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EDITORIAL

Welcome to the first issue of the World History Journal, a print and electronic journal aiming at bringing an inter-relative view of the development of human history.

At Free World Publishing, we believe that History is not a self-contained discipline, limited to dates and names or places. We believe in fact that human activities inter-relate in all types of activities and that this influences bring about inter-actions and consequences that result in what we term history.

For this reason, the World History Journal is an instrument that accepts as much historic articles in the « traditional » sense (description of places, actions, individuals and dates) as that of other types of history, such as the development of languages, linguistics, letters, the arts, the economy, anthropology, paleontology, etc. Therefore, if you have an article on the historical perspective and development of any subject, we always welcome submissions of this type.

History is the development of the past, explaining our attainments today. It is an inter-relating chains of ideas, events, actions and individual that have driven us to who and what we are today. This key to the past is a powerful instrument to comprehending future events and should therefore benefit from analysis and perception.

We therefore encourage you to submit articles, notes, book review or comments on any subject of historical perspective, whether regional, local or international, in order to share this common understanding of our shared past and the drive to our future.

Thank you for joining our publication and let us begin comprehending through research what we are and how we got here !

With hope,

Louis-Philippe F. Rouillard

Editor-in-Chief, Free World Publishing Inc.

DEMOCRACY OF HISTORY:
THE CASE OF KAHLIL GIBRAN

BY

DR. ANWAR FRANGI *

Khalil Gibran was born on January 06, 1883, in Bsharri (Lebanon), a mountain village of Maronite Christians. On June 25, 1895, the Gibrans emigrated to the United States. The family settled first in Boston, then in New York. Gibran returned to Lebanon in 1897 for two years to study Arabic literature in Beirut at al-Hikma (La Sagesse) College. From 1908 to 1910, he studied art in Paris with August Rodin. In 1912, he settled in New York, where he devoted himself to writing and painting. Gibran's best-known work is *The Prophet*, which has been translated into over 20 languages. The Prophet, who has lived in a foreign city 12 years, is about to board a ship that will take him home. He is stopped by a group of people, whom he teaches the mysteries of life. In the 1960s, *The Prophet* became a counterculture guide; in the 1980s, the message of spiritualism overcoming material success was adopted by Yuppies. Its mystical poetry is frequently read at weddings, even today.

This research answers the following question: Has Gibran Kahlil Gibran participated in the evolution of history as a whole? In answering this question, I have not followed what I call the 'passive method,' defining first such terms as 'participation', 'history' or 'evolution', then applying their meaning to Gibran's case. Rather, I have followed what I call the 'active method', defining such terms as 'participation', 'history' or 'evolution' progressively throughout the research.¹

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1. There is a considerable controversy surrounding Gibran's position in history. Some scholars claim that Gibran has not participated in the evolution of history as a whole. They argue his influence by, not his influence on, the course of history; for each element in his thought can be traced to Western sources, including Blake, Nietzsche, Emerson, Maeterlinck, Whitman, Ouspensky. Other scholars, however, point out that Gibran is immensely equally popular to most important innovators in the eastern and western world. Both opinions are out of tune with each other. Such dissonance seems inevitable. Yet, I ask: Is Gibran's popularity a sure sign of participation in the evolution of history as a whole?

2. The living course of history is run on few primary principles. Participation in these principles is a guarantee of historical participation. Thus, Gibran's participation in these principles would be a sign of participation in history.

3. Besides the Principle of Simplicity proposed by the English Franciscan scientist William of Ockham in the fourteenth century, and the Principle of Beauty which Paul Durac called for in 1923, both principles having important claims to the evolution of history in all fields; and besides the Principle of Harmony that permeates all Archimedes' works in Physics and Mathematics, and without which no scientific theory would stand for truth, and

en droit 1986, University of Poitiers Law School (France); *D.E.A.* 1983, University of Poitiers Law School (France); *LL.B.* 1982, Lebanese University Law School (Lebanon). Dr. Frangi is professor of human rights and researcher at The Holy Spirit University of Kaslik (Lebanon), and professor of international law at La Sagesse University Faculty of Law (Lebanon). This research is an application of the 'historical principles' the author had included under the 'second part' of *Democracy of History*, as submitted to Harvard Law School on May 23, 1995. It was delivered, in Arabic, at the Conference on Gibran which was held at The Holy Spirit University of Kaslik (Lebanon) on April 03, 2006.

