

KATALIN SISKA

The Press Coverage of the Turkish–Hungarian Economic and Trade Relations of the Atatürk Era in Hungary

I. INTRODUCTION

I have been interested in the life and legal work of Musztafa Kamâl Atatürk and its international assessment since my university years. For many decades, the head of the young Turkish Republic has defined Turkey's legal system, domestic and foreign policy orientations and judgments in the world. The Turkish legal system still operates „compared to the Atatürk system”. I found many references in both the contemporary and daily press. Therefore, I considered studying Atatürk's legal heritage and its press coverage in Hungary an indispensable stage of my research work. According to the diplomatic practice of the time, in the absence of the electronic communication, the press officer of the given country's embassy sent the relevant announcements about the other country both in the original and in the language of the diplomacy of the time, i.e. French. On the Turkish side, I could use the supermodern digital search program in the Archives of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and on the Hungarian side, the well-organized and digitized data of the Arcanum Digital Science Library, which facilitated my work. In this paper, I wanted to examine the press coverage of the Turkish–Hungarian economic relations of the Atatürk era (1923–1938).

In terms of Turkish–Hungarian economic cooperation, our participation was the most prominent in industrial and infrastructural development. According to the Ambassador's report dated 1927, there were 1,000–1,200 Hungarians living in Turkey and from them 300–400 person arrived during 1926. Most of them were construction workers and worked as day laborers. The most influential Hungarians whom the ambassador mentioned by name, were Béla Kriszt, the Chief Engineer of the Chemin de Fer Orientaux, and the President of the Hungarian Association and Béla Vondra, the General Director of Hydraulic Engineering Departure at the Ankara Ministry of Public Works .^[1]

The legal basis for the employment of Hungarians in Turkey was the Friendship Treaty concluded on December 18, 1923. It guaranteed each

[1] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, 1927.

other's citizens „full freedom of movement and establishment, free trade and business, legal protection, the most favorable treatment in respect of the acquisition of movable and immovable property and equality with nationals in the payment of taxes”.^[2]

In 1927, additional job opportunities opened up for Hungarians as the Minister of Commerce informed the Budapest Chamber of Engineers at the beginning of the year that they would like to employ Hungarian engineers and the Hungarian State Machine Factory (Magyar Állami Gépgyár in Hungarian) received an order for construction of seven large iron bridges in Turkey. The call for cooperation was further enhanced by the invitation of the Budapest Architecture Exhibition 1930 in which among others Turkish architects were invited to the capital to present their work.^[3]

In the field of agriculture, there was a strong interest from the Turkish Ministry of Agriculture early in the 1920s. Turkish delegations visited several Hungarian agricultural cities in order to gather experts in Hungary for the reconstruction of Turkey's agriculture.^[4]

Real opportunities for trade expansion and employment only arose in the 1930s, when, because of the global economic crisis, the first five-year plan came into force and there was an increasing emphasis on industrial development.^[5] In 1935, under the Law regarding on Occupations Reserved for Turkish Citizens in Turkey, there was a time limit for permitting the employment of foreign workers that expired on 21 May 1935.^[6] At the beginning of the year lengthy negotiations started between the Hungarian Embassy in Ankara and the competent Turkish authorities regarding the further applicability of Hungarian workers. The result was an oral agreement between the Hungarian ambassador and the representative of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, after the above-mentioned deadline citing the lack of specificities in the agreement, only plumbing, central heating and other professionals who had the support of influential people could continue to work. As a result, hundreds of Hungarians returned to Hungary or sought work in the states neighboring Turkey.^[7]

In 1936, the only event worth mentioning was that one of the Hungarian industrial companies, the Nitrochemical Industrial Plants Co. (Nitrokémiai Ipartelepek Rt.) set up its factory near Ankara and carried out new orders. In 1937, the renegotiation of the trade agreement posed the greatest challenge to our economic cooperation. The agreement in 1935 was terminated, because it

[2] 85/2015. (IV. 9.) Korm. rendelet.

[3] 6 Eylülde Budapeste mimari sergisi açılıyor. Bukardes milletin hararatli davetine mimarlarimiz da icabet etmelidir [Szeptember 6-án nyílik meg a Budapesti Építészeti Kiállítás. Testvéreink meghívtak bennünket is! / The Budapest Architecture Exhibition opens on September 6. Our brothers have invited us too!] (Cumhuriyet, 1930).

[4] Kecskeméti Közlöny, 1924.

[5] Dunántúl, 1925.

[6] Makói újság, 1935.

[7] MNL-OL K63 1936-32/1.

adversely affected our trade balance with Turkey in 1936. The Hungarian economic delegation, which arrived in Ankara in April 1937, began negotiations to establish a new agreement, which entered into force on 1 July. However, even a supplementary agreement was needed, which was finally adopted on 2 December.^[8]

In 1938, when the implementation of the five-year plan was coming to an end, Atatürk passed away and the Second World War was already felt, the Hungarians no longer had the opportunity to stay in the economy, especially the golden age of our help in industry came to an end.^[9]

II. THE ECHO OF THE MUTUAL RELATIONS IN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS

1. The mutual agreements

The Hungarian press in connection with the Turkish-Hungarian economic and trade relations reported mostly on ongoing negotiations,^[10] opportunities, annually renewed trade agreements,^[11] as well as on the continuous strengthening of the mutually expressed sympathy and friendship of the two nations^[12].

The new economic program of the Republic of Turkey was also published by Szeged Híradó. The Turkish National Committee has drawn up a four-point economic program, which is as follows:

1. The Turks maintain friendly relationship with all those states who are not enemies of Turkey,
2. Turkey shall only authorize the establishment of companies, which would accept Turkish as an official language.
3. Citizens of states which hostile to Turkey shall not be granted monopolies.
4. Turkey belongs to the Turks.^[13]

Thus, the Hungarian press reported on the final trade agreement concluded on December 20, 1926, which was preceded in 1925 by a preferential agreement between the Hungarian and Turkish governments regarding customs duty. At the negotiations, the Hungarian government was represented by Ambassador László Tahy. The purpose of the negotiations was to conclude a trade agreement between the two governments.^[14] In his speech, Bey Tevfik Rusdi expressed his wish that the negotiations on the regulation of trade relations between Turkey

[8] MNL-OL K63 1938-32/1.

