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ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES AND THE RATIONALISATION OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

BY

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WITH AN
INTRODUCTION

BY

PROF. COUNT P. TELEKI AND PROF. Z. MAGYARY
AND WITH 56 MAPS

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ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES AND THE RATIONALISATION OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The rationalisation of public administration has been recognised as a general necessity postulated by the present era; the urgency of the necessity having been admitted since the Great War in all countries alike — not only by the defeated States, but by the victors and by the neutrals too.

The question embraces scientific problems too. These problems are being inquired into by scientific research institutes. The principal aim of these institutes is, however, a practical one, *viz.* to obtain the recognition of the postulates of scientific management in practice too in public administration, and — where they prove effectual — to provide for their application in the interests alike of the community generally and of the individual citizens. The roles played by the postulates of efficiency and economy in the organisation and working of the public administration are often far more subordinate than in economic life. Economic life has long been led by the postulate of efficiency to elaborate the scientific organisation of labour and to endeavour to solve the specific problems of organisation and administration originating from the development of undertakings on a large scale. To-day, however, the public administration has also come to recognise the importance of these postulates; and

the tendency towards a rationalisation of the public administration is an endeavour to enforce these postulates in the organisation and working of that administration.

Hungary too, having realised the great importance attaching to a rationalisation of the public administration, in January, 1931, took the first step towards effecting a rationalisation of the public administration by appointing a Government commissioner («Rationalisation commissioner») responsible to the Prime Minister, to whom all suggestions and proposals must be submitted direct. The Government commissioner is empowered to investigate at first hand the whole public administration of Hungary, inclusive of the autonomous administration of the counties, municipalities and towns, and of the State undertakings, to have statistical data collected, and to require the organs of that administration to supply all other information he may need, the result being that he is in a position to survey the whole complexus of the public administration of Hungary and to investigate the same in all its parts as a single unit. Seeing that he is entitled to be present in person at meetings of the Cabinet to put forward his suggestions and proposals, the Government commissioner is able to maintain that many-sided, lively contact with the public administration which is a *sine qua non* of the success of his work.

However, in Hungary too the pioneer work in this field had to be supported by the establishment of an institute of research equipped for the scientific investigation of the problems involved. This led to the foundation of the *Hungarian Institute of Public Administration*,¹ an institute attached to the Budapest Peter Pázmány University. The director of this institute is the Government commissioner for the rationalisation of the public administration, who is professor (ordinarius) of public law. Thus, Hungary has arrived at a solution adequately ensuring the inter-complemen-

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tary enforcement of the practical and scientific standpoints and by virtue of this combination furthering a prompter effectuation of the results obtained by the work of scientific research.

One of the questions upon which the Hungarian Public Administration Institute has concentrated is the problem of the territorial distribution of the public administration. The investigation of this question being in close connection with geography, the director of the Institute got into touch with *Count Paul Teleki*, professor of economic geography in the Faculty of Economics, who entrusted a distinguished member of his Department — *Gyula Hantos* — with the elaboration of the question on the basis of directions supplied by himself and by the Government commissioner. This is how the present work came to be written: it is being published in English too because so far the literature dealing with political geography has not devoted any particular attention to an investigation of administrative boundaries.

In order to render fully comprehensible the objects and method of the present work, we have thought it advisable to give a short sketch of the historical development of the organisation of the public administration of Hungary:

Hungary is one of those few States which, like Great Britain, have historical constitutions (not written, but based upon traditions). During a continuous existence for more than a thousand years in the same territory (the Danube basin) she always proved able to realise the partial reforms postulated by the particular era. Such a reform is the rationalisation of the public administration now in progress. If we would make the problem in question quite clear, we must take the reforms of 1848 as our starting-point.

The peculiarly Hungarian unit of public administration is the county, the origin of which may be traced as far back as the thirteenth century. It has always played a prominent part in Hungarian politics, — in particular since the accession to the Hungarian throne, in 1526, of the House of Habsburg.

This year (1526) marks the beginning of that policy of Germanisation and centralisation pursued by the Habsburg dynasty against which their extensive autonomy enabled the counties to struggle energetically and vigorously as the foremost champions and bulwarks of the Hungarian constitution and of the national independence of Hungary.

Until 1848 the county was the general organ of the public administration of Hungary.

In that year (1848) the division of the nation into Estates was replaced in the Constitution by a parliamentary system. Previously the central organs of government had been responsible to the Sovereign only ; the reforms of 1848 included the establishment of the principle whereby Government was to be responsible both to the Sovereign and to Parliament. The Cabinet comprised eight Ministers under the presidency of a Prime Minister. Each Member of the Cabinet was made responsible in person for all acts performed in his official capacity. This provision of the law was carried into effect in practice by each Minister assuming direct responsibility for all matters pertaining to his Department to both King and Parliament. The role of the Prime Minister was confined to determining the general policy of the Government ; in other respects, however, he was only *primus inter pares*, not possessing any right of disposal in respect of matters belonging to the competence of the several Departments even in cases where such matters exceeded the competence of any one Department or actually concerned the whole administration. Matters of this nature had — and still have — to be submitted to the decision of the whole Cabinet. The materialisation of the new system was prevented, one year after its introduction, by the Austrian absolutism ruling in Hungary from 1848 to 1867 ; but the system has been in continuous force since the conclusion between Hungary and Austria, in 1867, of the so-called «Compromise» (Ausgleich) down to the present day — if we exclude the bolshevik experiment of 1919, which however only lasted five months.

The extension of the sphere of activity of the public administration to economic, social and cultural matters began, as is generally known, in the decades immediately preceding 1848 ; but it was not until after 1867 that this development made any considerable headway. The chief manifestation of this development after 1867 consisted in the State undertaking those activities previously neglected by the public administration which had not yet been recognised as being the duties of that administration or which had previously been to a certain extent performed by the counties but now required further extension. For this purpose the State created separate departments ; the result being that the general competence in matters of public administration possessed by the county prior to 1848 became gradually restricted. To express the process thus initiated in terms of political science, we may say that there was a decrease of decentralisation of competence accompanied by an extensive de-concentration.

The various Ministries endeavoured to create State organs of special administration subject only to their supervision ; the result being that to-day the whole country is full everywhere of parallel State and county organs differentiated in respect of competence and control. In the course of this development progress has been made in details only : the various branches of service (courts of law, gendarmerie, police, veterinary service, forestry, inland revenue service, school inspection, registrars' offices, etc.), the result being that only the problem of the particular detail was solved without the same being organically fitted into the entire organisation of the public administration. The consequences were unfavourable in two respects. On the one hand, each organ taken over by the State being subordinated direct and exclusively to a particular Ministry, the territorial competence of the same was appointed by that Ministry without regard for the territorial competence of other organs subordinated to other Ministries. This has led to the unfortunate situation at present in force according

to which there are no two branches of de-concentration dividing the country territorially in the same way. At present the lines of more than forty different administrative divisions intersect ; and there are many boroughs (parishes) the forums of second instance of which are located in 8—10 different towns.

The second disadvantage resulting from this development was the failure to secure the necessary contact and agreement between the various organs of de-concentration (all State organs) on the one hand and on the other between the provincial State organs and the counties, which have continued to be the organs of non-differentiated administration within their remaining spheres of competence.

The first of these disadvantages may be explained as the result of each Cabinet Minister as an independent authority having taken into consideration only the matters concerning his Department and of there being no organ suited to secure the agreement between the several Ministries, the Cabinet and Parliament — the only factors to be considered — having been unable to cope with these problems, which require long, careful and exhaustive investigation.

The second disadvantage may be explained as due to the taboo attached to the role played by the county in domestic politics, public opinion and Parliament alike supporting the fetich of the county with such sentimental perseverance that all Ministers were fain to content themselves with bringing certain branches of service under State control and, in order to avoid political complications, did not insist on specifying the exact relation between the new State organ and the county.

This is how there came into being the organisation of public administration. Without desiring to enter into any exhaustive discussion of this organisation, we would point out that the same offers many interesting problems in respect of the rationalisation of the public administration which are of importance from a scientific point of view.

The methods and postulates of the investigation relating to one of these problems — that of territorial distribution — have been explained in detail by the author of the following essay.

Budapest, August, 1932.

(Signed) *Count Paul Teleki*,
IV., Szerb-utca 23.

(Signed) *Zollán de Magyary*,
IV., Egyetem-tér 1.

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF HUNGARY

by

Gyula Hanlos

No scheme of rationalisation based upon mere rationalism can expect to achieve success. There must be no visualisation of some Utopia which it is desired to realise. On the contrary, every such scheme must take as its starting-point the reality which it desires to shape. All results of an organisatory character are diverted in the very moment of their production into the current of life and of causality. Though organisatory in respect of origin, every such result becomes organic, not from an anthropocentric, but from a more universal point of view — by the mere fact of *coming into existence*. And rationalism requires the aid of empiricism to enable us to be rational — not merely in theory, but in practical life too. There are problems in respect of which the political geographer engaged in an inquiry into life may also have his share in the activity of the organisatory codifier.

I.

The first thing needed in a treatment of the malady affecting public administration is a diagnosis. The following series of maps will serve as so many x-ray photos, showing

where the trouble lies. All the text has to do is simply to explain the maps. Maps Nos. 1a, 1b, 2a—2b, 3, 4a—4c, 5a, 5b, 6, 7, 8, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b and 12—19 show the present territorial distribution of our public administration in the several branches of business. The first thing shown by these maps is that the various distributions are quite out of proportion — in every sense of the term. We find small and large territories — territories with small and large populations respectively — side by side. The centres (headquarters of districts) are in many cases extremely difficult of access and can be reached only by circuitous journeys; territories quite adjacent to them are not in their spheres of control, while others lying on the remote outskirts are included within their jurisdiction. The various distributions have been made quite independently of one another and without regard for one another: there is no trace of any uniformity even where such might easily be expected. For instance, there are eight distributions where the country is divided into five districts; but each of the eight distributions differs from all the others. The choice of centres (headquarters) displays a whimsical multifariousness.

There are cases, for example, where the forums of second instance in one and the same territory are situated in 8—9 different places (in the various branches of administration), — as may be seen from map No. 32, where the colours mark the number of the respective authorities of second instance (appeal). (Here, as in map No. XXXII, I have dealt with the material which according to the scheme drafted by me is to be subjected to reform.)

