

Article

# Bukovina's economic and social reconstruction after the First World War

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**Abstract:** At the beginning of the interwar period could be observed both in Romania and Bukovina numerous economic transformations, generated by political and social factors, like the consequences of the First World War, financial and human losses, the protective measures for agriculture and the import and exportation of agricultural products, etc. The purpose of this paper is to identify and analyze the main measures undertaken by the state for economic and social reconstruction and resilience in first part of interwar period, both for Romania and Bukovina. The results point out that the agriculture will continue to have a pronounced cereal character, even if the lands cultivated with other plants have a significant rise. An important place in the volume of trade is occupied by the exchange between the village and the city, which took off in the interwar years, a fact mainly due to the expansion of peasant households and their production, after the agrarian reform of the 1920s.

**Keywords:** reconstruction; agriculture; industry; trade; tertiary sector;

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## INTRODUCTION

Analyses, studies and researches regarding re-united Romania's economical development stage and of the historical regions new integrated, illustrated the numerous difficulties they confronted, such as: the stock of food products reduced to zero, the agriculture severely affected by the war, the machines of the petroleum industry destroyed (Iacob, 2005; Murgescu, 2010; Axenciuc, 2010; 1996, 1992; Dropu, 2011), the human losses during the war, the impossibility of cultivation and valorization of the whole existent agricultural stock, the tense situation among certain ethnic communities, the restrictions at the exportation, etc. In the last case, a directive to the prefect's offices in the counties Cotmani, Vascauti, Vijnita, Zastavna, from the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1919, announces the stop of cereals exportation abroad, being known the fact that these were exported especially in the Eastern Galicia, in order to provide the local population with cereals, as well as to take the supplementary measures to stop speculation (File 19/1919 ANS, Suceava Prefecture Fund, tab 141). The economic relationship between Romania and its regions with Poland and Galicia have also been highlighted by other studies carried out by Levandivskyi & Humeniuk (2022), Ivanov (2013a,b), and which highlight the many problems that the two countries faced in the interwar period or in the last two centuries.

Little by little, after 1924, the structure of the country's exportation is composed of petroleum (about 45%), agricultural products (about 45%), wood (about 10%) (Iacob, 2005, Bogdan & Platon, 1981 Postolache, 1991). Given these, the whole economical-social statistics shows that Romania has registered a rapid rate of development between 1916-1939. Not by chance, some foreign observers sometimes called Romania "the Eastern Belgium" or "the European Japan"; imposing such a rapid rate of development was the only way to reduce remaining behind the West, of integration among Europe's and the world's developed countries (Iacob, 2005), although Romania's label, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is often that of agrarian country, ignoring the local and regional dissimilitude which contradicted, in some cases, the general label (Iancu & Paun, 2018; Pavelescu, 2018).

At the beginning of the interwar period we can speak about a world in change, also obvious at the villages, a world in which new attitudes, hopes, accomplishments, but also deceptions are found. These were generated or influenced by some factors: the consequences of the First World War, the great agrarian and electoral reforms. We also must take

into account the complicated problems the peasants confronted with (and not only): the material difficulties, the poor life conditions (the low life level, houses destroyed by the war, health problems), illiteracy, the conservatism, the influence of the media, the consequences of foreign domination, the way of integration of ethnic communities in Great Romania, the lack of moral unity between the Old Kingdom and the united territories, the political passions, the external context, etc (Curculescu, 2020, Micu, 2014). In Bessarabia and Bukovina some peasants, deceived by rumors and disappointed, didn't hope anymore for allotment and waited for the return of the foreign domination. Information came from all the country's areas, that the postponing of the agrarian reform created a tense situation. In this context, the Averescu government had to start allotment in the autumn of 1920, which represented the accomplishment of a great expectation (Curculescu, 2020; Stoenescu, 2018).

## THE END OF THE WAR AND STARTING OF THE ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Recognized as being one of the rich provinces in monarchy's raw materials, Bukovina was treated by the Austrians, in the first World War, as an occupational territory, with hostile population, from which they requisitioned numerous goods, animals, financial means, and, through military occupation, they caused numerous material goods loss. The same treatment was also applied by the tsarist armies, the damages estimated at the end of 1918, being of 2,3 millions of crowns, Bukovina returning to Romania with an important economical and social solicitor's office still unsolved, in great part, in the interwar period. The population received as compensation only 36 millions of crowns from the Austrians and from the Romanian administration 25 millions of lei, until 1924 (Purici & Olaru, 1998). The war left a great number of disabled, mutilated persons, war widows and orphans. In 1918-1919, it didn't start from the development level registered in the eve of the world war start, but from a lot inferior stage of it. Numerous enterprises didn't function at all or were using a small part from the production capacity (Agrigoroaiei, 2015, 1998).

According to the meeting's report from 18<sup>th</sup> February 1925 (File 19/1925 ANS, adautii County Prefecture Fund, Tab 4-10, 1925), of the Finance Ministry, The Direction of War Reparations and of the Peace Treaties, The Central Commission for War Reparations, regarding the manner of distributing the material damages suffered by the population in

the First World War, it has been found that: In the budget of year 1923 a capital of 300 million of lei was dedicated to those who suffered material damages during the First World War. The Commission of War Reparations decided that 250 millions of lei should be distributed, according to certain criteria, to the persons being detrimental from the Old Kingdom, 20 million for those from Ardeal, 25 million for those from Bukovina and 5 million for those from Bessarabia.

From all the united provinces, the one which suffered the biggest damages was Bukovina, because, on its territory, the most violent fights between the two military camps had been registered, in this case between the Austrian-Hungarian and Russian army. According to the official reports (no.10931 from November the 1<sup>st</sup> 1921 and 18109 from 24<sup>th</sup> November 1924), the war damages from Bukovina were classified into two categories: damages caused during the military operations, being considered as war labor conscription and war damages caused by the requisitions and damages provoked by the enemies. For the first category, the Austrian government, through the Law from 26<sup>th</sup> December 1912 and completed by the Law from 13<sup>th</sup> August 1913, took measures for the finding and compensation of this type of damages, being formed, thus, in Bukovina, a special service for the observation of the material damages suffered by the ones being detrimental, as well as establishing the amount of compensation. For realizing this, certain commissions were assigned, formed by two representatives from communes and counties, a representative of financial authorities, a representative of the army, a secretary and technical experts.

This commission was led by the prefect or one of his representatives. The prefect's functionary realized the researches on the announced labor conscriptions (Labor Conscription-here, with the meaning of financial obligation - The Little Academic Dictionary, the second edition, 2010), and the findings were passed to the prefect's commissions which decided for labor conscriptions of until 3000 crowns. Against these decisions, the persons in damage could appeal to the Commission formed near the former government of Bukovina Country, which decided to the maximum of 100.000 crowns, and if the damages surpassed this sum of money, one could appeal to Vienna, at the War Office Ministry. For the second category of damages, that is for the ones caused by the enemy through destruction, requisitions, etc., there isn't a legal stipulation in the Austrian legislation which should decide on the norms of finding and compensation of these types of damage.

As war compensations, both the Austrian Government, and the Romanian administration, through the commissions created for this goal, have paid to different persons in damage advance in money, materials, tools and built and repaired houses/buildings affected by the war.

The Austrian Government paid for a number of 15.014 people, in value of 24.433.885 crowns, from which, 19.190.783 crowns in cash, 129.558 in materials, 986.179 in finished houses and 4.064.335 in unfinished houses.

