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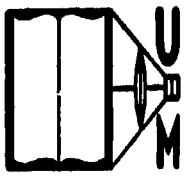
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Patterns In Political Geography

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The Danube Basin - Patterns in Political Geography

The lands of the Danube, lying between western and eastern Europe, represent an area of transition. Geographically and ethnographically they are lands of great diversity; there are significant contrasts in economic and political development between Czechoslovakia and Austria, with their highly developed industries and relatively homogeneous national structures, and Rumania and Yugoslavia, predominantly agricultural and with a crazy-quilt pattern of nationalities. The objectives of this thesis include a brief survey of salient geographical features and patterns; an account of previous attempts to organize the Danube valley; and an attempt to indicate the most important measures to be taken to insure peace and prosperity for this region.

On the geographical stage of the Danube lands history has created political and ethnic patterns that survive to our day. Because of the position of the Danube valley between western and eastern Europe, it was for centuries a battleground of the conflicting ambitions of great powers. When, in the 19th century, the Habsburgs finally established their control over most of the Danubian lands, militant nationalism, brought forth by the French Revolution, was already at work undermining the foundations of the Habsburg empire. Attempts to replace the dual control of Germans and Hungarians in Austria-Hungary by a multi-national state have failed, and the First World War destroyed the only regional political organization in the Danube valley that has existed in modern times. In its stead the "Succession States" created by the peace treaties of 1919 tried to carry on, handicapped by excessive political and economic nationalism. Plans to bring these states together such as those proposed by the Little Entente, by the French statesman Tardieu, and by the Stresa Conference of 1932, did not succeed, partly because of the centrifugal political tendencies inherent in the Danubian states, partly because of the strong opposition of Germany and Italy. Thus the German assault of World

War II found the Danubian states unprepared, and all of this area became part of the German realm.

Plans and policies for the future of the Danube valley should place primary emphasis on economic reconstruction. Among the very first tasks of reconstruction should be certain important shifts in agrarian production involving increased emphasis on protective rather than energy foods, increased production of industrial crops, and introduction of cooperative marketing of agricultural products. Since basic raw materials: iron, coal, and petroleum, are not available in large quantities in this area, the development of heavy industries is not likely. Rather, emphasis should be on decentralization of industries utilizing local raw materials such as bauxite and copper, and on the building up of food industries utilizing agricultural surpluses. Improvements in communications, involving the building of new highways, and an increased emphasis on water transport would contribute materially to the raising of living standards. Finally, education of the people to new and better techniques of production as well as in the art of getting along with their neighbors is an indispensable adjunct to a reconstruction program, designed to improve the lot of sixty million people living in one of the critical regions of our world.

THE DANUBE BASIN --

PATTERNS IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

by

George Kiss

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan

1945

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Geographically, modern Europe may be divided into several major regions. Western Europe, oriented towards the Atlantic and the North Sea is opposed by Eastern Europe, landlocked for the most part, and having access only to inland seas--the Baltic, the Black Sea, the White Sea. Southern Europe on the other hand comprises the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Between these three regions and representing an area of transition, lie the lands commonly referred to as Central and Southeastern Europe.

The borders of this region are difficult to determine. Geographically, a line connecting the Danube delta with the city of Helsinki in Finland may be considered the eastern boundary; a line from Trieste on the Adriatic to Stettin on the Baltic might represent the western limit. The lands of transition which lie between these boundaries comprise a major zone of conflict.

East and west of this area lie lands characterized by larger, ethnically homogeneous populations: 65 million Germans in Germany, 45 million Italians in Italy, 100 million Russians (Great Russians, White Russians and Ukrainians) in the Soviet Union. Central Europe, very much in contrast to these lands, is the home of many small ethnic groups, the largest of which hardly exceeds 20 million. (see table of ethnic groups p. 2). Thus Central Europe is both a buffer and a transition zone between the great powers of Western and

TABLE I

Ethnic groups of Central and Southeastern Europe

Poles	20,000,000
Rumanians	12,900,000
Yugoslavs	11,300,000*
Germans	11,600,000 (exclusive of Germany proper)
Hungarians	10,300,000
Czechs-Slovaks	10,000,000
Bulgarians	5,000,000
Jews	5,000,000
Gipsies	400,000

*Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

Sources: Prof. Hickmann's Geographisch-statistischer Universal-Atlas; Vienna, 1929

Huebner's Weltstatistik; 73d ed., Vienna, 1939

Royal Institute of International Affairs: South-eastern Europe, a Brief Survey; London, 1940

TABLE II

Area, population, and density of population, 1936*

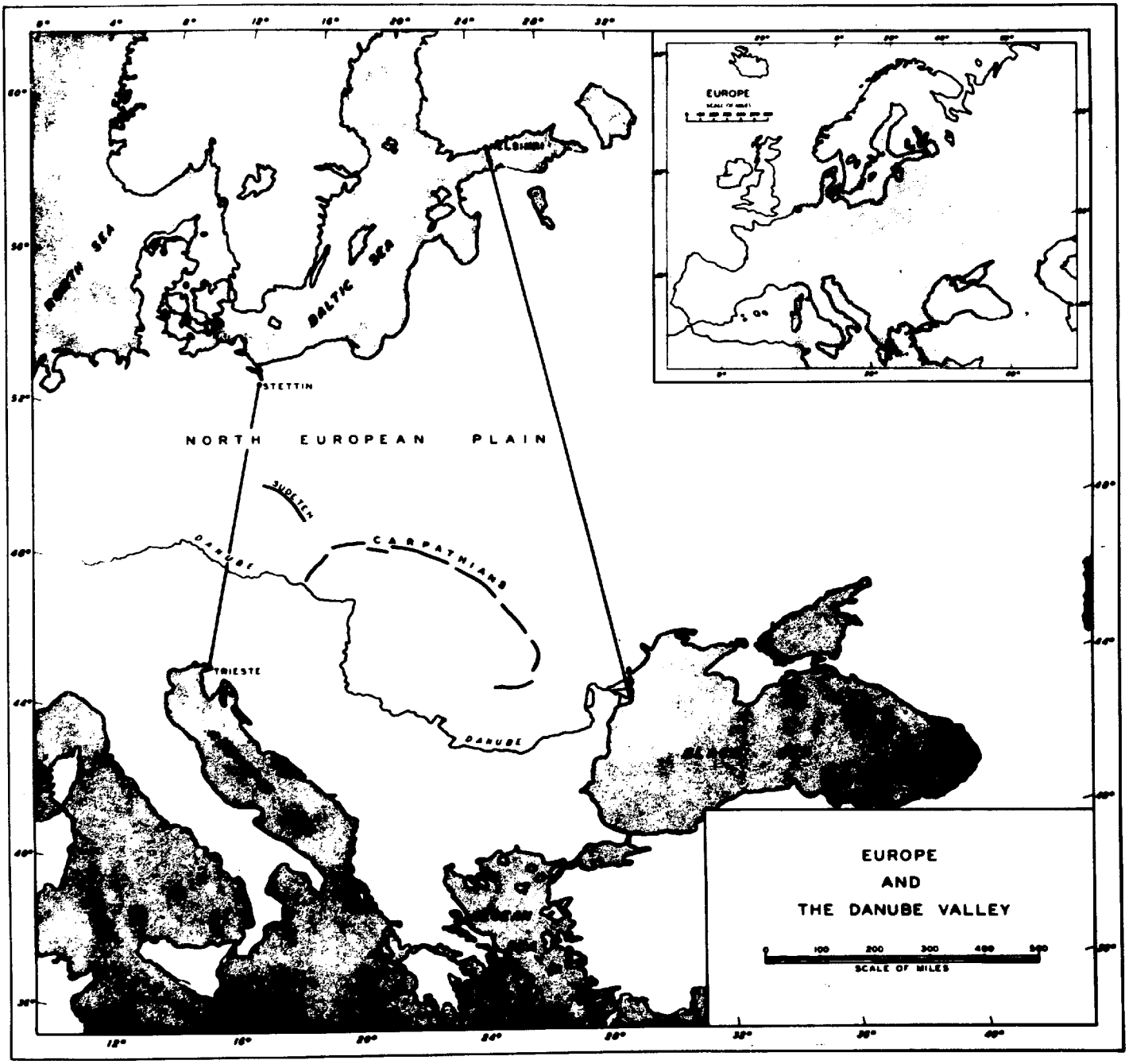
Country	Area in sq. miles	Population	Population per sq. mi.
Austria	32,365	6,711,130	208
Czechoslovakia	54,236	15,215,107	281
Hungary	35,925	8,991,179	250
Rumania	113,889	19,422,660	171
Yugoslavia	95,551	15,173,608	160
Bulgaria	39,814	6,237,700	157

*Sources: Royal Institute of International Affairs: Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean; London, 1944

Freytag and Berndt: Taschen-Atlas; Leipzig und Wien, 1938

Fig. 1

Europe and the Danube Valley


EUROPE
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
STETTIN
NORTH EUROPEAN PLAIN
SUDETEN
CARPATHIANS
DANUBE
TRIESTE
DANUBE
EUROPE
AND
THE DANUBE VALLEY
SCALE OF MILES

Eastern Europe. Since the dawn of history wars and conflicts have ravaged these lands time and again and as the ethnic groups outside Central Europe gained in size, so the devastation brought about by these conflicts of aims and ambitions increased in intensity.

Upon closer observation, the region of Central and Southeastern Europe is found to consist of two well-defined geographical zones. These zones are separated by the mountain systems of the Sudeten and the Carpathians. The vast and monotonous plains of eastern Germany and Poland to the north of these mountains, are part of the great north European plain, extending from the Pyrenees to the Urals. To the south of the mountains, on the other hand, are lands of a much more diversified character: high plateaus, broad river valleys, rolling plains and fertile hillsides. The only geographical feature that links these latter regions together is the Danube river. With its tributaries, the Danube drains most of the lands lying south of the great mountain divide of Central and Southeastern Europe.

Poland and its marginal areas may be regarded as the zone of contact between Russia and Western and Central Europe. The lands of the Danube, on the other hand, have been, since time immemorial, the gateway from the Atlantic world to the world of the Eastern Mediterranean. Through the valley of the Danube, the greatest routeway of Central and Southeastern Europe has carried the traffic of peace and war. By its banks marched armies of all Europe, legionnaires of Rome and cavalrymen of the Red Army--on their way from Rome to

Constantinople, from the Rhine to the Bosphorus, from Moscow to Vienna.

Because of their location, the lands of the Danube Valley have known periods of foreign rule since the dawn of history. As the battleground between East and West, these lands saw the struggle between Rome and Byzantium, between Vienna and Constantinople bring death, disease and despotism. In more recent times the consuming flame of militant nationalism was added to the scourge of foreign conquest.

The ethnic diversity of the Danube Valley was fully exploited by outside powers. The policy of "Divide and Rule!", the setting off of one nationality against another was a feature common to Habsburg Austria and Nazi Germany.

To establish lasting peace in Europe, the elimination of conditions such as those that have long prevailed in the Danube Valley is imperative. As long as small nations can be used as pawns in the game of international politics, as long as their differences are not only recognized but encouraged and exploited for the purpose of establishing over them the rule of a great power, Europe and the world cannot know peace.

The lands of the Danube Valley are particularly blessed in the possession of valuable natural resources. While their resources of coal and iron cannot be compared to the vast deposits of these basic minerals found in the British Isles or the Ukraine, the variety of soils and climates, the existence of important de-

posits of copper and bauxite and petroleum, the availability of sites for the generation of hydro-electric power, and above all the abundance of manpower offer vast possibilities for future developments.

At the present time, most of the Danube Valley has to find its way out of the chaos left in the wake of the Second World War. The problems of reconstruction are immense. But these problems have to be projected against their geographical and historical background. A brief survey of the salient geographical features of the Danube Valley will acquaint us with the varied aspects of the environment. An account of the trials and failures of the past, of previous attempts to organize the Danube Valley will furnish a better prospective for future plans. The review of existing resources and needs should be of importance in mapping out the over-all design of agricultural and industrial development. It is on this basis, upon a review of past developments and present possibilities that we will attempt to indicate those most important measures to be taken that, in the light of historical experience, of available resources and of visible future trends will insure the peace and prosperity of this important region of Europe.

Chapter II

The Danube Basin - the geographical pattern.

On the map of Europe, it may be noted that the lands situated along the Danube stand out as a natural region. The folded mountains of the continent describe a great double arc between Vienna and the Black Sea, similar to a reversed "S". The Carpathians, the Transylvanian Alps and the Stara Planina (Balkan Range) are the main components of this double arc. Within its concave parts are the lowlands of Hungary and Rumania. To the northwest and to the south two crystalline massifs are closely connected with the double arc--the plateaus and mountains of Bohemia and Moravia in the northwest, the Bulgar-Greek massif of the Rhodope in the south. To the west and southwest the folds of the Dinarides, separated from the arcs by the Morava-Vardar trench, cover most of Yugoslavia. In the north, the Eastern Alps, between the upper Innn valley and Vienna, are usually considered part of the Danube Valley since they are drained mostly by the tributaries of the Danube.

The Danube, greatest river of Europe west of Russia, is the main uniting factor of this area. "The Danube rises...in multitudinous unnamed springs which well up amid moss and bilberries in fir-clad hills of the Black Forest... It ends on the farthest rim of eastern Europe in desolate, reedy marshes where exotic waterfowl nest in myriads and bearded Russian fishermen, whose forbears were banished to these fever-stricken purlieu for their un-

orthodox views on God and Peter the Great, pull great sturgeons out of the water with rods and lines and cut out their roes for caviare with rusty penknives. On its way the Danube has passed the peaceful uplands and Gothic provincial cities of agricultural southern Germany; the crags of the Wachau, clothed with gloomy firs and crowned with grey and ruinous castle walls, or huge, arrogant monasteries; the teeming slums and sumptuous palaces of Vienna; the neo-Americanisms with which enterprising Czechs overlaid the miniature seventeenth-century Vienna of Pressburg when they turned it into Bratislava; the enormous Hungarian plain with its wheat and maize, its sunflowers and acacias and its long-horned, shamble-footed, white oxen churning dust the color of their own hides out of rutted paths of dry mud; the corso of Pest, thronged with fashionable idlers; the industrious Suabian villages of the Bacska; the truculent fortress, the wharves and barracks of battered Belgrade; cobbled Serbian villages populated by bent old men in sheepskin cloaks and gaunt, long-snouted, curly-fleeced pigs; the prodigious gorge of Kazan and the fearful rapids of the Iron Gates; the mosques and minarets of Vidin and Ruschuk; dour Bulgarian villages on the right hand, gay little Rumanian villages on the left, bright with flowery gardens, white-washed walls stencilled in blue and sugar-loaf, gilt-cupolaed churches; the crans and silos and synagogues of Galatz and Braila, where ships of the Western seas embark the wealth of the Rumanian fields; the surly uplands of the Dobruja, the infinite plains of Bessarabia across which fezzed Tatars drive troikas of lean mares, their foals capering round them."*

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*Macartney, C.A. : The problems of the Danube Basin; Cambridge, 1942; pp.1-3

Fig. 2

Major surface divisions of the Danube Basin

Key:

A. The Bohemian Plateau

B. The Moravian Plateau

C. The Vienna Basin

D. The Highlands of the Northwestern Carpathians

E. The Northwestern or Lesser Hungarian Plain

F. The Central or Great Hungarian Plain

G. The Highlands of the Northeastern Carpathians

H. The Plateau and highlands of Transylvania

I. The Highlands and valleys of Slovenia

J. The Uplands and valleys of Croatia

K. The Highlands of the Dinaric Mountains in Croatia

L. The Dalmatian Coast

M. Highlands and valleys of Bosnia

N. Lowlands and hills of Serbia

O. Plain of Moldavia

P. Platform of Bessarabia

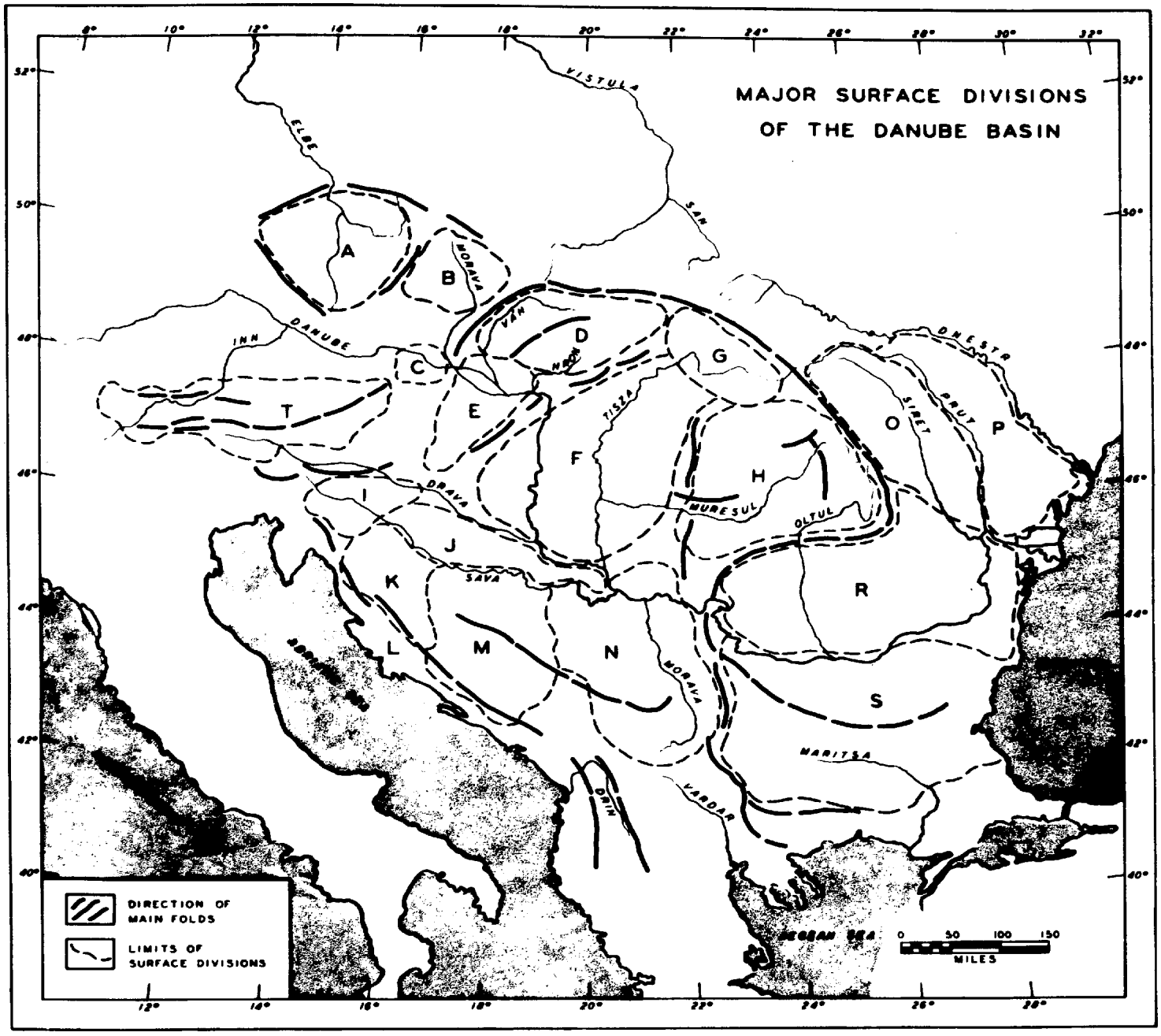
R. Lowlands of Valachia

S. Uplands and valleys of Bulgaria

T. The Austrian Alps

Sources: Hummel, H.: Sudosteuropa und das Schicksal der Donaumonarchie; Berlin, 1937.

de Martonne, Emm.: L'Europe Centrale; Geographie Universelle, tom. IV., Paris, 1930.