When we attempt to discover which are the stronger and more frequent boundaries, endeavouring to depict the frequency of the same by the thickness of the lines (see map No. 31), we are faced by utter chaos; there are no fully developed territories separated by main lines. The most we are able to ascertain at all is that the counties intersected by the Trianon frontier are now amalgamated parallel to that fron-



tier and form larger joint units (Győr, Moson and Sopron + Komárom and Esztergom; Csongrád + Csanád, Arad and Torontál + Békés; Szatmár, Bereg and Ugocsa + Szabolcs and Ung + Hajdú + Bihar Counties). On the other hand, the central counties (in particular Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok County) are enclosed by a thick line; for even the most central county is so close to the frontier that the units flanking the frontier here and there still incorporate the same, the result being that there comes into being a delimitation towards the further side.

It is indeed true that this is due partly also to the fact that owing to the lack of any systematic adjustment the centre of gravity of this big and beautiful county is divided between the rival cities Budapest, Debrecen and Szeged. The extremely articulated County of Zala, situated as it is in a remote corner, is in an even worse position. The Trans-Danubian district has no capital, though there are numerous claimants to that title — Székesfehérvár, Győr, Sopron, Szombathely, Kaposvár, Pécs. Neither of these towns is able to assume the hegemony; but all the counties lying in between — Komárom, Veszprém, Zala, and particularly the latter — have to pay the penalty of the unceasing struggle; being divided against themselves in respect of competency: and in the Balatonfüred hundred (rape) the disintegration is so extensive that we have not pronouns or adverbs enough to enable us to mark off the distinctions. (See Map. No. 32. Maps Nos. 31 and XXXI embrace everything apart from the distributions depicted in maps Nos. 17 and 19.) It would be an extremely difficult matter to find any excuse for this administrative chaos with its inconvenient circumstantiality and its expensive character.

Every innovation should begin with the lowest units. But, whereas no reform of the territorial distribution of the parishes, hundreds (rapes) and counties can be effected except after enormous preparatory study — such reform postulating a proper examination of the importance of every traditional

factor and a careful ascertaining of the existence or cessation respectively of all the causes which brought those factors into being or merely justify their existence (and in the case of these ancient organs with universal spheres of jurisdiction there is a very extensive complex of causes and interests) —, on the other hand, the problem is a much simpler one — and allows of a more rapid solution — in the case of the larger units, which are also relatively recent in origin. Particularly in view of the fact that their being of recent origin means also that they are far less natural necessities than the creations of human conception and are therefore more changeable in character.

In the political geography literature hitherto published we find scarcely any precedents for an investigation of inland (administrative) boundaries. As so often the case, here too political geography is rather diplomatic than merely political, being concerned rather with international than with general political boundaries. These investigations are of no use from the standpoint of inland boundaries; for they deal with customs frontiers and strategic lines of defence; whereas in the case of administrative boundaries they have been of importance at most in connection with organically developed autonomous units — and there too only in the days prior to State centralisation and that capitalism which is fatal to local autarchies. Therefore, the function exercised by boundaries is quite different in either case; the term involves two quite different conceptions.

After investigating the administrative boundaries and in connection therewith the territories thereby demarcated, in making our representations we have had to consider the following points:

1. a levelling of the degree of intensity of the administration — *i. e.* an endeavour to prevent the number of persons administered, and the territory inhabited by them, being either too large or too small, and to provide for number and territory being in proportion to one another;

2. a selection of centres (headquarters) or an adjustment to given centres of their territory of a character providing for the easiest possible access to those centres under the given conditions of transit ;

3. an endeavour to provide that the several territories should as far as possible not be subordinated in the several branches of business to different centres, — *i. e.* that on the one hand all those branches of business the requirements of which involve the distribution of the country into a certain number of districts should be distributed in a similar manner, but that on the other hand every distribution containing one district more in number should be created by the sharing of one of the districts of the distribution containing one less in number, every distribution containing one less in number being brought into being by the contraction of two districts belonging to a distribution containing a larger number, the result being that all distributions — from the smallest to the largest in number — shall appear as it were dovetailed into one another ; for that renders possible the most systematic simplicity ;

4. the position of Budapest. Budapest must on the one hand be as far as possible relieved of the enormous accumulation of business concentrating there, even at the cost of curtailing its boundaries ; by doing so we shall also serve to promote the conception of de-centralisation and at the same time to further the development of that type of town (or — perhaps more correctly — gradation of size) represented by Leipsic, Dresden, Lyon which is unfortunately, and disastrously, lacking in Hungary, where in respect of population there is a horrible gulf fixed between the two extremes of 135,000 and 1,000,000. This decentralisation cannot prove to the advantage of all provincial towns alike — if only under the preceding point ; it will prove beneficial only to a few. To favour all alike would involve a depreciation of the value of such favour. Only those towns can be taken into account in this respect which occupy places of eminence already by their present position, as also by their remoteness from the

Capital and other important centres, which involves a certain measure of independence, by the size of the circuits indisputably belonging to their spheres of jurisdiction, and by the energetic character of their position in respect of transit ;

5. We have left untouched and have accepted as a constant quantity the distribution of counties, a complex of boundaries not yet subjected to any thorough investigation. In many cases this has involved a compromise for the sake of preserving the integrity of the county.

II.

Maps Nos. 20—23 show in relation to the centres there marked (to all appearing as such in the preceding maps) that territory starting from which not earlier than 4 a. m. and spending 3 hours during official hours in the respective centre we can reach home again by 2 p. m. (calculations include railway and motor buses, and, where necessary, walking). This is then the half-day circuit.

Apart from the circumstances resulting from the particular settlement and reflecting the character of the surroundings, the picture here given may be influenced by timetable contingencies or the arbitrariness of the method adopted. But time-tables are active realities ; and *some kind of* method has to be adopted. And the position of the respective towns is very aptly characterised by the fine, many-branches star of Debrecen, the polyps of Győr and Komárom clinging to the Danube line, the elongated arms by which Miskolc, Szeged, Nagykanizsa, Sátoraljaújhely, Nyíregyháza, Szolnok, Szombathely, Magyaróvár and Gödöllő point the way to or from Budapest respectively, the little spurs of Salgótarján, Gyöngyös and Eger, the feebly diminutive stars of Kaposvár and Baja, etc., etc.

If we copy all these figures on one map (Map No. 24) and inquire how many centres are accessible as above from every

territory (see scale of colours), we obtain a certain idea of the degree to which the administration of present-day Hungary is backward — the neglected character of that administration being veritably shocking to the south of the Budapest—Nagykanizsa line. We get an interesting view also of the obstructive character of the winding Tisza, with its inundation areas; apart from a few places crossing its course, the river will be found keeping at a distance, not only roads, but towns too. Maybe the Hungarian towns lying on the fringe of the Lowlands owed their origin, not only to the trade in goods between the several regions (to the so-called *girdle of markets*), but also to the handicap latent in the negative advantage of being outside the inundation area of the Tisza. This idea would seem to be confirmed by the case of Debrecen (which has from time immemorial borne the character of a town) and of several other boroughs situate at a distance from the *girdle of markets*. Places of particular importance in respect of transit — *e. g.* Celldömölk and Orosháza — throw themselves into relief on this map, even though not taken independently into account.

Maps Nos. 25—28 show the whole-day circuit in relation to a few centres; that meaning that the time of return to the starting-point has shifted to 12 midnight. The enormous advantage enjoyed by Budapest is here thrown fully into relief. We must not of course forget that Budapest is the authority of third instance for all territories alike. The area of jurisdiction of Pécs, on the other hand, is extremely small. Now, when we combine these four maps too (see Map No. 29), we see the centres which are accessible from the several territories in a day. From territories marked only with one colour, only that particular centre can be reached in that time; from territories marked with lines of various colours all those centres are accessible whose colours are represented in the colouring of the motley spots. Thus, we see that Budapest and environs belong to the circuit, not only of the Capital, but also of Győr, Miskolc and Szeged; whereas the southern part of Fejér County and the greater part of Tolna County (the

latter far nearer to Pécs), together with a considerable section of Békés County (between Debrecen and Szeged), etc., belong exclusively to the circuit of Budapest. We see further that Győr and Miskolc have scarcely any territory not shared in common with some other centre — simply owing to the proximity of other centres. We see that Pécs is almost without a rival in its own small territory ; but we see the enormous black spots — *i. e.* territories from which not one of these seven centres can be reached and the return journey accomplished within 24 hours, — territories in Somogy County, on the banks of the Danube, in Békés County, and in the frontier territories (marches) on the east, where this fact too proves the gaps created by the loss of Szatmár, Nagyvárad and Arad.

All these things taken together show us the trend of transit, — showing also that this must not be regarded as the sole principle to be followed. The necessity of the principles adduced above is proved also by a consideration of the intolerable result that must ensue if we proceeded slavishly and solely according to the demands of transit. Map No. 30 shows the populations of the town and county municipalities recorded by the Census of 1930 ; these too displaying very considerable inequalities.

III.

In view of the above diagnosis the method of treatment must be attempted on the lines suggested above. The distributions depicted in Maps Nos. 12—19 could not for various reasons be reduced to the same denominator as the others ; consequently my proposal does not relate to these distributions, though, if required (or rather, where possible), it may — as we shall see — be at once extended also to these distributions and to any others that may subsequently arise.

In respect of the distribution of counties it would be possible, pending the definitive reform, to annex Komárom County to the joint County of Győr, Moson and Pozsony, and

Esztergom County to the County of Pest. Such a proceeding will be found justified by Maps Nos. 20 and 30. Map No. 30 also shows clearly the enormous disproportion involved by maintaining the County of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun in its present form. Should the division be effected by annexing to the southern county the County of Bács-Bodrog, which to-day (see Map No. 30) contains only a small population, that would not mean an increase of the counties. Neither Kecskemét nor Baja would be particularly suitable to act as the capital of such a county; perhaps Kiskunhalas would be more suitable for the purpose (see Maps Nos. 20, 21, and 22). Finally, the small Torna section of Abaúj-Torna County left to Hungary would be incorporated in the joint counties of Borsod, Gömör and Kishont, the larger section (see Map No. 30) being joined to Zemplén County. Sátoraljaújhely not suiting present-day Abaúj, and Szikszó not suiting present-day Zemplén, as capital (see Maps Nos. 21 and 22), perhaps it might be agreed to accept Szerencs, in order to avoid sacrificing a county for the sake of a town. As capital of Csongrád County Szentes should be replaced by Szeged, which is already in any case the headquarters of most of the offices. Otherwise there would be no changes. Consequently, there would be scarcely any changes in the distribution of counties as compared with the very considerable amalgamations effected under Act XXXV of 1923. There would be 23 counties, to which the school inspectorates and State building offices would be adjusted (see Maps Nos. 11a, 11b, and XI). In cases where Budapest is a separate unit (and this applies once for all), it would remain as such; it would not be taken into account in the number of distributions, seeing that in some cases it figures and in others does not figure among the distributions, so that its presence would only cause confusion.