The Romanian administration has continued to pay advances in money, materials, etc., until the end of October 1920, when the Service was forced to end its activity because of lack of capital. The help given by the Romanian administration was of 6.375.532 crowns and 8.115.357 of lei, also distributed in cash, materials, finished and unfinished houses. All the advances were distributed to the persons in damage, with the condition that these sums should be reduced from the future compensations.

Given these facts, as it is mentioned in the report of the Central Commission of Compensations (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 4-10, 1925), an important fact to have in mind is that, both the Austrian and Romanian authorities had in view only the material damages, not the moral ones. The value in crowns will be exchanged in lei, at 50 coins the crown.

Also in supporting the people in damage, we find out, from another archive document, that a credit of 300.000.000 lei was contracted, for helping the people who suffered war damages (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 10, 1925). At 18<sup>th</sup> March 1925, the Central Commission of Compensations established the norms of finding and evaluation of war damages in Bukovina, which will make the object of a ministerial decision, the project of which was debated and approved by the Commission. According to this decision the Ministry of Finance will make the necessary arrangements for the constitution of the commissions of findings and evaluation the Finance Minister recommended the evaluation of the situations of the cows evacuated from Bukovina during the war, as well as the examination of the damages from the communes and counties, because a sum of 7-8 millions of lei must be assigned for the schools, churches and other public buildings.

The moral damages should also be taken into account for the Romanian cause. Article 3 of this decision has in view the fact that besides each commission there will function one or two secretaries chosen and assigned by the Commission, from the functionary of the financial Administration or of the county's Prefect's office. According to

Article 4, the members of the Commissions will be paid, for every day of work with an indemnity of 250 lei per day, and the secretaries with half from the budgetary gross salary (with accessories) of their function. The payment will be made from the total of 25 million of lei, distributed for the persons in damage from Bukovina (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 12, 1925).

The Ministry of Finance informs the prefect's office, through the address number 9.182 from January the 14<sup>th</sup> 1925, that the Romanian state, since from the day entering in the war, disposed that the goods, rights and interests of the subdued states in conflict with our country, "should be stroke by inalienability", establishing the ways through the law published in the Official Monitor number 220 from December the 22<sup>nd</sup> 1916. These measures had in view, at first, to limit the possibility they could use the material and financial means and resources against the Romanian state, and afterwards, they became a possible guarantee for covering the war damages (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 17, 1925).

In the same year, the Ministry of Finance, according to the notification of the Central Commission of Compensations, agreed on the sum of 100 million of lei for helping the functionaries or state, county or commune retired people in damage for the furniture and household objects, damages that were assessed in time and in the legal forms by the special Commissions for war damages. From the functionaries in this category are those who "were still discharging the function at August the 14<sup>th</sup> 1916, either at that department, or any other state, county or commune authority (...). The officers and the inferior ranks re-employed are considered functionaries" (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 27, 1925).

Through another official document, the Prefect's office of Radauti county is informed that those county commissions of supplies, created in 1916, continue to exist in the present in the subordination of the Ministry of Agriculture and Domains, even if in the past it was in the subordination of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, then of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce or of the State Secretary ship of Rehabilitation and Supplies (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 9, 1925).

In the same period, for the support of those who had suffered because of the war, the General Direction of Romanian Railways, the Commercial Service, announces all the Romanian Railways Stations in the country the fact that the disabled persons from the war can travel for free when they are called, by the military commissions for "revision"(control, medical re-examination) and the class they could

travel at depends on the military rank (first class-for the superior officers, second class for junior officers and warrant officers, the third class for soldiers and sergeants) (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 68, 1925).

From another archive document we find out about the creation of an educational and industrial orphanage, near the Factory of glass works and bulbs from Putna Monastery. This is founded by Elise Fischer, the factory owner's wife. This action is in the attention of the Ministry of Public Health, of Labor and Social Protection, The General Direction of Social Assistance (File 19/1925 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, Tab 53, 1925).

Beside the social problems that the civil society and the state institutions try to solve in an efficient and prompt manner, we find out from the archive documents other aspects of the economical and social life which the county authorities are confronted with and which they try to prevent. Thus, in a report of Radauti Town Hall, to the Radauti Prefect's office, it is mentioned the quantity of fuel necessary and existent in the town and county, more exactly: the petrol in the town - 1000 pounds, and in the county 2000 pounds. At local level there are necessary 3 tanks in Radauti and 2 tanks in the rest of the county; light gas-one tank monthly for the town and the district, Diesel oil for Radauti-2 tanks and one for the county, and mineral oils-2 tanks yearly, in all the district. There were no Diesel oil and petrol in the existent warehouses (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 1, 1923). Another edited document of the Prefect's office to all the town halls in the county informs that this institution received a very reasonable offer for the acquisition of big quantities of petrol at the price of 4,20 lei at the warehouse "Petrol Commerce", Dornesti (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 29, 1923).

A norm of the Office of Sugar Sales, from Bucharest, from March the 1<sup>st</sup> 1923, through which the Prefect's office of Radauti is informed that the Ministry of Industry and Commerce has reserved at the factories an important amount of sugar, at a low price, for the needs of the army and the public functionaries (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 7, 1923).

An official document for preventing the speculations with fish products, at least for the ones from the State's waters (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 8, 1923), and a holograph information, from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, The Section of General Administration and Statistics, informs the prefect that the rise in the price of those fish products is a consequence of the rise in the price of the materials used and of the

spending with the employed people, and, therefore, it is justified, reason for which he decides a new engross list of prices in the base of which the fish products should be sold in all the country, irrespective of its origin, state or private waters (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 11, 1923).

From another archive document we find out that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, through the Direction of General Administration and Statistics, informs the prefect of Radauti county the crisis of meat and fats from the country's capital and the fact that, in some places, the merchants in Bucharest had interdiction to the acquisition of animals, for the reason that they rise, unlawfully much, the price of meat. As a result, the prefect is called to support the merchants from the capital, in case they should be able to purchase animals from this county too, not only from the bordering ones (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 15, 1923).

A holograph directive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Direction of General Administration and Statistics, announces the Prefect's office about the rise in price of flour and rye at the mills with the condition that these should guarantee, through a legal and guaranteed contract, the provisioning with flour of the town, the county and the bakery-storehouses (-sub-unity in the army dealing with depositing the planned cereals and which is endowed with the necessary equipment and machines for baking bread for the military stuff - DEX '09, DEX '98, DLRC, DN) and to the local garrisons (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 17, 1923), and an edited directive of the Prefect's office of Radauti county to all the town halls from the county, informs about the rise of maximum price for the flour wagon of 10.000 pounds, at 45.000 lei and for the bread at 5 lei and 5,5 lei (File 51/1923 ANS, Radauti County Prefecture Fund, File 20, 1923).

#### **THE STATE'S ROLE AND THE PROTECTIVE MEASURES TAKEN FOR THE ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION**

Since 1925, the Romanian state, through its institutions, has undertaken and applied a series of protective measures for the Romanian economy's protection, some of them with a nationalist character and of nationalization quite pronounced.. Thus, a directive to Campulung county's Prefect's office, from February the 15<sup>th</sup> 1925 (File 25/1925 ANS, Campulung County Prefecture Fund, tab 1), the Ministry of Industry and Commerce informs

Bukovina's institution the fact that the utilization of energy from the rivers or waterfalls sources, as well as the water works, the equipment for impounding or use of the country's energy sources: water, coal, wood, fuel, gas, etc., will not be able to increase or change the equipment, and they won't be built but in base of a license given by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, in accordance with the regulations of the above mentioned law (File 25/1925 ANS, Campulung County Prefecture Fund, tab 2).