[9] Függetlenség, 1934.

[10] Népszava, 1925a.

[11] Friss Újság, 1933.

[12] Népszava, 1930a.

[13] Szegedi Híradó, 1923.

[14] Az Est, 1925a.

and Hungary should lead to complete success.^[15] However, before this agreement was concluded, the two countries granted each other the most significant concessions that have been granted to a third country so far in terms of customs trade. The customs convention applied to all goods.^[16] The final result of these negotiations was a trade agreement signed in Angora on 20 December 1926.^[17]

The Hungarian press reported on the mutual courtesy of visits in 1930, and then on provisional trade agreements^[18] between the two governments on March 27, 1930, and on their final trade agreements on May 21, 1930.^[19]

„Foreign Minister Lajos Walko made a courtesy visit to Ankara, returning the visit of Turkish Foreign Minister Tewfik Rusdi Bey. Foreign Minister Walko and his entourage spoke with great satisfaction about their reception in Ankara. Kemal Pasha, the President of the Republic of Turkey, exchanged his views with our Foreign Minister Walko in several topics and the Foreign Minister informed the Turkish Head of State in full details, who was particularly interested in the Hungarian issue. The very first result of the Foreign Minister Walko's trip to Turkey was that negotiations on a permanent Turkish-Hungarian treaty were started. The trade agreements were linked to a tariff agreement, as Turkey was extremely interested in Hungarian agriculture especially Hungarian animals. They also want to cover the needs of the Turkish army for horses from Hungary.”^[20] Incidentally, a separate article reported on this: The Turks buy horses in Somogy. It is known that the Turkish government buys artillery horses for its army in Hungary. The committee has so far been commissioned to buy 1,000 horses.^[21]

According to the report of the Hungarian Telegraph Office the Hungarian-Turkish trade agreement was also signed by Ambassador László Tahy and the Representative of the Turkish Government in Ankara.^[22]

One of articles in the newspaper *Nemzeti Újság* of 23 August 1925 reported on several exemplary professionals who enjoyed great respect in Constantinople before and during the war. Imre Torday, a consultant from the Ministry of Commerce, who was most appreciated and respected by his former colleagues and subordinates, Jenő Lukács, Director of the Institute of Technology, János Nyárády, a consultant of the Ministry of Agriculture, Dr. Géza Karácsony, Director of the Academy of Economics who all did their best from Hungary for Turkey. Examples of the article are listed because in 1925 the government announced its intention to contract experts to the Ministry of Interior. In addition, Hungary concluded an Establishment and Trade Agreement with Turkey on December 20,

[15] *Az Est*, 1930a.

[16] *Az Est*, 1925b.

[17] 1927. évi XXVI. törvénycikk.

[18] *Népszava*, 1930b.

[19] www.jogtar.hu.

[20] *Az Est*, 1930c.

[21] *Az Est*, 1930e.

[22] *Népszava*, 1930c.

1925. The Settlement Convention lasted for 5 years, and Hungarian citizens were free to settle and reside in Turkey.^[23]

The experts sought by the Turkish Ministry of Interior were professionals from police affairs, political administration of the vilajets, personnel matters (salary settlement, etc.) and the supervisory service. Experts were sought from the Ministry of Finance for indirect income (taxes and duties) tasks, national goods and supervision. Finally, experts were sought for the Ministry of Public Education for school museums and handicrafts. The Ministry of Public Works sought experts for water, electricity and aviation. The Ministry of Trade wanted three specialists for coal and iron. The Ministry of Public Health also needed two experts one for fighting malaria and one for Public Health matters. Those who wanted to apply for one of these posts had to submit their application in Turkish or French directly to the relevant ministry. According to the call, „Hungarians can expect to have an advantage over other nationalities with the same qualifications”.^[24]

The papers wrote encouragingly about Hungarian settlers in Asia Minor, especially Izmir, where the first Hungarian model farm was planned, and about former chief ally Aladár Gedeon and Elemér Glaser, governor of the Eszterházy estates visited Turkey to set up areas and gain permissions.^[25] According to the Turkish General Consul, the Turkish government can share as much land to Hungarians for settlements as it likes, as 75% of the arable land lies fallow and they do not have enough people to cultivate it.^[26] The visits were mutual, Turkish farmers also visited us, preferably Mezőhegyes, Tokaj, Hatvan, Budapest, Vác, Budafok, Magyaróvár, the Lake Balaton area, Pécs, Villány and Mohács, the latter as a place of historical remembrance.^[27]

The Turkish Ministry of Agriculture also sent an agricultural committee to Hungary. Commenting on the committee's work, Secretary of State Ali Rıza Bey stated: „Originally, Kemal Pasha was convinced that we would do our best to serve Turkish agriculture and horse breeding if we went on a study trip to Hungary and got what we needed.”^[28] Our agricultural training was also very popular among the Turks. The „Trunkated Hungary” has been active in establishing foreign relations, informing the foreign country and at the same time arousing sympathy towards Hungarians. An association from young people who studied or graduated in Hungary was formed in Turkey, chaired by Kamâl Atatürk Pasha's nephew, Mehmet Kamâl, who graduated from the Academy of Economics in Magyaróvár.^[29]

[23] Népszava, 1925b.

[24] Nemzeti Ujság, 1925.

[25] Az Est, 1923a.

[26] Nemzeti Ujság, 1923a.

[27] Esti Kurir, 1925b.

[28] Friss Újság, 1924.

[29] Magyar Kisebbség, 1924.

2. The mass emigration to Turkey

Encouraged by the Consul General and articles in the press, mass emigration began in the post-crisis years to Asia Minor. However most cases ended so unfavorably that had serious consequences under international law. Esti Kurir, Népszava and Est reported on the unfortunate Hungarians. The post-war economic crisis made the life in Hungary extremely difficult and almost impossible. Due to the pause in most industries forced Hungarian workers and members of the middle class to emigrate en masse. Few were able to reach America and other overseas states because, on the one hand, the quota law and, on the other, horrible travel costs. Instead, Hungarians new destination became Turkey and they were all pleased with the announcement by the Turkish government in Angora that masons, carpenters, concrete workers, miners and mechanics were employed with excellent salary in the new railway constructions. In 1923-24, real recruitment started among the Hungarian workers, and in the first round, hundreds of them were exported to Asia Minor where very little good news came about them.