MAJOR SURFACE DIVISIONS
OF THE DANUBE BASIN
VISTULA
ELBE
SAN
MORAVA
VAH
INN
DANUBE
TISZA
DNESTR
SIRET
PRUT
MURESUL
OLTUL
DRAVA
SAVA
MORAVA
MARITSA
VARDAR
DRIN
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
R
S
T
DIRECTION OF MAIN FOLDS
LIMITS OF SURFACE DIVISIONS
0 50 100 150
MILES

In spite of an apparent unity, expressed by the river—a blue ribbon stretching across the great plains and winding a tortuous way among high mountains--the lands of the Danube are far from being uniform in character. Rather, each one of these lands has a complex and individual character of its own.

In the northwest the Bohemian Forest, the Ore Mountains and the Sudeten surround the homeland of the Czechs; Bohemia and Moravia. Three rivers—the Elbe, Oder, and Morava—connect these plateaus of mature topography, Bohemia and Moravia, with the surrounding lowlands of Saxony, Silesia, and the Vienna Basin, respectively. Bohemia and Moravia are lands of good soil, of prosperous farmers raising rye and flax and sugar beets, of glassblowers in their small, isolated work shops in the mountain forests. In the cities, steel mills and machine shops send their columns of smoke to the sky. Here, textile mills and shoe factories, breweries and armaments works, manufacture products of world fame. Steel from Kladno and Vitkovice, shoes from Zlin, beer and guns from Pilsen reach to far distant markets. Bohemia and Moravia make up, without doubt, the most prosperous area of the Danube Valley. A balance of agriculture and industry and well-developed communications make them the heart of Czechoslovakia and a key area of all Central Europe.

To the southeast of the Bohemian-Moravian plateaus and surrounded by the low hills of southern Moravia, the easternmost forelands of the Alps and the western outposts of the Carpathians lies the Vienna Basin, a major crossroads of the Danube Valley and the core of

German Austria. Here, the northwest-southeast route of the Danube and the northeast-southwestern route leading from the plain of Poland through the Moravian Gate and along the Carpathian and Alpine piedmont to the Adriatic meet. The importance of these routes made Vienna a center of trade in peace and a contested battleground in war. Its role as a communications center was responsible for its selection as capital of the far-flung Habsburg Empire and its emergence as the major industrial, financial and commercial centre of the Danube Valley. For centuries Vienna was the heart of the Habsburg Empire. It is still the largest city of the Danube Valley, famous for its musical and literary life; its artistic and political fashions set the pace for most of Southeastern Europe. Vienna is the greatest railroad center and one of the greatest industrial cities of the Danube Valley, its varied industries and the tradition of leadership connected with it make this the key to the entire Danube Valley.

A short distance east of Vienna, past the narrows of the Danube known as the Hungarian Gate, the Little Carpathians--western-most part of the great Carpathian system--rise above the plain. For a distance of over 800 miles the Carpathians separate the lowlands of Hungary from those of eastern Poland and Rumania. Among the mountains of Europe they are second only to the Alps, but do not possess their variety of scenery nor their high peaks and mighty glaciers. Though crossed by a series of low passes, the Carpathians nevertheless represent an important cultural and political frontier between the Hungarian Basin and regions north east of the Carpathian crest.

The Northwestern Carpathians extend from the edge of the

Vienna Basin to the valley of the Poprad river, in eastern Slovakia. This complex mountainland is the home of the Slovaks: miners and mountain shepherds who farm small fields in the valleys, raise sheep and cattle on the higher pastures, work in the steel mills and machine shops of the cities. Slovakia is a country of many small sleepy towns nestled among the mountains where an industrious German and Hungarian minority has laid the foundations of trade and crafts. Although several easy passes connect this region with Moravia and with Poland, Slovakia always looked to the plains of Hungary and roads, railroads, rivers alike transport the products of the region southward. Southward, too, went Slovak lumberjacks, steering their floats of pine and fir on the swift waters of Vah and Hron, southward, the migrant laborers, harvesting grain and beets on the rich lowlands of the Danube.

Between the valley of the Poprad and that of the Viso and Golden Bistrita extend the Northeastern Carpathians. Structurally rather simple, consisting of two parallel ranges, and lower in elevation than their western neighbors, the Northeastern Carpathians enclose the area known variously as Ruthenia, Sub-Carpathian Russia, or Carpatho-Ukraine. The main resources of this region consist of forests of pine, fir, oak, and beech, and of deposits of salt. Population densities are low and there are few cities. Most important urban centers occur in the southern piedmont area and the region as a whole depends heavily on outside support. Seasonal workers descend in large numbers to the Hungarian Plain. A few local industries furnish some employment. But on the whole, Ruthenia is a poor,

backward country with very low standards of living. Its chief asset is its position, controlling the railroads and highways leading across easy passes from the Danube Valley to the lowlands of Poland and Russia. Ruthenia is the guardian of the entrance to the Danube valley from Eastern Europe.

Southeast of Ruthenia lies the high plateau of Transylvania, its triangular shape delineated by the mountains which surround it. The Southeastern Carpathians in the east, the Bihor massif in the west, the Transylvanian Alps in the south separate this region from the Hungarian Plain and from the Rumanian lowlands. In the west the valleys of the Tisza, Koros and Somes rivers connect it with the Hungarian Plain, in the southwest, the Muresul river provides a wide valley route to southeastern Hungary, in the south the Oltul and the passes across the Transylvanian Alps lead to Valachia, in the northeast the Golden Bistrita descends to Moldavia. Thus Transylvania is not only a fortress but is also a focus of important routes, a turntable of Southeastern Europe, indispensable for the control of the lower Danube Valley.

Agriculture has never flourished on the Transylvanian plateau. A too cool climate restricts crops mostly to rye and potatoes, and as the mountains provide good grazing grounds a pastoral life is encouraged. Mineral resources have been exploited since pre-Roman days. Gold, silver, lead and natural gas support mining and some industries. Transylvania is a land of charming old cities, of old churches and stately Gothic and Baroque town halls, it is a land of desolate mountains where only the charcoal burners' fires send a spiral of pale smoke toward the sky and where in deep river gorges

and wooded uplands the lumberman's axe can be heard. Transylvania is also a land of many tongues: Hungarian, Rumanian, Ruthenian peasants, German, Hungarian, Rumanian townsmen, officials now from Hungary, now from Old Rumania, Gypsies roaming the highways--they wove a crazy-quilt of ethnic patterns across the land. Claims of Hungary and of Rumania led to divisions of Transylvania, three times since 1918, without succeeding in the establishment of a new order that would satisfy both. The geographer charged with the tracing of a new boundary, the statesman attempting to bring rival factions together will encounter some of their most difficult problems in this area.

South of the Danube, from the Iron Gates to the shores of the Black Sea extend the highlands of the Stara Planina, or Balkan Mountains. These mountains combined with the crystalline massif of the Rhodope to the south, the Bulgarian Plateau between the Danube and the Stara Planina, and the valley of the Maritza dividing the latter from the Rhodope, constitute Bulgaria. Strong Mediterranean climatic influence allowed the Maritza Valley to become the heart of that type of intensive horticulture known as "Bulgar gardening"—a term which is applied to this particular system throughout the Danubian lands. On the Bulgarian Plateau in the north, tobacco and corn are the main crops. In the western mountains, mining is an important occupation. Bulgaria controls the routes from the Danube Valley to the Mediterranean and from Yugoslavia to the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and thus becomes the key to Balkan

communications just as Transylvania controls those of the lower Danube Valley.

The middle Danube Valley, limited by the Carpathians, the Alps and the Dinarides, centers on the lowlands of Hungary. A series of volcanic hills: Bakony, Vertes, Pilis, Matra, and Bukk, arranged along a southwest-northeasterly line, divide the Hungarian lowlands into a western, or Lesser, and an eastern, or Greater Hungarian Plain.

The Lesser Hungarian Plain, contiguous in the west with the Vienna Basin, extends on both sides of the Danube between Bratislava and Komarom. Rich alluvial soils, well-distributed and reliable rainfall and a relatively low annual temperature range combine to make this region eminently suitable for the cultivation of rye, sugarbeets, and hay, and for the development of the dairy and sugar industries. It is a land of prosperous farmers and of varied agricultural industries. It is also the main eastern gateway to Vienna.

The Greater Hungarian Plain is a vast lowland, traversed by the Danube and one of its main tributaries, the Tisza. Its limitless horizons recall the Russian steppes. Its climate, characterized by low rainfall and considerable yearly range of temperature, creates conditions not unlike those of the great grasslands of southeastern Russia. It is a land of wheat and maize and of such industrial crops as flax, potatoes, sugarbeets. The variety of its soils, ranging from fertile blackearths to sand dunes and alkali flats offers room for a wide variety of crops. Extensive animal husbandry, once the most important agricultural pursuit here, has largely disappeared, and

orchards and cropland today occupy most of the arable land. Its cities are little more than overgrown villages, with the single exception of Budapest. Industry, save for the industrial suburbs of the capital city and a few scattered plants in some smaller towns, is largely absent. The Greater Hungarian Plain ranks high among the greatest granaries of Europe, both in present production and future possibilities.

Limited by the Transylvanian Alps and Carpathians to the north and west, by the Danube to the south and southeast, and by the Dniester river to the east, the lowlands of Rumania constitute the most productive part of that country. On the rich, dark soils of the Rumanian lowland are produced bountiful harvests of wheat and maize. The Carpathian and Transylvanian piedmont, between Ploesti and Bacau produces much of Europe's petroleum. The wide Danube carries the produce of Rumanian soil to Central Europe, while ocean-going steamers tie up at the quays of Galati and Braila, carrying oil to France, wheat to Italy. Between the lower Danube and the Black Sea the worndown hills of the Dobruja form an ectochore of Asia in Europe, peopled by a wide variety of races: Turks, Tatars, Bulgars, Rumanians. They also separate the important port of Constanta on the Black Sea from its Rumanian hinterland.

West of the Danube, the first region is that of the Austrian or Eastern Alps. Separated from Bohemia and Moravia by the Danube and overlooking the Hungarian lowlands in the east and the Dinaric Mountains in the Southeast, the Eastern Alps extend

from the upper Inn valley to the Vienna Basin. They are the homeland of the Austrian people. It was in the mountain valleys of the Alps and on the narrow alluvial plains of the Austrian Danube that the foundations were laid for the vast empire once ruled by the house of Habsburg. The forests of the Alps, the hydro-electric power derived from mountain streams and the available resources of coal, iron and graphite greatly aided the Habsburg policy of concentrating much of Austria-Hungary's industry in the alpine provinces. The loss sustained by these industries in 1918 when most of their former markets were separated from them by customs barriers was only partly replaced by the development of tourist trade in the years between two world wars. Austria's fate is strongly bound to that of the Danube Valley as a whole. Its prosperity and, in fact, its very existence as a nation depend upon the establishment of a "modus vivendi" between the manufacturing centers of the Austrian Alps and the existing markets of southeastern Europe.

Southeast of the Austrian Alps, from the Klagenfurt Basin in Carinthia to the Vardar River, in Macedonia, and to Lake Scutari, on the Albanian border, extend the Dinaric Mountains. The main east-west axis of this area is the Save river--the only through route connecting the southeastern region of the Alps, in Carinthia and Styria, with the valleys of the Morava and the Danube. The tributaries of the Save, which is itself a tributary of the Danube, flow generally at right angles to the main northwest-southeast trend of the Dinaric Mountains. In consequence, each of the natural entities

of Yugoslavia, with the exception of the Adriatic coast, is composed of a southern upland, traversed by one of the tributaries of the Save and of a northern lowland which is part of the Save Valley.

In the northwestern portion of the Dinaric Mountains lies Slovenia--essentially the region of the upper Save. The well-watered uplands and valleys of this region are known for their prosperous agriculture. The peasants of Slovenia have long been at odds with any centralized government, be it of Vienna or of Belgrade, as they are ardently jealous of their local autonomy and economy.

Croatia is fundamentally the valley of the middle Save, extending from Zagreb to the lower Vrbas, but it also includes the hilly uplands between the coastal ranges and the Save and those between the Save and the Drave. Croatia's well-tilled farms, its forests of oak and beech--where mast fed pigs have been fattened for many centuries--and its sawmills--exporting lumber and paper pulp--make it one of the most prosperous regions of Yugoslavia.

The uplands of Bosnia, east and southeast of Croatia, are drained by the Vrbas and Drina, both tributaries of the Save, and by the Neretva. Bosnia is a country of wild and barren mountains, of narrow and fertile valleys and of picturesque towns where the slender spires of minarets point to the sky. It is a land where Islam and Christendom met and clashed during the Middle Ages and Moslems still constitute a substantial minority. Bosnia is a poor land. Its mines of copper and iron employ but a small group of workmen and Bosnia's peasantry has long been one of the poorest in all Europe. Because of

its remoteness from the main arteries of trade and travel, Bosnia long preserved many antiquated cultural forms. The Slav house community or "zadruga", which was anciently the accepted way of life throughout much of the Balkans, survived here until well into the twentieth century.

East of Bosnia lies Serbia, which is the homeland of the Serbs and the core of the Yugoslav state. The northern and eastern lowlands of Serbia are among the most fertile spots of the Balkans, fields of maize and wheat, of tobacco and beets, orchards of apple and plum trees assured a steady income to an industrious peasantry. Few regions in the Balkans were so hard hit by both World Wars through foreign invasion and civil strife. The task of reconstruction of ruined towns, of burnt farms and uprooted orchards is very great indeed, and upon it depends the re-emergence of Serbia as one of the most prosperous farming regions of Southeastern Europe.

- - - -

The lands thus described form the stage where the historical drama, enacted in the Danube Valley since the dawn of unwritten history, took place. Variety of scenery is coupled here with variety of standards of life. The prosperous farmer of Bohemia, tilling the soil with modern farm implements, following the latest agricultural techniques, conscious of his own political importance and well represented in the councils of his country, is at one end of the scale. On the other hand, the farmer of the lower Danube Valley

represents the other extreme. He uses but few and primitive tools and works his farm in the manner hallowed by tradition, characterized by disregard of modern agricultural methods. He is often ignorant of crop rotation cycles which maintain the fertility of the soil and he is, under existing conditions, incapable of utilizing land and labor in an economic and productive manner. He lives under extremely primitive conditions. Housing, nutrition and the safeguard of public health alike are neglected. Oppressed by a government remote both in space and in time, and with hardly any representation in the legislative bodies of the land, the lot of the peasant is hard indeed.

An analysis of the origin of the vastly divergent conditions that prevail within the Danube Valley and a survey of the attempts made in the past to remedy the state of affairs must, of necessity, be essential parts of this study.

Chapter III

The Danube Basin - the historical pattern.

The present geographical pattern of distribution of the major ethnic groups in the Danube Valley was well established at the close of the tenth century of our era. In the northern region were settled the peoples referred to as Northern Slavs--Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenes. In the south, occupying what is now Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, were the Southern Slavs--Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Bulgars. To the west, in the Alps, were German-speaking peoples, ancestors of present-day Austrians. To the east, in parts of Transylvania and on the Rumanian lowlands, were the Rumanians who claim descent from the colonists of Imperial Rome. Separating Northern Slavs from Southern Slavs, and German-speaking Austrians from Rumanians were the Hungarians, occupying the lowlands of the middle Danube Valley.