In another document, similar to the previous one, the Prefect's office is informed that "nobody can build and exploit any kind of water work or equipment of motive power, using water or fuel of any kind, in order to produce electric energy or to satisfy the needs of any industry, without possessing, in advance, a license from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Of course, nobody can build or exploit a web for the transmission and distribution of electric energy, except his property, or to increase such a web in order to supply new towns, without having such a license" (File 25/1925 ANS, Campulung County Prefecture Fund, tab 4).

The textile industry is also imposed certain restrictions in obtaining the working license. Thus, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, through the Independent Inspectorate Cernauti, from November the 24<sup>th</sup> 1925, informs the Campulung Prefect's office, the fact that the accreditation for the textile factories will be issued, from that moment, only by the Ministry, and therefore, all the accreditation from June the 15<sup>th</sup> current year, until the moment the document is issued, are canceled, so that for each case in part the Ministry must be called to solve the case (File 25/1925 ANS, Campulung County Prefecture Fund, tab 7).

Supplementary restrictions are also imposed for the explosive materials. A document, "Personal-Confidential", number 21515, from April the 30<sup>th</sup>, 1925, regarding the use of explosive materials by physical persons or companies, announces that, for this type of materials too, the Ministry of Industry will issue an accreditation (File 25/1925 ANS, Campulung County Prefecture Fund, tab 8).

Protective measures are registered even since 1925, especially for agriculture and the import and exportation of agricultural products. Thus, a directive, from January the 10<sup>th</sup> 1925 (File 44/1925 ANS, Campulung County Prefecture Fund, tab 17), for Campulung county Prefect's office, regarding the new grain policy, shows that:

- the exportation of grain and its result are totally forbidden, starting with January the 15<sup>th</sup>
- the maximum price of grain is fixed at 95.000 lei the wagon of 10.000 pounds
- the mills from all the country are obliged to



- produce pure wheaten flour
- the maximum price for the bread from pure wheaten flour is fixed at 10,50 lei per kg in the whole country
- the communes can benefit from different prices, according to the specific conditions of the area
- the pure brown flour will have a different price from the white pure flour, of 9,40 lei/kg

Being at government in 1928, the national-peasantry introduced a lot of measures to improve agriculture. In 1929 they increased the amount of credit available in the rural areas and created new institutions for loans. But the law has proved to be inefficient, because the economical crisis has rapidly used the financial sources for the project. They also tried to support agriculture through the new law of Customs tariff, from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1929, meant to encourage the external commerce and especially to reduce the customs tariff at the import of agricultural machines and some goods. The changes brought, thus, to the liberal protective legislation, come in the help of certain categories of peasants. Once again, the main beneficiaries of such a legislation were the wealthier peasants, who had the necessary means to get advantage, from these concessions, sooner than the simple peasant living at the limit of sustenance (Hitchins, 1994).

The Law from March the 28<sup>th</sup> 1929, regarding the organization of cooperative farms, also offered little advantage to the mass of peasants. Although it was meant to encourage the free association of peasants and to limit the control on the farms of the government in practice, it tended that these cooperative farms should include only the wealthy peasants, because only they could assure the contributions required by the quality of member. Neither the cooperatives of land leasing had success, nor the ones meant to encourage the peasants to group their farms into a single, economical unit and to work their land together. As a result, the peasants were inclined to be suspicious about the state's initiatives, considering them attempts to form them into regiments and even to deprive them of the land obtained after the agricultural reform (Hitchins, 1994).

This crisis had a profound and long influence on the economical thinking of the Romanian political figures, both from the National Liberal Party and from the National-peasantry Party. Their country's dependence on the industrial Great Powers, strongly pointed out during the crisis, through the restrictions imposed by them to the imports of agricultural products from Romania and through their refusal to take into consideration the special problems of the agrarian states, convinced the leaders of both parties to support a politics of fast industrialization. Virgil

Madgearu's reaction was a typical one. Previously opposing to an industrialization at large scale, he demanded now the development of a strong industry in order to ensure both the country's economical and political independence (Hitchins, 1994).

Supporting industry by the state took various forms, and many of them point out a model of risen intervention and of control from the part of the state in the economy. The industry will receive from the state a substantial capital, politics having as a result an increase of almost three times of the car imports between 1927-1937. It also discharged big amounts of capital, through the new official credit societies and the National Bank and added new industries, such as those producing military supplies, uniforms, and reinforced concrete for fortifications. Nevertheless, as in the 20', the liberals didn't have a coherent agrarian politics and had in view the industrialization, instead of agriculture, providing the capital investments to the favored industries. As a consequence, they left unchanged the present organization of agriculture and did little to increase productivity or to rise the life level of most of the peasants (Hitchins, 1994).

#### **THE AGRICULTURE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD – THE CULTIVATION OF PLANTS AND THE BREEDING OF ANIMALS**

Agriculture - the main economical branch from this part of the country-had suffered the most after the military operations, the requisitions of animals from the peasants' farms and the lack of labor manpower concentrated on different fronts (Table 1, Figure 1), from Galicia to Italy. The forestry capital had also suffered in the same measure, through its unreasonable exploitation and the forced loans from Bukovina's Regional Funds (Purici, 1998). More than that, the degradation and even the lack of agricultural implements, of animals for work, the deficiency of labor power in some areas, a consequence of the losses during the war, the lack of seeds, etc., made that, in 1919, almost 23% of the arable land remained unexploited. In 1918 the value of the vegetarian agricultural products was of 407.443.000 lei gold, in rapport with 1.269.009.000 lei gold, in 1915 (Agrigoroaiei, 2005).

On the whole, in the interwar period, agriculture will continue to have a pronounced cereal character, even if the lands cultivated with other plants have a significant rise. Thus, in the conditions of applying the agrarian reform, all over Romania, the surface covered with maize rose, overtaking the one with wheat. The maize corresponded better to the

working possibilities and to the needs of the peasants' farms, allowing, on quite extended surfaces, the inserted cultivation (Agrigoroaie, 2005), with beans, potatoes and different fodder crops.

In the re-united Romania, Transylvania had a lower productivity, because of the barren soil, fact that diminished the average in the country. The same thing happened in Bukovina, the both provinces or a significant part of them, provided themselves with cereals from the areas with a significant cereal potential (Agrigoroaie, 2005, Stanciu, 2017). Transylvania and Bukovina register more efficient results in the breeding of animals, and perfected breeds and skilled breeders, who were breeding the animals by modern norms, even if not at Western level, characterized these provinces (Agrigoroaie, 2005).

### **The cultivation of plants**

Thus, we observe (Figure 2), at cereals, a prevailing culture of maize (over 60.000 cultivated hectares), accumulating over 25% from the total cultivated surface, and the agricultural productivity is also the biggest (over 816.000 kg obtained). The production of wheat, at hectares, although representing only 6,35% from the total cultivated surface, is among the most productive cereal cultivation, being registered over 210.000 kg in the about 15.000 ha cultivated. The oat, cultivated on a more extended surface than barley and the two-row barely (over 35.000 ha, in comparison with 30.000 ha), has a lower production than the barley (about 323.000 kg, in comparison with 430.000 kg), wheat (about 15.000 ha), buckwheat and proso-millet (Agrigoroaie, 2005, Otiman, 2012).