The case of Pál F. became a precedent in the Hungarian press. Pál F. a mining worker from Selmec traveled to Angora in 1929 and returned to Budapest after incredible suffering and affliction completely devastated morally and financially. Pál F. who studied mining at the Selmec Mining College heard in April 1929 that the Turkish government had started large-scale railway construction in Angora and Anatolia, and needed Hungarian specialists partly for road construction and partly for blasting tunnels. Pál F. inquired about this at the Turkish Consulate and there he was informed that the news corresponded to reality and that the Hungarian experts are paid primarily by the Turkish government. After 8 months of deprivation, Pál F. returned to Budapest and shared his story. In the absence of any information from the Hungarian government on the subject, the newspaper considered it its duty to present Pál F.'s presentation, substantiated by credible data, in order to open the eyes of the unfortunates who believed that a paradise was waiting for them in Turkey. Pál F. wanted to get an application for tunnel drilling related to railway construction. He got his visa and sat on a train with \$300 in his pocket and embarked on the big road. He had to waste two weeks in Constantinople because he could not go on with a visa that he got in Budapest, they had to get another visa there, because in Turkey in 1929, every city and even every major village had a separate visa right, and only after obtaining it could passengers continue their journey. In Constantinople, hundreds of stuck Hungarians stood at the train station and almost fought with each other to grab the luggage from the hands of the arriving passengers. According to Pál F. the dismayed people were largely engineers, lawyers, and other college graduates who came to Constantinople falling for various bright promises and did not even get day lab. In Angora, they visited Béla Vondra Bey, one of the directors of the Ministry of Labor. On Vondra's recommendation, the Hungarians were immediately employed at Szivász-Samson railway line about 280 kilometers from

Angora. According to the agreement, they should have received five pounds a day, but when they started working, there was a Kurdish revolt that affected the Turkish state treasury so sensitively that due to lack of funds, they stopped paying for construction costs for a long time. The emigrants took a waiting position, and during this time of course lived on their own. Even the simplest form of life costs one and a half pounds a day, so when they run out of money they tried to get other job opportunities. On the recommendation of Vondra Bey Pál F. was contracted as a mining expert at landowner and contractor Esrem Bey in the village Eskisér who employed him to estimate his marble quarry and to start the work professionally. Esrem Bey offered full board, travel expenses and 5 pounds per day, but finally the Bey paid even the cost of the trip with the expert. Pál F. made a really tiring research for days and in his expert opinion explained that due to the distance from the railway line, the sale of the excavated material would not be profitable for Esrem. When the Bey heard this, he immediately told the Hungarian expert that he was not willing to start a risky business, and that is why he did not reflect on his services. Mr F. regretted the decision and sought reimbursement of his costs. Esrem Bey refused to comply with this request, so the Hungarian tricked into a dagger was forced to return to Angora with a loss of one hundred and eighty pounds. The construction of the state railway was still on hold, and the nearly 200 Hungarian workers employed were already in the greatest misery. The unfortunate people also devoured their small capital from home, sold their more valuable belongings and waited starving for work to begin. This has finally happened. After a long hiatus, the Turkish government restarted the construction, but as another group of 100 Hungarian and Swabian workers arrived in Angora from Báticasék in the meantime, reduced the previously 4-5 pound per a day wage to 2 pounds. What this meant for the hungry and deprived Hungarians will be revealed if we know that a person's daily livelihood - most modestly - also costs a Turkish pound in that region. Many of the Hungarian workers also took their families with them who were hardly saved from starvation with their earnings. The physical weakening also broke the resistance of most of them, and they fell to bed one after the other in the swampy, malarial countryside.^[30]

That's when the really bitter days came. The feverish, struggling workers, who could not bear the hard work of railway construction, were forced to undertake even the lowest servant duties, only to escape starvation. The secretary of the Hungarian embassy in Angora did everything possible to help the Hungarians, but unfortunately his situation was difficult and the means at his disposal proved insufficient to combat the general misery.

For escaping from this hopeless situation the mining worker, Pál F. took another decision. He met Safet Bey in the town, who wanted to build a water dam on his estate near the village of Belikár to make better use of the mill. He

[30] Pécsi Napló, 1926.

promised three hundred pounds and full board to Pál, who gladly accepted the assignment. Pál F. worked on the construction of the sluice for nearly six weeks, and when he was almost completely done with it, he told the the fact to the rich bey, who was the lord of 25,000 acres of land. Unfortunately, the Turks had a method toward Europeans: after learning how Europeans do their thing, they quarrel with them before finishing the work and expel them from their house without paying, while also letting a few lead balls after them to keep them from wanting to come back. That's what happened to him. „However I did everything and through the most fantastic battles on this field I managed to extort 80 Turkish pounds or 3,200,000 Hungarian koronas from the Bey and headed home. In Constantinople, I was then deprived of 45 pounds as income tax, more than half of my total earnings. I note that more than 300 pounds has swam away from my own money. While I was in Constantinople, I met many unfortunate Hungarians. I made the long journeys mostly on foot, working for weeks in the mines on my way to earn as much money as needed to travel on to the next station. Now I'm here without a penny, deranged, starving, I haven't eaten a bite in two days and I'm standing before my new life like never before.”^[31]

The case of Pál F. was published in several newspapers. The case was not unique,^[32] with hundreds of unfortunate people was coming to the consulate.^[33] Both the national and county newspapers reported the most glaring cases as a deterrent.^[34]

3. The legal and political consequences of the emigration to Asia Minor

In a decree^[35] (September 3, 1923),^[36] the Minister of Interior instructed the authorities to indicate in passports that was valid for Europe “except Turkey”.^[37] An exception could only be made if the person proved that his departure to Turkey was absolutely necessary or if his job or financial circumstances provided

[31] Pusztulnak a kivándorolt magyarok keleten. Egy magyar bányamérnöknek sikerült hazajönnie Angorából, a puskagolyó és malária hazájából, ezrével nyomorognak Konstantinápolyban a magyarok, akiket fényes ígéretekkel csábítottak Törökországba – Az angorai tömegszállók – Kisázsziából gyalog hazáig (Esti Kurir, 1925).