Including Szatmár, Bereg and Ugocsa in Szabolcs County and Bihar in Hajdu County, we get 21 distributions in respect of the District Receiving Offices of the National Health Insurance Institute and of Public Revenue Offices (see Maps Nos.

10a, 10b, and X). If we annex Csanád, Arad and Torontál to Csongrád County, the Courts of Law will be distributed into 20 districts (see Maps Nos. 2a, and IX). By annexing Békés to the group previously mentioned, Veszprém to Győr County and Tolna to Baranya County, we get 17 districts into which to distribute the Chambers of Advocates (see Maps Nos. 8 and VIII). By joining Zala to Vas County, and uniting Nógrád, Hont, Heves, Borsod, Gömör and Kishont Counties, we shall have 13 districts to be distributed among the inspectors of industry (see Maps Nos. 7 and VII). Fejér County being joined to the northern half of Pest County, we get 12 districts for the control of motor vehicle traffic (see Maps Nos. 6 and VI). By joining Somogy to the counties of Baranya and Tolna, Sopron to the counties of Győr and Veszprém, the part of Bács-Bodrog annexed to the southern half of Pest County to Csongrád-Békés-Csanád County, and the counties of Abaúj, Zemplén, Szabolcs and Szatmár to the counties of Hajdu and Bihar, we get 8 districts to be distributed among the public labour exchanges and civil engineers' offices (see Maps Nos. 5a, 5b, and V). By annexing the county of Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok to Budapest division, as sketched above we get 7 districts to be distributed among the Honvéd brigade commands, the gendarmerie commands, and the chambers of commerce and industry (see Maps Nos. 4a, 4b, 4c, and IX). If Szombathely ceases to be a centre, its district being included in that of Győr, we get 6 districts to distribute among the forestry commissioners and forestry inspectorates (see Maps Nos. 3 and III). By joining the district of Miskolc to that of Budapest we get a distribution into 5 districts (see Maps Nos. 2a—2h, and II) — King's Bench Courts, District Inspectorates of Public Highways, District Post Offices, Veterinary Inspectorate Districts, Chambers of Notaries Public, Police Districts, Chief Inspectorates of Schools, Chambers of Agriculture. Finally, by depriving Pécs too of its role as district centre and incorporating its territory in that of Budapest, we get a distribution into 4 districts (see Maps Nos. 1a, 1b, and I) —

Public Health Inspectors, Chief Inspectorates of City Schools.

This system of distribution would undoubtedly possess advantages over that in force to-day in respect of uniformity and interdependence. Any category — or number — of other distributions can be fitted mechanically into this system at any subsequent date. The advantages latent in the proposed new system can be seen very clearly by a comparison of any single pair of maps. As compared with the chaos (state of things in force previously) displayed by Map No. 31 depicting the multiplicity of boundaries, Map No. XXXI (state of things proposed to be put into force) shows a relatively perfect order. The main districts can be distinguished clearly enough ; as can also the more detailed distribution effected within these main divisions. A comparison of Maps Nos. 32 and XXXII shows an enormous simplification of the appeal procedure. Whereas under the older system there were hundreds from which appeals under various heads had to be made in nine different directions (see Map No. 32), according to the draft scheme (see Map No. XXXII) there would remain only three counties on the outskirts from which appeals would have to be made to 4 different places ; appeals in general being made to only 3 — or even only 2 — different places. This distribution involves also considerable saving — 2 counties less fewer inspectorates of schools and State building offices), 1 Public Health Insurance receiving office less (the distribution of any branch offices required might be effected within the districts), 2 public revenue offices less, and 2 courts of law less.

IV.

Now, if we subject this distribution to an exhaustive investigation, we shall be able to ascertain the following facts :

The seven natural centres whose position in respect of transit we have illustrated in Maps Nos. 25—29, may divide

the country among themselves as shown in Map No. IV. This distribution, like all the others too, is the result of a compromise between the principles postulated above. This explains, for instance, our subordinating Tolna to Pécs in order to increase the otherwise insignificant district of that town. This — the most perfectly equivoiced — distribution is necessarily followed in both a downward and an upward direction by distributions of a more imperfect character, simply because the further development is based upon the requirement that it shall be effected either by the division of a district or by the amalgamation of several districts. This division into seven districts is itself to a certain extent a compromise. Certain sections of the counties of Abaúj-Torna and Zemplén (insignificant sections, it is true), which show only the colour of Miskolc (see Map No. 29), have been annexed to Debrecen, lest the district of Budapest, when in making the distributions smaller in number the district of Miskolc is joined to it, should become too large.

Going downwards, in the case of the division into 6 districts (see Map No. III), we have annexed the district of Szombathely to that of Győr, the latter town being retained as centre. To-day, in consequence of the enormous development of Szombathely, it is already a difficult matter to decide fairly concerning the respective claims of that town and Győr. Szombathely too has almost as many claims to the position of capital of this five-county territory. Győr would suit Veszprém; Szombathely is a more suitable capital for Zala County. But Győr is after all better fitted to play a more important role — if only for reasons of tradition and in order to effect as little a change as possible in the present situation.

Where the country has to be divided into five districts, we subordinate the Miskolc district to Budapest (see Map No. II). This is undoubtedly a mistake; but it is inevitable. For reasons of transit no further section can be taken away from either the Budapest district or from that of Miskolc, — at

least we cannot do so if we insist upon shifting counties as whole units only. I can hardly believe it possible to carry the work of de-centralisation so far as to subordinate territories in the immediate vicinity of Budapest to other centres, — simply in order to *prevent* their belonging to Budapest even at the cost of enormous transit difficulties. That is why I do not consider it feasible to de-centralise Budapest by making Gödöllő (see Map No. 3), Ujpest (see Map No. 8) or Kecskemét (see Map No. 2h) centres in various fields of public business of the immediate environs of Budapest, thereby subordinating the territory in question to four different centres of superior authorities (of appeal). This would mean, not a courageous and systematic relief of Budapest on a large scale, but merely a continuation of the pre-War policy of «treading on corns», which in the present case, though aimed at the Capital, would hit the provinces. In the distribution into five districts Borsod must be kept still subordinate to Budapest, in order to provide a suitable centre for the three counties made independent of Budapest in the case of the distribution into six and more districts. In any case the western section of Nógrád-Hont County is included in this district in defiance of its transit interests, simply for the sake of relieving Budapest, being subordinated to Miskolc in the distributions containing 6—13 districts. Nor can there be any question of annexing the Miskolc district to Debrecen or of joining the Debrecen district (by subordinating Debrecen to Miskolc) to that of Miskolc, — not only because of the want of proportion but also for reasons of transit (see Maps Nos. 25—29).

The division into four districts (see Map No. 1) compels us to strike out Pécs — as being, owing to its *general* position, the least important of the remaining centres, its circuit being also the smallest — and to annex its territory to that of Budapest. It is true that this refers only to two branches of public business which are not of the most important. It should be noted that operating with the circuit of Budapest in connection with both the distributions and the amalgamations is highly

advantageous, for thereby we save the territory in question a centre of appeal ; for Budapest is in any case unconditionally a centre of the kind for all territories alike (not to mention the preponderance of Budapest in respect of communications). Nevertheless, wherever such a proceeding was possible, we have endeavoured to de-centralise even *in defiance of this fact*.

Proceeding upwards from our starting-point, we find this the case with the division into eight districts (see Map No. V), where the County of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (which in any case is the second most populous county in the country) is made independent of Budapest.

In connection with the divisions into twelve and thirteen districts respectively (see Maps Nos. VI and VII), there is no need to motivate the separation of Somogy County or the division of the districts of Szeged and Debrecen. But the segregation of Sopron County and of the counties of Sopron and Fejér respectively, despite the relatively small size of their circuits and their comparatively small populations, does need some explanation. What has been done here, was done deliberately. Székesfehérvár is so near Budapest, which to-day is of enormous size, that it is quite unsuitable to serve as the independent centre of a territory larger in area than its own county. Sopron, besides being thrust back to an unfortunate position behind Lake Fertő, lies between two splendid centres (Győr and Szombathely), and is therefore evidently unsuitable to play the role of an important administrative centre. It is unable to compete with Győr on the east or with Szombathely to the south, and could not play any important part in those regions except at the cost of their extinction. However, what follows herefrom is, not only that Székesfehérvár and Sopron have no claims to continue to act as the centres of large districts, but also that we should endeavour to offer them some compensation therefore ; as Maps Nos. VI and VII show is our intention. It goes without saying that their present unsuitability to act as administrative centres must not affect their character and suitability as economic and cultural

centres ; it is here that these towns with a distinguished past must find compensation and their true vocation. (Even the apparently common position in respect of transit possesses a different significance administratively, in which respect the important item is passenger traffic, from that which attaches to it economically, in which respect the important item is goods traffic). Hódmezővásárhely is just as unsuitable to act as centre beside Szeged as Székesfehérvár is beside Budapest.

The most important principle underlying the further differentiation is that the first-class provincial centres should be the last to be deprived of the adjoining counties : that being a further means of alimending those centres (see Maps Nos. VIII—XI). The dominance of the postulates of uniformity and simplification has at times made it imperative to take measures not approvable in principle. Here and there the place of a larger district has been taken by a smaller one simply to avoid changing the boundary in force in all distributions alike (*e. g.* the boundary between Budapest and Debrecen). (This is most conspicuous in Maps Nos. 8 and VIII., where I have made two districts out of the previously united Borsod-Gömör-Kishont and Abaúj-Torna-Zemplén respectively ; though it is true that this additional district is economised elsewhere.) But I have made no effort to avoid less important mistakes where the advantages gained thereby are all the greater.

V.