The flax and the hemp (Figure 3) are cultivated on a quite extended surface, although significantly smaller in comparison with cereals, and the agricultural productivity seems quite significant, especially with hemp. For the flax, rape and sunflower, both the agricultural productivity and the cultivated surface are a lot inferior to the first one (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922). The rise in the surface cultivated with flax and hemp is owed to the needs of the village inhabitants to turn back to the household crafts, to provide themselves the clothes and other articles they couldn't afford to buy (Dobos, 2023, Hitchins, 1994).

With a productivity of 4.540.490 kg/year, potatoes (Figure 4) represent about 80% from the total of this type of agricultural production, being cultivated both itself and among maize. The beans, also cultivated itself (4.885 kg/year) and among maize (17.033 kg/year), totalizes about 18% from the surface meant for these types of leguminous plants

and tubers, followed by peas (6.409 kg/year), lentil (2293 kg/year) and grain (2183 kg/year), with less than 1% from the total of these types of cultures (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922). The potato was the vegetable the most used, especially in Transylvania and Bukovina, as well as in the mountainous regions of these historical provinces (Hitchins, 1994), a fact due mainly to the edaphic favorable conditions for a production risen to hectare, as well as to the cultural influences from these areas, which sustained and continued the cultivation of this tuber for the food supply for the population in the rural and urban areas of the Romanian historical provinces.

The sugar beet registered, for the same year of reference, a production of 270.727 kg, cultivated on a surface of 1.255 ha (about 0,52% from the total of yearly production for this category of industrial plants), and on more restricted areas there were cultivated the sorghum, the white mustard and the poppy (on a surface of 139 ha and a productivity of 254 kg/year), but also tobacco, on a more restricted surface (8 ha), but with quite a significant productivity (280 kg/year) (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922).

The productivity at hectare is very significant for the cabbage (802 ha cultivated and a production of over 148.000 kg/year on a significant surface of 10.547 ha), onion (with a bigger productivity at ha-44.097 kg/472 ha) cultivated in 1921. (Figure 5)

Natural hays (Figure 6), present on an area of approximately 90,000 ha, add up to the highest productivity (approx. 1,354,928 kg/year) in 1921, followed by clover and alfalfa, fodder corn and fodder roots (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922). Italian millet-herbaceous plant in the graminaceae family, with elongated and pointed leaves, with eared flowers, cultivated as fodder plant (DEX '09, DEX '98, DLRLC); vetch/winter fodder-a mix of vetch or fodder peas with a stalky cereal, used as fodder. (DEX '09, DEX '98, DLRLC).

### **The breeding of animals**

In a country in which the structure of the real estate was, in 1930, in proportion of 74,9% held by exploitation between 0 and 5 ha, the breeding of animals remained an important field of Bukovina's economy.

In 1922 there were 71.623 horses, 234.319 bovines, 235.344 sheep, 11.217 goats and 120.770 pigs. The statistics data show that, in the period 1923-1962, at almost all chapters, there were registered significant rises. Having as a point of start the data from 1926, in rapport with those from 1923, it resulted a number of 85033 horses (instead of 73.974) - that is a rise of almost 15%; 223.933 oxen (instead of 215.825) -

with a rise of 3,75%; 320.323 sheep (instead of 232.670) - a rise of 37,7%; 8.158 goats (instead of 9425) - with a reduction of 15,5% and 117.898 pigs (instead of 123.407) - with a reduction of 4,6% (in 1925 the number of these animals was of 135.850). The share of animals in Bukovina, in rapport to the country, in 1926, was the following: horses - 4,5 %; oxen-4,66%; sheep-2,35%; goats-1,71%;pigs-3,72% (Olaru, 2015).

The biggest number of animals, in Suceava county, was registered for the sheep (over 113,0000), followed by oxen and buffaloes (about 59,000), horses (20,088), pigs (36,022) and the smallest number for goats/Caprinae (555) (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922) (Figure 7).

From a total of 214.027 oxen and buffaloes, the most of them were registered in the counties Campulung (38.700), Cernauti (27.423), Radauti (26.114) and Vijnita (22.551) (Statistical Yearbook of Romania,1922) (Figure 8).

The sheeps are also very well represented (with a number of over 183,000), in the counties of Campulung, Vijnita, Radauti and Cotmani. The pigs are on the third place (96,071), most of them in the counties of Cernauti, Campulung, Radauti and Storojinet. The horses are in a quite numerous number (64.267) in the counties Cernauti, Zastavna, Siret and Cotmani (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922).

Therefore, we can state that agriculture remained the main occupation of the inhabitants in Romania's rural areas and the real estate has continued, in great part, to determine their social relations. According to the census from 1930,90,4 % from the rural active population identified in agriculture-land cultivation, the breeding of cows, the viticulture and fruit growing-the main source of money. Significant economical and social differences divided this population into distinct categories. Those who had less than 5 ha were placed in the category "peasant farms", and those owning over 500 ha, were placed in the category of "factories", because they usually produced cereals for the external market and they belonged to the great bourgeoisie or to the former aristocratic class. The social differences between the estates and farms owners weren't big; they didn't have in view the exact dimension of the property, irrespective of it, because they usually had also other sources of money and, anyway, lived the same urban life (Hitchins, 1994).

Among the peasants owning land, the social differences were a lot more precisely defined. A few hectares in plus or in minus could place a person in a different category. At the top of this social hierarchy there were the kulaks (wealthy),with estates from 50 to 500 ha, who used paid labor power

and had a lifestyle similar to the intellectuals in the villages. They had enough land, animals, machines and tools in order to satisfy their needs from agriculture. Immediately after them, there were the wealthy peasants, owning between 10 and 15 ha, and who had a typically peasant-like lifestyle, limited, working with their paid employees. They had often been described as "the dynamic mass" of the Romanian peasantry and represented 5-20 % from the inhabitants of each village. They owned enough land to satisfy their limited needs, but, regularly, they increased their wages through employment in non-agricultural activities. The small peasants, having between 3-10 ha, maintained their independence and, usually, had enough burden animals and tools, but they rarely could be able to employ paid labor power. The dependent peasants, having between 1-3 ha, didn't have enough animals and tools and they were forced to find something to work besides agriculture. At the lowest social scale there were the workers without land (Hitchins, 1994).

## THE INDUSTRY AND TERTIARY SECTOR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD

### Industry

From the total of 2,747 big industrial companies operating in Romania in 1919 (with a capital of 837,298,627 lei, with a production value of 11,711,796,144 lei and 157,423 employees), in Bucovina there were 210 such units, with a capital of 198,262,000 lei, and with a production of 633,040,247 lei, which had 7,243 employees. In 1922, two large commercial companies operated in Bucovina, with a capital of 7 million lei (0.62% of the capital of big commercial companies in the country), in Transylvania there were 66 commercial companies, with 61,661,921.55 lei (5.47% of the capital of these companies in Romania), in the Old Kingdom there were 149 such companies, with a capital of 1,040,117,892.25 (92.4%) and in Bessarabia there was only one such company, with a capital of 7,869,949 lei (0.69%) (Olaru, 2015).

### The situation of industrial companies at the end of 1925, in Bucovina

In Bucovina, in Chernivtsi – there were recorded, in the statistics of the interwar period, one company with a capital of 400,000 lei, 1 company with a capital of 1,000,000 lei, 2 companies with a capital of 3,500,800 lei, 6 companies with a capital of 21,812 .500 lei, 4 companies with 26,000,000 lei, 1 company with 15,000,000 lei, 2 companies with



50,000,000 lei, 17 companies with 117,730,300 lei, and in Storojineț county – 1 company with a capital of 1,500,000 lei. Various companies, in 1925, in Chernivtsi, only one was registered, with a capital of 3,000,000 lei (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1926, 1927).