¹ See, in this context, A. Frangi, « The Internationalized Non-International Armed Conflict in Lebanon, 1975-1990: Introduction to Confligology, » 22 CAP.U.L.Rev. 965, at 967 (1993)

no poem would make a rush of beauty if it willed to open history's door; besides these three historical principles, according to which Gibran's writings actually work, especially *The Prophet*, I want to point out how Gibran has existentially participated in a few primary historical principles. I mention, by way of information, the following principles:

1. THE PRINCIPLE OF PHENOMENON OR HUSSERL'S PRINCIPLE:

4. The principle of phenomenon requires the observer to approach that as it appears to his consciousness, the phenomenon, without any interference with the phenomenon's natural appearance. And the phenomenon finds its nature in being an event, not only a fact that repeats itself.

5. Gibran is a phenomenon that commands observation and study. Rarely has there been such an enormous influence wielded on the general populace as that which Gibran has wielded. Gibran's emphasis on the individual's quest for enlightenment and inner peace outside the constraints of religious institutions, helped to create New Age spirituality. He has existentially participated in the Principle of Peace and Brotherhood. A shining example is the First International Conference on Kahlil Gibran, the Poet of the Culture of Peace, which was held at the University of Maryland, College Park, in December 1999. Gibran has even inspired the US Congress who called for establishment of the Kahlil Gibran Memorial Poetry Garden in Washington, D.C., dedicated by President George Bush, Sr., in 1990, to commemorate Gibran's influence and universal themes.

6. But being a rare popular phenomenon is not a sufficient mark by itself for historical standing. Entry into the world of history is also led by the Principle of Influence.

2. THE PRINCIPLE OF INFLUENCE OR HEISENBERG'S PRINCIPLE:

7. The German Physicist Heisenberg considers that for subatomic particles, both the exact position and the exact motion cannot be known at the same time. If the position of the subatomic particle is known, the determination of its motion will be uncertain; and if the motion of the subatomic particle is known, the determination of its position will be uncertain. We infer from this principle that the process of investigation affects what is being investigated, and therefore that the phenomenon as observed does not depict true reality. This principle continues to push back the boundaries of Physics. Heisenberg himself, and Psychologists and Sociologists, have used this principle to defend important theological and philosophical concepts, such as uncaused events and free will.

8. I say that no creator is able to participate in history if s/he does not exert an influence on the course of history. Gibran's investigation of human society has affected what he has investigated, all the more so since the social phenomenon as he has investigated has not depicted true reality before the process of investigation. An indication of this is the adoption of the Protestant Churches, such as Lutheran Church and the Unitarian Church and others, of texts from Gibran's *Prophet* on Marriage and Death to be read at weddings and funerals.

9. I do not find very convincing the argument that Gibran's influence is on the general populace, and not on historical thought, for no important thinker was under the influence of Gibran's works. I say that historical influence does not happen only among the peoples of thought. Agriculturists, carpenters, employees and employers, students and professors, journalists, institutions and universities, along with thinkers and innovators in all fields, Arts, Poetry, Science, and Philosophy, all are citizens of Democracy of History. If the Protestant community is a

historical religious community, and if Gibran has exerted influence on it, Gibran then would be among those who have participated in history. I have not seen during my studies and research at the University of Poitiers in France or at the American University in Washington, D.C., or at Harvard University in Massachusetts, in the United States, but students and professors reading or quoting from Gibran's *Prophet*. The American President John F. Kennedy himself referred to Gibran in his inaugural speech in 1961 saying :

“Ask not what your country can do for you; Ask what you can do for your country.”

10. If all those I have mentioned are citizens of Democracy of History, and if Gibran has wielded an influence on them, and if Heinsenbergs's Principle has participated in steering influence into history, then Gibran's participation in Heinsenbergs's principle is certainly a participation in history. Yet, influence alone is not a mark of historical appreciation; for history requires that the influence be original. Thus, it is not enough that the phenomenon of Gibran would be deemed popular, and that it would have existential effect. Its influence on the reality of the general populace should also be original. We go on then to the Principle of Becoming.

3. THE PRINCIPLE OF BECOMING:

11. Becoming is the act of changing from one form of existence to another. Mere change of position or motion does not depict the true nature of becoming. Thus, the creator should effect a change in one form of existence.