[32] Az Est, 1926a; Az Est, 1926b.

[33] Az Est, 1923b; Az Est, 1926c; Szózat, 1923a; Szózat, 1923b; Szózat, 1923c.

[34] Tizenöt évig kereste kenyereit Bulgáriában és Törökországban egy kecskeméti munkásember. Hazajött s elmesélte viszontagságait, az ott élő magyarok életét. „Kapart, tarlóra talál ma már a külföldre vándorló magyar munkás...” (Kecskeméti Közlöny, 1936).

[35] Népszava, 1923a.

[36] A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 137.898/1924. B. M. számú körrendelete. A Törökországba és Görögországba szóló útlevélek kiállítására [Hungarian Royal Decree of the Minister of the Interior 137.898/1924. Circular Decree Issuance of Passports to Turkey and Greece]. In: Belügyi Közlöny. No.45. sz. (1155).

[37] Esti Kurir, 1926a.

a sufficient guarantee that he would not be subject to public charges there.^[38] Those who travelled to Turkey for the purpose of emigration or searching temporary job had to prove that their employment in Turkey was guaranteed by a contract issued by Turkish employers and seen and stamped by the Hungarian Embassy in Istanbul.^[39] The contract had to indicate how much is the contracted worker's monthly wage and the promise that the employer would bear the total cost of the trip.^{[40][41]}

If a person goes to work he must present a written contract from his employer to the authority, as well as a guarantee that he will receive an adequate financial guarantee that, if he does not meet at the place of employment he will be returned at the cost of the employer.^[42] Hungarian workers trapped in Turkey were brought home with the help of the Dutch Embassy in Constantinople.^[43]

Following the incident the Ministry of Interior regularly published in the daily press^[44], drawing the attention of all those who wanted to travel to Turkey for working that they travel - for their own benefit - only if they had a regular passport issued by the Turkish Embassy in Turkey and they have a contract that specifies how much the contracted worker's monthly wage and the employer will bear the total cost of the trip.^[45] Warnings and deterrent examples were published not only in national but also in county newspapers. The newspaper *Szegedi Hétfői Rendkívüli Újság* describes a letter from one of Szeged's emigrants, M.B. an economic officer who emigrated to Turkey at the end of 1923.

In addition, calculations were published to help those with an intention to emigrate how much money they will need to be able to travel safely out and back home. According to the calculation made by the Turkish Consul in Budapest: it takes one million Hungarian koronas to emigrate to Turkey, and those who do not have it should not emigrate.^[46] The repatriation of the unfortunate Hungarians had to be solved by the Hungarian government. They managed to solve this through social cooperation. Up to the 10% of the thousands Hungarians twelve shipping companies brought them home free of charge and many emigrants set out on foot from Smyrna to return home.^[47]

[38] A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 185.698/1926. B. M. számú körrendelete. Magyar munkásoknak Törökországban és Bulgáriában való elhelyezkedése [Hungarian Royal Decree 185.698/1926 Employment of Hungarian workers in Turkey and Bulgaria] (Belügyi Közlöny. No. 32. (1344)).

[39] Népszava, 1930d.

[40] Esti Kurir, 1930.

[41] Népszava, 1926a.

[42] Az Est, 1926d.

[43] Népszava, 1926b.

[44] A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 137.184/1928, B. M. számú körrendelete. Törökországba irányuló kivándorlás. [Hungarian Royal Decree 137.184/1928 of the Minister of the Interior, Emigration to Turkey] (Belügyi Közlöny, No. 42. (1545)).

[45] Népszava, 1930e.

[46] Népszava, 1923b.

[47] 8 Órai Ujság, 1926.

In addition to the calculation, it was also pointed out that several press releases blamed the Turkish Consulate in Budapest for the failed attempt and through the Consulate, they attacked the new Turkey. The Turkish Consul General made the following statement about these attacks for the journalist of the *Nemzeti Újság*: „Recently the number of Hungarian citizens who want to go to Turkey to look for a new job or job opportunity has increased remarkably. On one occasion I also stated that there are many job opportunities in the construction of the new Turkey, and we would like to see that these opportunities offered by the reconstruction of the liberated Turkey used by our former allies, the Hungarians who sympathetic to us. However, I did not say that the path to success and prosperity is open to everyone. Moreover, I was making every effort to dissuade those who without money or adequate qualifications merely wanted to go to Turkey, relying on blind luck, to discourage them from this plan. University students, officials came to us for visas, who only wanted to go to Turkey because they could not find a job here. I have told all applicants that only those who can take enough money with them to make a living for the first two to three weeks should go, and if they fail to find a job, they can travel back. I have also told that mass emigration is not desirable for the time being, because the country has become impoverished, and the liberated area is only just beginning to be repatriated. So getting jobs is very difficult. Yet there were many who set out on their way in spite of every deficiency, and there were some who did not even have the cost to travel there. These then found them in a very awkward position because not everyone in the foreign and unfamiliar countryside got a job right away and indeed many were starving. There was another trouble that affected the emigrants, the behavior of the Greeks and the Entente, which we cannot do. The countryside where these emigrants have reached is still a war zone and many times, it happens when the border is closed. We could not have expected this in advance because we did not know when the border would be closed. The validity of the visa was for three months and many traveled only one or two or three months after obtaining the visa, while the Greeks or the Entente military simply closed the border. At least one million Hungarian koronas are needed as the trip there alone costs more than three hundred thousand koronas. There was no inconvenience to those who took my advice. For me, my official duty is only to give visas to those who apply, we cannot refuse them. The number of emigrants to Turkey is not so high anyway, so far we have issued only 511 visas and only three hundred of them have been issued to Hungarian citizens, the rest to transitors or diplomats.”^[48]

Estimating the number of emigrants, the newspaper *Uj Nemzedék* reported that emigration agents transported about 30-35,000 Hungarians to Turkey from the northern part of “Truncated Hungary” as well as from the occupied Upper Hungary and several Hungarian cities. The workers were of course terribly disappointed. They have suffered the greatest misery and now they do not have

[48] *Nemzeti Újság*, 1923b.

enough money to return to Hungary. The Ministry of Interior has launched the widest investigation into the case, based on a report from the Szeged Police.^[49]