For Suceava county, 112 companies were registered, of which: 9 in agricultural exploitation and forests, 2 factories and plants, 81 transport, 6 food and beverages, 3 clothing, footwear, manufacturing, 1-objects in the wood, metal and leather industry. No companies were registered in the field of mines and quarries, insurance, banks and credit institutions. Of these, 50 companies are registered in urban areas and 62 in rural areas, with a workforce of 112 members. Among their members, 49 are of Romanian nationality, 61 Jews and 2 of other nationalities (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922).

In Bucovina, Heavy Industry, represented by metallurgy, wood, chemical, textile, ceramic, electricity, graphic arts, had 210 registered production units, with capital invested in land, buildings and installations of 198,262,000 lei and a value of the raw material of 442,027,678 lei (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922).

#### **The commerce at the end of 1925, in Bucovina**

An important place in the volume of trade is occupied by the exchange between the village and the city, which took off in the interwar years, a fact mainly due to the expansion of peasant households and their production, after the agrarian reform of the 1920s. Trade between these two geographical environments was mainly based on agricultural, food and forestry products towards the city, and industrial goods from the city to the village. Among the latter, metallurgical products (agricultural tools and machinery, ironworks, etc.), textile products, clothing, footwear, lighting oil, grocery items, etc., (Ristea et al, 2019) in general, food and industrial products that could not be made stood out or they were insufficient in the rural area.

The trade is influenced, throughout the interwar period, both in Bucovina and in Romania, by the existing resources and their exploitation by the inhabitants from the rural and urban areas, as well as by the characteristics, traits and culture of the various ethnic communities existing in the Romanian space, knowing the fact that this economic activity was carried out with great skill, even before the 20th century, in the Romanian space, by the Jewish and Armenian communities. Of course, the Romanian communities also undertook commercial activities, but in certain cases, especially in the rural area, they knew, rather, the

form of barter/exchange in food and raw materials. For example, the inhabitants from the mountain area were mainly concerned with raising animals, and when they were traded, the exchange was for cereal products from the lower areas of the province or even from Transylvania or Bessarabia (Flore et al, 2020, Radu & Schmitt, 2017, Cotos, 2009). Therefore, in general, the peasants sold their products in the market from the larger villages, the exchange being carried out, especially in the form of barter, but, even in these conditions, the trade did not bring enough benefits due to the lack of a market or very high prices small, especially in the years of the economic crisis (Cotos, 2009).

According to statistical information, in Bucovina, in 1925, there were 24 Chambers of Commerce and Industry, with a budget of 875,637 lei, and in Chernivtsi - 1 with a capital of 1,000,000 lei, 3 companies with a capital of 9,500,000, 4 companies with 10,500,000 lei (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1927).

Regarding the situation of banks from Romania, at the end of 1922, the statistical situation shows that in Bucovina there were 9 banks, with a capital of 838,124,439.91 lei (25.13%), in Transylvania there were 409 banks, with a capital of 21,890,000 lei (72.4%). At the level of the entire country, 638 banks were registered, with 3,334,767,780.16 lei (Olaru, 2015). For the following year, in 1923, the situation of the banks and their capital, in Bucovina, records only one banking unit, with a financial value of 200,000 lei (Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1923).

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Bucovina's economical and social reconstruction, in the first part of the interwar period, proves to be difficult, as it had suffered more and more important material, financial and human losses, in comparison with the other Romanian provinces and the level from which the reconstruction starts is a lot inferior to the one at the moment of the First World War start. The capital meant for this aim also proves to be inefficient and it had in view only the material losses, not the moral ones.

On the whole, through some Special Commissions for helping the persons in war damage, there is an attempt to cover quite a big number of persons in damage, both from the civil population, and from the functionaries who suffered material losses during the war, the disabled people, the war widows, the orphans, etc., with sums of money and/or construction materials, food, clothes, etc.

In the same period, there are undertaken measures

for preventing speculation, for protecting and supporting the local agricultural and industrial productivity, of acquisition of commercial products at a low price, for supporting the army, etc., through different directives and legal norms with local and national character.

A series of protective measures is also registered, for agriculture and the import and exportation of agricultural products, measures connected, especially to imposing a maximum price, the interdiction of exportation of certain categories of cereals, such as wheat, the obligation of mills to produce more categories of flour, or the possibility of local administrators to establish preferential prices for some products or services.

If industry was sustained and stimulated, especially in the interwar period, by the liberal governments, agriculture has been seen, by the peasantry governments, as the main economical branch from which Romania's social-economical reconstruction can start. With all these, the Great Economical Crisis will redefine the criteria and evaluation principles of the two economical branches, by the two prevailing political orientations (liberal and peasantry), in favor of supporting industry, which, at its turn, will be able to form the base of technology in agriculture, and from here, of economy, on the whole.

On the whole, in the interwar period, agriculture will continue to have a pronounced cereal character, even if the surfaces cultivated with other plants meet significant rises. Thus, in the conditions of applying the agrarian reform all over Romania, the surface covered with maize has risen, overtaking the one with wheat. The maize corresponded better to the working possibilities and to the needs of the peasants farms, allowing, on quite extended surfaces, the inserted cultivation with beans, potatoes and different fodder plants.

Among the cereals, the maize cultivation is prevailing, over 25% from the total cultivated surface and the agricultural production is also the biggest with this cereal. The production of wheat is among the most productive cultures, and the oat has a smaller production than the barley, wheat, buckwheat and proso-millet. The smallest quantities at ha were observed in the cultivation of rye, buckwheat and proso-millet.

The flax and the hemp are cultivated on a relatively extended surface, although significantly smaller in comparison with cereals and the agricultural production seems quite significant, especially in the case of hemp. For the flax, rape and sunflower, both the agricultural production and the cultivated surface is a lot inferior to the first one. The increase of cultivated surface with flax and hemp is owed to the needs of the villages inhabitants to turn back to the

household crafts, in order to provide themselves the clothes and other articles they couldn't afford to buy. The potatoes represent about 80% from the total of this type of production, being cultivated both itself and among maize. The beans, also cultivated itself and among maize, totalizes about 18% from the land meant for these types of leguminous plants and tubers, followed by beans, lentil, with less than 1% from the total of these types of cultures.

The trade is influenced by the existing resources and their exploitation by the inhabitants from the rural and urban areas, as well as by the characteristics, traits and culture of the various ethnic communities existing in the Romanian space, and the Romanian communities undertook commercial activities, but in certain cases, especially in the rural area, they knew, rather, the form of barter/exchange in food and raw materials.

This state of fact will be maintained in the interwar period, with some differences or particularities, according to the geographical area and, of course, to the social-economical characteristics of the different ethnic communities existent in the Romanian and Bukovina space, on the whole.