12. I say that the adoption of Gibran's texts by some Protestant Churches in the United States is not a mere formal change. It is an existential change in the way that we think about behavior. This type of change is governed by the Regulative

Principle. For texts are usually read at weddings with a view to direct the behavior of the married one toward the other, toward their families, and society at large. These texts then are meant to address the question of how to regulate behavior, as to bring future generations up to behave in a certain way. Raising generation is but raising history of habits and practices, yet particular kinds of custom; and reading Gibran's texts at weddings, instead of texts from the New Testament, is a sign that Gibran's texts have participated in raising generations on a definite understanding of behavior, thus raising history on a definite customarial course. It is true then that Gibran, in participating existentially, as evidenced by the sociological and religious reality, in the Principle of Becoming which had been activated by Kant, Hegel and their followers, has participated in history as a whole.

13. Accordingly, event, influence, and originality, on the basis of the principles of phenomenon, influence and becoming, and the three principles I have mentioned first, namely, the principle of simplicity, beauty and harmony, define history by reflecting its essence. I go on then to the Principle of Reflection.

4. THE PRINCIPLE OF REFLECTION OR HEIDDEGGER'S PRINCIPLE:

14. To say that existence reflects the unknown or unexpressed essence means that existence participates in declaring the nature of essence. If we consider that people are existence, and history the unknown or unexpressed essence, people should then reflect history, and thus participate in defining it.

15. Since Gibran has existentially participated in the principles mentioned above, in being a phenomenon which has exerted an influence on the existence, thus participating in its becoming, therefore the Gibranian existence reflects history. There will come a day, not far away, where the existential

Gibranian practices will be molded into historical thought.

16. I have so far mentioned seven historical principles, namely, Ockham's Principle of Simplicity in Astronomy, Paul Durac's Principle of Beauty in Mathematics, Archimedes' Principle of Harmony in Mathematics and Physics, Husserl's Principle of Phenomenon in Philosophy, Heisenberg's Principle in Physics, Hegel's Principle of Becoming in Philosophy, and Heidegger's Principle of Reflection in Philosophy. Of course, there are other principles that have marked the course of history. One of these historical principles is not a sufficient mark by itself, if but the creator has participated in it, for historical standing. Rather, the convergent whole allows him therefor. And the deeper the creator participates in these historical principles, the more universal his historical influence would be, and his participation in unfolding the historical truth. Gibran's participation in the principles mentioned above gives evidence that Gibran has participated in the evolution of history; if not yet, he certainly will since the existential reality truthfully reflects that. Yet, the level of Gibran's historical participation is below that of other creators, such as Homer, Dante, Shakespeare or Goethe, who have participated in historical principles Gibran has not been able to participate in. This is why Gibran's universality is narrower in history than theirs. This, however, does not prevent me from providing affirmative answer to the problematic I have posited above, that Gibranian influence on the general populace, contrary to what some scholars claim, is an active participation in the evolution of history as a whole.

**PRIVREDNI PROBLEMI I STANJE AGRARA U
KRALJEVINI SRBA, HRVATA I SLOVENACA SA
OSVRTOM NA EKONOMSKE PROMENE
U EVROPI POSLE PRVOG SVETSKOG RATA**

MR GORDANA DRAKIĆ¹

Abstract

Economic problems and state of agriculture in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes with reference to economic changes in Europe after the First World War

The economic development in Europe after the First World War was very hindered because of following phenomenons: general impoverishment, decreasing purchasing powers, increasing prices of groceries. Particularly two problems were standing out: huge number of unemployed workers in industrial countries and decreasing prices of agricultural products as a problem in agrarian countries.

Each country had its own specific economic problems. Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was characteristic agrarian country. Huge majority of the population (80%) lived off the land. Complicated, heterogeneous and unregulated agrarian relations were the main characteristic of the agriculture in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The state took measures to organize and carry out the democratic land reform.

Relative prosperity was characteristic for first few years after the First World War. After that the economy got into the crisis.

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Natural disasters intensified the crisis. The economic crisis was caused by varied reasons. Internal reasons were: primitive way of cultivation, low yields, poor purchasing power of peasants, high tax burdens. The country had lack of systematic and well prepared economic policy for improvement its economic especially in the area of agriculture.

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Prvi svetski rat je izazvao brojne ozbiljne poremećaje u privrednoj strukturi i aktivnosti evropskih zemalja ali i čitavog sveta. Niz složenih ekonomskih pojava, koje su bile neposredne posledice rata, prouzrokovao je raznovrsne teškoće koje su otežavale razvoj privrede u Evropi u posleratnom periodu.² Neke od tih pojava, koje su se opazale za vreme ali i posle rata bile su: „opšte osiromašenje, oskudica ekonomskih dobara, ogromno povećanje papirne monete, naglo rasteenje cena dobrima i životnim namirnicama, naglo obogaćenje pojedinaca, koji eksploatišu besrdno konjunkturu, da bi došli do bogatstva, borba pojedinih socijalnih grupa za političku i ekonomsku prevlast.“³

