. In addition, Mr. Vojin Djuricic, in his capacity of the Government's Commissioner, spoke of the importance of establishment of the Privileged Agrarian Bank at public panels in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Novi Sad, Subotica, Veliki Beckerek, Sarajevo, Skopje, Nis, Tetovo, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Velika Plana, Hidza and Lazarevac [Business report PAB 1930, 79]. On 2 June 1929, the campaign was joined also by the National Bank which informed the public that it had subscribed to shares from its own funds in the value of 20 million dinars, and the same was done by the State Mortgage Bank and the Postal Savings Bank ["Subscription to PAB shares"]. At the Conference organised on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of work of the Alliance of monetary and insurance institutions of the Kingdom of SHS, which was held in the conference hall of the Zagreb Stock Exchange on 8 June 1929, representatives of the Alliance of Monetary Institutes from Zagreb, Banking Association from Belgrade, Association of Vojvodina Banks from Novi Sad, Society for Banking Institutes from Ljubljana, and the

u Narodnoj banci, Državnoj hipotekarnoj banci, Poštanskoj štedionici, filijalama ova tri privilegovana novčana zavoda, u zadružnim savezima, u oblasnim zadrugama osnovanim po *Zakonu o poljoprivrednom kreditu*, kao i u privatnim akcionarskim bankama: u 67 banaka u Srbiji, 23 banke u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, osam banaka u Sloveniji, 25 banaka u Vojvodini, 27 banaka u Bosni i Hercegovini, pet banaka u Dalmaciji i četiri banke u Crnoj Gori. Na upisu akcija radilo je 243 poverenika u celoj zemlji, regrutovanih od osoblja Državne hipotekarne banke [*Poslovni izveštaj PAB 1930*, 15, 16].

U sredstvima javnog informisanja bila je organizovana opsežna kampanja pod sloganom „Za upis akcija Privilegovane agrarne banke“. Kampanja je započela prvog dana upisa akcija, kada je javnost obaveštena da je država, zajedno sa tri privilegovana novčana zavoda (Narodnom bankom, Državnom hipotekarnom bankom i Poštanskom štedionicom), već obezbedila upis preko polovine predviđene glavnice od 300 miliona dinara i da je nacionalna dužnost svakog građanina da upiše akcije Privilegovane agrarne banke [„Danas počinje upis akcija“].

Kampanja upisa akcija Privilegovane agrarne banke vođena je svakodnevnim oglašavanjem: posredstvom dnevne i periodične štampe, bacanjem letaka iz aviona u Beogradu i Zagrebu, putem kinematografskih reklama u 20 gradova u Kraljevini. Takođe, Kancelarija vladinog Komesara je odaslala akcionarskim bankama i privatnim licima preko 12.000 pisama, pri čemu je korespondencija bila vođena na srpsko-hrvatskom, slovenačkom, francuskom, nemačkom i mađarskom jeziku. Pored toga, o značaju osnivanja Privilegovane agrarne banke govorio je vladin Komesar, Vojin Đuričić, na javnim tribinama u Beogradu, Zagrebu, Ljubljani, Novom Sadu, Subotici, Velikom Bečkereku, Sarajevu, Skoplju, Nišu, Velesu, Tetovu, Tuzli, Banja Luci, Velikoj Plani, Ilidži i Lazarevcu [*Poslovni izveštaj PAB 1930*, 79]. Kampanji se 2. juna 1929. godine pridružila Narodna banka koje je obavestila javnost da je iz svojih fondova upisala akcije u vrednosti od 20 miliona dinara, kao što su to učinile Državna hipotekarna banka i Poštanska štedionica [„Upis akcija PAB“]. Takođe, na Konferenciji povodom desetogodišnjice rada Saveza novčanih i osiguravajućih zavoda Kraljevine

SHS, koja je bila održana u dvorani Zagrebačke burze, 8. juna 1929. godine, predstavnici Saveza novčanih zavoda iz Zagreba, Udruženja banaka iz Beograda, Udruženja vojvođanskih banaka iz Novog Sada, Društva bančinih zavodov iz Ljubljane i Organizacije novčanih zavoda iz Sarajeva obavezali su se da će akcionarske banke u zemlji zajednički upisati akcije Privilegovane agrarne banke u sumi od 50 miliona dinara [„Desetogodišnjica Saveza“]. Poseban zamajac kampanji dao je sam kralj Aleksandar, kada je 14. juna upisao 4.000 komada akcija i odmah uplatio 2 miliona dinara [„Nj. V. Kralj za Agrarnu banku“]. Takođe, da bi se zemljoradničkim zadrugama olakšalo da upišu akcije Privilegovane agrarne banke, Nadzorni odbor Poštanske štedionice je na svojoj sednici od 17. juna 1929. godine odlučio da lombarduje 75% vrednosti ovih akcija kako savezima zemljoradničkih zadruga, stvorenih privatnom inicijativom tako i oblasnim zadrugama formiranim na osnovu *Zakona o poljoprivrednom kreditu*, po kamatnoj stopi od 6% i rokom otplate od dve godine [„Lombardovanje akcija PAB“].