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## LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES

Table no.1  
People mobilized in war (1914-1918) from Suceava county

Locality	People mobilized in the army	Number of captives	Number of civilian deportees	Number of deceased persons	Number of captives returned home	Persons missing in war	Totally dead and disappears
Argel	95	13	20	11	8	5	16
Breaza	500	120	10	5	40	80	85
Bucsoaia	430	27	13	9	17	23	32
Ciocanesti	232	96	52	64	84	12	76
Ciumarna	94	20	-	9	8	6	15
Carlibaba	178	29	8	17	27	19	36
Campulung	1200	40	4	28	32	83	113
Deia	90	10	10	15	8	1	16
Doroteia	113	40	-	28	23	17	45
Dorna Candrenilor	970	175	130	56	126	60	116
Frasin	570	33	27	25	18	27	52
Frumosul	267	76	54	66	64	10	76
Fundul Moldovei	830	300	20	90	280	30	120
Floceni	148	29	12	26	4	13	39
Gemenea	85	12	-	13	9	6	19
Iacobeni	121	34	3	44	15	47	91
Negrileasa	60	20	-	15	17	3	18
Pojorata*	121	34	3	44	15	47	91
Poiana Stampei	260	-	-	31	8	22	53
Rusii Moldovitei	985	150	6	80	150	19	99
Rusii pe Boul	300	25	-	14	15	12	26
Sadova	282	38	3	46	28	26	72
Slatioara	65	7	-	13	7	5	18
Stulpicani	210	40	15	37	32	8	45
Vadul Negrilesei	45	15	-	3	13	2	5
Valea Putnei	62	10	1	10	9	3	13
Putna	976	116	24	117	78	44	161
Vatra Moldovitei	520	85	8	18	35	22	40
Vatra Dornei	3500	335	65	140	185	26	166
<b>Total</b>	<b>13.309</b>	<b>1.929</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>1.091</b>	<b>1.355</b>	<b>675</b>	<b>1.766</b>

Source: The data processing was carried out following the information obtained from File no. 44/1927, ANS, Campulung County Prefecture, tab 3-4.

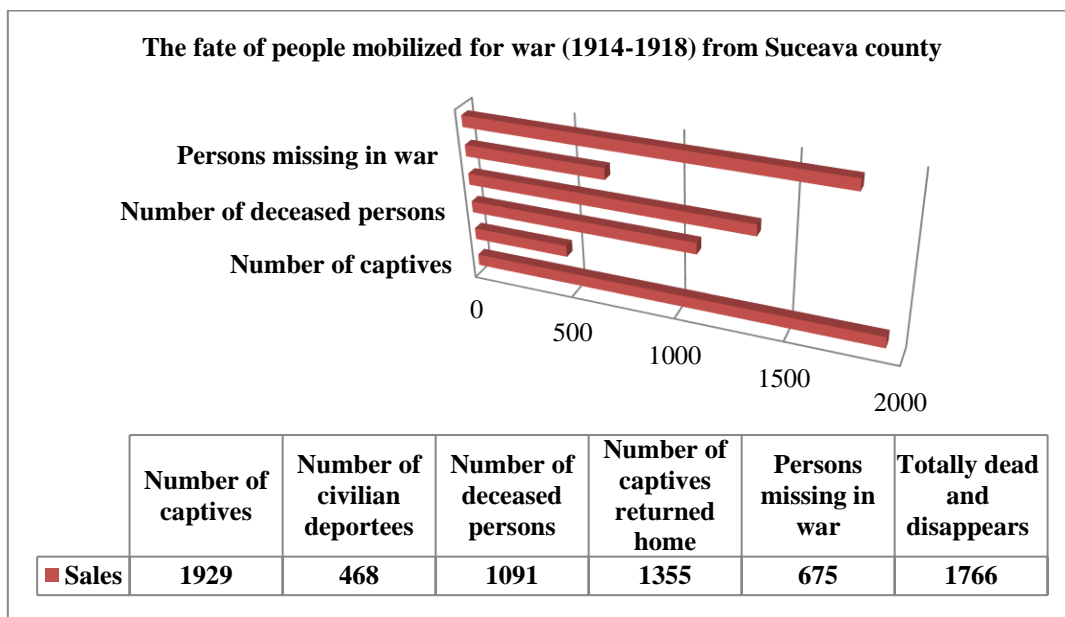


Figure No. 1

**The fate of people mobilized in army (1914-1918), from Suceava county**

*Source: The data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1927, Tipografia Curții Regale, table 62.*

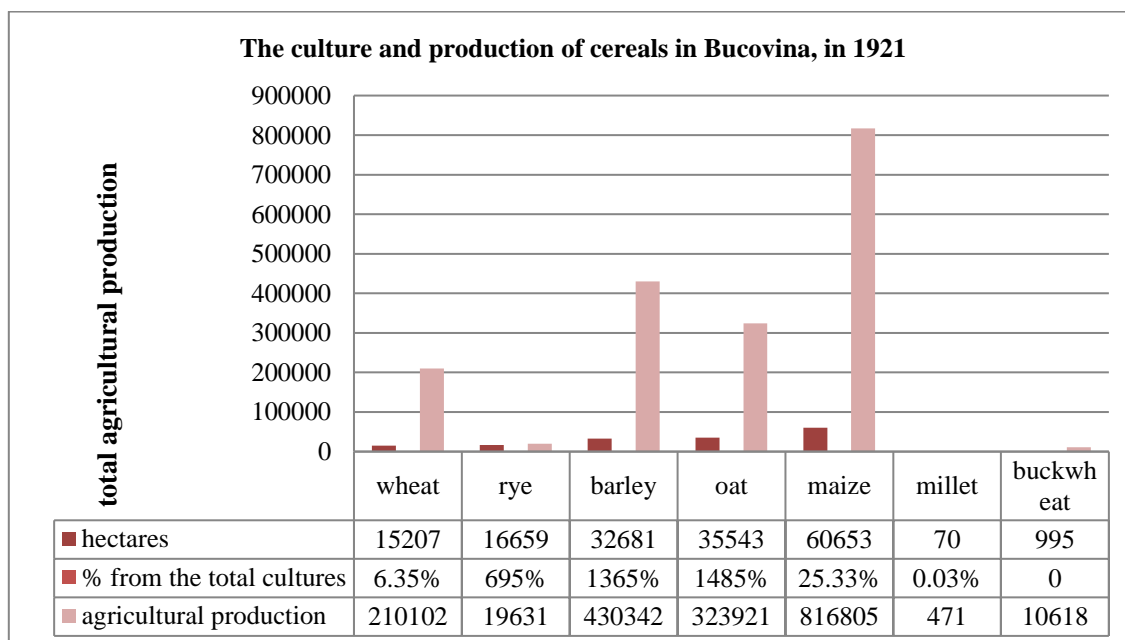


Figure No. 2

**The culture and production of cereals in Bucovina, in 1920/1921**

*Source: The data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922, Bucharest, Tipografia Curții Regale, F. GÖBL, p. 44, 50.*