Po okončanju Prvog svetskog rata postale su i pobeđničke zemlje, a ne samo pobeđene siromašnije i slabije. Milioni ljudi su poginuli ili bili potpuno onesposobljeni za produktivan rad, a milioni su postali manje sposobni za privređivanje i bilo je potrebno vreme da povrate svoju radnu sposobnost. Države su imale obavezu da

² U ovom članku želimo da ukažemo na najmarkantnije probleme prisutne u posleratnoj privredi Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i pojedinih evropskih zemalja bez dublje analize njihovih uzroka i posledica.

³ S. Šećerov, *O stabilizovanju ekonomskih pojava usled ratova*, Jugoslavenska njiva- obnova, Zagreb 1920, 10, 207.

vode brigu o izdržavanju ratnih invalida i porodica poginulih, što je bio jedan od osnovnih tereta za državne finansije dugi niz godina po završetku rata.

Pored ovih opštih, odnosno zajedničkih teškoća, svaka zemlja je imala svoje specifične poremećaje. Velike površine najplodnijeg zemljišta u Francuskoj, Srbiji i severnoj Italiji bile su opustošene. Francuska je bila suočena sa razorenim industrijskim centrima i rudokopima od vitalnog značaja za funkcionisanje privrede. U Nemačkoj su industrijska preduzeća bila sačuvana, ali nisu mogla da rade zbog nestašice kapitala i kredita. U Austriji je nastupio potpuni slom u ekonomskom životu posle rata. A u Rusiji je trajao građanski rat od 1917. do 1921. godine. Dakle, svaka zemlja je imala različite teškoće, ali je njima doprinosila ukupnom deficitu koji je postojao u svetskoj privredi.⁴

Oborena vrednost novca u zemljama zapadne Evrope koje nisu proizvodile dovoljno hrane, te su bile stalni uvoznici, onemogućila je za dugi niz godina uvoz iz Amerike koja je imala stabilnu valutu i u ratu uvećane proizvodne snage. Evropske zemlje uvoznice su se stoga orijentisale na uvoz robe iz agrarnih zemalja istočne Evrope, koje su izvozom agrarnih proizvoda plaćale uvoz industrijskih proizvoda u kojima su oskudevale. U tome je bio uzrok kratkotrajne povoljne konjunktore za agrarne zemlje istočne Evrope: Poljsku, Mađarsku, Rumuniju, Bugarsku i Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Potražnja za agrarnim proizvodima, naročito brašnom, pšenicom, kukuruzom i mesom, veća od ponude izazvala je visoke cene poljoprivrednih proizvoda.⁵ Iako su takve cene bile povoljne za žitorodne krajeve i proizvođače žita, za većinu stanovništva su bile nepovoljne. Naime, većina stanovništva nije prodavala već kupovala pšenicu i kukuruz. Mali i srednji poljoprivredni proizvođači, takođe, nisu imali naročite koristi od povoljnih cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda jer su cene industrijskih proizvoda koji su im bili potrebni bile

⁴ S. Šećerov, *O svetskoj ekonomskoj situaciji i obnovi*, Jugoslavenska obnovenjiva, Zagreb 1920, 12, 253.

⁵ M. Mirković, *Ekonomska historija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1968, 313.

konstantno visoke. „Tako su najbrojniji mali i srednji proizvođači na selu u najpovoljnijim godinama za cijene poljoprivrednih proizvoda imali malo ili nikakve koristi. Većina seljaka, koji su morali kupovati pšenicu i kukuruz, čitavo radništvo i činovništvo, imalo je samo голу štetu od visokih cijena, jer su kruh i sva ostala hrana bili nerazmjerno skupi, a radničke i činovničke plate nerazmjerno niske.“⁶

Više cene poljoprivrednih proizvoda su, međutim, bile izuzetak i rezultat kratkotrajne povoljne konstelacije snaga na polju ponude i tražnje roba. Naime, posle Prvog svetskog rata su se u evropskoj privredi svojom težinom i posledicama koje su prouzrokovali isticala dva problema. To je, najpre, bio ogroman broj nezaposlenih radnika u industrijskim zemljama, a drugi problem je predstavljao pad cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda što je pretilo da poljulja privrednu osnovu agrarnih zemalja. Nezaposlenost je uticala na smanjenje kupovne moći stanovništva iz industrijskih zemalja, a usled pada cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda „ogroman broj zemljoradnika, - oko 180 miliona, - na istoku i jugu Evrope, još nije ni postao pravi potrošač industrijske robe, jer nije osposobljen za to odgovarajućim privrednim merama i nije prešao na pravu novčanu privredu.“⁷