Any other eventual amalgamations could also be effected on the basis of the rationalisation proposal elaborated above. As things at present stand, for instance, — as already stated —, there are eight different distributions of the country into five districts ; but in each of the eight cases the distribution is a different one. The above proposal aims at eliminating within the several distributions this multifariousness, which is injurious to both the public and the administration and involves

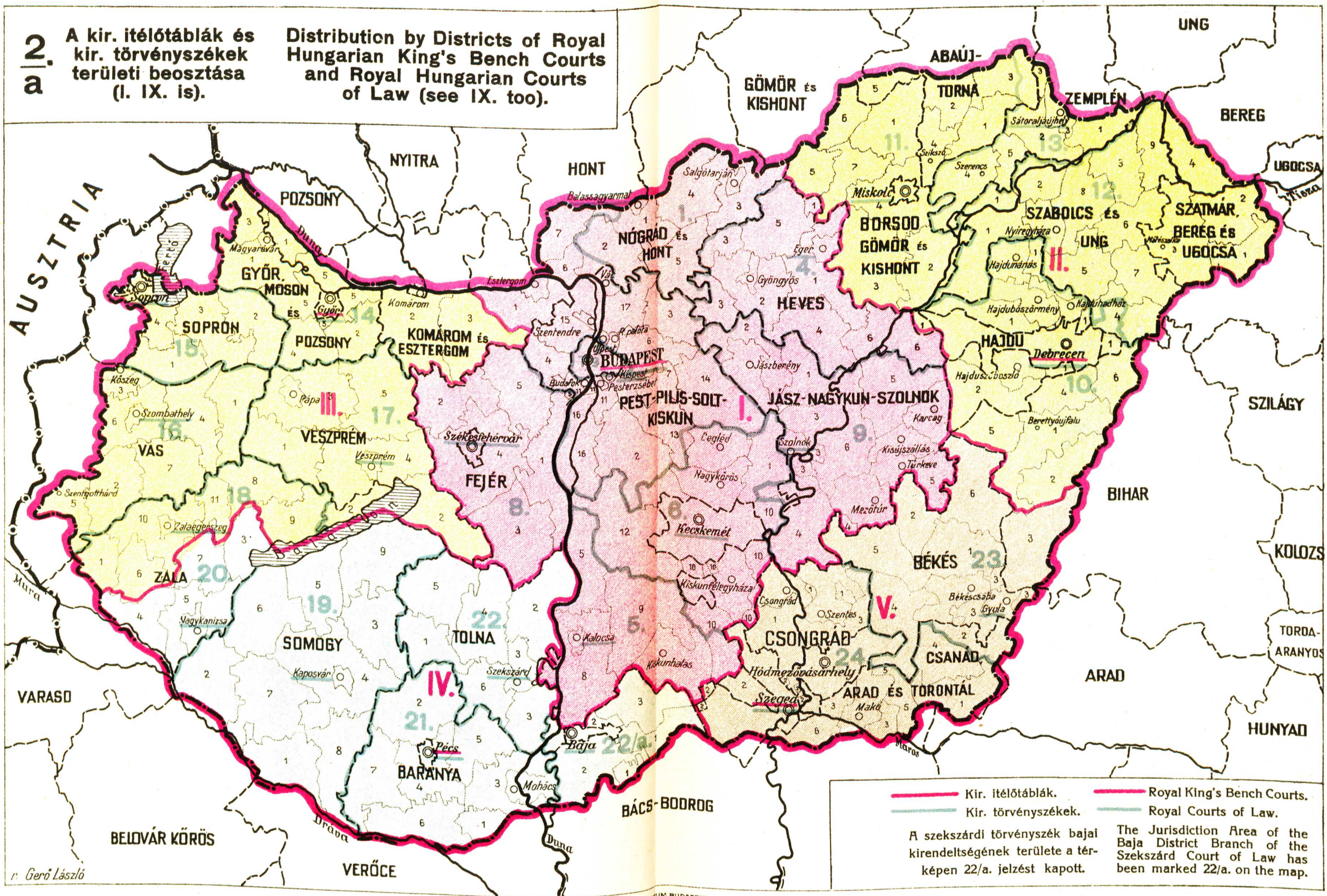
both alike in expense, and at showing which distribution is the most suitable in the event of the division of the country into five districts. The proposal does the same also in respect of the other variants to be found in the present-day distribution ; dealing with a division of the territory of the country into 21, 20, 17, 13, 12, 8, 7, 6 or 4 districts respectively : for a very great measure of simplification may be attained merely by providing for there being no deviations within any particular distribution. But this does not exhaust the possibilities of effective simplification. The number of variants may also be reduced. The division into twelve districts, for instance applies only to motor vehicle traffic. Now, these motor vehicle districts were only established last year ; it would be an easy matter, therefore, to employ for their purposes one or other of the previously existing distributions (into districts) and thereby to avoid increasing the number of variants. And further reforms of organisation must likewise endeavour to avoid increasing the number of variants ; efforts must be made to realise those reforms by a simplification of the organisation previously in existence. There is a talk, for instance, of making the number of King's Bench Courts one less. Thereby this branch of the judicature would pass from the division into five districts into that into four districts ; though it is important that no new variant should be established within the latter division.

Hitherto every branch of the administration has fixed its own territorial distribution without regard for the others. In this respect the rationalisation of the public administration postulates as a *sine qua non* that the fixing of the inland political boundaries shall be effected by a consensus of all parties concerned and on the basis of uniform principles.

2/a

A kir. ítélőtáblák és kir. törvényszékek területi beosztása (I. IX. is).

Distribution by Districts of Royal Hungarian King's Bench Courts and Royal Hungarian Courts of Law (see IX. too).



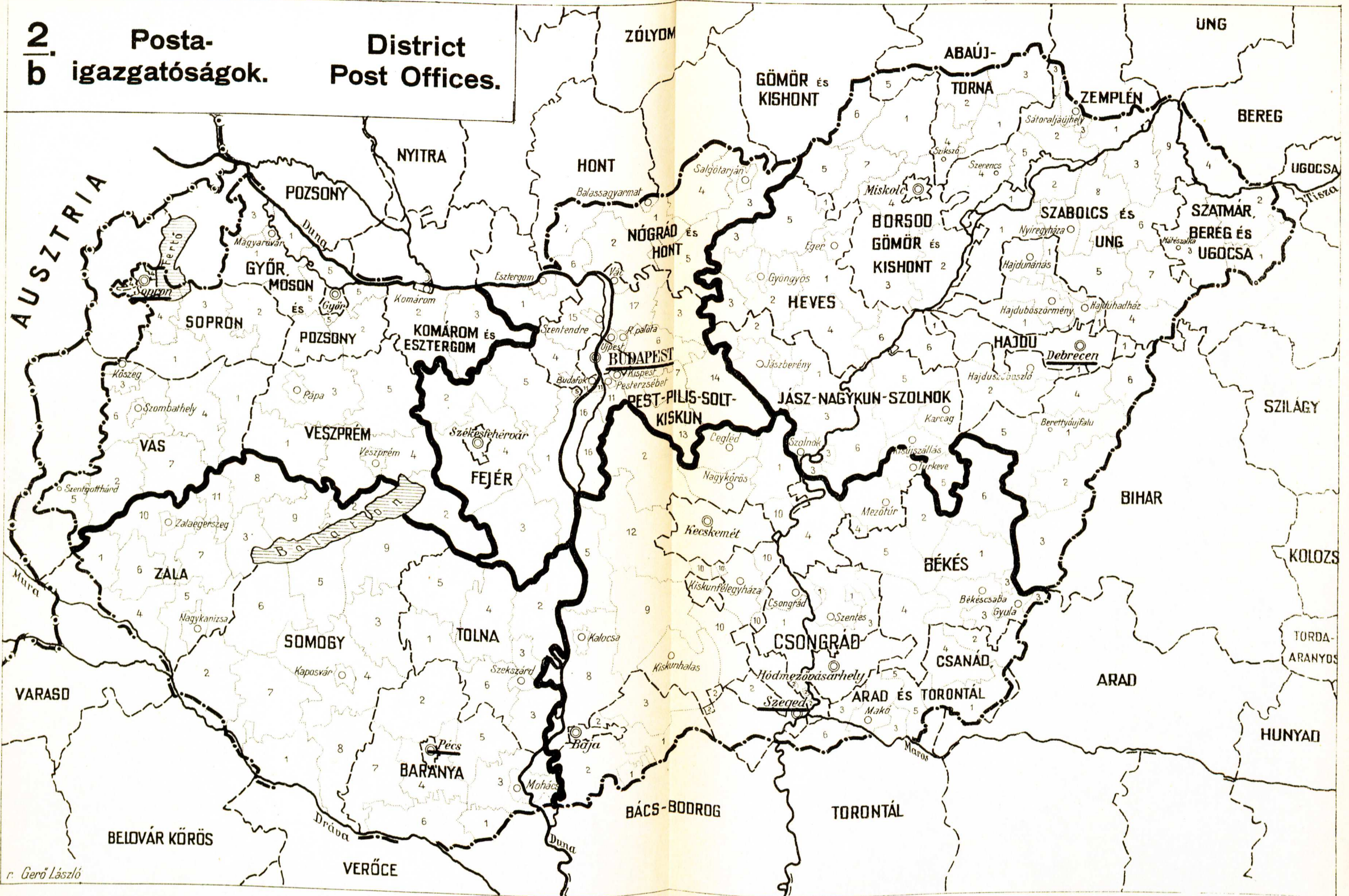
——— Kir. ítélőtáblák. ——— Royal King's Bench Courts.
——— Kir. törvényszékek. ——— Royal Courts of Law.

A szekszárdi törvényszék bajai kirendeltségének területe a térképen 22/a. jelzést kapott. The Jurisdiction Area of the Baja District Branch of the Szekszárd Court of Law has been marked 22/a. on the map.

2.
b

Posta-
igazgatóságok.