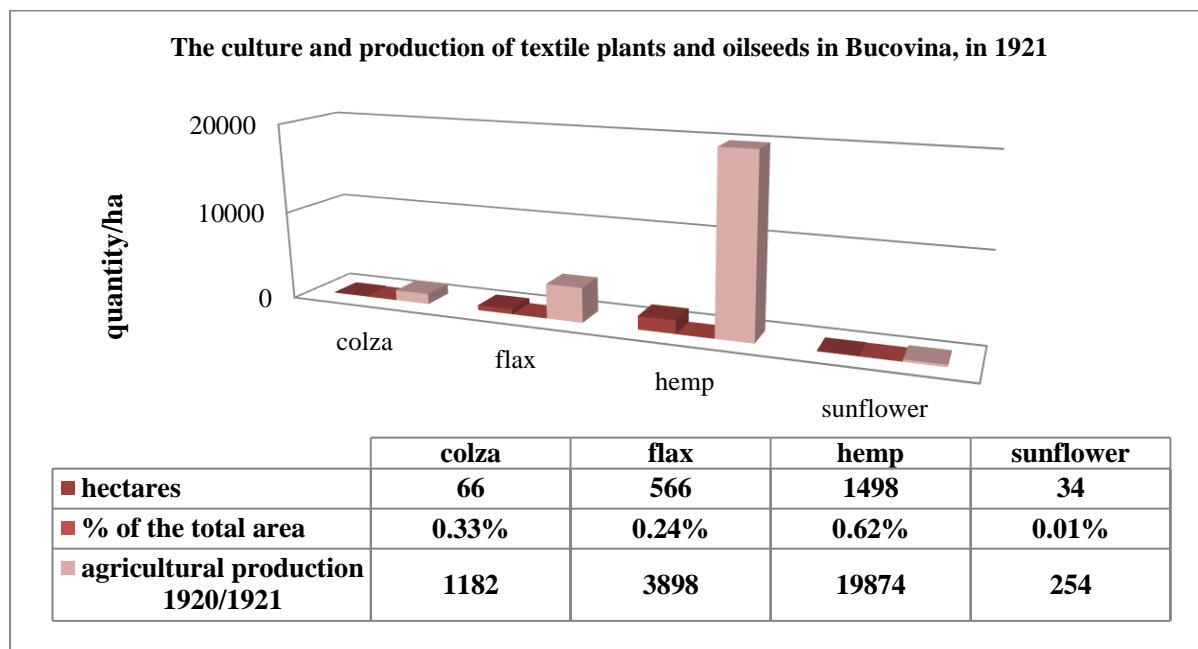


Figure No. 3

**The culture and production of textile and oleaginous plants in Bucovina, in 1920/1921**

*Source: The data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922, Bucharest, Tipografia Curții Regale, F. GÖBL, 1923, p. 44, 50.*

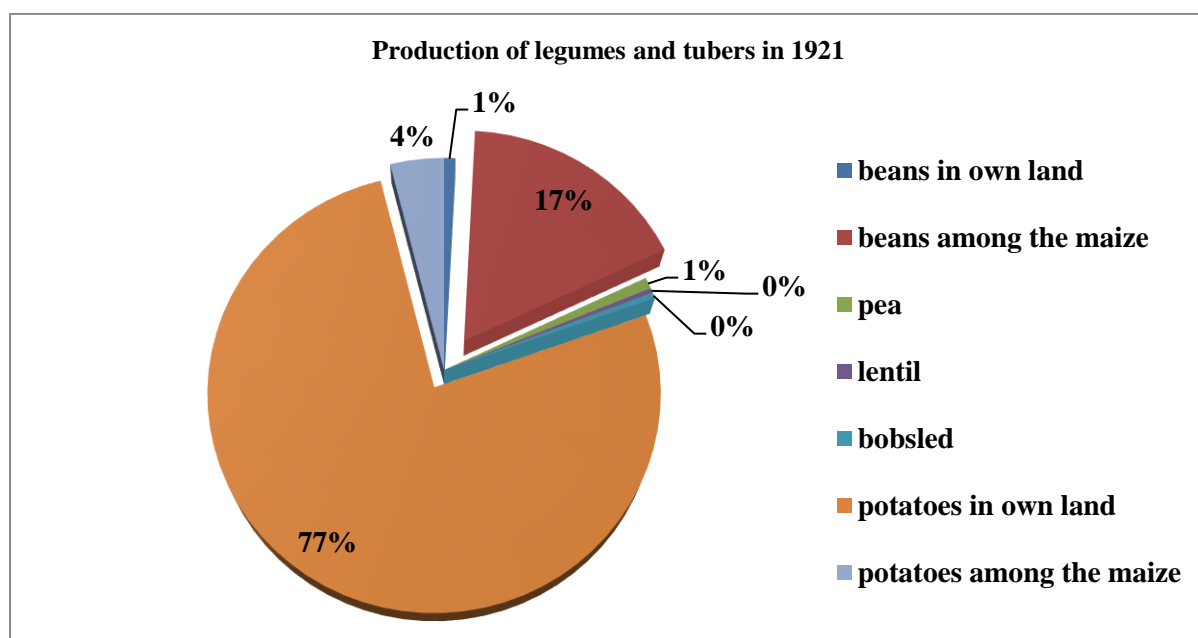


Figure No. 4

**The culture and production of legumes and tubers in Bucovina, in 1920/1921**

*Source: The data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922, Bucharest, Tipografia Curții Regale, F. GÖBL, p. 44, 50.*

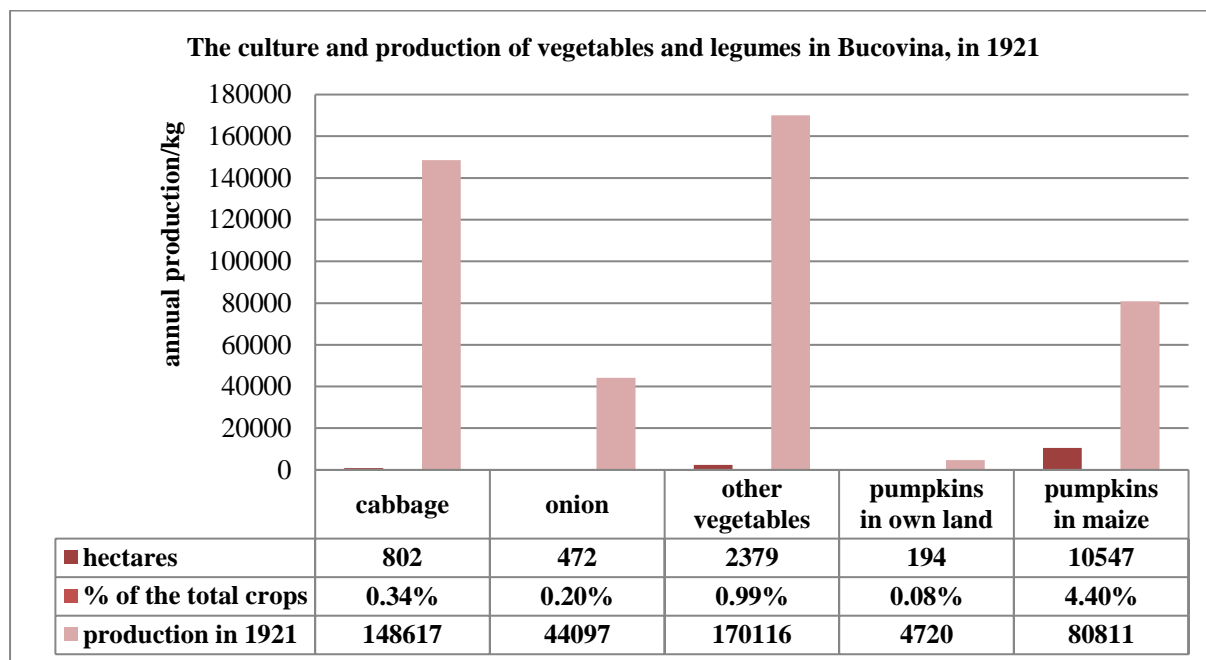


Figure No. 5

**The culture and production of vegetables and legumes in Bucovina, in 1920/1921**

*Source: The data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922, Bucharest, Tipografia Curții Regale, F. GÖBL, p. 44, 50.*