Kao izrazit problem posle Prvog svetskog rata kao njegova, može se reći, prirodna posledica isticalo se opšte osiromašenje stanovništva kako u poljoprivrednim, tako i u industrijskim zemljama. Opadanje kupovne moći potrošača bio je jedan od glavnih uzroka privrednih poremećaja u posleratnim godina, naročito u zemljama jugoistočne Evrope.⁸

Prvi svetski rat je, dakle, zaoštrio protivrečnosti kapitalizma, a s obzirom na to da je za sobom ostavio pustoš jasno je da je to moralo dovesti do ekonomske krize. Međutim, „ekonomska kriza 1920/21. godine, koja je pored poljoprivrede zahvatila industriju,

⁶ M. Mirković, *Ekonomska struktura Jugoslavije 1918.-1941*, Zagreb 1950, 24-25.

⁷ S. Šećerov, *Problemi svetske i naše privrede*, Beograd 1936, 173.

⁸ Isto, 83.

kreditni sistem i druge grane privrede, bila je kratkotrajna i nije u pravom smislu predstavljala cikličnu krizu.“⁹ Tako da sa otklanjanjem privrednih poremećaja u zemljama koje su bile zahvaćene posleratnom krizom 1920-1921. godine i sa oživljavanjem tržišta, počinje novi period privrednog razvoja.

Francuskoj je trebalo nekoliko godina da ratarskom tlu povrati plodnost, da podigne uništene objekte i rekonstruiše oruđa. Poljoprivreda Nemačke, jako unazađena u toku rata, polako se oporavljala posle prestanka inflacije. Austrija je, takođe, činila velike napore da poveća obradive površine i unapredi proizvodnju. Novostvorene države u Evropi, većinom opustošene u toku rata, preduzimale su intenzivne mere kako bi obnovile svoje poljoprivrede. Poljska je za relativno kratko vreme osposobila velike površine neobrađene zemlje. Mađarska, Bugarska i Rumunija stvarale su poljoprivredne viškove za izvoz, dok je Čehoslovačka imala viškove u stočarstvu ali je uvozila pšenicu i kvalitetnu biljnu stočnu hranu.¹⁰

Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca bila je izrazito agrarna zemlja. Stanje poljoprivrede je davalo obeležje celokupnom privrednom, političkom i kulturnom životu. Zemljoradnja je predstavljala prvi privredni faktor već i zbog činjenice što se njome bavilo 80% celokupnog stanovništva, dakle većina građana Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

Jugoslovenske zemlje su ujedinjenjem u zajedničku državu Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca unele svoje osobenosti koje su se, između ostalog, ogledale i u stepenu privrednog razvitka. „*Osnovna karakteristika privrede u staroj Jugoslaviji jest u činjenici, da je poljoprivreda bila glavni način proizvodnje, ali sa zaostalom agrotehnikom i uz početne elemente industrijalizacije, koja je mjestimice tek bila nešto razvijenija, te uz sitan obrt, koji se pretežnim dijelom razvijao bez mehanizacije*“.¹¹ Bilo je, stoga, potrebno preduzeti odgovarajuće mere koje bi imale za cilj brzo

⁹ N. Vučo, *Agrarna kriza u Jugoslaviji 1930-1934*, Beograd 1968, 69.

¹⁰ Isto, 70.

¹¹ F. Čulinović, *Jugoslavija između dva rata I*, Zagreb 1961, 222.

usaglašavanje i otklanjanje razlika koje su postojale u privredi pojedinih delova zajedničke države Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

Mnogi autori su saglasni u oceni da ni u jednoj državi u Evropi, posle Prvog svetskog rata, nije bilo tako raznovrsnih, komplikovanih i nesređenih agrarnih odnosa kao što je to bio slučaj u Kraljevstvu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Svaka istorijski stvorena pokrajina zajedničke države Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca imala je svoje posebne agrarne odnose.