Ethnic diversity has thus characterized the Danube Valley since the Middle Ages. King St. Stephen of Hungary (997-1038) well recognized this fact when he addressed this warning to his son: "Unius linguae uniusque moris regnum fragile et imbecille est".

Between 1000 and 1800 A.D. the Danube Basin was a battleground of great powers, seeking to achieve control over this vitally important area. During the latter part of the Middle Ages (1000-1300 A.D.) the battle was between Western Christendom, represented by the Holy

Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary and Eastern Christendom, led by the Byzantine Empire. This period saw the height of Hungarian power, the slow but steady decline of Byzantium, the arrival of the first wave of foreign settlers (the Saxons of Transylvania (cca. 1196)) and the flowering of the first national states--Serbia, Valachia and Moldavia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria in the Balkans, and Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia in the middle and upper Danube Valley.

Memories of this period are still very much alive in the minds and hearts of the peoples of the Danube Valley. The long periods of foreign occupation magnified in their minds the glory of the Golden Age of their nation. During the great nationalist revival of the early 19th century, these memories gilded with all the pomp and glory of the past, incited each and every national group to demand complete restitution of their ancient patrimony. When shown on a series of maps, these vast empires of the past, as claimed by extreme nationalistic agitation, are seen to conflict and overlap over wide areas. When brought into international affairs, they lead to discord, strife and war. To reconcile them seems almost impossible until we recall that these are present-day projections of a remote age when nation and state meant precious little. It is the heritage from an age of conquest and short-lived control of vast lands. Still, these dreams are part and parcel of the inheritance of every national group in the Danube Valley today. The substitution for these conflicting aims and ambitions of an atmos-

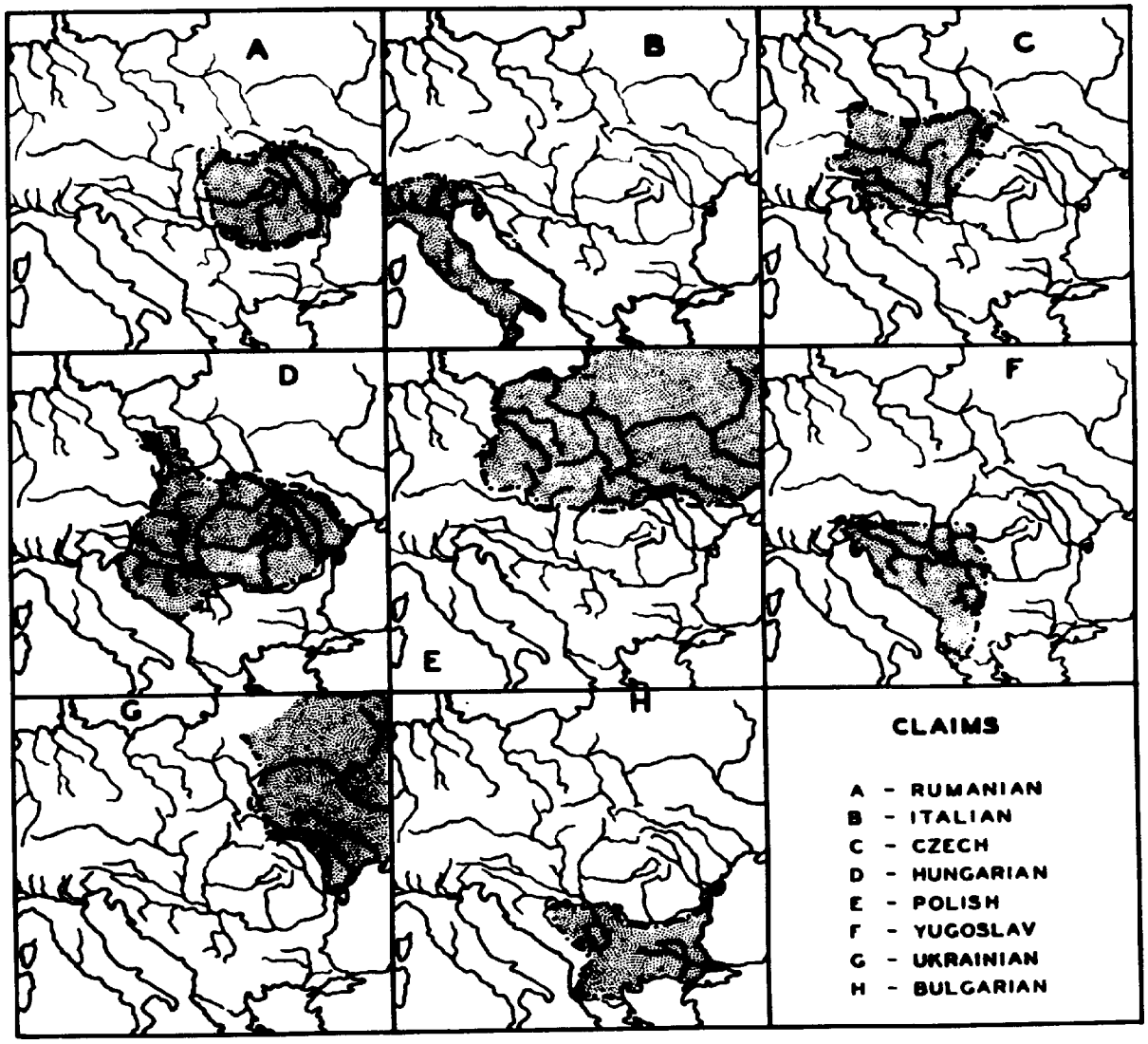
Fig. 3

Territorial ambitions of Central European states

Source: Schwab, E.: "Territorial Abrundungsbestrebungen in Mitteleuropa. Ein beitrag zur historisch-politischen Geographie der ehemaligen oesterreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie"; Kartographische und Schulgeographische Zeitschrift, vol. 8, 1919; pp. 76-79.

TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN STATES

From Schwab, "Territoriale Abrundungsbestrebungen in Mitteleurope"



phere of mutual understanding and esteem seems undoubtedly one of the greatest and most difficult tasks of the years just ahead.

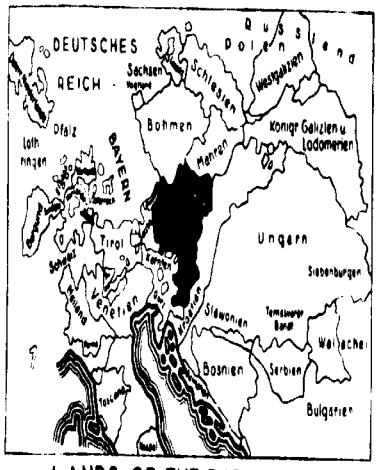
The rising power of the Ottoman Turks engulfed the Byzantine Empire and from the late 14th century on rivalry between the Crescent and the Cross replaced that between Eastern and Western Christendom. By the middle of the 15th century the Turks had conquered all of the Balkan peninsula and stood on the edge of the Hungarian Plain, at Belgrade. The next 250 years was a period of stagnation for most of the Danube Valley. The Habsburgs and the Sublime Porte engaged in a desperate struggle for supremacy and most of their great battles were fought in this area. The land was devastated time and again. People were uprooted by war and decimated by disease. The Danube Valley paid a high price indeed for the final victory of the Habsburgs.

As a result of the Turkish wars and the ensuing depopulation, resettlement by central authority became necessary. The repeopling of the lands of the middle and lower Danube took place without regard to nationality lines. Its result can still be seen in the crazy-quilt pattern of nationalities that characterizes much of the Danube Valley. Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Serbians, Rumanians, Slovakians, Croatians, Hungarians occupied the fertile plains and the river valleys leading to the surrounding uplands. The Habsburg policy of "Divide and Rule!" was best served by encouraging conflict between ethnic groups. Traditionally most of these groups were bitterly opposed to one another and were united

Fig. 4

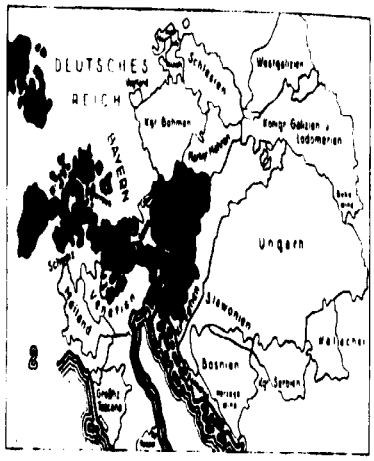
Evolution of Austria, 1246-1938.

Source: Steinacker, H.: "Auswirkungen des Raumes in der oesterreichischen Geschichte"; Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik, vol. 8/1, 1931; pp. 45-53.



LANDS OF THE BABENBERGS

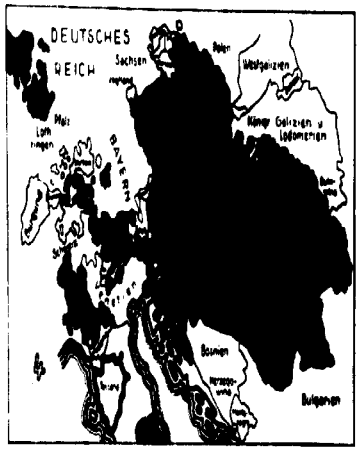
1246



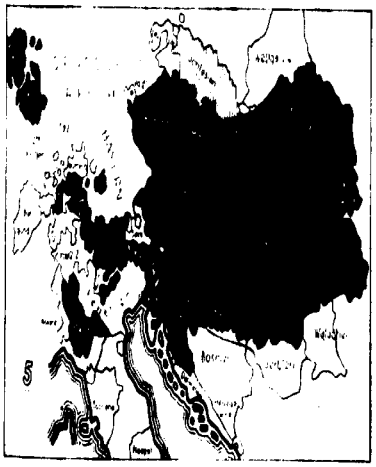
1246 - 1521



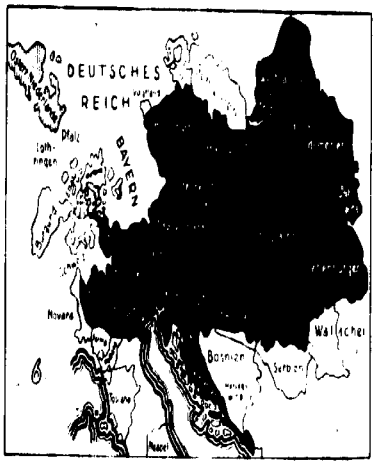
1521 - 1683



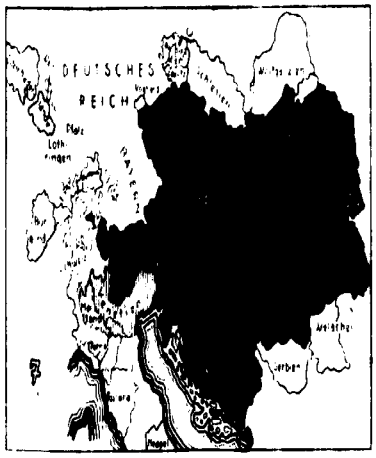
1683 - 1740



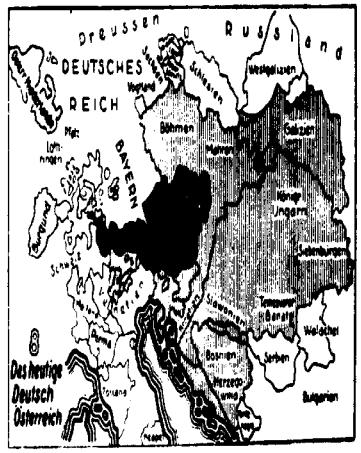
1740 - 1792



1792 - 1815



1815 - 1918



1918 - 1938

only in a common allegiance to the ruling House.

Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century, the Danube Valley was settled by many and diverse races. The people of the land were exploited by great landowners, and by the state. After three centuries of destructive war, a slow and painful recovery was under way. It was then that militant nationalism, brought forth by the French Revolution and disseminated by the Napoleonic Wars began to undermine the foundations of the Habsburg Empire. By the 1830's, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats and Rumanians had all become conscious of their national individuality. The rising tide of their demands for local autonomy, accompanied by a great literary renaissance, swept irresistably through the moldy structure of the Austrian police state.

The wave of nationalistic revolutions in the spring of 1848 was so strong that even the conservative Habsburgs had to make some concessions. They approved the establishment of an independent Hungarian government and to satisfy the demands of their other provinces called a Legislative Assembly in the fall of 1848. It was from the deliberations of this Assembly that the first plan for the reconstruction of the Danube Valley was proposed.

In 1848, the lands comprising the Habsburg Empire consisted of two rather separate entities. One was under direct rule of Vienna and the other was governed through the intermediary of the Duke Palatine at Buda. The latter comprised the so-called "Lands of the Holy Crown of Hungary". The former included the Al-

pine provinces, i.e., modern Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, Galicia, Bukovina, Lombardy, and the coastlands of the Adriatic, i.e., modern Dalmatia. In the second group were ranged Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia, the city of Fiume on the Adriatic, and--though separated from Hungary administratively--the Grand-Duchy of Transylvania. In our survey of Austro-Hungarian developments, these two groups of provinces shall always be treated separately, due to their different legal status and their relations with Vienna.

- - - -

When, in the fall of 1848, the delegates of the Austrian provinces gathered at Kremsier, in southern Moravia to attend the meetings of the Legislative Assembly, their main tasks were clearly outlined. They intended to establish a constitution for their peoples, and desired to secure wider popular representation in future legislative bodies. Among the delegates was Francis Palacky, Czech historian, one of the leaders of that nation, and the proponent of what may be called the first scheme for a Danubian Federation.

Palacky advocated a federation on the basis of the linguistic groups within the Habsburg realm. His scheme, submitted to the Kremsier Assembly in January, 1849, proposed a reorganization of the Habsburg Empire into German, Czech, Polish, Illyrian (Dalmato-Croatian), Italian, South Slav, Hungarian and Rumanian regions. These regions would then form a federation, held together by common allegiance to the Emperor and by strong economic and political ties,

Fig. 5

The Habsburg Monarchy in 1859.

Source: Binkley, R.C.: Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871; New York, 1935.


RUSSIAN EMPIRE
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
BOHEMIA
Prague
MORAVIA
SILESIA
Cracow
Lemberg
GALICIA
Vistula R.
Dniester R.
Kaschau
Czernowitz
BUKOWINA
Pressburg
Vienna
Danube R.
LANDS OF AUSTRIA
Buda Pest
Theiss R.
HUNGARIAN CROWN
TRANSYLVANIA (SIEBENBURGEN)
Klausenburg
Maros R.
SALZBURG
Inn R.
AUSTRIA PROPER
TYROL
CARINTHIA
STYRIA
CARNIOLA
Drave R.
Agram
CROATIA
CROATIAN MARCHES
SLAVONIA
SLAVONIAN MARCHES
Save R.
VOIVODINO
Zombor
Temesvar
BANAT
BANAT MARCHES
Belgrade
Danube R.
WALLACHIA
EMPIRE
LOMBARDY-VENETIAN KINGDOM
Milan
Po R.
Venice
ISTRIA
KINGDOM OF ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
(Austrian Coast)
BOSNIA
OTTOMAN
Rhine R.
Main R.
HABSBURG MONARCHY
IN 1859
Boundaries of Administrative subdivisions of Hungary under Bach system
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
10 15 20 25
45 50
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. INC., N.Y.

e.g., a customs union.*

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*Bibl, Viktor: Der Zerfall Oesterreichs, bd.II., "Von Revolution zu Revolution"; Vienna, 1924; pp. 177-183

While the Kremsier Legislative Assembly was discussing Palacky's federation plans, the Habsburg Government, encouraged by the failure of revolutionary movements throughout most of Europe, felt strong enough to suppress any liberal tendencies in its realm. The Kremsier Assembly was dissolved in March, 1849. The Austrian provinces continued to be governed authoritatively by the central government in Vienna.

During the same period, in 1848-1849, the peoples of the Hungarian provinces faced an equally difficult situation. The new Hungarian government, formed during the revolutionary month of March, 1848, attempted to establish a liberal regime in the territories under its jurisdiction. Soon it was confronted with demands by the national minorities living in the Hungarian provinces, asking for local autonomy which the Budapest government was unwilling to grant. At the same time, the Habsburgs, regretting the free rein given to Budapest a few months earlier attempted to regain control of Hungarian affairs by force of arms.

Pressure exerted by Austria, lack of cooperation on the part of national minorities, and military intervention by Russia, during the summer of 1849, spelled the end of the Hungarian experiment in self-government. Six months after the dissolution of the Kremsier Assembly, the Hungarian as well as the Austrian provinces

were back under the absolutist rule of Vienna. Thus ended the first episode in the long struggle of the peoples of the Danube Valley for self-government.

Between 1849 and 1867 the Habsburg Empire was controlled from and by Vienna. But the experiences of the revolutionary months of 1848-1849 were long remembered by the people. Though many of the leaders were in exile, they continued to plan for an early liberation from the Habsburg yoke.

The eyes of the revolutionary leaders were turned southward. There, in lands still under Turkish sovereignty, where the ferment of nationalism had been at work since the early 19th century, new states were rising, new nations were appearing on the European scene. Though Serbia, Valachia and Moldavia were nominally still controlled by Turkey, the rulers of these small states were anxious to find a place for their nations in the political sun. It was in these countries at first that the revolutionary leaders of 1848 sought support for their schemes.