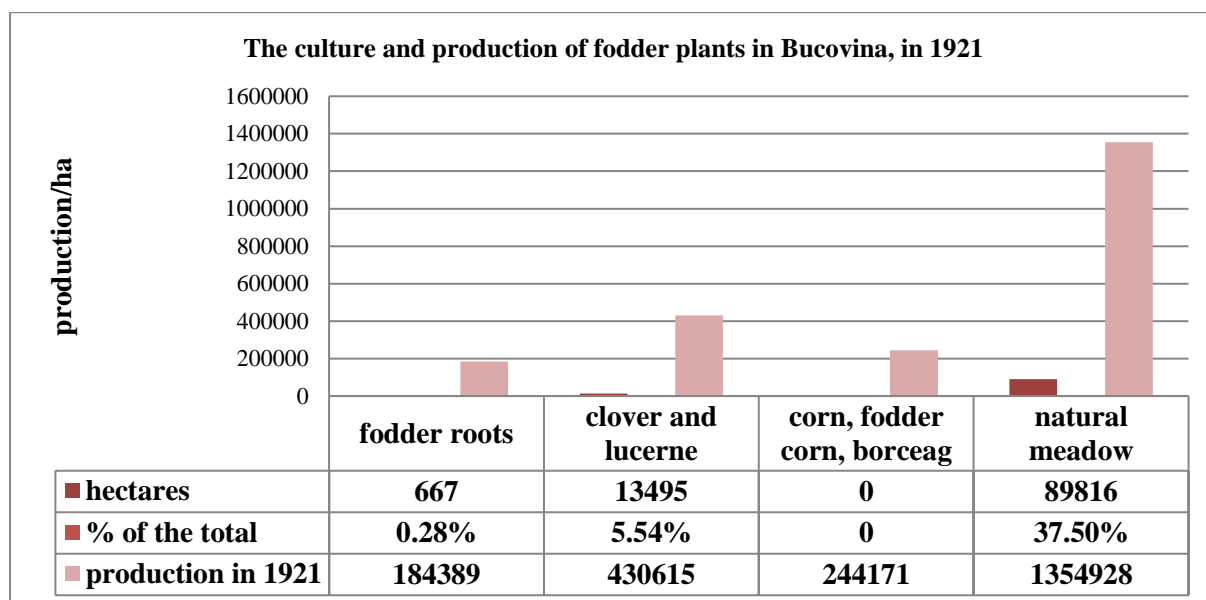


Figure No. 6

**The culture and production of fodder plants in Bucovina, in 1920/1921**

*Source: The data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922, Bucharest, Tipografia Curții Regale, F. GÖBL, p. 44, 50.*



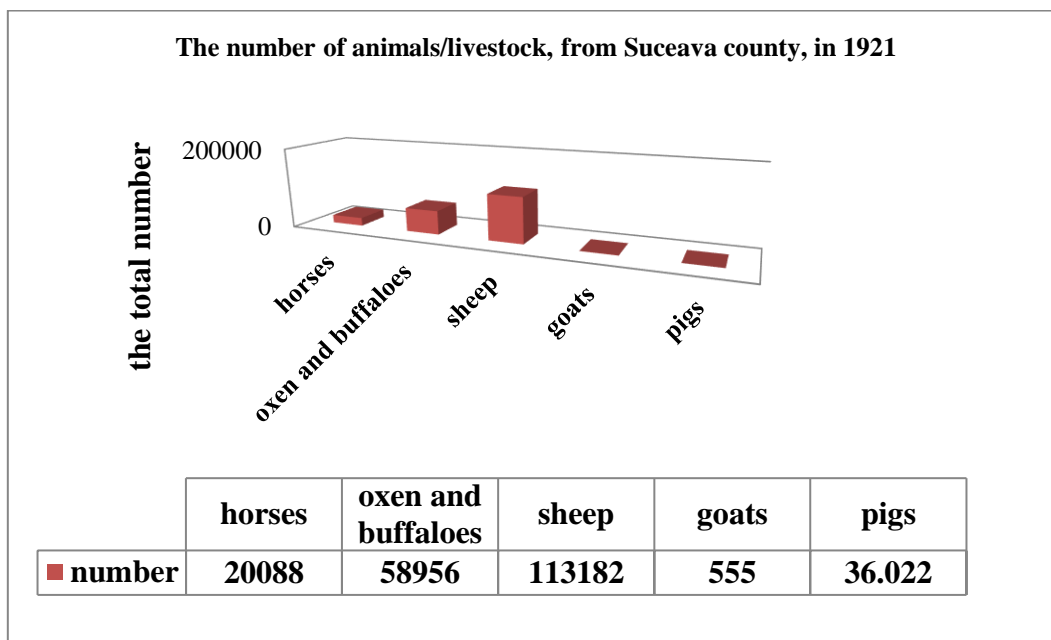


Figure No. 7

**The number of animals in Bucovina, in 1921**

*Source: Data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922, Bucharest, Tipografia Curții Regale, F. GÖBL, p. 60.*

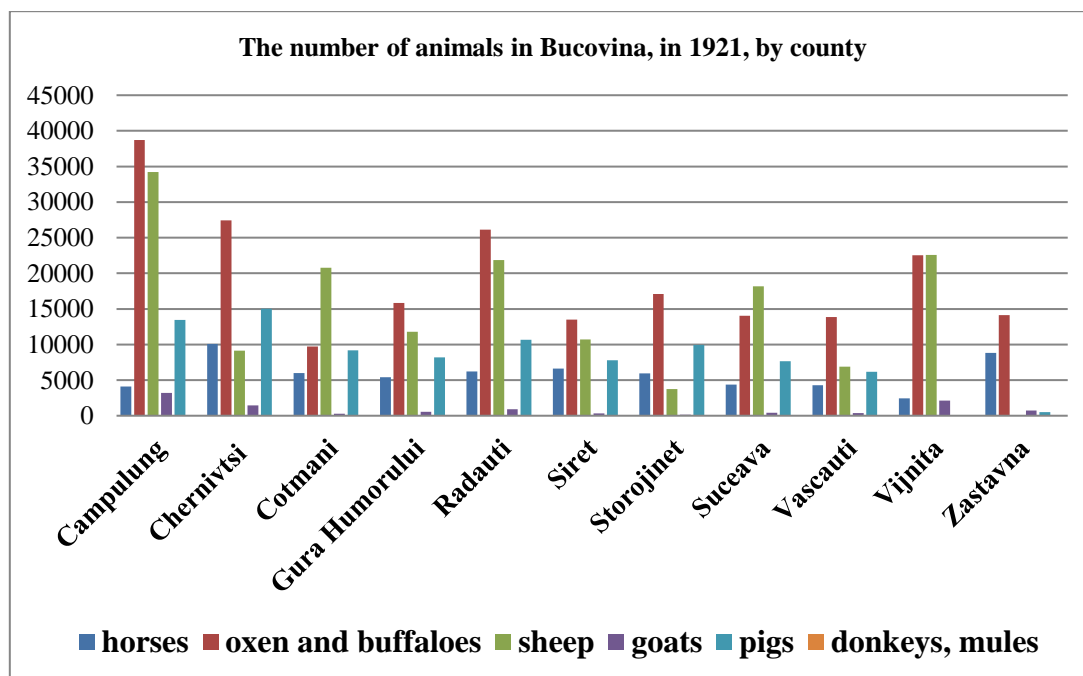


Figure No. 8

**The number of animals in Bucovina, in 1921, by county**

*Source: Data processing was carried out following the information obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1922, Bucharest, Tipografia Curții Regale, F. GÖBL, p. 61.*