Ogromne površine obradivog zemljišta nalazile su se, u zavisnosti od oblasti, u vlasništvu veleposednika i feudalnih gospodara. Na drugoj strani nalazila se seoska i gradska sirotinja koja nije imala svoje zemlje, a ni mogućnosti da se zaposli jer industrije nije bilo. Među seljačkim masama uoči ujedinjenja i neposredno nakon stvaranja Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca postojalo je veliko nezadovoljstvo koje je bilo izraz njihovog nezavidnog socijalnog položaja. Oni su smatrali da je kraj rata i stvaranje nove države trebalo da donese poboljšanje njihovog ekonomskog i socijalnog položaja, kao i obezbeđivanje uslova za rad od strane države. Revolucionarno rasploženje koje se osećalo nakon završetka Prvog svetskog rata dovelo je i do pobuna seljaka i njihovog samovlasnog zaposjedanja zemlje veleposednika. Oni su bili ohrabreni akcijama tzv. zelenog kadra- vojnika južnoslovenskog porekla odmetnutih iz austrijske vojske.

„U Makedoniji, dijelovima Crne Gore, na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Bosni i Hercegovini postojali su 1918. još uvijek čivčijski odnosi, a u nekim krajevima Dalmacije i Istre kolonatski odnosi. U svim ovim krajevima postojali su pokreti nezadovoljnih seljaka. Kako je 1918. bila revolucionarna godina, seljaci i poljoprivredni radnici u pojedinim krajevima, osobito u Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji, Vojvodini i u Bosni i Hercegovini, sami su zauzimali vlastelinsku zemlju negdje i zgrade i stoku, ili odbijali da plate zakupninu za zemlju koju su obrađivali.“¹²

Složenost agrarnih odnosa u Kraljevstvu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca

¹² M. Mirković, *Ekonomska historija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1968, 204.

ali i činjenica da je seljaštvo predstavljalo ozbiljnu revolucionarnu snagu u državi bili su osnovni razlozi koji su opredelili vlast da problemu uređenja odnosa u oblasti agrara posveti pažnju.

Jedan od prvih koraka u tom pravcu bio je *Manifest Regenta Aleksandra narodu* objavljen 6. januara 1919. godine.¹³ U Manifestu je proglašeno ukidanje feudalnih odnosa i velikih zemljišnih poseda. Proklamovan je princip po kome zemlja treba da pripada onome ko je obrađuje. Zemljoposjednicima je obećana pravična naknada za zemlju koja će im biti oduzeta, a seljaci su pozvani da mirno sačekaju dok im država zakonskim putem ne dodeli zemlju.

Sledeći korak u regulisanju agrarnih odnosa u državi bilo je donošenje *Prethodnih odredaba za pripremu agrarne reforme* 25. februara 1919. godine.¹⁴ Prethodne odredbe predstavljale su osnovni i verovatno najznačajniji pravni propis kojim su bile utvrđene pravne pretpostavke za sprovođenje agrarne reforme.

Ovim pravnim propisom bili su ukinuti kmetski odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini i u novim krajevima Srbije i Crne Gore. U skladu s tim, kmetovi i čivčije su proglašeni za slobodne vlasnike dotadašnjih kmetskih zemljišta, a vlasnicima je bila zajemčena odšteta. Isto tako, bili su ukinuti i kolonatski i kmetstvu slični odnosi u Dalmaciji, Istri i drugim oblastima Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

Zatim je bila proglašena eksproprijacija svih velikih poseda na teritoriji Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Iz njihove površine će se dodeliti zemlja onim državljanima koji se bave obrađivanjem zemlje, a zemlje nemaju uopšte ili je nemaju dovoljno. Utvrđeno je da će prvenstvo kod ove raspodele imati invalidi, udovice i siročad ratnika, vojnici i dobrovoljci koji su se borili za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Kao

¹³ F. Šišić, *Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1914.-1919*, Zagreb 1920, 299.

¹⁴ Tekst *Prethodnih odredaba za pripremu agrarne reforme* u zbirci *Agrarna reforma uredbe, naredbe i raspisi izdanje Ministarstva za agrarnu reformu Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u Beogradu*, Zagreb 1920, 12-17.

veliki posedi odmah su proglašeni: svi posedi koji imaju površinu između 100 i 500 katastralnih jutara obradivog zemljišta prema posedovnim i ekonomskim prilikama svakog kraja, posedi iste površine koji su izdati u zakup ili koji su delimično, odnosno koji nisu uopšte obrađeni i sva fideikomisna dobra.

Donošenjem *Prethodnih odredaba za pripremu agrarne reforme* otpočeo je dug i komplikovan proces sprovođenja agrarne reforme i uređenja agrarnih odnosa u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca koji je trajao koliko i sama država.