Newspaper *Népszava* February 26, 1926 published the next announcement on the 10th page in the right column of the News section: „Two hundred Hungarian landowners’ families!!! Land is shared by the Turks! Every family gets 100 acres of land! ” „Deception! Misleading!” Wake up! Wake up my Hungarian nation! Be a worker of your homeland! What awaits you outside: “Apartment, building, without comfort.”! There are no Pécs, Szabadszentkirály! Land! Land! Land! You have to work! Foreign climate, foreign food among strangers!”^[50]

In addition, the Trade Union Council called on the Trade Union Council in Constantinople to send detailed information on employment and earnings in Turkey.^[51]

The newspaper *8 Órai Újság* published an interview with Hüsrev Bey the Turkish Ambassador of Budapest on this issue, who said that the news appeared in some newspapers about the misery of Hungarians in Turkey were simply lies. „I have just returned from Angora and in several places I have seen hundreds of Hungarians earning well. Such news comes from a source contrary to Hungarian interests, and some newspapers unwittingly use them. I do not understand, by the way, that there is a newspaper that reports such malicious news that unilaterally judges the excellent relationship between the two nations and in some respects adversely affects, instead of asking here in the competent place, whether such rumor is true or not?”^[52]

The Hungarian press examined the emigration^[53] wave to Turkey and it also attracted the attention of the authorities.^[54] The Interior Minister ordered a wide-ranging investigation into the matter, monitoring the activities of agents luring emigration and arresting them if necessary.^[55]

The newspaper *Nemzeti Újság* also published a booklet entitled Hungarians who planned to travel to Asia Minor included information on emigration. To quote a few:

“You have to learn Turkish. The main and most urgent task is to create a realistic basis for the relationship. The realistic basis is essential for a direct spiritual connection between the two nations. No one with a Western language should go to Turkey. The soul of the Turkish man can only really be reached by the Turkish language.”

“Turkey is not a charity. Before someone travel to Turkey, it is necessary to agree exactly with the relevant authority or company on all the details. One of the biggest curses of Turkey is the Levante merchant spirit, which is rude and

[49] *Nemzeti Újság*, 1923c.

[50] *Dunántúl*, 1926.

[51] *Népszava*, 1923c.

[52] *8 Órai Újság*, 1925.

[53] *Népszava*, 1925c.

[54] *Népszava*, 1923d.

[55] *Népszava*, 1923e.

unreliable. Hungarians therefore, should not seek contact with Greeks, Armenians, or similar Levantines; on the contrary, beware of this as of fire. Work and struggle await the Hungarians. However, it is unnecessary to explain further. Love of work and kindness! Hungarians take this to Anatolia.”^[56]

By 1934, passport and employment restrictions had eased. On March 19, 1934, the Hungarian government entered into an agreement with the Turkish government that skilled and well-qualified Hungarian workers could obtain a work permit from the Turkish Ministry of Economy.^[57] Under the new regulations, certain occupations in Turkey could only be pursued by Turkish nationals.^[58] Foreigners were not allowed to perform medical, veterinary, pharmaceutical, dental, engineering or architectural work in Turkey. The acquired rights were, of course held in disgrace. In addition, foreigners could not be printers, newsdealers, waiters, musicians, drivers, mechanics, pilots, helmsmen. Foreigners working in this field were obliged either to acquire Turkish citizenship within 6 months or if there are no legal possibilities to stop their work.^[59]

4. About economic relations in the Hungarian press

In the field of Turkish-Hungarian economic relations, in the 1920's we could read Hungarian reports mainly concerning the agricultural sector.

“The Turks bought breeding animals in larger quantities from Hungary. In addition, Hungarian specialists were contracted to manage the unused Turkish state estates. The Turkish statesmen thanked the Minister of Agriculture for the support of the Hungarian government.”^[60]

According to the Consulate General of the Republic of Turkey in Budapest, a new export system to Turkey was introduced on December 1, 1924. According to this after each good, product or animal the seller were required to present a certificate of origin to the Turkish customs authorities. The certificate could be obtained from Chambers of Commerce or other official authorities. Those who were unable to present such a certificate were required to pay a guarantee fee of between 15 and 100 pounds to the Turkish customs administration.^[61]

There was also published a report on the relocation of machine factories. Minister of Trade Lajos Walko and Mehmed Hamid Bey held a discussion at the Budapest International Fair at a tea party. The meeting was attended by Fülöp Wimmersperg Secretary of State, Jenő Fodor Secretary of State for Trade and Ist-

[56] *Nemzeti Ujság*, 1923d.

[57] *Szabadság*, 1934.

[58] *Budapesti Elcilig*, No 13754.

[59] *Szegedi Friss Ujság*, 1924.

[60] *Nemzeti Ujság*, 1924.

[61] *Esti Kurir*, 1924d.

ván Torday Ministerial Adviser. The Turkish Ambassador offered those Hungarian machine factories that could not survive in Hungary to relocate to Turkey and the Turkish government is willing to take them over. Turning to the details, he explained that Turkey would primarily like to relocate factories whose products are used for agricultural cultivation, such as plows and similar ironworks, as well as machinery for agricultural processing, such as a dairy plant.^[62]

In addition to mechanical engineering, hat manufacturing had also proven to be a promising investment. In the field of Turkish-Hungarian economic relations, the sensationalist *Esti Kurir* published the following article: Budapest will control Eastern fashion... "If the guild system existed and it would be customary for individual guilds to choose a patron saint, fashion professions would be more suitable and we could not find a more worthy patron saint than Kemal Pasha. This bold statement is not of Hungarian origin, it was invented by the big fashion stores in Paris, because even the greatest conquests of French colonial policy did not allow their clothing industry to sell all its stock as completely as it does today, when Kemal Pasha's new laws are banned not only men from wearing fez, but even women were released so that there is no more harem, no polygamy, but there is eton hairstyle, 'bush jumping' skirt, hat and silk stockings."^[63] The Hungarian fashion industries saw the opportunity in Kamâl's new laws, and were preparing to offer the best to conquer the market with honest ambition. To this end, some companies had also set up branches in Constantinople and other hubs in Turkey. - writes newspaper *Kurir*.