Louis Kossuth, a member of the Hungarian government in 1848, and Regent of the short-lived Hungarian Republic of 1849, profiting by the lessons of the Revolution drew up a plan for a federation of the Danubian countries. In 1859, Kossuth, then an exile in Turin, dispatched a representative to Prince Alexander Cuza of Valachia, with proposals for an alliance. Hungary, once liberated from the Habsburg yoke, wrote Kossuth, will be anxious to establish friendly relations with its neighbors. The peoples

of the Danube Valley should forget their grievances, said Kossuth, and establish lasting peace on the bases of political and economic cooperation among themselves.

A preliminary agreement for a Danubian federation was concluded in 1859 between Prince Cuza and Kossuth's emissary, General George Klapka. Though the treaty never became an instrument in international relations, its provisions are well worth quoting. They consisted of two sections, the first of which dealt with the reforms to be effected within Hungary and the second contained a plan for the establishment of a Danubian federation.

According to the first part of the preliminary agreement of 1859, all citizens of Hungary, regardless of race and religion, would be accorded the same rights and privileges. All administrative units of the country would be given some measure of local autonomy in the conduct of their own affairs. The several nationalities would be free to administer their own religious organizations and to supervise education. The language of command of military regiments or other units, formed of a single national minority, would be that of the minority in question. Transylvania would become an independent state if its people expressed such a desire by the means of a plebiscite.

Among the provisions of the preliminary agreement for the establishment of a Danubian federation, the creation of a Federal Parliament was the most important. It would be bi-cameral and the Upper and Lower Chambers would hold meetings successively in Bucharest,

Belgrade, Zagreb, and Budapest. This Federal Parliament would control foreign affairs, national defense, tariffs, monetary systems and weights and measures. It would determine the language or languages in which the business of the Federation was to be conducted.*

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*Szekfu, Julius: Harom nemzedek es ami utana kovetkezik (Three generations and their successor).; Budapest, 1940; pp. 206-207.

Jaszi, Oscar: The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy; Chicago, 1929, pp. 311-314.

These proposals were revolutionary when they were made. Kossuth's plan, when it was made public in 1862, was ridiculed by his own countrymen. Equality among nationalities was too radical an idea to be accepted by the Hungarian ruling class of that time. Still, the trend of the times was definitely in the direction of some understanding between the various nationality groups of the middle Danube Valley. When, in 1867, Austria-Hungary was reorganized, the two halves of the monarchy became equal partners in the administration of the common affairs of the realm. Complete independence in the conduct of affairs, of purely local importance, were granted to both Austria and Hungary.

Under the terms of the compromise of 1867, Germans in Austria and Magyars in Hungary were the privileged classes. The growing force of nationalism, in spite of the privileges enjoyed by these two groups, was strong enough to compel them to make at least a few concessions to their national minorities.

In 1868 the Hungarian Parliament passed the "Basic Act of Nationalities". If properly applied this Act might have led to reconciliation among Magyars and their Slovak, Serb, Croat, and Rumanian subjects* Instead the record shows that much of this Act was never enforced. Hungary was intensely nationalistic throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, and Magyars held all important political offices. Hungarian educational policy was frankly aimed at Magyarization. The nationalities, none too well organized in 1867, were not in a position to assail Magyar supremacy. The Croats were the only exception to this state of affairs, they obtained home rule in Croatia in 1868. It was not until the latter part of the 19th century that political groups among the minorities made their voices heard in the Budapest Parliament. And it was only the cataclysm of the First World War that gave the national minorities of Hungary their long-sought chance to obtain autonomy and national independence.

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*cf. Jaszi, op.cit., pp.314-327.

The nationality problem was different in the Austrian provinces. While most of the national minorities of Hungary were relatively poor and politically unorganized, the minorities of Austria, especially the Czechs and, to a lesser degree, the Galician Poles, occupied a higher position in the economic and social order, and had well-organized political parties of their own. The Czechs brought pressure to bear on the Austrian government for equal

political rights, for free use of their language and for better parliamentary representation. They were given partial satisfaction when the government of Count Taaffe, during the 1870's and 1880's accorded them many privileges hitherto denied to other minorities. Taaffe himself was fond of saying that he believed in federalism and his reforms, broadened by his successors, especially in education and public administration, might have led to the establishment of a true Danubian federation.* Two factors, however, made this impossible.

Bibl, Viktor: op.cit., pp. 373-375.

Laveleye, Emile de: The Balkan Peninsula; London, 1887; pp. 7-20.

Wiskemann, Elizabeth: Czechs and Germans - A Study of the Struggle in the Historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia; London, 1938; pp. 37-44.

On the one hand there was the reaction of extreme German and Magyar nationalism in Austria-Hungary. In Austria this was best expressed by the Linz program of 1882, conceived by Georg von Schonerer, leader of the extreme nationalist German party of Austria. This program envisaged extensive autonomy for the Balkan provinces (Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovinia), for Galicia and Bukovina. In other provinces of Austria, German was to be the only official language. Czech and Slovene were no longer officially recognized. In the eastern half of the Monarchy, Hungary was to be given complete authority to deal with its own nationality problems.*

Bibl, Viktor: op.cit. pp. 373-375.

Cheradame, Andre: L'Europe et la Question d'Autriche au seuil du siecle; Paris, 1901; pp. 107 ff.

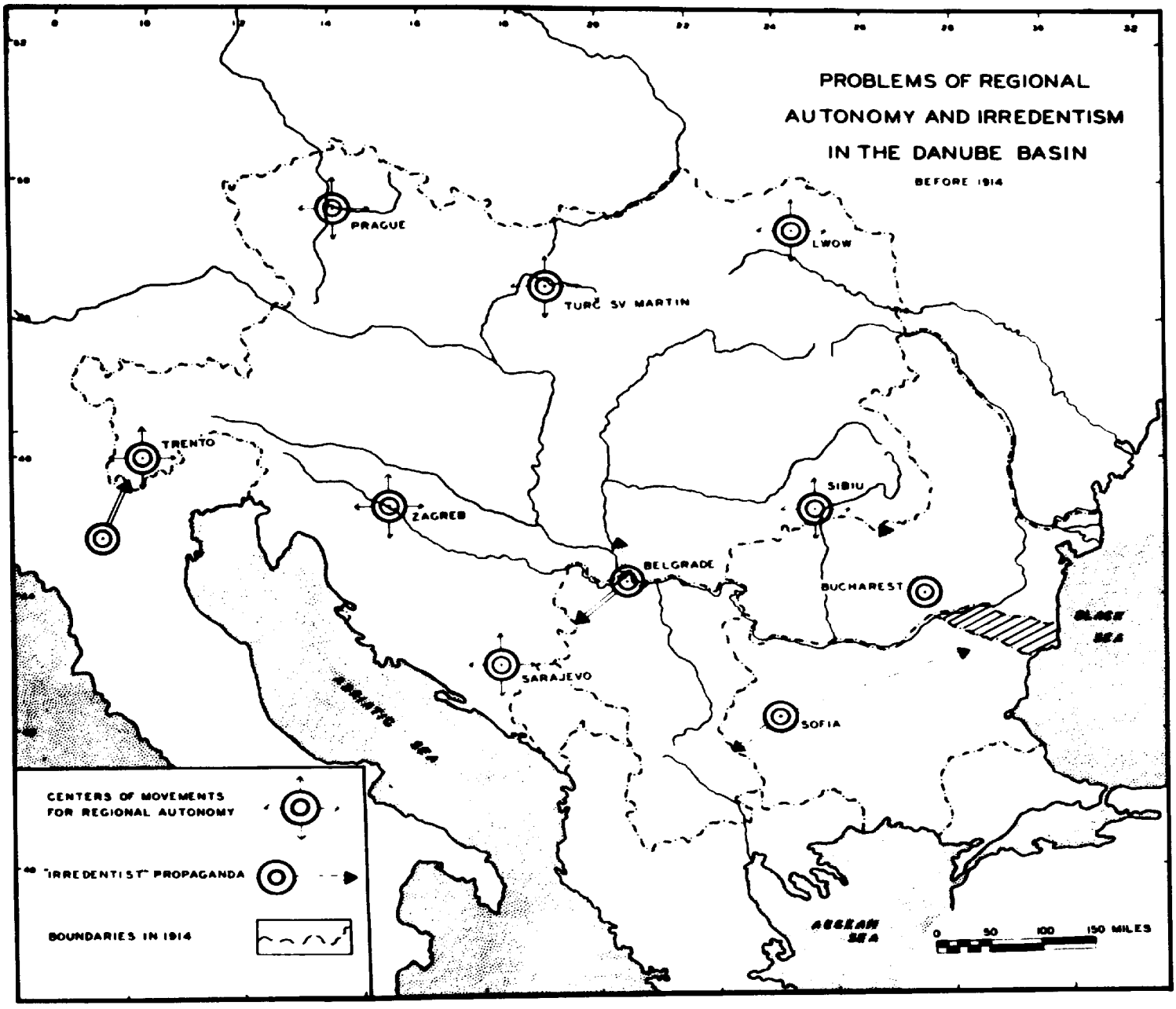
The second major obstacle to all federative plans was the failure of the ruling classes to reform the political structure of the Monarchy. A comprehensive scheme of federation, giving far-reaching rights of local self-government to the several nationalities might conceivably have held Austria-Hungary together during the 19th century. The half-hearted attempt made by the Austrian government to comply with some of the wishes of the minorities and the refusal of the Hungarian government to grant any of them, led to a consistent worsening of relations between majority and minority groups. During the 1870's and 1880's there was still room for compromise. Twenty years later, on the eve of the first World War, Czechs in Prague, Slovaks in Turcansky Sv. Martinec, Poles in Lwow, Rumanians in Sibiu, Croats in Zagreb, were irreconcilable enemies of the Austro-Hungarian idea. Supported by their brethren across the borders, with strong political parties well organized within the Monarchy, they were intent upon achieving complete independence.

The opposition of national minorities to the governments of Austria and Hungary was exploited by Allied propaganda during the first World War. Aims and ambitions of the minorities found powerful support in the Wilsonian principle of national self determination.

Fig. 6

Problems of regional autonomy and irredentism in the Danube Basin before 1914.

Source: Hummel, H.: Südosteuropa und das Schicksal der Donaumonarchie; Berlin, 1937.


PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL
AUTONOMY AND IRREDENTISM
IN THE DANUBE BASIN
BEFORE 1914
PRAGUE
LWOW
TURČ SV MARTIN
TRENTO
ZAGREB
SIBIU
BELGRADE
BUCHAREST
SARAJEVO
SOFIA
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
AEGEAN SEA
CENTERS OF MOVEMENTS
FOR REGIONAL AUTONOMY
"IRREDENTIST" PROPAGANDA
BOUNDARIES IN 1914
0 50 100 150 MILES

The end of the War of 1914-1918 saw the total collapse of Austria-Hungary and the emergence of new national states.

Chapter IV

Nationalism between World Wars - the political pattern.

The treaties of peace of 1919-1920 marked the end of an era. Three empires disappeared in the wake of the first World War. The Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, and the Romanovs all lost their thrones and the map of Europe was redrawn.

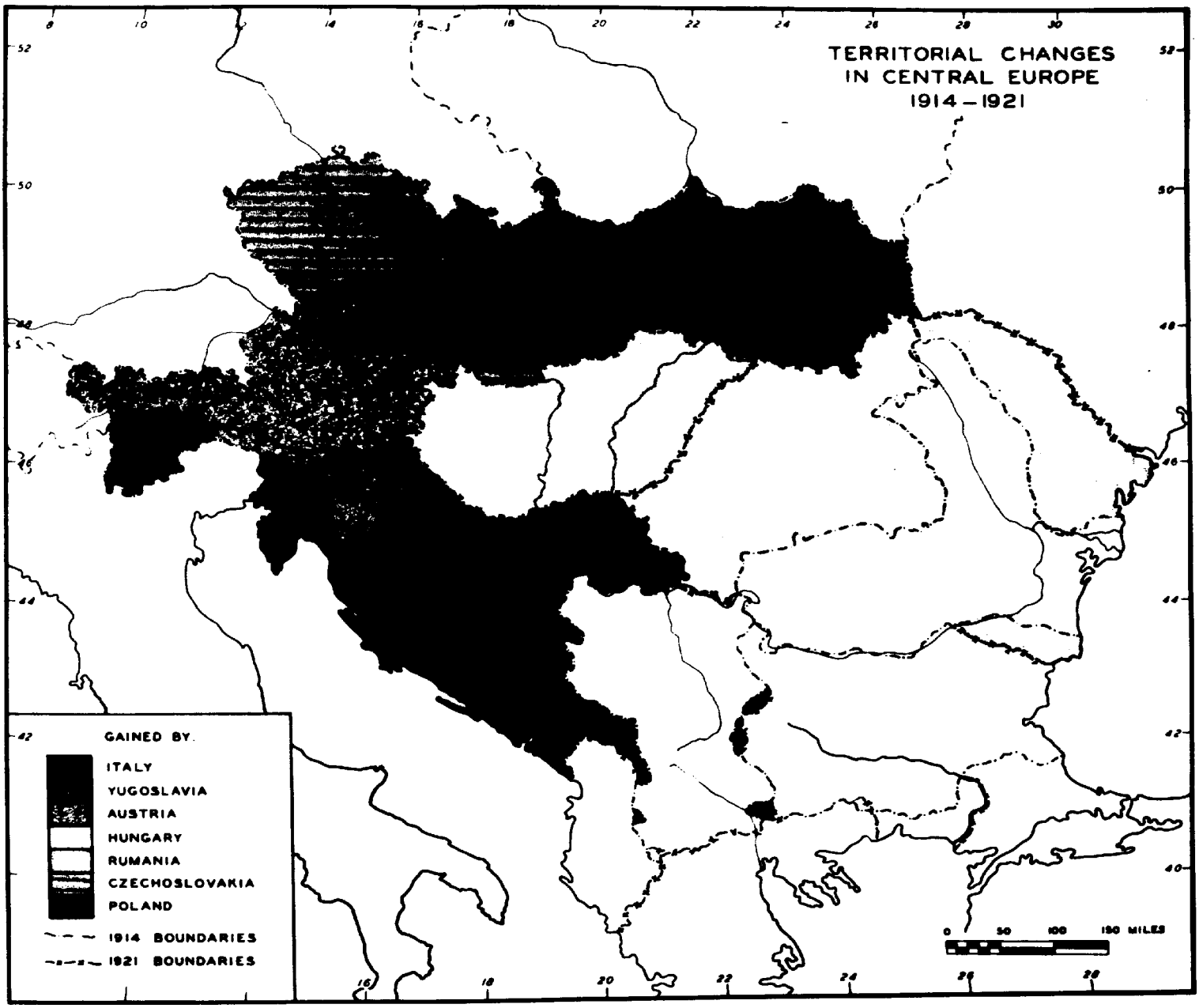
In the fall of 1918 Austria-Hungary fell apart under the pressure of allied armies and of subsequent revolutions. The lands once controlled by the Habsburgs became parts of new states that emerged from the chaos of 1918-1919. Austria and Hungary retained only small areas centered on Vienna and Budapest respectively. Czechoslovakia incorporated Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Ruthenia. Yugoslavia succeeded in uniting almost all southern Slavs in Slovenia, Croatia, Slavonia, the Banat, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia with those of Serbia and Montenegro. Rumania added Transylvania, Bukovina, Dobruja, and Bessarabia to Valachia and Moldavia. Bulgaria on the other hand lost the Dobruja and its control of a small section of the Aegean coast.

Very soon after the treaties of peace were signed, it became obvious that the redistribution of territories and the creation of new national states accomplished little in the way of a permanent solution of the problems of the Danube Valley. In many cases it was merely a matter of the top-dog of yesterday becoming the under-dog

Fig. 7

Territorial changes in Central Europe, 1914-1921

Source: Bowman, I.: The New World; Yonkers, 1928.


TERRITORIAL CHANGES
IN CENTRAL EUROPE
1914 – 1921
GAINED BY
ITALY
YUGOSLAVIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
POLAND
1914 BOUNDARIES
1921 BOUNDARIES
0 50 100 150 MILES

of today. Instead of eliminating causes of friction, the new order created at Versailles simply reversed the status of several of the national groups and maintained a state of permanent irritation. The files of the League of Nations Commission on National Minorities, containing complaints and petitions from the central and southeast-European states, bear eloquent testimony to this.

Prior to the first World War, minority problems were primarily the internal affairs of Austria-Hungary. After 1920 they became a matter of international concern, and divided the Danube Valley into two sharply opposed groups. The "Little Entente", i.e., Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, was dedicated primarily to the maintenance of the "status quo". Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria on the other hand were anxious to regain lost territories and nationals. Austria was too weak for most of the post-war period to play an active part in international affairs. Hungary and Bulgaria, however, expressed their opposition to the 1919 settlement through "irredentist" propaganda.

The post-war period was thus characterized by a deep schism between winners and losers of territory, a division which was to continue well into the second World War. To make matters worse the great powers supported and encouraged this division, and contributed substantially to the formation of enemy camps in the heart of Europe.