Ujedinjenjem je stvoreno i zajedničko jugoslovensko tržište. Na novostvorenom jedinstvenom jugoslovenskom tržištu ubrzo je počeo veliki broj dinamičnih ekonomskih procesa karakterističnih za kapitalističku privredu. „Prvih deset godina narodnog gospodarstva Jugoslavije, 1918-1927., imalo je s kapitalističkog stanovišta izgled perioda ekonomskog >>prosperiteta<<, naime procvata privatnih poslova u svima područjima kapitalističkog sektora (trgovina, industrija, bankarstvo)“.¹⁵ Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca je izvozila uglavnom poljoprivredne proizvode, pšenicu, kukuruz, brašno, meso, jaja, a uvozila industrijske proizvode i polovne industrijske mašine. Naime, oskudica u životnim namirnicama nakon rata praćena visokim cenama na domaćem tržištu i s druge strane velika potražnja za istim proizvodima na zapadnom i srednjoevropskom tržištu delovale su podsticajno na poljoprivredne proizvođače da povećaju proizvodnju.

Proizvodi prekookeanske, tehnički izuzetno opremljene, zemljoradnje bili su vrlo konkurentni na evropskom tržištu. To je nametalo potrebu unapređenja zemljoradnje u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Da bi se to postiglo bilo je neophodno obezbediti upotrebu poljoprivrednih mašina i primenu agrohemije. Međutim, „poljoprivreda države SHS nije bila mehanizovana. Mali broj savršenijih sprava bio je jedino u upotrebi na krupnim gazdinstvima, dok su vlasnici sitnih

¹⁵ M. Mirković, *Ekonomska historija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1968, 311.

gazdinstava vrlo retko iskorišćavali moderna oruđa, jer nisu imali novčana sredstva da ih nabavljaju. Pad cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda posle poratne konjunktura još više je smanjio mogućnost nabavke oruđa s obzirom na nastalu disproporciju između njihovih cena¹⁶. Obrada zemlje na sitnim posedima se, stoga, vršila na veoma primitivan način, a zaostalost poljoprivrede se mogla videti i u vrlo slaboj primeni modernih agrohemijskih sredstava, što je sve za sobom povlačilo i niske prinose ratarskih kultura.

U Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca kada je reč o poljoprivredi postojala je svojevrsna protivrečnost. S jedne strane, velika većina stanovništva se bavila poljoprivredom kao osnovnim zanimanjem, što je, kako smo već naveli, zemlji davalo izrazit agrarni karakter. S druge strane, međutim, poljoprivreda se nije visoko kotirala u sistemu ekonomske politike Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Zajednička država Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca nije imala unapred osmišljenu sistematsku poljoprivrednu politiku, rešenja su se donosila ad hoc. Tadašnja agrarna politika je „predstavljala pokušaje primene agrarnih doktrina nastalih u prilikama i vremenima neodgovarajućih našoj prošlosti, a još manje prilikama u doba nastanka jugoslovenske države i njenim docnijim razvitkom. Praktične posledice takve agrarne politike dosta su sumorne: na prste se mogu nabrojati godine kad je Jugoslavija obezbeđivala proširenu poljoprivrednu reprodukciju...“¹⁷

Kreiranje čvrste i uspešne ekonomske, pa samim tim i agrarne, politike u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca bio je težak zadatak čije je ostvarivanje bilo sučeno sa mnogim problemima.

Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca je osim spajanja međusobno različitih pokrajinskih sistema u jedinstvenu privrednu celinu morala da rešava i druge finansijske i privredne zadatke. Država je trebalo da obezbedi obnovu ratom opustošenih krajeva, uvede

¹⁶ N. Vučo, nav. delo, 64.

¹⁷ N. Gačeša, *Agrarna politika prve i druge Jugoslavije*, Radovi iz agrarne istorije i demografije, Novi Sad 1995, 112.

jedinstvenu valutu i valutnu politiku, sredi finansije i ukloni inflaciju. Ti zadaci su bili izvršeni, sa manje ili više uspeha, uglavnom do 1924. odnosno 1925. godine.¹⁸

Međutim, posle jednog perioda relativnog prosperiteta koji je obeležio prvih par godina posle Prvog svetskog rata, privreda u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca dospela je u krizu. Kriza se, najpre, pojavila u zemljoradnji, a kako je poljoprivreda bila dominantna grana privrede, to je dovelo do toga da je ubrzo celokupna privreda dospela u krizu. Ona je počela već 1924, da bi 1927. godine dostigla svoj vrhunac. Tome su doprinele i elementarne nepogode, poplave i suše, kojih je tih godina bilo mnogo da bi se niz nepovoljnih vremenskih prilika završio opštom sušom 1928. godine.