Of course, after such news, the plan^[64] of the Budapest International Fair was welcomed,^[65] as a fashion industry group^[66] was also organized within the framework of the fair, which was strongly visited^[67] by the buyers of the eastern states. In connection with the International Fair held in May 1931, the report of the *Előrs* newspaper drew attention to the shortcomings of the event's plans. In their opinion the fair completely devoid the character of internationality, as no other nation had a separate pavilion outside than Yugoslavia and Turkey.^[68]

However, our fashion-dictating intoxicating joy did not last long... According to the article entitled "*The Compromise Novel from Goose Fat to Kemal Pasha*", Count Imre Andrassy and the Hungária Hat Factory (Hungária Kalapgyár) lost billions on the fact that the Turks did not want to wear hats even after Kamâl 's Hat Law. When Kamâl Pasha issued his famous Hat Law, in which he forbade the Turks from wearing fez and required them to wear hats, the Hungária Hat Factory immediately exported \$ 20,000 worth of hats to Turkey. However the \$ 20,000 business resulted a \$11,000 loss as only nine thousand dollars worth of hats were

[62] *Az Est*, 1926e.

[63] *Esti Kurir*, 1926b.

[64] *Cumhuriyet*, 1931a.

[65] *Szabadság*, 1937.

[66] *Cumhuriyet*, 1931b.

[67] *Cumhuriyet*, 1931c.

[68] *Előrs*, 1931.

sold. The Turks did not accept the laws of Kamâl Pasha and did not buy the hats of the Hungária Hat Factory. Following this, the auditor's report recalls that the Hungária Hat Factory was convicted of a 28,000 pengo customs violation, which is "likely to be paid".^[69]

There were also reports of Turkish coal imports.^[70] The first Turkish ship ran into the Óbuda gas plant, bringing a first-class Anatolian anthracite shipment to Budapest on the Danube. „A huge national economic benefit would also come from the idea that Turkish coal would be mined by hundreds of Hungarian workers under the leadership of Hungarian engineers and transported from Turkey to Budapest by Hungarian ships.”^[71] Unfortunately, the latter did not materialize. Instead, there have been reports that the capital's gas plant from Turkey will cover its gas coal needs.^[72]

Incidentally economic cooperation was the most common and expedient way of convergence. Hungary needed coal, cotton and other goods that Turkey could supply.^[73] Turkey, on the other hand, was in great need of intellectuals, professionals,^[74] textiles, agricultural machinery and other products produced by Hungarian industry in excellent quality.

5. Conclusion

The first Hungarian-Turkish Friendship Treaty concluded between Hungary and the young Turkish Republic on December 18, 1923 was not without precedent. From both the Turkish and Hungarian point of view, the First World War and the Peace Treaties brought far-reaching changes. The rapprochement of the two countries was important in several respects in the current foreign policy situation, as Turkey was trying to find its future allies at that time, and Hungary could also help in this in the hostile atmosphere in Central and Eastern Europe. The government has paid particular attention to the international peace pacts. The Turkish-Hungarian Friendship Treaty concluded on December 18, 1923 was the first friendship treaty concluded for Hungary after the war as a sovereign state. Mustafa Kemal was the first to sign an international agreement on behalf of the Republic of Turkey. Turkish-Hungarian relations gradually developed from the 1920s onwards, and the Hungarian position on the Mosul issue also strengthened relations.

Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Hungary deteriorated by the 1930's as Turkey moved closer to the French, in an Italian-French fight for Balkan rule.

[69] Esti Kurir, 1928.

[70] Az Est, 1930d.

[71] Esti Kurir, 1931.

[72] Függetlenség, 1933a.

[73] Függetlenség, 1933b.

[74] Szózat, 1924.

The reason of the estrangement of the two countries in 1934 was the fact that Turkey moved away from Italy, which had friendly relations with Hungary, and especially to the fact that it had got much closer relationship with two small countries, Yugoslavia and Romania.

Turkey wanted to stay away from conflict at all costs and focus only on its own peaceful development, so it developed a permanent and consistent foreign policy. Hungary could not count on the support of the Turks on the issue of revision, but this was completely understandable from their point of view, as their interest was to maintain peace in the Balkans.

Although in 1934 the condemnation of the revision was discussed in Turkey with considerable openness, it was 1936 when the Hungarian revisionist aspirations were openly condemned. 1938 was a decisive year in the relations between the two countries. Turkey surprisingly supported our demands against the Czechs and also congratulated the Vienna decision. At the end of the year, however, Turkey and Hungary were also mourned when Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey deceased.

The relationship between Turkey and Hungary proved to be extremely multifaceted during the Atatürk era. Despite the fact that our diplomatic relations proved to be quite undulating, we had successes in the field of economic cooperation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1927. évi XXVI. törvénycikk a Törökországgal 1926. évi december hó 20-án Angorában kötött kereskedelmi egyezmény becikkelyezéséről / Law No. 26 of 1927 on the implementation of the Trade Agreement concluded with Turkey in Angora on 20 December 1926. (The date of downloading: 12.13. 2019.).
- 85/2015. (IV. 9.) Korm. rendelet a Magyarország és a Török Köztársaság közötti barátsági és együttműködési szerződés kihirdetéséről [Government Decree on the promulgation of the Friendship and Cooperation Agreement between Hungary and the Republic of Turkey].
- A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 137.898/1924. B. M. számú körrendelete. A Törökországba és Görögországba szóló útlevélek kiállítása [Hungarian Royal Decree of the Minister of the Interior 137.898/1924. Circular Decree Issuance of Passports to Turkey and Greece]. In: *Belügyi Közlöny*. No. 45. sz. (1155).
- A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 185.698/1926. B. M. számú körrendelete. Magyar munkásoknak Törökországban és Bulgáriában való elhelyezkedése [Hungarian Royal Decree 185.698/1926 Employment of Hungarian workers in Turkey and Bulgaria]; In: *Belügyi Közlöny*. No. 32. (1344).
- A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 137.184/1928, B. M. számú körrendelete. Törökországba irányuló kivándorlás [Hungarian Royal Decree 137.184/1928 of the Minister of the Interior, Emigration to Turkey]. In: *Belügyi Közlöny*. No. 42. (1545).
- Balázs Judit (1983): Az állam szerepe Kemal Atatürk gazdaságpolitikájában. In: *Világtörténet*. 1983/2. sz.