Prema prvobitnoj odluci vlade generala P. Živkovića, upis akcija Privilegovane agrarne banke trebalo je da traje od 22. maja do 22. juna 1929. godine. Međutim, ovaj rok se pokazao kao suviše kratak jer je tražnja za akcijama bila veća od prvobitno ponuđene količine u okviru početnog kapitala od 300 miliona dinara. Upis akcija je bio produžen do 15. jula 1929. godine. Do tog dana, bilo je upisano ukupno 1.383.232 akcije u vrednosti od 691.616. 000 dinara, od strane 103.282 akcionara iz cele zemlje. Na svojoj sednici od 14. avgusta 1929. godine, Nadzorno veće Poštanske štedionice donelo je odluku da Poštanska štedionica poveća prvobitni upis akcija Privilegovane agrarne banke sa 20 miliona dinara na 30 miliona dinara. Ova odluka je prihvaćena na Konstitutivnom zboru akcionara Privilegovane agrarne banke, koji je održan 15. avgusta 1929. godine u sali Novog Univerziteta u Beogradu. Na taj način, Privilegovana agrarna banka je osnovana sa početnim akcijskim kapitalom od 701.616.000 dinara [*Poslovni izveštaj PAB 1930*, 79]. U tom trenutku, ovaj kapital odgovarao je petini ukupnog sopstvenog kapitala svih akcionarskih banaka u Kraljevini SHS.

Organisations of Monetary Institutes from Sarajevo, took a pledge that the joint stock banks in the country will jointly subscribe to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank in the amount of up to 50 million dinars ["Tenth Anniversary of the Alliance"]. Special impetus to the campaign was provided by King Aleksandar himself, when on 14 June he subscribed to 4,000 shares and promptly paid 2 million dinars ["His Majesty King for Agrarian Bank"]. In addition, in order to facilitate for the farming cooperatives subscription to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank, Supervisory Board of the Postal Savings Bank, at its session held on 17 June 1929, decided to Lombard 75% of these shares, as a collateral security loan, both to the alliances of the farming cooperatives established on private initiative, and to the county cooperatives formed under the *Law on Agrarian Crediting*, at an interest rate of 6% and with the repayment term of two years ["Lombard of PAB shares"].

According to the initial decision of General P. Zivkovic's government, subscription to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank should have lasted from 22 May to 22 June 1929. This period, however, proved to be too short as the demand for shares exceeded previously offered quantities within the start-up capital of 300 million dinars. Subscription to shares was extended until 15 July 1929. Until that day, a total of 1,383,232 shares were subscribed in the value of 691,616,000 dinars by 103,282 shareholders from the entire country. At its session held on 14 August 1929, Supervisory Council of the Postal Savings Bank adopted the decision that the Postal Savings Bank shall increase its initial subscription to shares of the Privileged Agrarian Bank for 20 million dinars up to 30 million dinars. This decision was accepted at the Constitutive Shareholders Assembly of the Privileged Agrarian Bank, which was held on 15 August 1929 in the conference hall of the New University of Belgrade. In this way, Privileged Agrarian Bank was established with the start-up equity capital of 701,616,000 dinars [Business report PAB 1930, 79]. At that moment,

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## Политика

### Државна димитријева

Државна димитријева... (transcription of the article text)

### Државна димитријева

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Н. В. Краљ за Аграрну Банку... (transcription of the article text)



Н. В. Краљ Александар

### Министарство на Редериса

Министарство на Редериса... (transcription of the article text)

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Министарство на Редериса... (transcription of the article text)

## Политика

### Државна димитријева

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## Zaključak

Državna intervencija u poljoprivredi protiv agrarne krize u Kraljevini SHS započela je 1929. godine, osnivanjem Privilegovane agrarne banke. Procena bankarskih krugova u zemlji tada je bila da je problem insolventnosti zemljoradnika moguće prevazići bez nekog većeg poremećaja na bankarskom tržištu. Smatralo se da je dovoljno da nova velebanka snabde zemljoradnike hipotekarnim kreditima, kojima bi bili refinansirani njihovi ranije nagomilani dugovi. Ovu procenu je prihvatila vlada generala P. Živkovića, pa je započela finansijska operacija spašavanja koliko prezaduženih seljaka toliko i akcionarskih banaka kojima su seljaci dugovali. Od početka ove operacije, nije se moglo znati da li će ona biti uspešna, i to iz više razloga. Prvo, Privilegovana agrarna banka je osnovana u

vreme kada je agrarna kriza još uvek jačala. Cene poljoprivrednih proizvoda su i dalje bile u padu, pa se postavljalo pitanje da li će zemljoradnici moći da podnesu dužnički teret i pored konverzije njihovih kratkoročnih meničnih u dugoročne hipotekarne zajmove. Zatim, u zemlji još uvek nije bilo sveobuhvatnih statističkih podataka o tome koliki su zemljoradnički dugovi. Zbog toga država nije mogla da zna kakve su razmere problema sa kojim je rešila da se nosi osnivanjem Privilegovane agrarne banke. Konačno, plasirati založnice u inostranstvu, ukoliko bi bilo potrebno obezbediti dodatne izvore finansiranja hipotekarnih kredita, tada je bilo teško izvodljivo. Strane banke, na koje se računalo kao na potencijalne kreditore Privilegovane agrarne banke bile su teško pogođene Velikom sveskom ekonomskom krizom i jedna za drugom su bankrotirale.

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not possible to know how successful it would turn out to be and this for several reasons. Firstly, the Privileged Agrarian Bank was established at the time when the agrarian crisis was still rising. Prices of agricultural products were constantly falling, so the question was whether farming population would be able to bear the burden of debt even with the aid of conversion of their short-term instrument liability into long-term mortgage loans. In addition, comprehensive statistical data on the extent of farming debts was still absent in the

country. Hence the nation State could not know the real proportions of the problem that it had decided to resolve by establishing the Privileged Agrarian Bank. Finally, placement of mortgage bonds abroad, if it should become necessary for securing additional sources of financing mortgage loans, was very difficult at that time. Foreign banks that were counted upon as potential creditors of the Privileged Agrarian Bank were themselves under a heavy burden of the Great World Economic Crises, and one after the other were falling into bankruptcy.

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