In spite of the lack of cooperation among the states of the Danube Valley, the idea of a super-national organization was

never forgotten. Ever since the meetings of the Kremsier Assembly in 1849 minority problems have occupied the spotlight in discussions of Danubian affairs. Palacky and Kossuth both based their proposals for a reorganization of the Danubian lands on a regrouping of areas, based on the distribution of nationalities. This same principle had been employed by Aurel Popovici, a Transylvanian Rumanian in his book, "The United States of Greater Austria", published in 1906. He proposed replacing the Monarchy by a federation of fifteen "national states", representing areas inhabited by the several nationalities of Austria-Hungary. These "United States of Greater Austria" would be united by their common allegiance to the House of Habsburg. All citizens of this federation would possess duel citizenship, being citizens both of their state and of the federation. The federation would be organized in a customs union. Foreign affairs, national defense, foreign and domestic commerce, matters of criminal and civil law and judicial procedure would be in the competence of the federal government. The federal bi-cameral parliament would consist of an Upper House, of which the members would be "ex-officio", elected, and appointed to represent the trades, the professions and the major public bodies, and of a Lower House which would be elected by direct vote from all the member states. The federal government would consist of forty-two representatives nominated by the member states in proprotion to their inhabitants. The federal government would be organized into five commissions: Foreign Affairs, National Defense, Finance, Home Affairs, and Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Fig. 8

"United States of Greater Austria".

Source: Popovici, A. C.: Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Oesterreich; Leipzig, 1906.

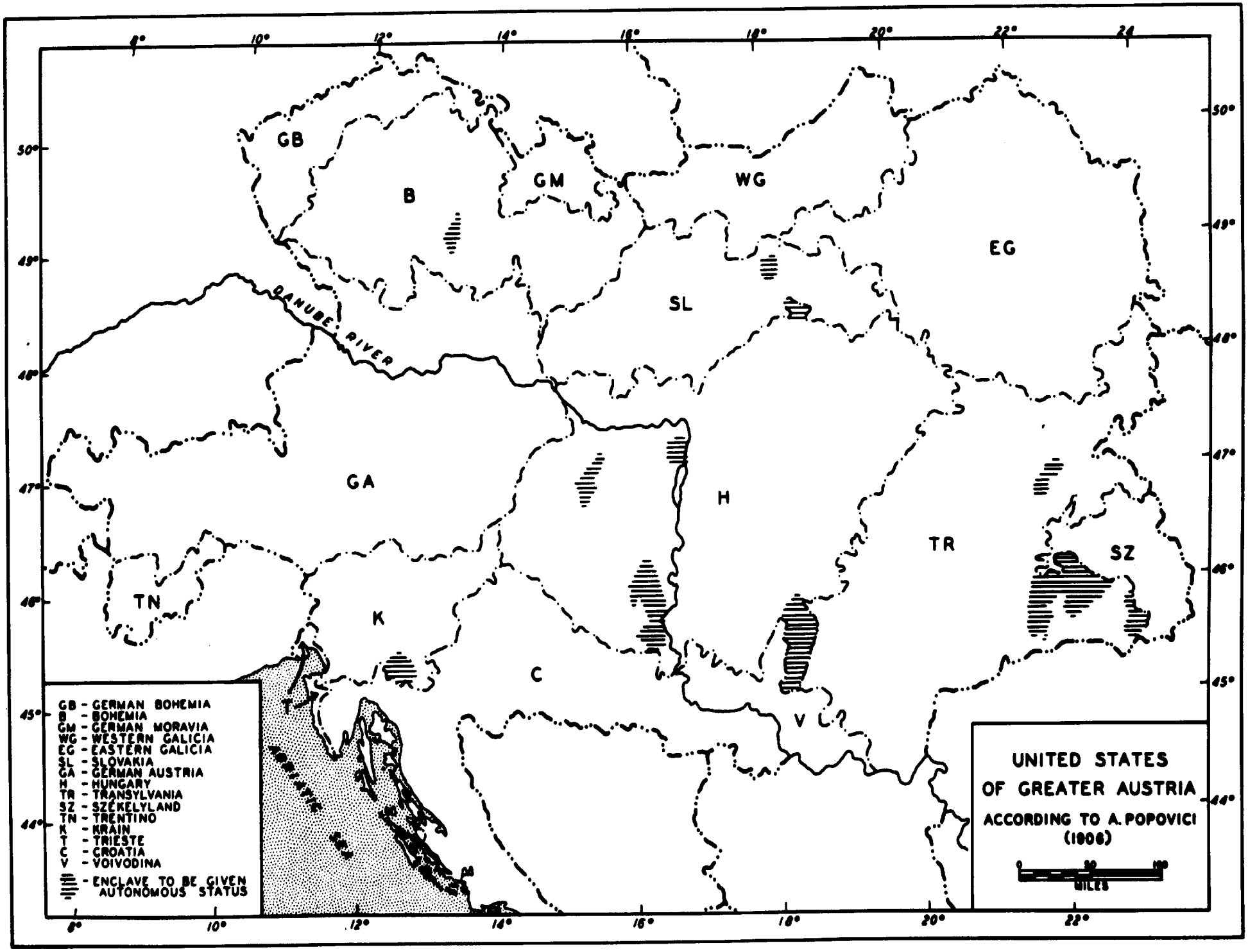
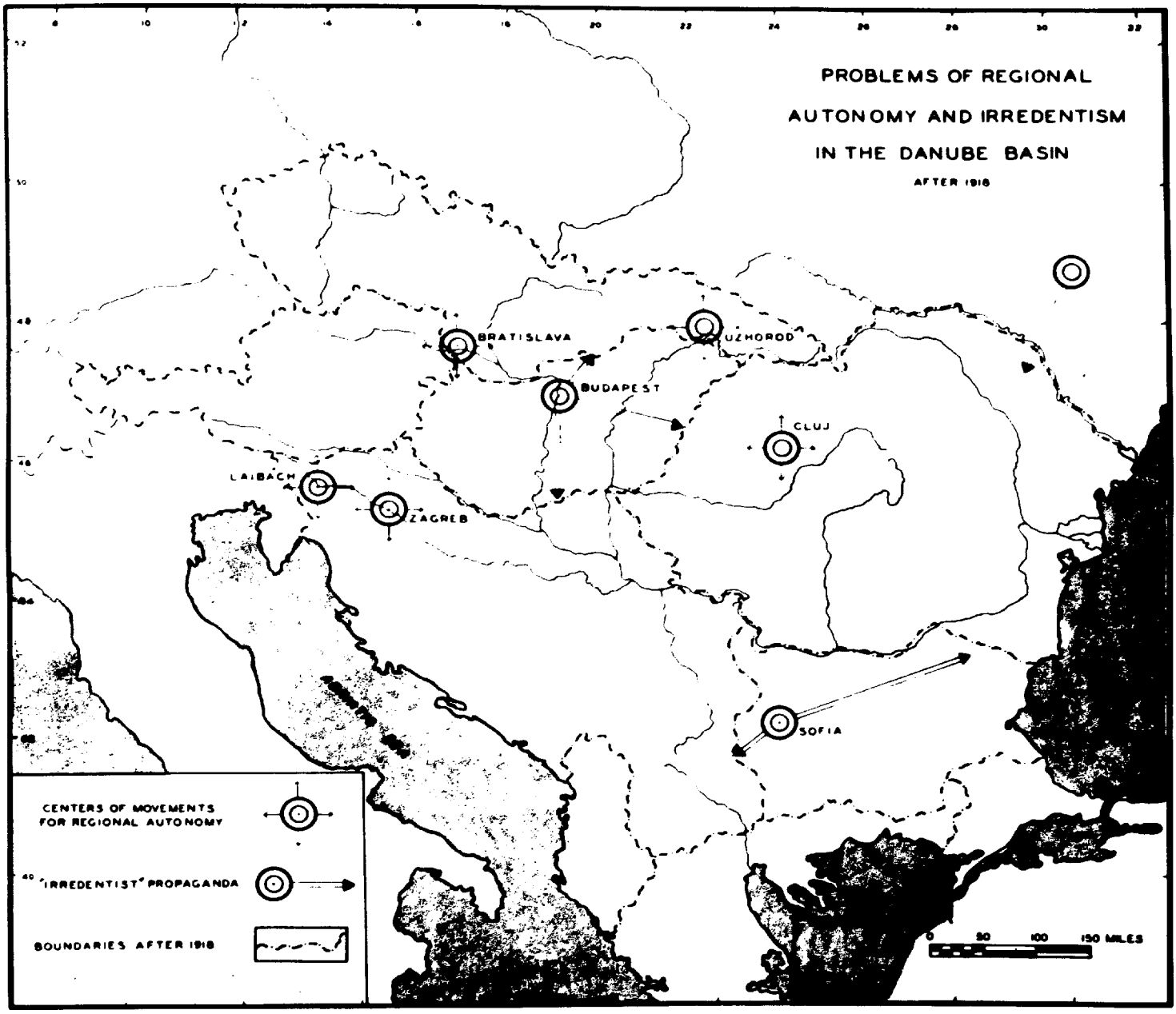

GB
B
GM
WG
EG
SL
DANUBE RIVER
GA
H
TR
SZ
TN
K
C
V
T
ADRIATIC SEA
GB - GERMAN BOHEMIA
B - BOHEMIA
GM - GERMAN MORAVIA
WG - WESTERN GALICIA
EG - EASTERN GALICIA
SL - SLOVAKIA
GA - GERMAN AUSTRIA
H - HUNGARY
TR - TRANSYLVANIA
SZ - SZÉKELYLAND
TN - TRENTINO
K - KRAIN
T - TRIESTE
C - CROATIA
V - VOIVODINA
- ENCLAVE TO BE GIVEN AUTONOMOUS STATUS
UNITED STATES OF GREATER AUSTRIA
ACCORDING TO A. POPOVICI (1906)
MILES

Fig. 9

Problems of regional autonomy and irredentism in the Danube Basin after 1918.


PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL
AUTONOMY AND IRREDENTISM
IN THE DANUBE BASIN
AFTER 1918
BRATISLAVA
UZHOROD
BUDAPEST
CLUJ
LAIBACH
ZAGREB
SOFIA
CENTERS OF MOVEMENTS FOR REGIONAL AUTONOMY
"IRREDENTIST" PROPAGANDA
BOUNDARIES AFTER 1918
0 50 100 150 MILES

(These proposals were made before the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, in 1908). The official language of the federation would be German, but each member state would be free to determine its own language of use.*

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*Popovici, Aurel C.: Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Oesterreich; Leipzig, 1906; pp. 317-327.

Popovici's proposals represented an attempt to reorganize Austria-Hungary as it existed before 1914, retaining the House of Habsburg, and in some respects retaining the dominating position of the German element. His proposals could not have been carried out without strong opposition from Slavs, Hungarians, and Rumanians within the Monarchy. The chances of their being acceptable to all groups would have depended on considerable pressure upon these groups by a strong central power. At the time these proposals were made, the eve of the first World War, the Habsburgs did not possess such power. The heir to the throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinant preferred a "Trialist" Monarchy, however, which would have admitted the Slavs to a position equal to that occupied by Germans and Magyars.

The War of 1914-1918 demanded a maximum of military and economic cooperation between Germany and Austria. This inspired Friedrich Naumann, a member of the German parliament, to propose a permanent economic union of the two countries.* He insisted that German ideas on industrial production should become the "economic

creed" of all Central Europe. He foresaw the development of Germany, Austria, and Bohemia-Moravia into great manufacturing regions, while the other provinces of Austria-Hungary would provide raw materials and food products.* This project of a German-Austrian-Hungarian customs union was shattered by the defeat of the Central Powers in 1918. But Naumann's vision of the Danube Valley as a raw material supplier and a market for German and Austrian industries continued to be present in the minds of German statesman and planners. These ideas were destined to influence German policy in the Danube Valley for some years to come.

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*Naumann, Friedrich; Mitteleuropa; Berlin, 1916.

The stormy events of 1918-1919 relegated all these schemes for federation and customs union in Central Europe to the attic of history. Nevertheless the economic chaos resulting from the total breakup of the framework of Austria-Hungary prompted the governments of France, Great Britain and the United States to call a conference to deal with economic questions of immediate importance. This conference was held at Portorose, near Trieste, in November, 1921, attended by the representatives of the three sponsoring powers and of all the "Succession States".*

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*The term "Succession States" was applied to the states controlling parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Austria, Hungary, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslovia and Poland.

The delegates assembled at Portorose agreed to reestablish normal commercial relations among all "Succession States", to improve railway and postal communications, and recommended the adoption of certain basic principles relating to commercial and political intercourse among themselves. Since the treaties of peace of 1919-1920 did not contain any measures designed to improve existing conditions in the Danube Valley--save the insertion of a clause establishing preferential tariffs between Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary for a period of five years--the recommendations of the Portorose Conference could have played a very important part in the post-war reconstruction programme of the Danube Valley.* But these recommendations were never ratified, and a serious opportunity for regional organization in this area was irremediably lost. The interest of the great powers in Danubian affairs flagged soon afterwards and militant nationalism coupled with economic rivalry kept the Danubian states well apart.

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*"The Portorose Conference", International Conciliation, No. 176, New York, July 1922.

The direct sequel of the collapse of these negotiations and of the unstable economic situation brought about by the loss of the war was a serious economic crisis in Austria and Hungary in 1921-1923. The currencies of these two states disintegrated in a

disastrous inflation and outside intervention became necessary. To save them from complete collapse loans were made by the great powers guaranteed by the League of Nations to help reorganize the finances of these countries. For a brief period of five years, from 1925 to 1930, the Danube Valley enjoyed relative prosperity.

During the late 1920's questions of foreign trade and foreign policy did not occupy a prominent place in the affairs of the Danubian states. True, in 1927, Italy began to champion the cause of treaty revision desiring a sphere of influence in the Danube Valley and in the Balkans. But on the whole, the "status quo" was not disturbed until the world economic depression reached this area.

Overseas competition with European agricultural products, especially cereals, became the basic issue of the commercial policy of Central Europe in the late 1920's. The policy of preferential treatment of European cereals by European importers was advocated by the principal producers of those products. In 1930, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Rumania formed a "Central and East European Agrarian Bloc." This "Bloc" served as informal representative of the agrarian interests. In a memorandum addressed to the League of Nations during the summer of 1930, the "Bloc" requested preferantial tariffs for cereals of European origin. The Warsaw Conference of the "Central and East European Agrarian Bloc", held late that summer, went a step beyond the demand for the preferential treatment of European agricultural producers. This

conference attempted - unsuccessfully - to bring about an agreement among the agrarian states to present a united front against overseas competition and advocated a program supporting "rationalization of agriculture, improved marketing, grain standardization, plans for the reduction of crop acreage, and plans for the organization of agricultural credit facilities."*

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*Basch, Antonin: The Danube Basin and the German Economic Sphere; New York, 1943; p. 60.

The formation of this "Bloc" was an encouraging step in the direction of regional organization. Unfortunately the activities of the "Bloc" were mostly limited to conferences. It never negotiated a treaty with any European importer of grain, nor did it act as a representative of all agrarian exporters. The absence of such actions is highly regrettable since the advantages of concerted procedure in the case of negotiations with any major importer of agricultural products are obvious. Had the "Bloc" been endowed with such negotiating powers, Germany might not have been able to isolate the Central and East European states economically and politically during the years preceding the Second World War. If these states had acted "en bloc" as a strong well organized group, they could have carried enough economic and political weight as to assert themselves in negotiations with major European powers. Instead, they chose to carry on separate negotiations and eventually fell victims

to the superior weight and diplomatic skill of National-Socialist Germany.

The first German move to "organize" the Danube Valley was the German-Austrian customs union agreement concluded in April, 1931. Although the agreement was limited to the economic sphere, the political advantages of such an arrangement were obvious. An Austro-German economic union would inevitably have developed into the greatest single market of Central Europe. Germany, using Vienna as the financial center of the Danube Valley, could have controlled most of the foreign trade and banking, and many of the industries of that area. Politically, Germany and Austria would have been in a position to control most of the major east-west and north-south routes of Central Europe in the strategic communications center of the Vienna Basin.

Reactions to the German-Austrian customs union project were immediate and highly critical. Both France and the Little Entente states (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania) voiced protest. The treaties of peace of Versailles and St. Germain prohibiting a union of Austria and Germany, were invoked, and the similar dispositions of the Austrian Protocol of 1922 were quoted at length. The case was brought before the International Court of Justice in the fall of 1931 and the Court declared the project contrary to the existing obligations of Austria and Germany.

But foreign reactions to the Austro-German project were not limited to the political sphere. France, alarmed by the economic

and political possibilities of such a union, withdrew many of its short-term credits from Central Europe. As a result the Credit-Anstalt of Vienna, largest bank of the Danube Valley, suspended payments in May, 1931. By July, 1931, all payments on foreign loans were suspended in Central Europe and severe exchange control was instituted everywhere. The world depression descended upon the Danube Valley in full force.

The lack of any concerted action on the part of the Danubian states bears eloquent testimony to their singleness of purpose in playing a lone hand with complete sovereignty. They continued to propose half-measures obviously inadequate to cope with the swift deterioration of the international economic situation. The suggestion for preferential treatment of European agricultural products by European importers, first made at the Warsaw Conference of 1930, might have brought some relief. This suggestion received some belated support by the Commission of Enquiry for European Union in 1931. This Commission, created by the League of Nations, declared in May, 1931, its support for agricultural preferences but qualified its remarks by stating that "such a solution should be regarded as an emergency measure only"....and emphasized that it was a "conditional, exceptional and limited derogation to the most-favored-nation clause, limited to cereals and their derivatives from the agricultural countries."*

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*Basch, op.cit., p.61

By the spring of 1932 restrictions governing foreign exchange had been followed by the establishment of import quotas for most critical goods by all Danubian states. Foreign trade dropped sharply and the situation called for prompt international action.

Since the German-Austrian customs union project failed principally with opposition of France and her Central European associates, the French government accepted the responsibility to initiate immediate measures designed to relieve the critical economic situation in the Danube Valley.