- Barlas, Dilek (1998): *Etatism and Diplomacy in Turkey. Economic and Foreign Policy Strategies in an Uncertain World, 1929-1939*. Brill, Leiden, New York, 1998.
- Bozdog, Ismet (2002): *Universal dimensions of Atatürk. Publications of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture, Directorate of Publications*. Republic Library Series.
- Henning, Wilhelm (1997): Az 1929. évi világgazdasági válság oka és hatása az ipari, továbbá a mezőgazdasági orientációjú országokra. In: *Agrártörténeti szemle*. 1-2. sz.
- Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Külügyminisztériumi Repertórium, Elnöki Osztály 1/S referátumának iratai [Hungarian National Archives National Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Repertoire, Presidential Department 1 / S Papers] 1927-I/7, 2490/kig. 1927, February 1.
- Robinson, Richard D. (1963): *The First Turkish Republic: a Case Study in National Development*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Saygin, Hasan – Çimen, Murat (2013): *Turkish Economic Policies and External Dependency*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Shaw, J. Stanford – Shaw, Ezel Kural (1977): *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Singer, Morris (1983): Atatürk's Economic Legacy. In: *Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. 19, No. 3, July.
- Takim, Abdullah – Yilmaz, Ensar (April 2010): Economic Policy during Atatürk's era in Turkey (1923-1938). In: *African Journal of Business Management*. Vol. 4(4). (Available at: <http://debis.deu.edu.tr/userweb//sedef.akgungor/SOTE/Early%20years.pdf>. Downloaded: 12.13.2020).
- www.jogtar.hu, 2020 (Downloaded: 2020.01.12.).

ARTICLES

- 1 millió korona kell a Törökországba való kivándorláshoz. In: *Nemzeti Ujság (1923b)*. 1923, August 29.
- A belügyminiszter szigorú rendelettel szabályozza a Franciaországba, Törökországba és Bulgáriába való magyar kivándorlást. In: *Esti Kurir (1926a)*. 1926, July 30.
- A kormány és a kivándorlás. In: *Népszava (1925c)*. 1925, May 1.
- A külföldiek megélhetését lehetetlenné teszik Törökországban. In: *Szegedi Friss Újság (1932)*. 1932, January 8.
- A magyar kivándorlók nyomorognak Törökországban. In: *Az Est (1923b)*. 1923, September 5.
- A magyar munkások törökországi kivándorlása. In: *Népszava (1923c)*. 1923, August 29.
- A magyar-török kereskedelmi szerződés. In: *Népszava (1930c)*. 1930, May 24.
- A miniszterelnök ankarai útjától török és bolgár gazdasági kapcsolataink kimélyülését remélhetjük. In: *Függetlenség (1933b)*. 1933, October 21.
- A török főkonzulátus vezetője a kisázsiai magyar telepekről. In: *Nemzeti Ujság (1923a)*. 1923, July 29.
- A török gazdasági élet. In: *Dunántúl (1925)*. 1925, March 8.
- A török kormány szívesen látná a magyar gépgyárak áttelepedését Törökországba. In: *Az Est (1926e)*. 1926, April 24.
- A török-magyar kereskedelmi szerződést aláírták. In: *Friss Újság (1933)*. 1933, August 2.
- A törökök új gazdasági programja. In: *Szegedi Híradó (1923)*. 1923, March 6.
- A Törökországban letelepedett magyar állampolgárok jogviszonyának rendezése. In: *Népszava (1926a)*. 1926, April 16.

- A Törökországban munkát vállalni szándékozók figyelmébe. In: *Népszava* (1930e). 1930, Szeptember 11.
- A törökországi kivándorlásról. In: *Szózat* (1923a). 1923, August 31.
- Adanából vissza Pécsre. Zsivanovits Béla volt török gazdasági tanácsos itthon. A kinn élő magyarok szomorú sorsa. In: *Dunántúl* (1925a). 1925, October 13.
- Andrássy Imre gróf milliárdokat veszített azon, hogy a törökök Kemal kalaptörvénye óta sem igen akarnak kalapot hordani. In: *Esti Kurir* (1928). 1928, April 8.
- Angol hír 800 magyar munkás tragikus sorsáról Törökországban. In: *Az Est* (1926c). 1926, October 20.
- Az angorai török-magyar tárgyalások. In: *Az Est* (1925a). 1925, August 6.
- Az angorai török-magyar tárgyalások. In: *Népszava* (1925a). 1925, August 6.
- Betiltották a törökországi kivándorlást. In: *Népszava* (1923d). 1923, Szeptember 20.
- Budapest fogja irányítani a keleti divatot. In: *Esti Kurir* (1926b). 1926, March 14.
- Budapeste Elciligi. No 13754. H.N 123. March 31. 1935. „Magyarország” cikk. A magyar szakemberek a jövőben Törökországban dolgozhatnak. In: *Külgügyminiszteri találkozó* (1935).
- Budapeste sergisi ve tüccarumiz. A Budapesti Nemzetközi Vásár. In: *Cumhuriyet* (1931a). 1931, March 3.
- Budapeste Sergisime. Istirak ediyoruz. Budapesti kiállítás. In: *Cumhuriyet* (1931b). 1931, February 15.
- Éhező, gründoló, sikkasztó magyarok Törökországban. A csataldzsi határőrség lecsukja a gyalogosan hazaindulókat. In: *Az Est* (1926a). 1926, June 12.
- Földet osztanak a törökök. In: *Dunántúl* (1926). 1926, March 7.
- Harmincezer magyar munkást csábítottak Törökországba. In: *Nemzeti Ujság* (1923c). 1923, Szeptember 6.
- Hazajött s elmesélte viszontagságait, az ott élő magyarok életét. „Kapart, tarlóra talál ma már a külföldre vándorló magyar munkás...” A kecskeméti varróleány regényes házassága Perzsiában. In: *Kecskeméti Közlöny* (1936). 1936, February 8.
- Hüsrev bej budapesti követ megcáfolja a háborús híreszteléseket és nyilatkozik a török-magyar gazdasági kapcsolatokról. In: *8 Órai Ujság* (1925). 1925, October 9.
- Ideiglenes kereskedelmi megegyezés Törökországgal. In: *Népszava* (1930b). 1930, March 21.
- Iktisadi mehafide. Yerli oyuncakcilar bir fabrika acacaklar. Budapesten leszünk. In: *Cumhuriyet* (1931c). 1931, March 3.
- Kecskeméti szakembereket keresnek Törökország gazdasági megszervezésére 1924. In: *Kecskeméti Közlöny* (1924). 1924, Szeptember 4.
- Kereskedelmi szerződéseink Kelettel, Déllel. In: *Az Est* (1930a). 1930, June 18.
- Készül Budapest nagy idegenforgalmi eseménye: a Nemzetközi Vásár. In: *Szabadság* (1937). 1937, March 18.
- Két-három magyart temetnek hetenkint Angorában. Magyarok építenek vasutat Elő-Azsia pusztáin! Pécsi mérnök mérte fel Kemál pasa földjét. In: *Pécsi Napló* (1926). 1926, October 4.
- Kisázsiai magyar telepek. In: *Az Est* (1923a). 1923, August 5.
- Letelepdedési és Kereskedelmi Egyezmény Törökországgal. In: *Népszava* (1925b). 1925, December 22.
- Magyar munkások üldözése Törökországban - magyar följelentésre. In: *Népszava* (1929). 1929, April 11.
- Magyar világ Törökországban. Kemál basa kormánya tőlünk visz szakembereket Törökországba. A magyar értelmiség kultúrmissziója török földön. In: *Szózat* (1924a). 1924, May 17.