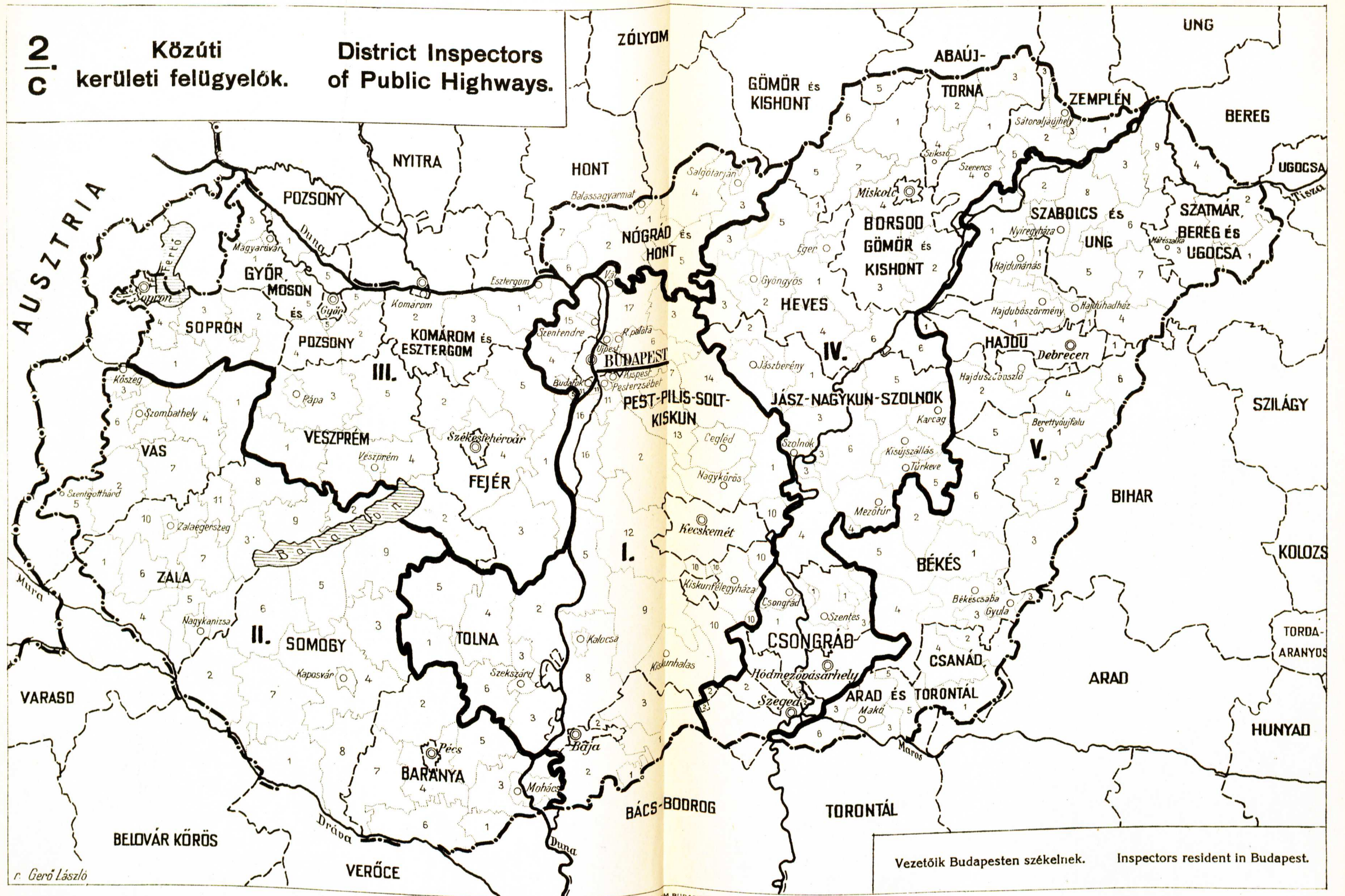
District
Post Offices.



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ATHENAEUM BUDAPEST.

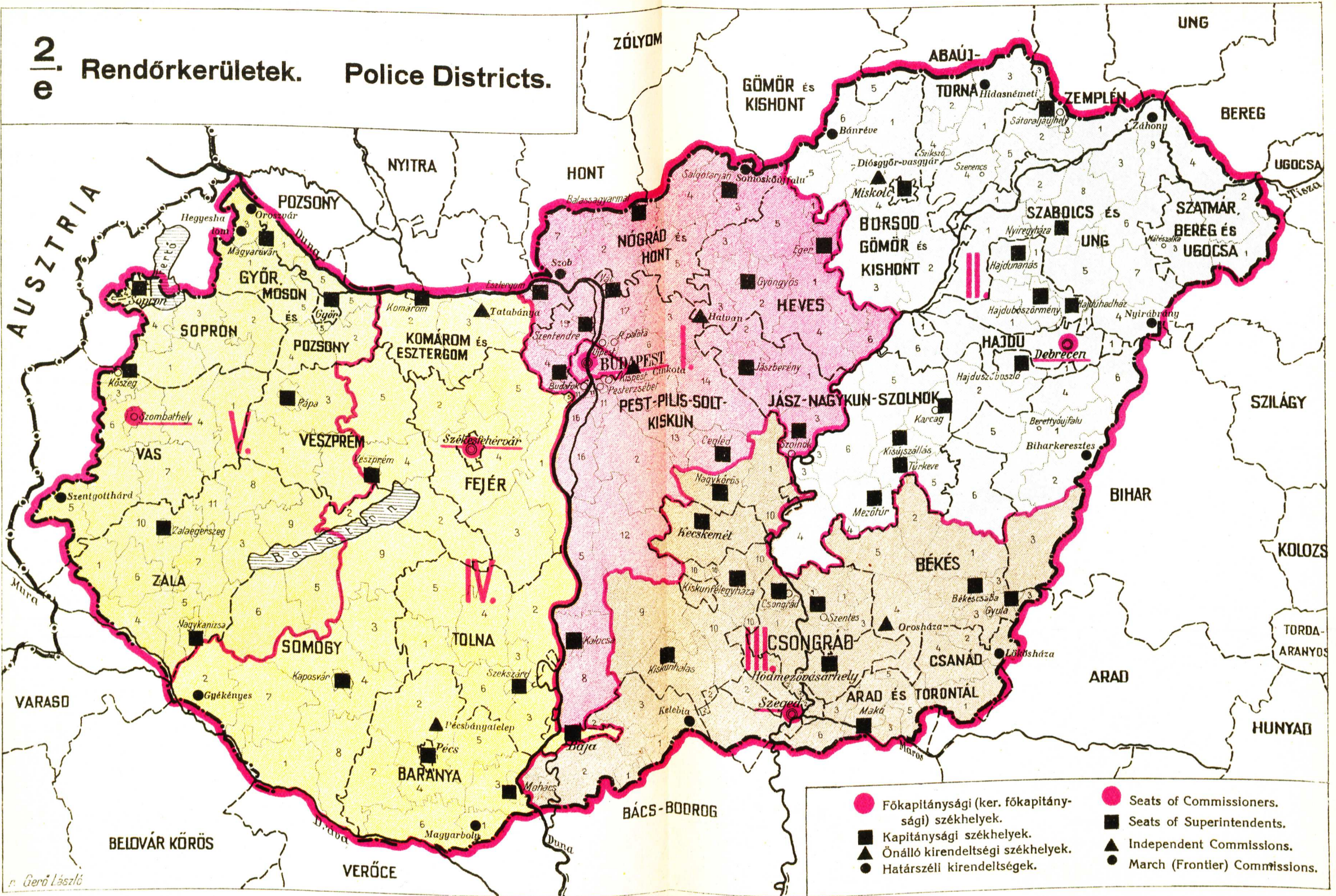
Közúti District Inspectors
kerületi felügyelők. of Public Highways.



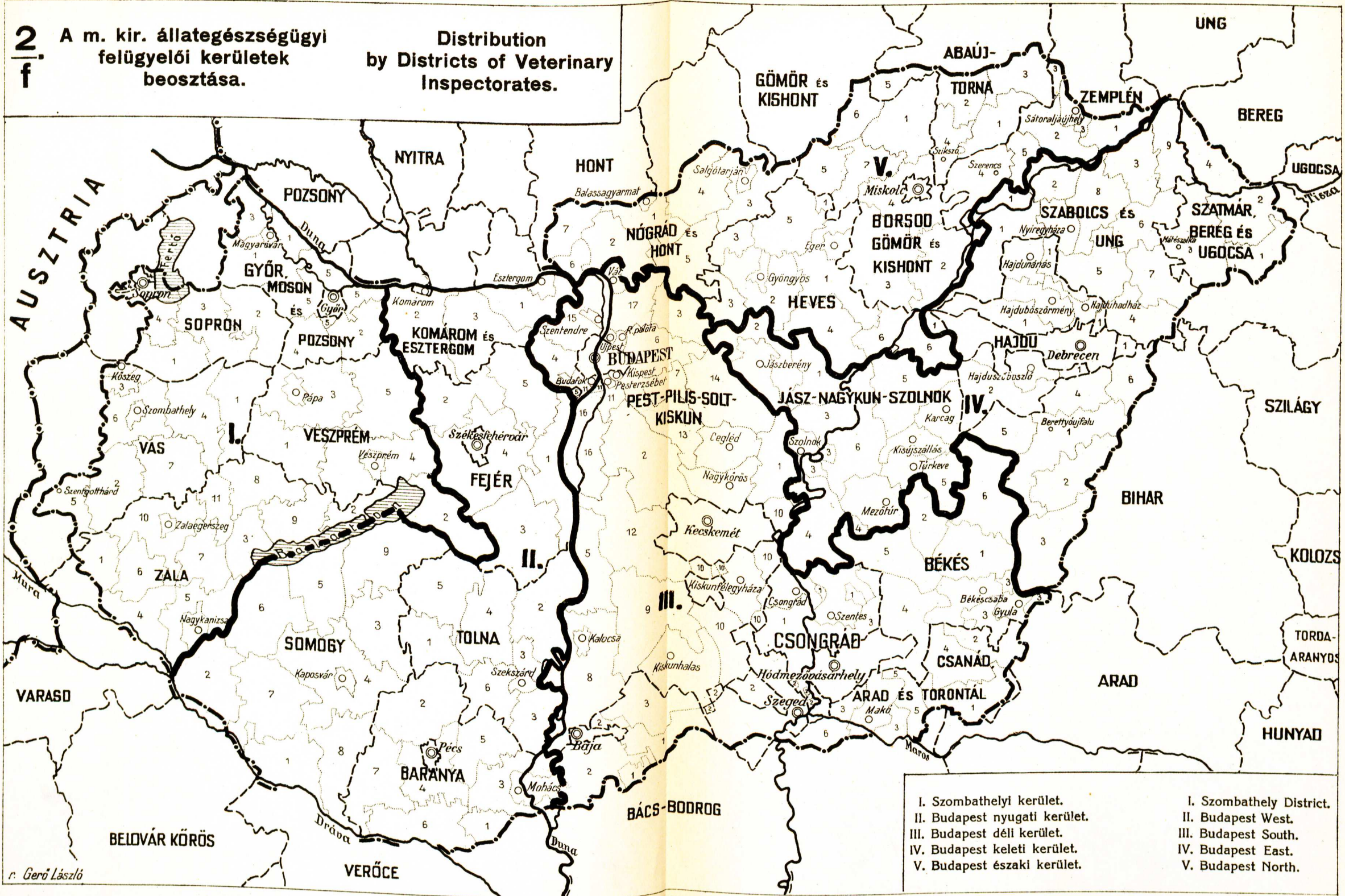
Vezetőik Budapesten székelnek. Inspectors resident in Budapest.

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Rendőrkerületek. Police Districts.