At the London Conference of April, 1932, M. Tardieu, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted to the delegates of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy what subsequently became known as the "Tardieu Plan". "The chief proposals of the plan were as follows: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslovia to be organized to form a special economic system without the participation or interference of the great powers. They were to grant each other a preferential tariff reduction of ten per cent, which was not to be considered in disagreement with the most-favored-nation clause. They were to abolish all import and export prohibitions among them, cancel exchange restrictions and possibly establish a common currency. A reconstruction loan was suggested to which France would subscribe £ 10 million."*

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*Basch, op.cit., p. 63

The Tardieu Plan might have provided the solution to the economic distress of the Danube Valley: It neglected, however, all consideration of political differences of opinion and was interpreted in many quarters as another attempt at French domination of the Danube Valley, primarily at the expense of Germany and Italy. The plan was dismissed at the London Conference over a matter of procedure.

In the fall of 1932 a last attempt was made by the great powers to bring relief and order to the Danube Valley. The Stresa Conference, meeting under the auspices of the League of Nations in September, 1932, proposed a scheme to boost agricultural prices to a pre-depression level and to iron out foreign exchange problems. Political jealousy, opposition on the part of Western European importers of grain, and a general lack of agreement shattered this last hope for Central and southeast European reconstruction." As a result, the year 1933 found Southeastern Europe hopelessly divided against itself, disillusioned or cynical as a result of the prospective failure of the Disarmament Conference, and confronted with yet another problem in the shape of a resurgent National-Socialist Germany."*

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*Royal Institute of International Affairs: Southeastern Europe; London, 1939; p.25.

After 1933 the shadow of German economic, political, and

military power loomed ever larger over the Danube Valley. Recognizing co-operation as the only way to resist further German penetration, the three states of the Little Entente signed the Pact of Organization of the Little Entente in February, 1933. This Pact provided for the establishment of a Permanent Council of the Foreign Ministers of the three states, with a Permanent Secretariat. The text of the Pact emphasized that the organization was open to the other states of the Danube Valley. "According to the Pact an Economic Council...was to be created for the purpose of gradually coordinating the economic interests of the three states... The first meeting of this Economic Council in Prague in January, 1934, outlined a far-reaching program of economic rapprochement and coordination. It included intensification of the exchange of goods among members, cooperation between the Central Banks and between the Manufacturers' Associations, unification of railway and port traffic and close cooperation in Danubian shipping."*

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*Basch, op.cit.; p. 154.

Some of these recommendations made by the Economic Council of the Little Entente were carried out to a limited extent, especially in the field of industrial relations, but strong opposition against any relaxation of import regulations by both agrarian and industrial interests in the Little Entente states prevented all serious discussion of a Danubian customs union. Lack of economic cooperation and a German

and Italian attempt to split the Little Entente led to a gradual loosening of political and economic ties. This was best demonstrated by the passive attitude of Rumania and Yugoslavia at the time of the Munich crisis of 1938.

With France and Britain gradually becoming less and less interested in Danubian affairs, Germany and Italy became the principal contestants for supremacy in this area. In 1934 Italy concluded the so-called "Rome Agreements" with Austria and Hungary. Italy, anxious to counteract growing German influence in the Danube Valley, concluded these Agreements to bolster its own economic and political position with the two countries situated in the pathway of eastward German expansion. The "Rome Agreements" provided sizable markets for Hungarian agricultural surpluses as well as Austrian timber and industrial goods, and strengthened the ties between Italy and its Danubian satellites.

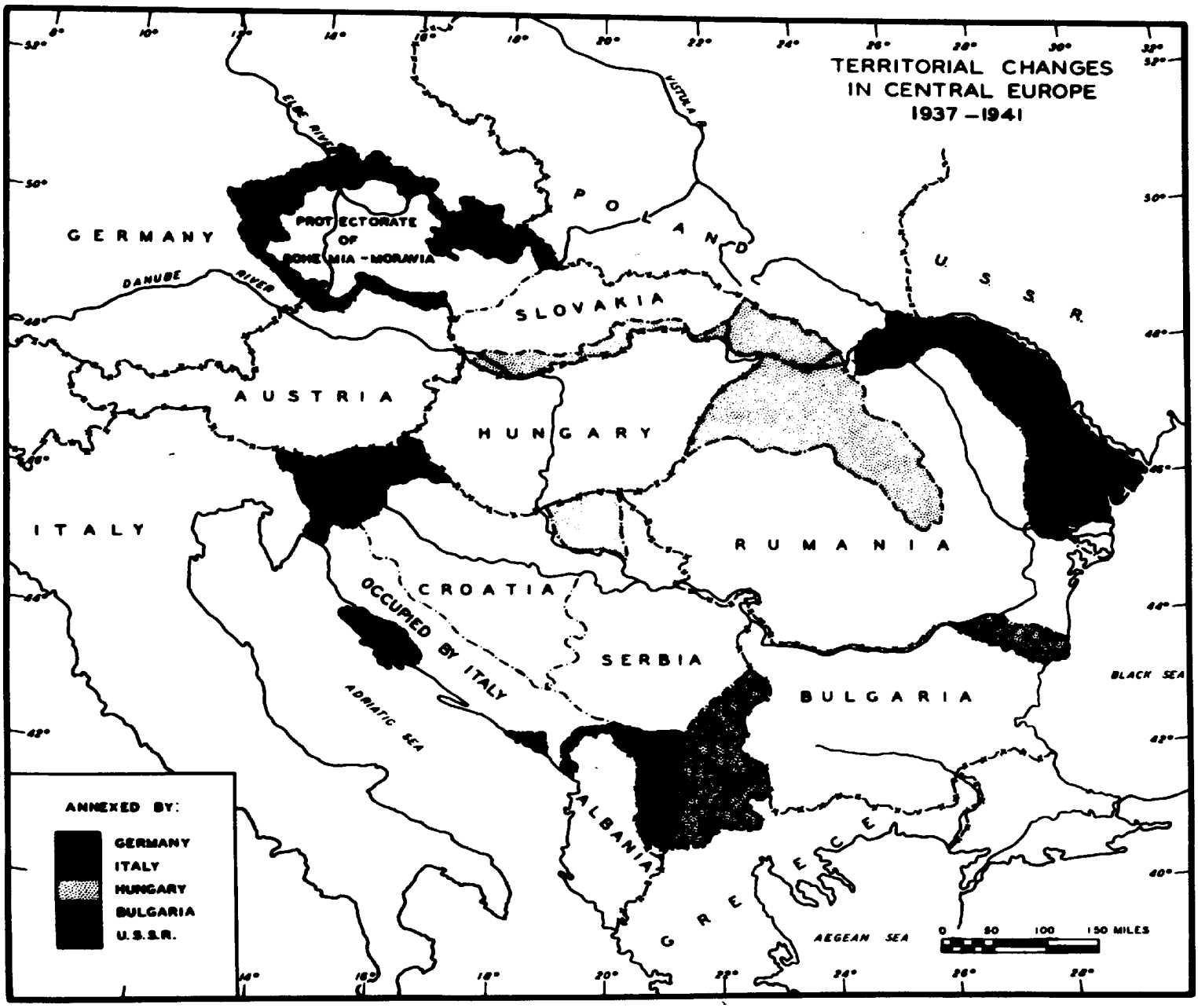
But Italy could not hope to counter-balance German influence in what the Third Reich considered its own sphere. The "Anschluss" of March, 1938, gave Germany control of Vienna, the commercial, financial, and strategic center of the Danube Valley. The path lay open to the rich heart of Central and Southeastern Europe, and along that path came trains bearing German goods, men disseminating German political ideology, and ultimately, tanks and planes bearing soldiers of the German Army. Germany may have lost the War of 1914-1918, but it won the diplomatic battle of the 1930's, conquering the Danube Valley almost entirely without firing a gun.

Save for the short and heroic resistance of Yugoslavia, the entire Danube Valley, the traditional route to the East, lay open to Germany in the spring of 1941.

Fig. 10

Territorial changes in Central Europe, 1937-1941.

Source: Base map of Central Europe, prepared by the American Geographical Society of New York.


TERRITORIAL CHANGES
IN CENTRAL EUROPE
1937 – 1941
GERMANY
PROTECTORATE
OF
BOHEMIA - MORAVIA
POLAND
U. S. S. R.
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ITALY
RUMANIA
CROATIA
OCCUPIED BY ITALY
SERBIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
AEGEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
DANUBE RIVER
ELBE RIVER
VISTULA
ANNEXED BY:
GERMANY
ITALY
HUNGARY
BULGARIA
U.S.S.R.
0 50 100 150 MILES

Chapter V

Plans and policies for the future

German domination of the Danube Valley came to a violent end in the spring of 1945. When the German armies withdrew, large areas of the Valley were left depleted of their resources. Men and women had been sent to work in foreign lands; fields and cattle had been left untended. Foreign invasion and civil war had destroyed whole countrysides, and had taken a heavy toll in lives and material goods alike. Agriculture, carried on exclusively to further the interests of a foreign power and geared to supply the needs of a foreign military machine, had suffered from neglect of soil-conserving practices. Livestock had deteriorated rapidly for lack of proper breeding. Seed had become scarce, transportation lines were severely damaged, large sections of many cities were completely destroyed by aerial bombardment and artillery attack.

Two great experiments, undertaken between 1919 and 1945, miscarried. Extreme nationalism, manifested in the creation of new states after the First World War, deprived most of the peoples of the Danube Valley of their powers of self-defense and substituted international jealousy of a narrow and destructive nature. The German experiment in European organization on the other hand was largely a war-time measure, designed to keep the German military

machine rolling. This meant poverty to the Danube Valley, and devastation by foreign armies. The task of reconstruction before the peoples of this area is immense. Their future and the peace of Europe depend on its successful completion.

Since agriculture is the principal occupation of the Danube Valley, agricultural reconstruction occupies a prominent position on the post-war agenda. At the present time, Hungary is carrying out a land reform long overdue. When this is completed, the last vestiges of great landed estates will have disappeared from the Danubian lands. To believe, however, that this fact alone will solve all agrarian problems would be taking a very superficial view indeed. The regime of landed property is but one of many factors of the pattern of land use.

Among the very first tasks should be certain long advocated shifts in agrarian production. This would involve a greater emphasis on protective foods than was made before this war. Energy foods such as wheat, corn, and meat, represented the major part of agricultural production in most of the Danube Valley. It was amply demonstrated during the years of the world economic depression that few European areas can successfully compete with overseas producers of energy foods. In this connection it is noted that the agricultural systems concentrating on the production of these foods involve long periods of forced idleness for the workers of the land, severe seasonal unemployment and consequently a marked drop in the standard

TABLE III

Population engaged in Agriculture*

Country	% of total population engaged in agriculture
Austria	43
Czechoslovakia	37.2
Hungary	50.8
Yugoslavia	71.2
Rumania	78.0
Bulgaria	80.9

*Sources: Royal Institute of International Affairs: South-Eastern Europe; London, 1940--Enciclopedia Italiana; Rome

TABLE IV

Land utilization, 1938*

Country	Percentage to total area in 1938					
	cultivated		permanent meadow and pasture	wood and forest	other	
	arable	tree & bush				
Austria	23.5	1.6	26.8	37.4	10.7	(1936)
Czecho-slovakia	41.7	1.2	16.6	32.6	7.9	
Hungary	60.2	3.6	17.4	11.9	6.9	(1937)
Yugoslavia	30.3	2.6	25.2	31.4	10.5	(1937)
Rumania	45.6	2.1	14.8	21.5	16.0	
Bulgaria	39.6	1.6	9.0	27.0	22.8	

*Sources: International Institute of Agriculture: International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1938-1939; Rome, 1939

Royal Institute of International Affairs: South-Eastern Europe; London, 1940.

TABLE V

Area under cereals, 1938*

Country	area under cereals in hectares	% of arable land	% of total area	
Austria	1,152,000	58.4	13.7	
Czecho-slovakia	3,533,000	60.3	25.1	
Hungary	4,119,000	73.4	44.2	
Yugoslavia	6,165,000	82.2	24.9	(1937)
Rumania	11,272,000	83.8	38.2	
Bulgaria	2,777,000	67.9	26.9	

*Source: International Institute of Agriculture: International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1938-1939; Rome, 1939.

Fig. 11

Land utilization of the Danube Basin.

Key:

A. TEMPERATE OR SMALL GRAINS ZONE

1. Dairy, hay and root crops region

a. Sugar beets, wheat, and dairy subregion

1. Saxony
2. Upper Silesia

b. Small grains, dairy and tree-fruits subregion

3. Rhine Graben
4. Swabia
5. Franconia
6. Bohemia plain of Bohemian basin
7. Moravia plain of Bohemian basin
8. Swabia-Franconia highlands of Bavarian plateau
9. West Central Germany uplands
10. Bohemia, border highlands
11. Bohemia-Moravia hilly uplands

2. Central wheat, wine and fruits region with dairying increasingly important westward.

a. Hilly uplands subregion

12. Lesser Hungarian Plain
13. Eastern Pre-Alps
14. Bulgarian Plain
15. Central Hungary - hilly uplands
16. Bihar highlands
17. North Balkan uplands

b. Major Mountains subregion

18. Alps - forest and pastures
19. Carpathians - forest and pastures
20. Alps - pastures
21. Carpathians - pastures

3. Corn and wheat region, with dairying and pork production increasingly important westward.
   a. Hungarian subregion

      22. Trans-Danubian corn and wheat area
      23. Central corn area
      24. North central wheat and tobacco area
      25. Transylvanian corn and wheat area

   b. Rumanian subregion

      26. Central wheat area
      27. Surrounding wheat and corn area
      28. Northern Dobrujan hills
      29. Danube delta pastures

4. Rye and buckwheat region of Russia, Poland, and the Baltic States, with hardwood forest, some flax and hemp.

      30. Main area
      31. Pripet Marshes

5. Sugar beet and winter grain (wheat and rye) region of Russia

      32. Kiev intensive sugar beet area

B. SUBTROPICAL OR MEDITERRANEAN FRUIT ZONE

1. Humid or subhumid wheat and mediterranean fruit region
   a. Humid coastal citrus fruit, wine and wheat subregion

      33. Istria
      34. Southeastern Balkan coastal area
      35. Dalmatian coast

   b. Subhumid interior wheat and pasture subregion

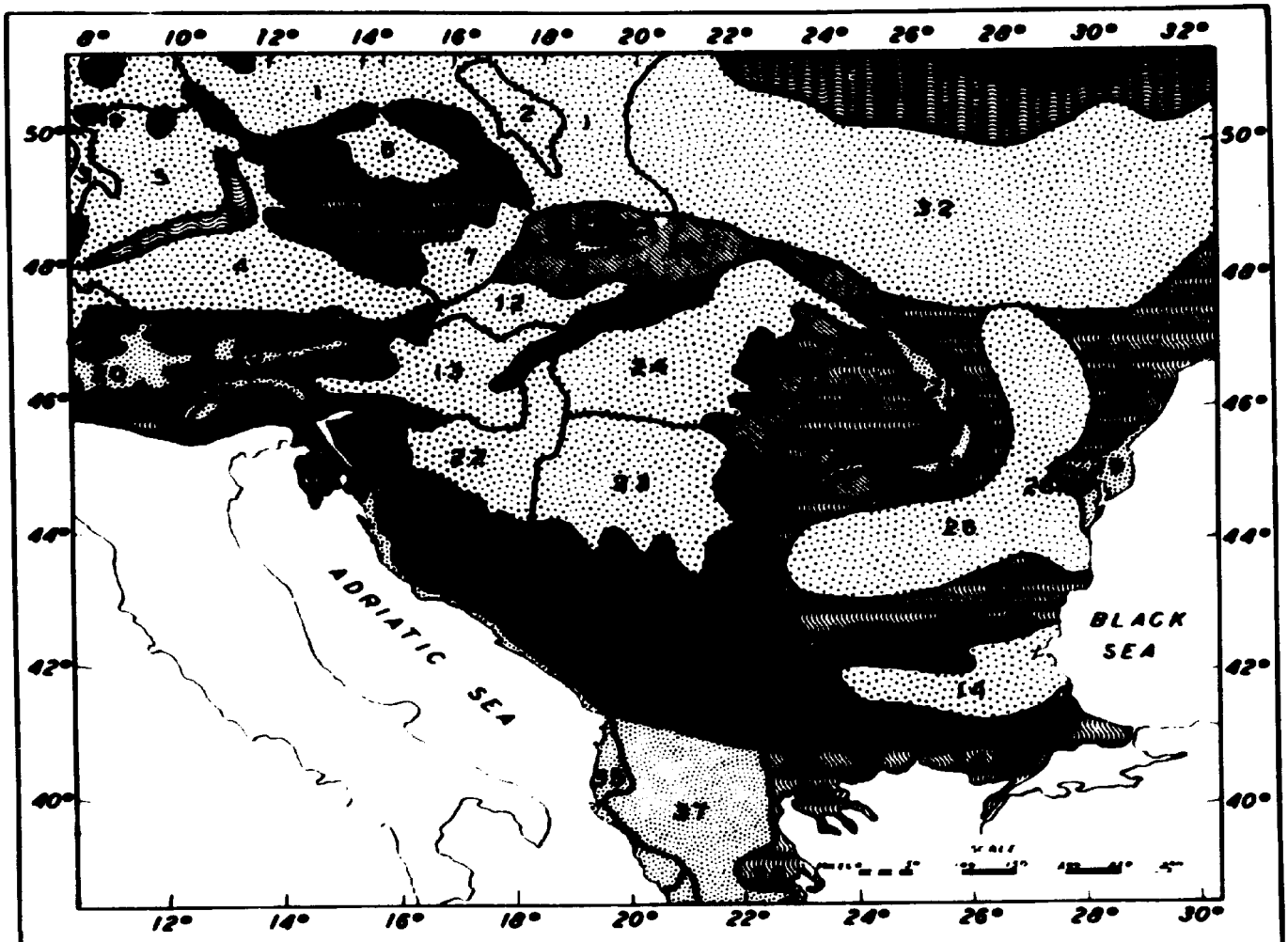
      36. Alps-Lombardy transition zone, citrus fruits and wine
      37. Southern Balkan uplands

2. Semi-arid barley, wheat, olives, and pasture, or subtropical barley region.

      38. Thessaly
      39. Macedonia

Source: Jonasson, O.: "Agricultural regions of Europe"; Economic Geography, vol. 1, 1925; pp. 277-315.