- Magyarok Kisásziában. In: *Nemzeti Újság (1923d)*. 1923, March 7.
- Magyarok Törökországban. In: *Friss Újság (1930)*. 1930, November 23.
- Megnehezítették a Törökországba szülő útlevelek kiadását. In: *Esti Kurir (1930)*. 1930, May 18.
- Munkakeresők ne utazzanak Törökországba. In: *Népszava (1930d)*. 1930, May 18.
- Nagyobb mennyiségű tenyészállatot vásároltak a törökök Magyarországon. In: *Nemzeti Ujság (1924)*. 1924, October 5.
- Nyomozás a törökországi kivándorlás ügyében. In: *Népszava (1923e)*. 1923, September 8.
- Pusztulnak a kivándorolt magyarok keleten. Egy magyar bányamérnöknek sikerült hazajönnie Angorából, a puszkagolyó és malária hazájából, ezrével nyomorognak Konstantinápolyban a magyarok, akiket fényes ígéretekkel csábítottak Törökországba – Az angorai tömegszállók – Kisásziából gyalog hazáig. In: *Esti Kurir (1925a)*. 1925, September 5.
- Rass Károly: Magyar tudományos intézetek a külföldön. In: *Magyar Kisebbség (1924)*. 1924, February.
- Séta a Budapesti Nemzetközi Vásáron. A rendezések hiányosságai. In: *Előrs (1931)*. 1931, January 3.
- Szakértők kellene Törökországnak. In: *Nemzeti Ujság (1925b)*. 1925, August 23.
- Szakképzett munkásokat nem utasítanak ki Törökországból. In: *Szabadság (1934)*. 1934, June 24.
- Szegediek Törökországban. In: *Szegedi Hétfői Rendkívüli Ujság (1925)*. 1925, February 16.
- Tilos a kivándorlás. In: *Népszava (1923a)*. 1923, September 30.
- Tizenkét tengeri hajósvállalatiaiat ingyen lógja hazahozni a kivándorlók arányának 10 százalékáig a hazakivánczó magyarokat. Törökországban több ezer teljesen lerongyolódott magyar kivándorló van – Szmirnából sok kivándorló már gyalog indul útnak, hogy hazajusson. In: *8 Órai Ujság (1926a)*. 1926, June 3.
- Török gazdaszok tanulmányútja Magyarországon. In: *Esti Kurir (1925b)*. 1925, July 8.
- Török gázszenet hozunk Budapestre. In: *Az Est (1930d)*. 1930, November 29.
- Török képviselő és gazdasági szakemberek látogatását várják májusban Budapestre. In: *Függetlenség (1934)*. 1934, February 2.
- Török lovakat vásárolnak Somogyban. In: *Az Est (1930e)*. 1930, August 28.
- Török szakbizottság Magyarországon. In: *Szegedi Friss Újság (1924)*. 1924, October 8.
- Török szénből magyar gáz. Anatóliában rendelt szenet a főváros. In: *Esti Kurir (1931)*. 1931, November 8.
- Törökország is kiutasítja a külföldieket. In: *Friss Újság (1933)*. 1933, March 22.
- Törökországba érvényes útlevelek kiállítása. In: *Belügyi Közlöny*. No. 9. Törökországban 2000 teljesen lerongyolódott építőmunkás várja hazaszállítását. In: *Népszava (1926b)*. 1926, June 3.
- Törökországban puskatussal fogadják a kivándorló magyar munkásokat. In: *Népszava (1923b)*. 1923, August 28.
- Törökországból fedezi a fővárosi gázgyár a gázszénszükségletét. In: *Függetlenség (1933a)*. 1933, April 22.
- Törökországból kitoloncolják a magyar kommunistákat. In: *Magyarország (1928)*. 1928, January 31.
- Új rend a Törökországba irányuló exportban. In: *Esti Kurir (1924d)*. 1924, December 11.
- Új rendeletekkel szabályozták a kivándorló magyar munkások útlevéllügyét. In: *Az Est (1926d)*. 1926, July 30.
- Vámforgalmi egyezmény Törökország és Magyarország között. In: *Az Est (1925b)*. 1925, August 29.
- Vándorlások török földön. In: *Szózat (1923b)*. 1923, September 2.

- Van-e magyar kivándorlási politika? In: *Szózat (1923c)*. 1923, September 5.
- Walko külügyminiszter Törökországban. In: *Népszava (1930a)*. 1930, March 2.
- Walko Lajos törökországi útjának eredményei. In: *Az Est (1930c)*. 1930, April 30.

UJ IDŐK SZERKESZTI
HERCZEG FERENC

XXXIX. évfolyam, 28. szám
Budapest, 1933 július 9



Szerkesztőség és kiadóhivatal:
Budapest, VI., Andrássy-út 16.
Telefon: Aut. 266-83. 245-09.

Negyedévre 6.00 pengő
Félévre 12.50 pengő
Egyes szám ára 50 fillér