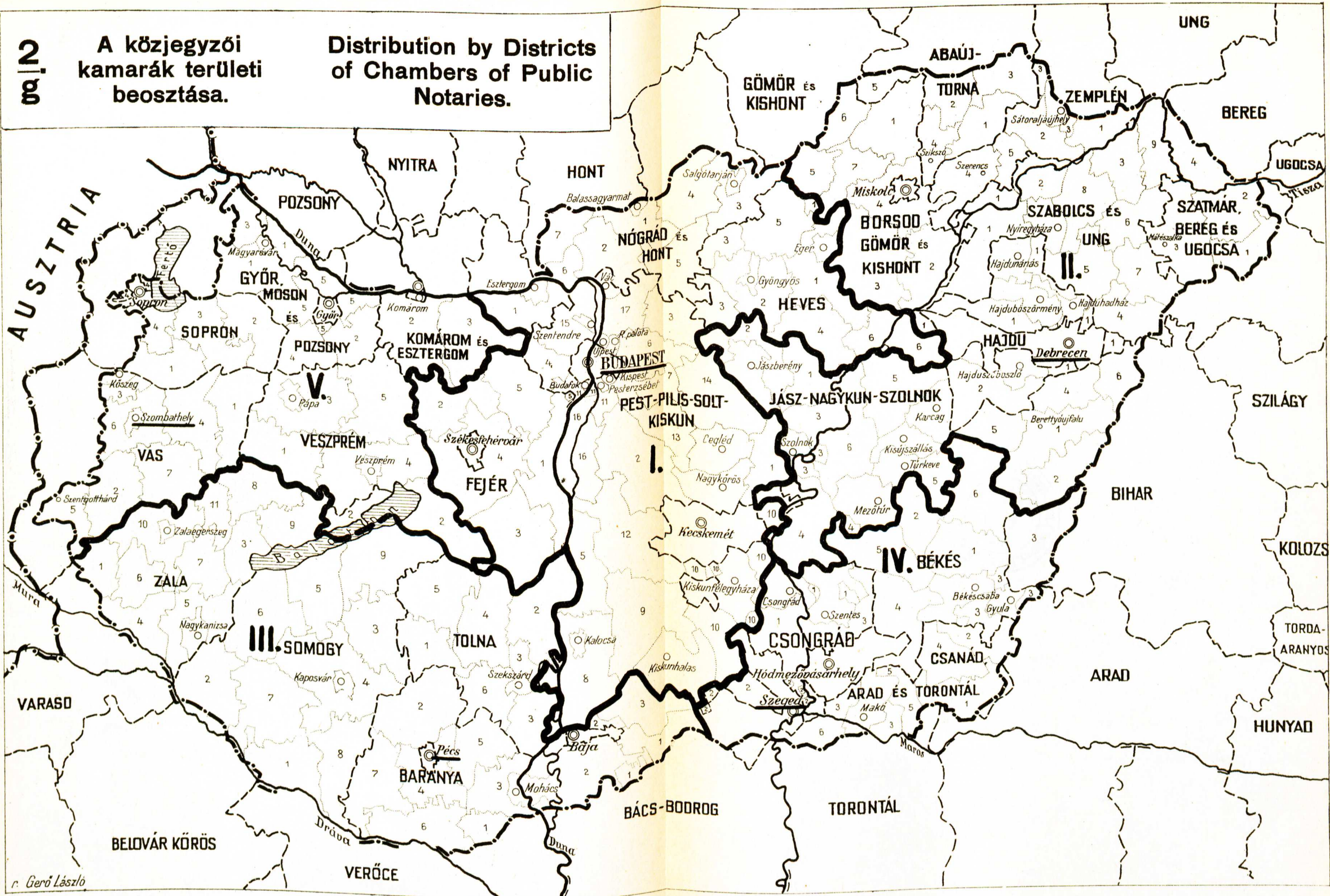
- Főkapitánysági (ker. főkapitánysági) székhelyek.
- Seats of Commissioners.
- Kapitánysági székhelyek.
- Seats of Superintendents.
- ▲ Önálló kirendeltségi székhelyek.
- ▲ Independent Commissions.
- Határszéli kirendeltségek.
- March (Frontier) Commissions.



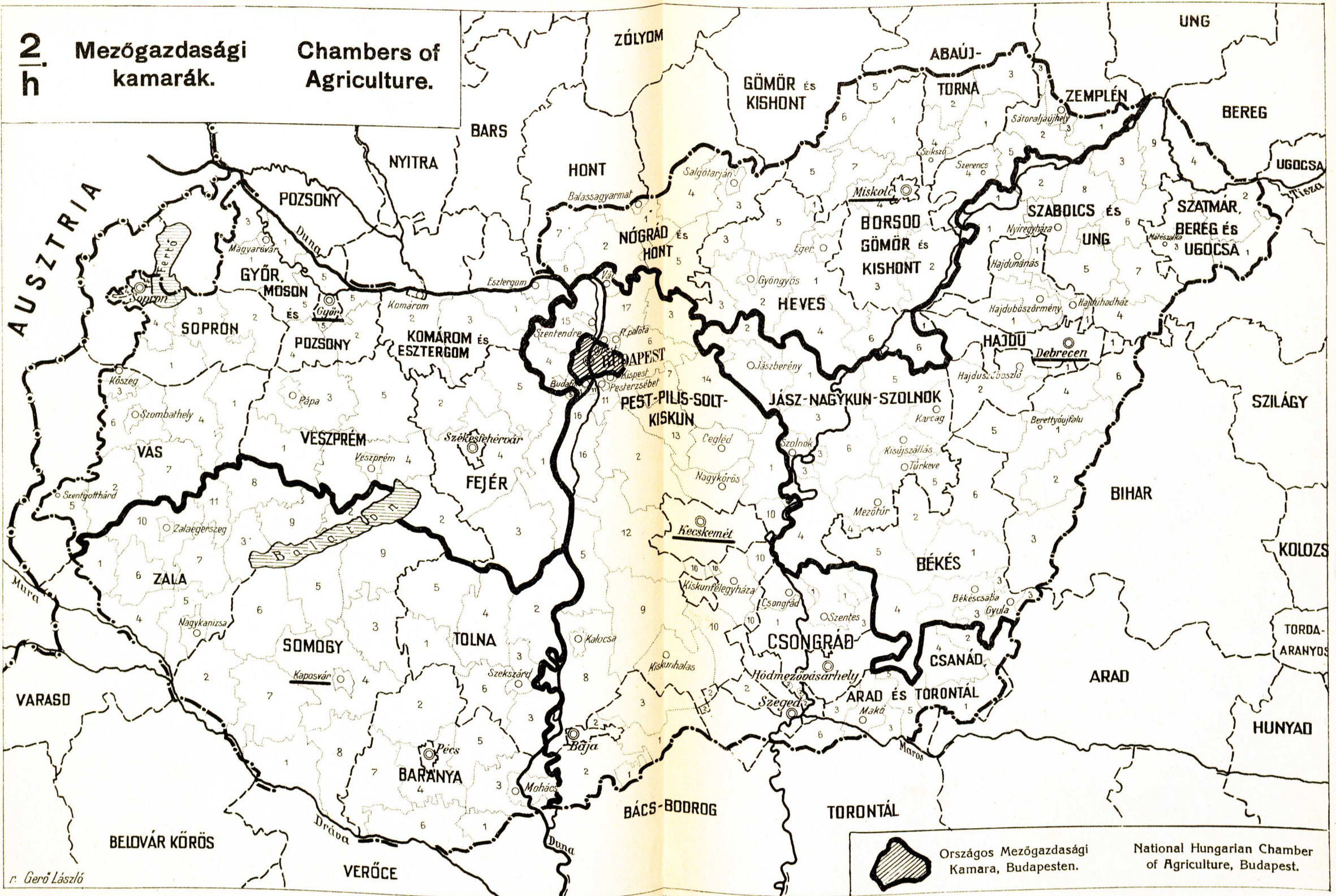
- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| I. Szombathelyi kerület. | I. Szombathely District. |
| II. Budapest nyugati kerület. | II. Budapest West. |
| III. Budapest déli kerület. | III. Budapest South. |
| IV. Budapest keleti kerület. | IV. Budapest East. |
| V. Budapest északi kerület. | V. Budapest North. |

A közjegyzői kamarák területi beosztása.

Distribution by Districts of Chambers of Public Notaries.



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Országos Mezőgazdasági
Kamara, Budapesten.

National Hungarian Chamber
of Agriculture, Budapest.

II. Tervezet:

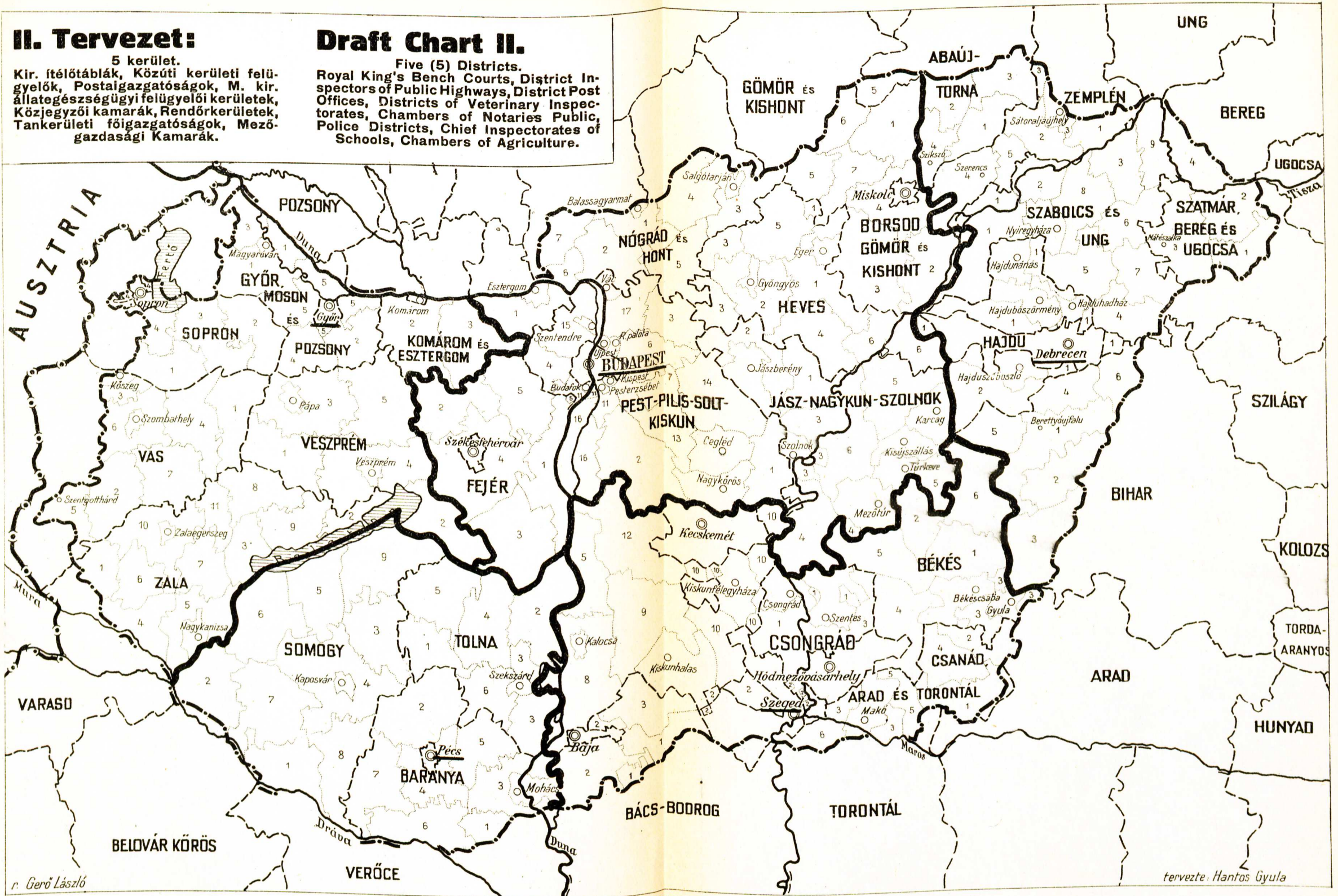
5 kerület.