LAND UTILIZATION OF THE DANUBE BASIN



CROP LAND

PASTURE LAND

FOREST - PASTURE LAND

FOREST - CROP LAND

PASTURE - CROP LAND

CROP - PASTURE LAND

CROP - FOREST LAND

of living. This was well demonstrated by the increased human, rather than animal, consumption of maize in the 1930's throughout the lower Danube Valley.

Certain climatic elements would indicate shifts of production in several areas of the Danube Valley. The dry, warm summers of the lowland of Hungary and Rumania, for example, are well suited to the production of fruit, oilseed, and specialized industrial crops (sugarbeets, flax). These products rather than cereals are likely to find a market in the highly industrialized countries of Atlantic and West Central Europe. Pre-war experience also suggests the probability of the successful marketing of dairy products, poultry, and certain kinds of meat such as high-grade beef and veal. It would thus appear that heavier emphasis on dairy rather than beef cattle is indicated as well as greater production of pigs and poultry, and of fruits and vegetables.

Such changes would entail new developments in the organization of agricultural production and in the distribution methods. The agricultural cooperative, both as a purchasing and marketing agent, might well enable the small and medium farmer to purchase at least some of the basic equipment needed in these new pursuits, with the aid of credit extended either by an agricultural credit cooperative or by some other similar organization. Cooperative organization would enable the farmer to introduce a modicum of mechanization in the form of tractors, of combines, and of centrifugues for

dairies, that few individual farmers could otherwise purchase. Refrigeration of milk, cheese, fruit, poultry, and meat would permit shipment of these items to markets both within and outside the Danube Valley. This was attempted on a modest scale before the Second World War and a further extension of the methods seems fully justified by the excellent results obtained during the 1930's. The Danube Valley would then be more closely integrated with the economy of the continent than if it were engaged in another futile experiment in regional self-sufficiency. Consider Denmark--a poor country but a hundred years ago--the most prosperous agricultural area of all Europe on the eve of the present war. This successful example ought to give considerable encouragement to planners.

These fundamental changes in land use would call for equally important developments in other spheres of which industrial production might be mentioned first. In the field of industrial raw materials, the Danube Valley is not particularly blessed. To quote a recent and authoritative survey: "All the countries of the area, except Albania, produce some coal and lignite, iron ore, bauxite, manganese ore, and some of them also produce petroleum, lead, zinc, chromium, nickel, antimony, silver, and sulphur-bearing minerals, but, ... it is only as a source of petroleum, bauxite, zinc, chromium, antimony, and sulphur that the region has any great importance in the mineral economy of the world."*

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*Royal Institute of International Affairs: Southeastern Europe; London, 1940; p. 93.

TABLE VI

Production of certain economic minerals*
metric tons (000's omitted)

a. Coal

Country	Production 1937	Production 1941
Austria	230	?
Czechoslovakia	2.307	?
Hungary	917	1.207 (1940)
Yugoslavia	428	421 (1940)
Rumania	303	230
Bulgaria	121	219 (1940)

b. Lignite

Country	Production 1937	Production 1941
Austria	3.242	?
Czechoslovakia	18.042	?
Hungary	8.055	10.306 (1940)
Yugoslavia	4.574	6.888 (1940)
Rumania	1.880	2.317
Bulgaria	1.732	2.800

c. Petroleum

Country	Production 1937	Production 1941
Czechoslovakia	18	29
Hungary	2	144
Rumania	7.150	5.458

TABLE VI (cont'd)

Production of certain economic minerals*
metric tons (000's omitted)

d. Sulphur

Country	Production in 1937
Rumania	11

e. Manganese

Country	Production 1937
Austria	41.8
Hungary	10.1
Rumania	18.3
Yugoslavia	1.6

f. Zinc ore (content)

Country	Production 1937
Yugoslavia	48.8
Rumania	6.3

g. Chrome ore (Cr_2O_3 content)

Country	Production 1937
Yugoslavia	28.4
Bulgaria	0.9

h. Antimony ore (metric tons!)

Country	Production 1937
Yugoslavia	1,980

i. Copper (smelted)

Country	Production 1937
Austria	2.1
Czechoslovakia	2.0
Yugoslavia	39.4
Rumania	0.6

TABLE VI (cont'd)

Production of certain economic minerals*
metric tons (000's omitted)

j. Bauxite

Country	Production 1937	Production 1941
Hungary	532.7	?
Yugoslavia	354.2	?
Rumania	10.7	?
Bulgaria	3.1 (1936)	

k. Aluminum (smelted)

Country	Production 1937	Production 1941
Hungary	1.5	6.0
Yugoslavia	0.2	?

l. Iron Ore (metal content)

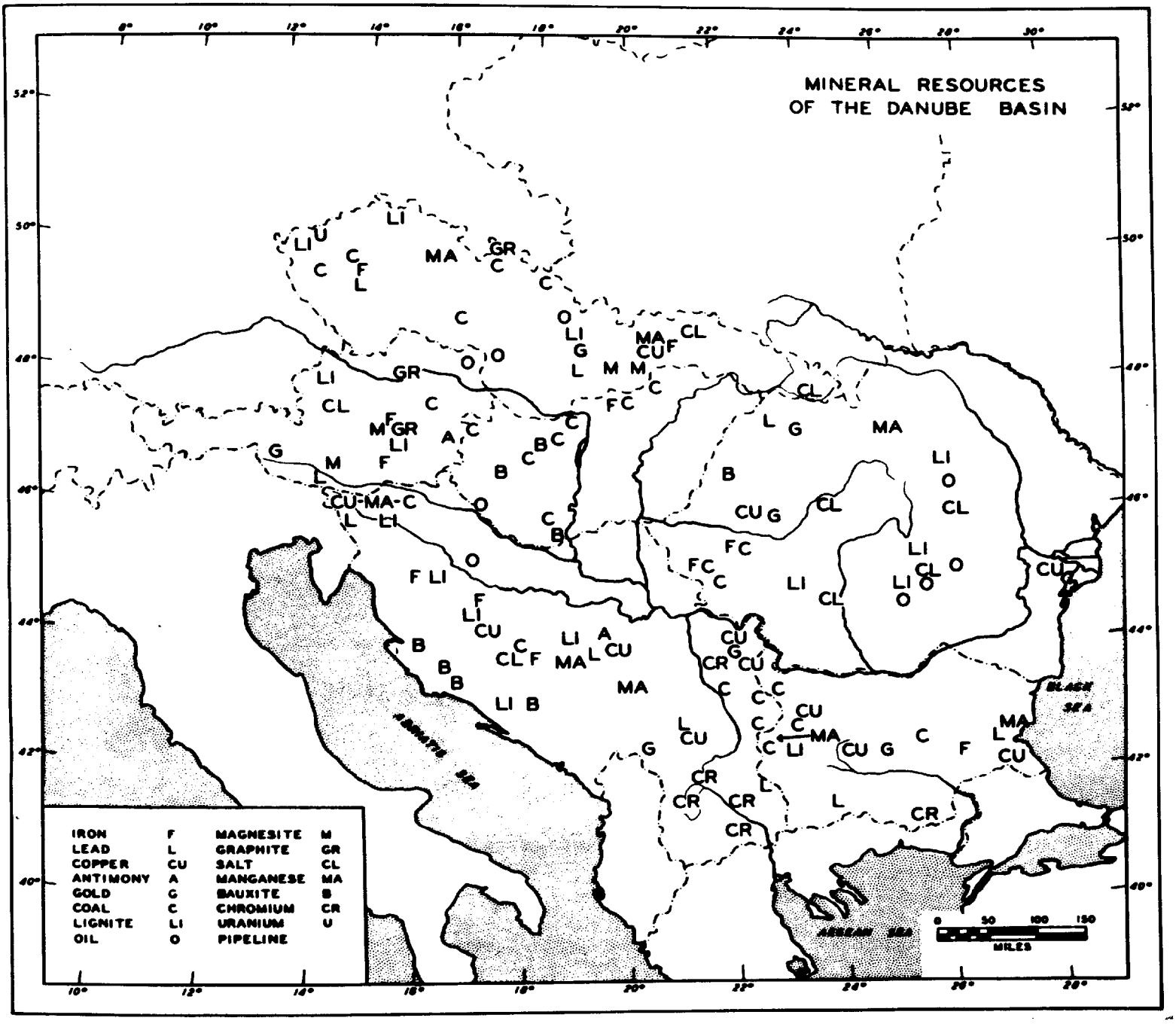
Country	Production 1937
Austria	672.0
Czechoslovakia	600.0 (est.)
Hungary	100.0
Yugoslavia	310.0
Rumania	63.0
Bulgaria	10.0

*Source: League of Nations, Economic Intelligence Service: Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations, 1943; Geneva, 1943.

Fig. 12

Mineral resources of the Danube Basin.

Sources: "Mineral resources, production and trade of Eastern Europe"; Foreign Minerals Quarterly, vol. 1, 1938, no. 1
Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1929-1937.


MINERAL RESOURCES
OF THE DANUBE BASIN
IRON F
LEAD L
COPPER CU
ANTIMONY A
GOLD G
COAL C
LIGNITE LI
OIL O
MAGNESITE M
GRAPHITE GR
SALT CL
MANGANESE MA
BAUXITE B
CHROMIUM CR
URANIUM U
PIPELINE
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
AEGEAN SEA
0 50 100 150
MILES

Since the basic raw materials do not exist in large quantities in the Danube Valley, further development of heavy industries is not a likely prospect. The existing heavy industries--the steel and machine industries in Bohemia and Czech Silesia; the steel industries of Styria, of the valley of the Austrian Danube, and of southwestern Transylvania; the chemical industries of Austria, Moravia, and Valachia--will undoubtedly continue to produce basic industrial goods. The same will hold true of the textile industries of Prague, Brno, Vienna, and Budapest. These industries could and did compete with those of western Europe in certain specialized products. Shoes made by Bat'a in Zlin, armaments and heavy machinery manufactured by Skoda in Pilsen and Brno, railroad and electrical equipment made by Ganz and MAVAG in Budapest, reached markets both in Europe and abroad. The products represented the peak of industrial output and organization, yet only a small fraction of the total population of the Danube Valley was employed in their production.

Any traveller in the Danubian lands will note the absence of large concentrations of industries. The steel mills of Kladno and Donawitz, the refineries of Komarom, Vienna, and Ploesti, the textile mills of Gyor and Timisoara, and the machine shops and railroad shops of Pilsen and Budapest stand out as isolated spots on a gigantic checkerboard of meadow and croplands. It is evident that new industries must be established on a decentralized basis.*

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*Kiss, George: Geographical bases of industrial decentralization in Hungary; Budapest, 1939; Diss. (MS). (in Hungarian)

TABLE VII

Production of pig iron and steel*
metric tons (000's omitted)

a. Pig iron

Country	Production 1937
Austria	388
Czechoslovakia	1.675
Hungary	358
Yugoslavia	41
Rumania	127

b. Steel

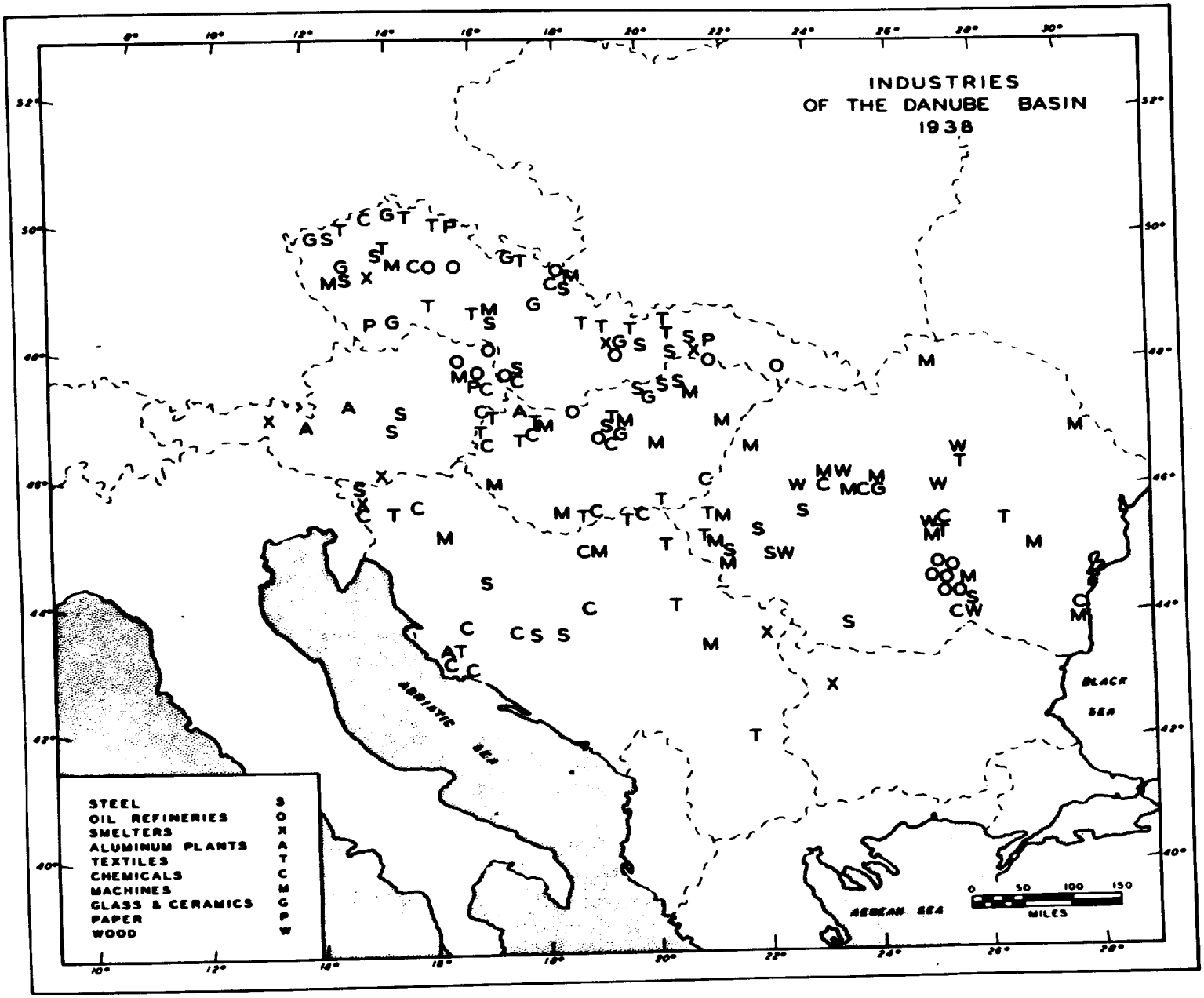
Country	Production 1937
Austria	657
Czechoslovakia	2.315
Hungary	665
Yugoslavia	169
Rumania	239

*Source: League of Nations, Economic Intelligence Service: Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations, 1943; Geneva, 1943.

Fig. 13

Industries of the Danube Basin.

Source: Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1929-1937.


INDUSTRIES
OF THE DANUBE BASIN
1938
STEEL S
OIL REFINERIES O
SMELTERS X
ALUMINUM PLANTS A
TEXTILES T
CHEMICALS C
MACHINES M
GLASS & CERAMICS G
PAPER P
WOOD W
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
AEGEAN SEA
0 50 100 150
MILES

These would thus provide additional employment for the rural population during periods of forced idleness, and would attempt to use the raw materials of the land in sugar mills, distilleries, breweries, and textile mills. They should be integrated with agriculture wherever possible. Sugar mills for instance could keep large numbers of cattle provided with fodder the year around with their waste products, even though the mills operate but two months out of twelve.

To expect the Danube Valley to compete with the Ruhr or the British Midlands is unrealistic planning. Instead, certain specialized industries should be established--aluminum plants, using Europe's greatest deposits of bauxite in Hungary and Yugoslavia, machine and electrical industries using Yugoslav copper and lead, petroleum refineries transforming Rumanian and Hungarian oil into lubricants and gasoline, chemical plants utilizing coal, coke, and phosphates of Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Many of these features of industrial production were found in the Danube Valley before 1939, but they were isolated and on a small scale. The building of industrial plants on the vast plains of the Danube and Tisza and in the remote mountain valleys of Slovakia, Bosnia and Transylvania, is a necessary task of the future.

These steps in agricultural and industrial progress are clearly part of a long-range plan. To fulfill the requirements of such a plan requires additional innovations. Power for agriculture

and industry alike will be of considerable importance. The existing deposits of coal and petroleum seem inadequate for the task that lies ahead. State-controlled electrical networks distributing "the most democratic form of energy" might well supply the remainder. Installations of electric power, whether hydro- or thermo-electric, are few and far between in the Danube Basin, especially in its central and eastern regions. While rural electrification and the use of electricity for industry and transportation is widespread in Austria and western Czechoslovakia, large sections of rural Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are at present entirely without electric power. Whether this power is to be provided by the Danube and its tributaries or by coal is a question to be decided by a detailed survey of existing resources. The possibilities of large-scale, unified development of the type represented by the Tennessee Valley Authority are very great and there is much to support this kind of regional planning in the Danube Valley.