No prirodne nepogode su samo bile prateći problemi koji su svojim posledicama pojačale krizu izazvanu opštim spoljnim razlozima, uzročnicima krize na celom jugoistoku Evrope, i unutrašnjim uzrocima karakterističnim za jugoslovensku državu. Kao jedan od unutrašnjih uzroka privredne krize u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca mogu se označiti i pogrešni potezi koji su preduzimani u okviru sprovođenja plana ekonomske politike pojedinih vlada.¹⁹

Upotreba primitivnih metoda obrađivanja zemljišta bez primene savremenih sredstava rezultirala je time da je poljoprivredna proizvodnja davala slabe prinose. To je, dalje, uzrokovalo smanjivanje kupovne moći poljoprivrednika. Ovaj problem nije bio karakterističan samo za Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, već i za druge zemlje istočne Evrope gde je bio izazvan padom cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda.

Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca je usled razgranate državne administracije i mnogobrojnog činovništva imala veoma veliko budžetsko opterećenje. To je značilo da je stanovništvo imalo da

¹⁸ S. Šećerov, *Problemi svetske i naše privrede*, Beograd 1936, 175.

¹⁹ Videti: D. Jovanović, *Izlaz iz privredne krize*, Letopis Matice srpske, Novi Sad 1929, 320, 1, 71-72.

snosi vrlo teške poreske terete, što je u uslovima zaostale, pretežno seljačke, privrede bilo veoma problematično i predstavljalo je stalan uzrok njene nestabilnosti.

Značajan uzrok privredne krize u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca bio je nedostatak velikih kapitala domaćeg ili stranog porekla. Poljoprivredno stanovništvo koje je teško dolazilo i do minimalne zarade nije bilo u stanju da putem štednje stvori kapital potreban za povećanje poljoprivredne proizvodnje. Strani ulagači su, sa druge strane, oklevali da investiraju u privredu posleratne jugoslovenske države. „Jasno je da naša celokupna privreda usled nedostatka velikog kapitala i velike stručnosti, nema dovoljno otporne i borbene snage...Mi zaostajemo iza ostalih velikih evropskih privreda, a one zaostaju iza severnoameričke privrede“.²⁰

Dok je u drugim kapitalističkim zemljama u periodu od 1923. do 1929. godine privreda doživljavala snažan uspon sa izvesnim recesionim prekidima, u zajedničkoj državi Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca to nije bio slučaj. Njena privreda nalazila se pod veoma velikim uticajem ekonomske politike i privrednih kretanja razvijenih kapitalističkih zemalja i njihovog vodećeg položaja na svetskom tržištu. Budući da je Kraljevina SHS bila izrazito agrarna zemlja taj uticaj se naročito osećao u poljoprivredi koja je bila, može se reći, u predkapitalističkoj fazi. Samo su krupni posedi imali proizvodnju orijentisanu ka tržištu, dok je, međutim, veliki broj sitnih poseda, umnoženih agrarnom reformom, bio usmeren na proizvodnju radi zadovoljenja potreba seljaka, pa potom za tržište.²¹

U razmatranju uzroka privredne krize u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca može se zaključiti da je neracionalnost poljoprivrede i neintenzivnost njene proizvodnje predstavljala težište problema jugoslovenske poljoprivrede koja je bila osnovna privredna delatnost u državi. U istu grupu uzroka dolazi i hiperprodukcija

²⁰ M. Gavrilović, *O ekonomskoj obnovi (2) Poljoprivreda*, Letopis Matice srpske, Novi Sad 1927, 311, 1-2, 17.

²¹ N. Vučo, nav. delo, 277.

na svetskim tržištima, odnosno ogromna konkurentska snaga strane proizvodnje.²²

Državne vlasti u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca nisu mogle da reše nagomilane ekonomske probleme niti da odgovore na izazove koje su postavljali privredni razvoj i tržišna zbivanja u evropskim zemljama. U međuratnoj državi Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca nije postojala sistematska i pripremljena politika unapređenja privrede niti su rešavani osnovni problemi investiranja u poljoprivredu i obezbeđivanja povoljnih kredita za njen razvoj. Takođe, nije na vreme kreirana odgovarajuća zakonska regulativa koja bi stvorila uslove za početak procesa ublažavanja teških privrednih prilika. Svetska ekonomska kriza pogodila je istočnu evropu 1929, a međuratna jugoslovenska država bila je uvučena u njen vrtlog.

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²² Videti: M. Gavrilović, nav. delo 17-24. i N. Vučo, nav. delo 275-283.

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