Kir. ítélőtáblák, Közüti kerületi felügyelők, Postaigazgatóságok, M. kir. állategészségügyi felügyelői kerületek, Közjegyzői kamarák, Rendőrkerületek, Tankerületi főigazgatóságok, Mezőgazdasági Kamarák.

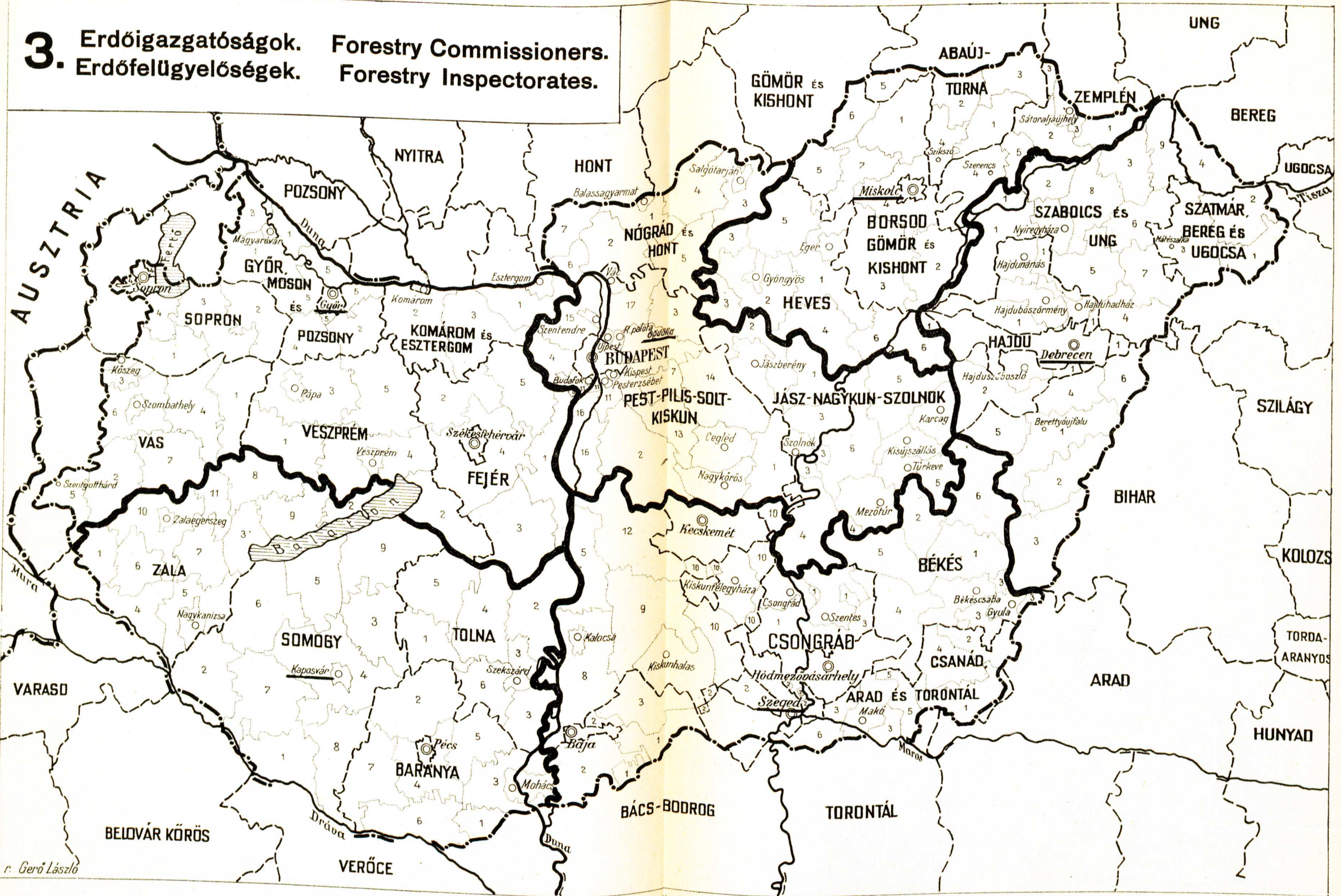
Draft Chart II.

Five (5) Districts.

Royal King's Bench Courts, District Inspectors of Public Highways, District Post Offices, Districts of Veterinary Inspectors, Chambers of Notaries Public, Police Districts, Chief Inspectorates of Schools, Chambers of Agriculture.



3. Erdőigazgatóságok. Forestry Commissioners.
Erdőfelügyelőségek. Forestry Inspectorates.



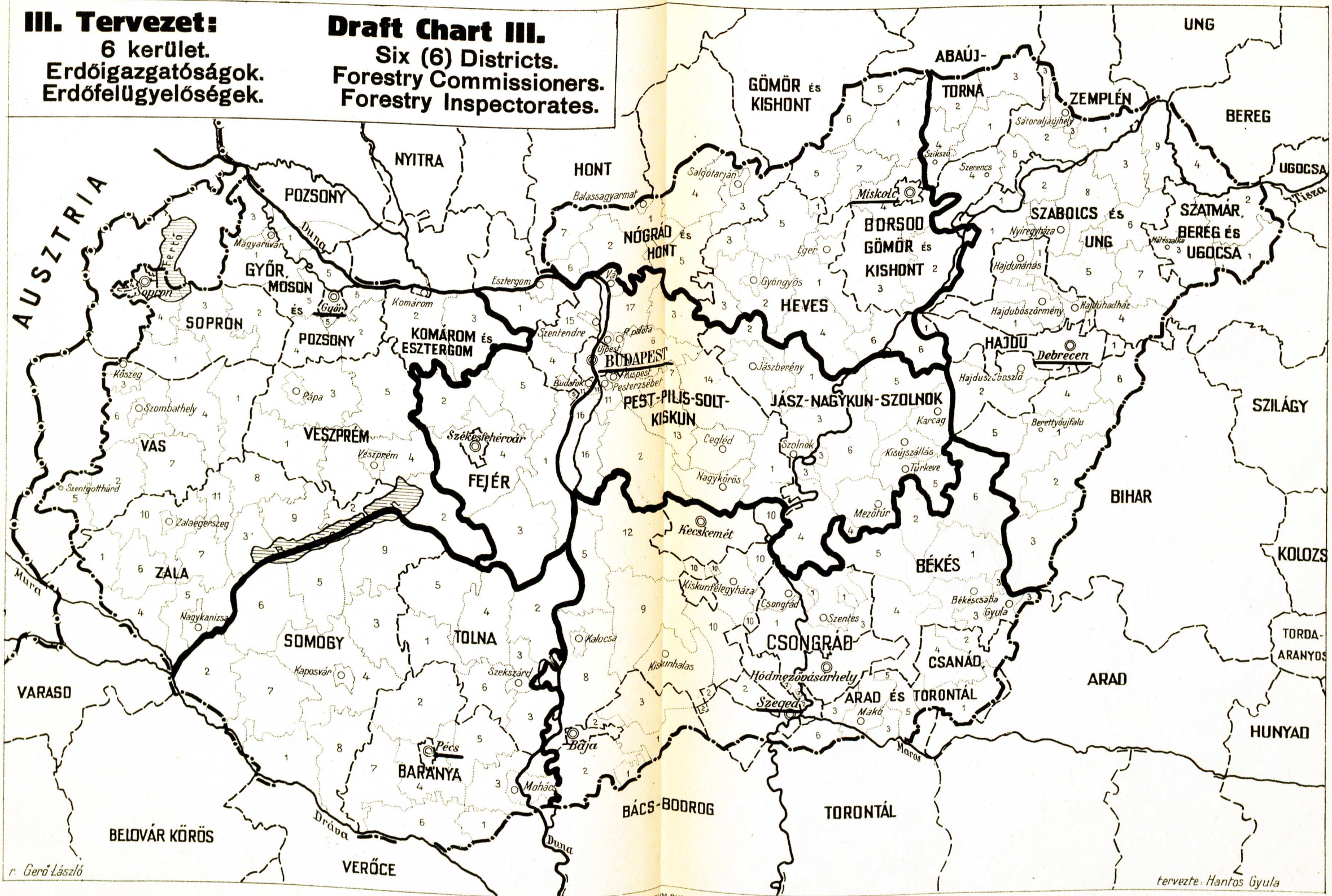
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III. Tervezet:

6 kerület.
Erdőigazgatóságok.
Erdőfelügyelőségek.

Draft Chart III.

Six (6) Districts.
Forestry Commissioners.
Forestry Inspectorates.