However, the financial investment required for such long-range planning would be so large as to exceed the resources of any one Danubian state. International public works, undertaken as a joint responsibility of all states in this area, might well provide a satisfactory solution to this phase of the problem.*

Lorwin, Lewis L.: International Economic Development - Public Works and Other Problems; National Resources Planning Board, Technical Paper no. 7; Washington, 1942.

*Land Committee, National Resources Planning Board: Area Analysis, a Method of Public Works Planning; National Resources Planning Board, Technical Paper No. 6; Washington, 1943 (revised edition).

Finer, Herman: The T.V.A. - Lessons for International Application; Montreal, 1944.

Agricultural and industrial developments in the Danube Valley are closely connected with the state of communications. Due to the ravages of the present war and to lack of maintenance for some years previous to the conflict, communications, by road, railroad and water, leave much to be desired. The main effort should be directed first to the building of a good network of primary and secondary highways throughout the Valley. Here again, as in so many other instances, the western and eastern areas should be differentiated since the Western part of the Valley possesses several times the road mileage of the eastern one. Even within the same state, conditions will vary from place to place. For example, the excellent main and secondary highway system of western Czechoslovakia can hardly be compared with the inadequate and poorly maintained roads of Slovakia and Ruthenia. The tying-in of remote rural areas to the general system of circulation will be a gigantic task, but it is indispensable for immediate relief, reconstruction, and long-range planning.

The Danube Valley was rather well served by railroads

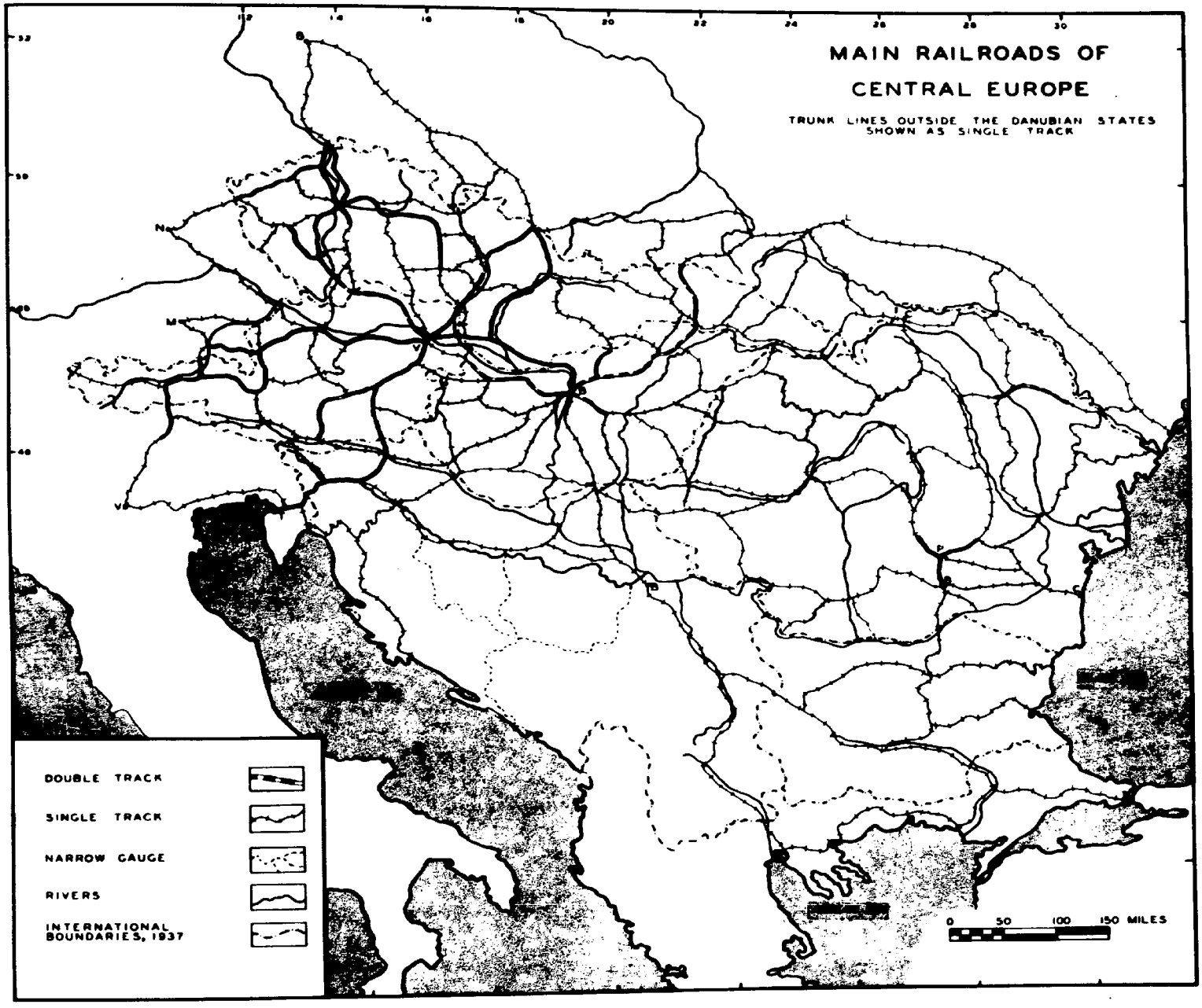
before the Second World War, although many of these railroads were built for strategic purposes rather than for serving the needs of the people. (E.g. the four parallel railroads crossing the North-eastern Carpathians from Ruthenia into eastern Poland were built before 1914 to service the military staging area in the rear of Austria-Hungary's eastern boundary.) The improvement of roadbeds, the building of new rolling stock to replace engines and cars destroyed during the present war, and the reconstruction of stations and railroad yards, double-tracking of main lines, are among the most important tasks.

Lastly, water transportation, hitherto neglected by many Danubian states, should be given increased attention. The Danube, main river artery of this area and connecting link between the various regions lying along its course, is navigable at present for barges with a draft of 5.6 feet. The navigable length of the river from the delta to Ulm is approximately 1500 miles. It was the aim of the International Danube Commission between 1919 and 1940 to maintain 6.6 feet channel for the whole length of the water-way. During the dry season this becomes impossible in many places and navigation above Budapest becomes very difficult. After 1919 most riparian states became interested in water transportation. Port facilities were extended, new ports were built, and loading equipment and storage space substantially were increased. In spite of all these improvements the Danube remains a secondary means of communications.

Fig. 14

Main railroads of Central Europe.

Source: Koch, W., and Opitz, C.: Eisenbahn-und Verkehrsatlas von Europa; Leipzig, 1930.


MAIN RAILROADS OF
CENTRAL EUROPE
TRUNK LINES OUTSIDE THE DANUBIAN STATES
SHOWN AS SINGLE TRACK
DOUBLE TRACK
SINGLE TRACK
NARROW GAUGE
RIVERS
INTERNATIONAL
BOUNDARIES, 1937
0 50 100 150 MILES

Improvement and deepening of the navigation channel is obviously an important post-war task. This would require close cooperation between Danubian states, and would possibly come under the direction of an International Danube Commission with authority over the entire waterway. The few existing canals between the Danube and the Rhine and between the Danube and the Tisza should be deepened to enable vessels of medium draft to utilize the Rhine-Main-Danube-Black Sea waterway. This would establish connections between the western and eastern European systems of inland waterways.*

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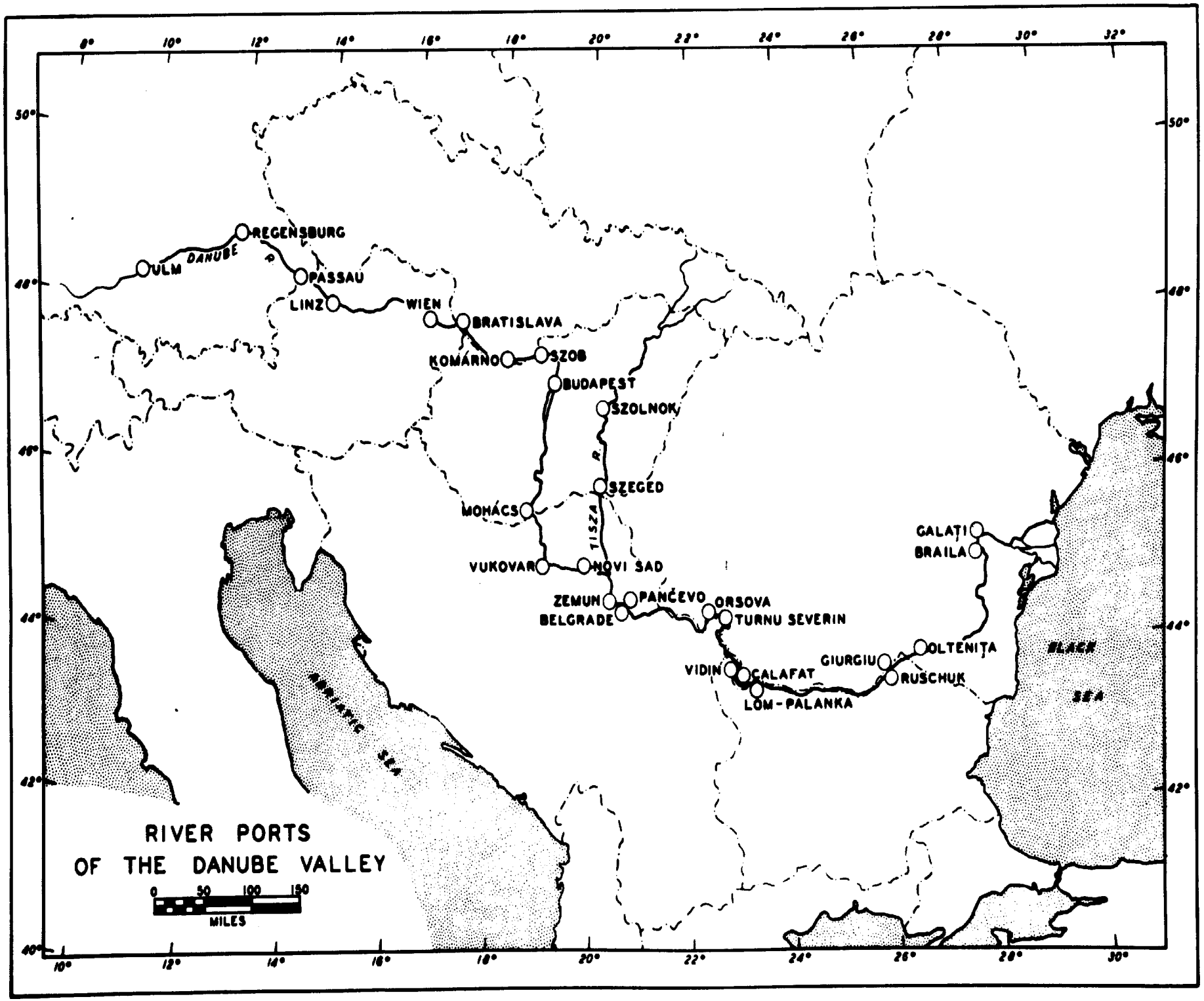
*Tibal, A: "Les Communications dans l'Europe danubienne." Conciliation Internationale, Nos. 8-9; Paris, 1933.

A vast problem in water transportation is the utilization of the tributaries of the Danube for navigation. The Inn, Vah, Hron, Tisza, Drave, Save, Prut, and Siret rivers are all navigable along part of their course. However, navigation is possible for only a few weeks of the year. Navigation channels are shallow and uncertain, port facilities extremely limited. Consequently, these rivers carry but an infinitesimal fraction of their potential capacity. If full advantage were taken of these natural waterways, cheaper and more efficient transportation would result. In addition, they could provide for the establishment of power plants using river dams for the generation of hydro-electric power.

Fig. 15

River ports of the Danube Valley.

Source: Tibal, A.: "Les communications dans l'Europe Danubienne"; Conciliation Internationale, nos. 8-9; Paris, 1933.


RIVER PORTS
OF THE DANUBE VALLEY
0 50 100 150
MILES
REGENSBURG
ULM
DANUBE R.
PASSAU
LINZ
WIEN
BRATISLAVA
KOMÁRNO
SZOB
BUDAPEST
SZOLNOK
SZEGED
TISZA R.
MOHÁCS
VUKOVAR
NOVI SAD
ZEMUN
BELGRADE
PANČEVO
ORSOVA
TURNU SEVERIN
GALAȚI
BRAILA
OLTENIȚA
GIURGIU
RUSCHUK
VIDIN
CALAFAT
LOM-PALANKA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
10° 12° 14° 16° 18° 20° 22° 24° 26° 28° 30°
50° 48° 46° 44° 42° 40°

In the preceding pages we have dealt with problems of immediate importance: improvement of agricultural techniques; organization of rural cooperatives; development of new industries; exploitation of latent sources of power; extension of existing networks of communications. In every one of these problems we must consider the people of the Danube Valley. They must participate in these activities and without their whole-hearted support, these plans cannot be realized.

In December, 1944, during the last months of the "Quisling" regime in Hungary, a Hungarian statesman wrote his political testament as he awaited his execution. This document, moving in its sincerity, centered around one idea--to make life worth living, to achieve all the great and noble aims of true patriots, education of all the people is indispensable.*

Joo, K.: "Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre vegrendelete" (The Testament of Andrew Bajesy-Zsilinszky); Demokracia, vol. 4, Budapest, April 29, 1945.

Education in many areas of the Danube Valley is sadly neglected. Its task in the years to come is twofold. The people must be taught agricultural and industrial skills necessary to effect the transformation of their economic environment. Agricultural schools on the secondary and college level should be increased so as to acquaint a large number of farmers with new

methods of cultivation and fertilization. Schools must be built to train a vast crew of mechanics and dairymen for their specific tasks.

Technical education however is but one of the great educational aims to be achieved. The other is the education of the people in the ways of their neighbors. For generations schools in the Danube Valley followed the path of narrow-minded, intensively xenophobe nationalism. History was taught principally as a means of glorifying one and only one country or nation at the expense of all others. To believe that these and similar features of the age of "pride and prejudice" can be eliminated overnight would be naive, excessive optimism indeed. To achieve these results, years of work in promoting understanding and mutual respect among the peoples of the Danube Valley will be necessary. The example of the Danish Folk High Schools shows that education can be a weapon--a weapon for democracy.

The people of the Danube Valley are men of many races, languages, and religions. All the major racial groups of Europe and many of the minor ones are represented. German and Slav, Hungarian and Tatar have lived there for centuries. Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Greek Uniate, Protestant, Moslem, and Jew have worshipped God in churches, mosques, and synagogues. Latin and Cyrillic alphabets are used side by side in many cities and villages.

This pattern of races, languages, and religions would, at first sight, rule out any possibility of understanding between the

various groups. Minority problems have long been one of the principal difficulties of the Danube Valley. In view of experiments carried out in other parts of the world, one might ask the questions: Will this opposition between people of different speech and creed, between majority and minority, forever remain the major factor of Danubian politics? Is there hope for true understanding and collaboration?

It would be easy to profess superficial optimism and declare that education offers a perfect solution. Education alone might easily fall far short of the mark. Education coupled with the establishment of equality of political and economic opportunity, however, might bring the Danubian peoples together. When education is dispensed freely to all regardless of language or social station; when the son of the Rumanian shepherd from the Transylvanian mountains and the descendant of generations of Hungarian and German burghers from the city have an equal opportunity of schooling; when German, Rumanian, Hungarian, and Slav all have the privilege of expressing their thoughts in their own language, then the chances of bringing the peoples of the Danube Valley together will be very great indeed.

The events of the past twenty-five years should prove conclusively that the states of the Danube Valley cannot expect an easy road ahead while operating on the basis of complete independence and unrestricted national sovereignty. They must find some working compromise - political, economic and/or military - which will bring

them into harmony. Any form of international organization that would achieve this aim must be supported by all Danubian states. It must also enlist the active support of the major European powers. These two conditions must be met before details of any such organization can be discussed.

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The Danube Valley lies between two vastly different regions and partakes of the characteristics of both Western and Eastern Europe. Geography made it a region of transition and a great route of travel. History has not been kind to the lands of the Danube. Because of their location, they have known only short, intermittent periods free from foreign and domestic strife. Time and again foreign control from east and west was imposed upon them. The need for a solution of the Danubian problem has become increasingly evident.

Great empires have tried to control this area but their attempts have failed. They have failed because the common people have stubbornly refused to give up their cherished independence. At the end of the first World War national self-determination was believed to be the perfect solution to all political and economic problems of the Danube Valley. However, unrestricted, narrow, and intransigent nationalism did not eliminate the grievances of the past -- it merely reversed power relationships. The relative ease

with which Germany brought the entire Danube Valley under its control between 1938 and 1941 was proof of the failure of the Wilsonian experiment.

Planning in the Danube Valley must be based on the common interests of the people. The existing resources of agriculture and industry must be developed for the benefit of the area as a whole. Power must be generated and distributed to create better living conditions and additional employment. The people must be shown the advantages of economic, cultural, and political cooperation. They must be convinced that in their unity lies their strength.

We live in an ever narrowing world. No one region should be encouraged to develop its resources for its own exclusive use. Planning in the Danube Valley should not lead to the creation of a self-sufficient region intent upon preserving political and economic sovereignty. Rather, the ultimate goal should be the integration of a great land and people in the larger community of Europe and of the world.

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