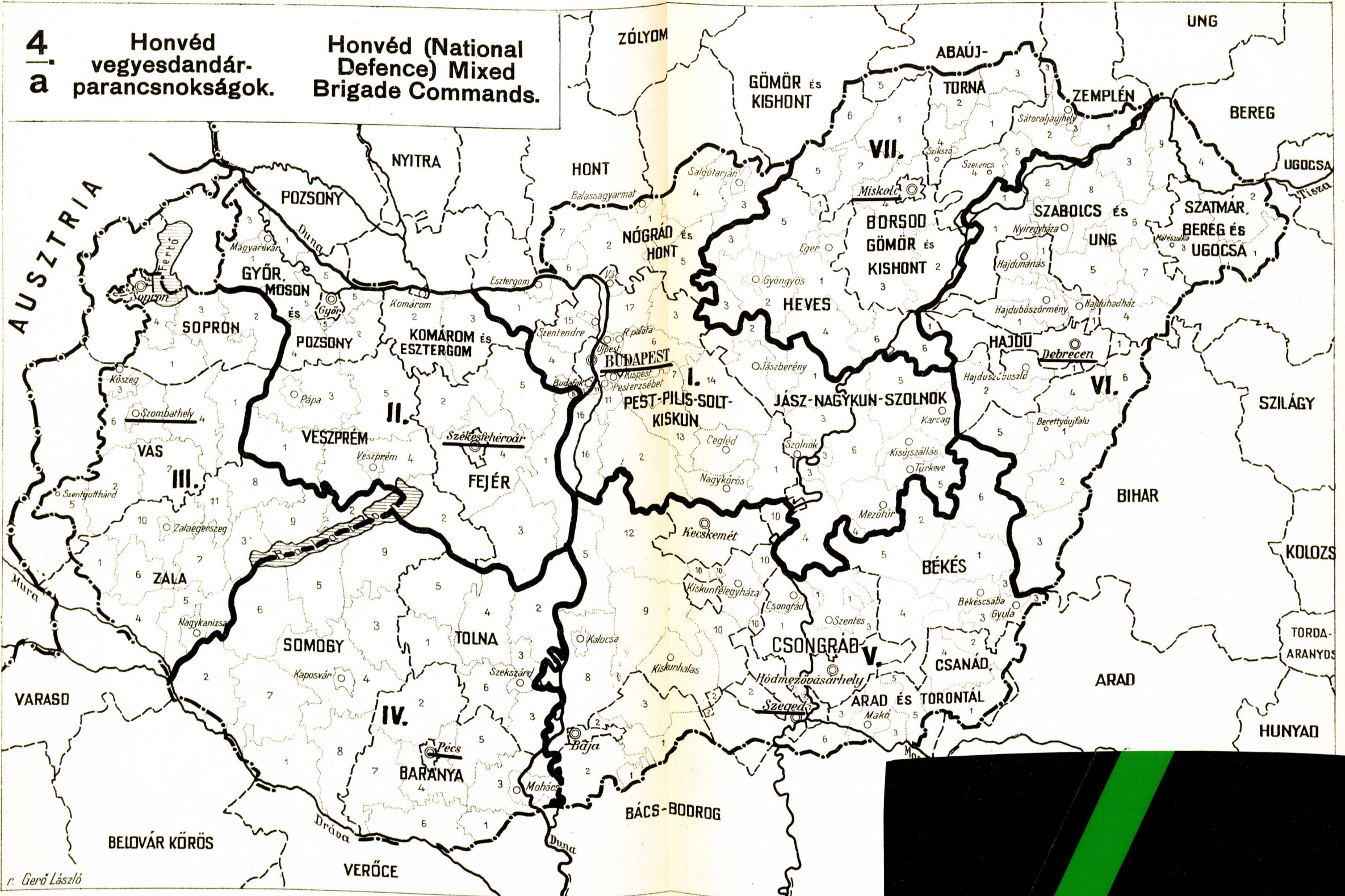
r. Gerő László

tervezte: Hantos Gyula

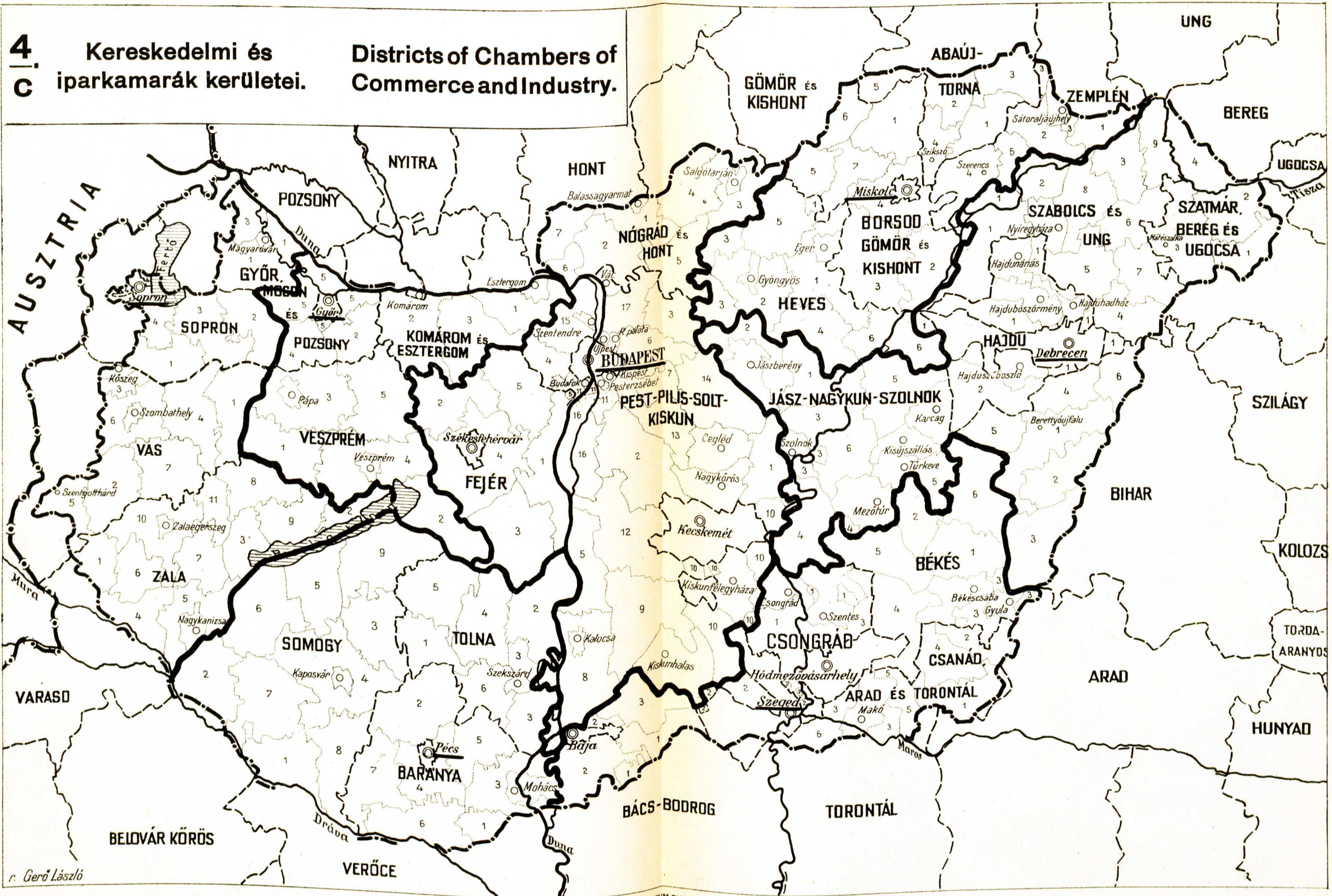
4
a

Honvéd
vegyesdandár-
parancsnokságok.

Honvéd (National
Defence) Mixed
Brigade Commands.



4. Kereskedelmi és iparkamarák kerületei. **Districts of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.**



IV. Tervezet:

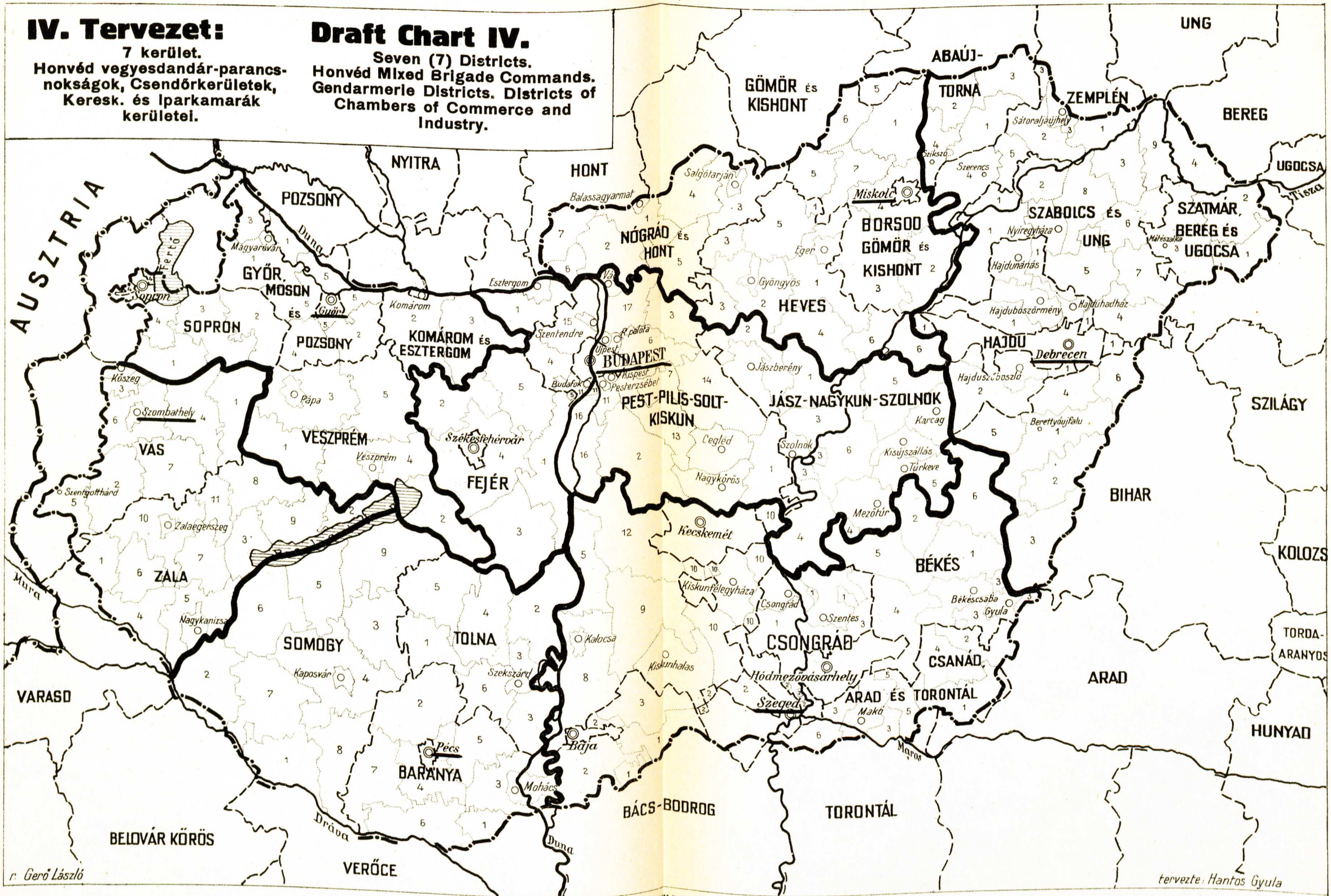
7 kerület.

Honvéd vegyesdandár-parancsnokságok, Csendőrkörületek, Keresk. és Iparkamarák kerületei.

Draft Chart IV.

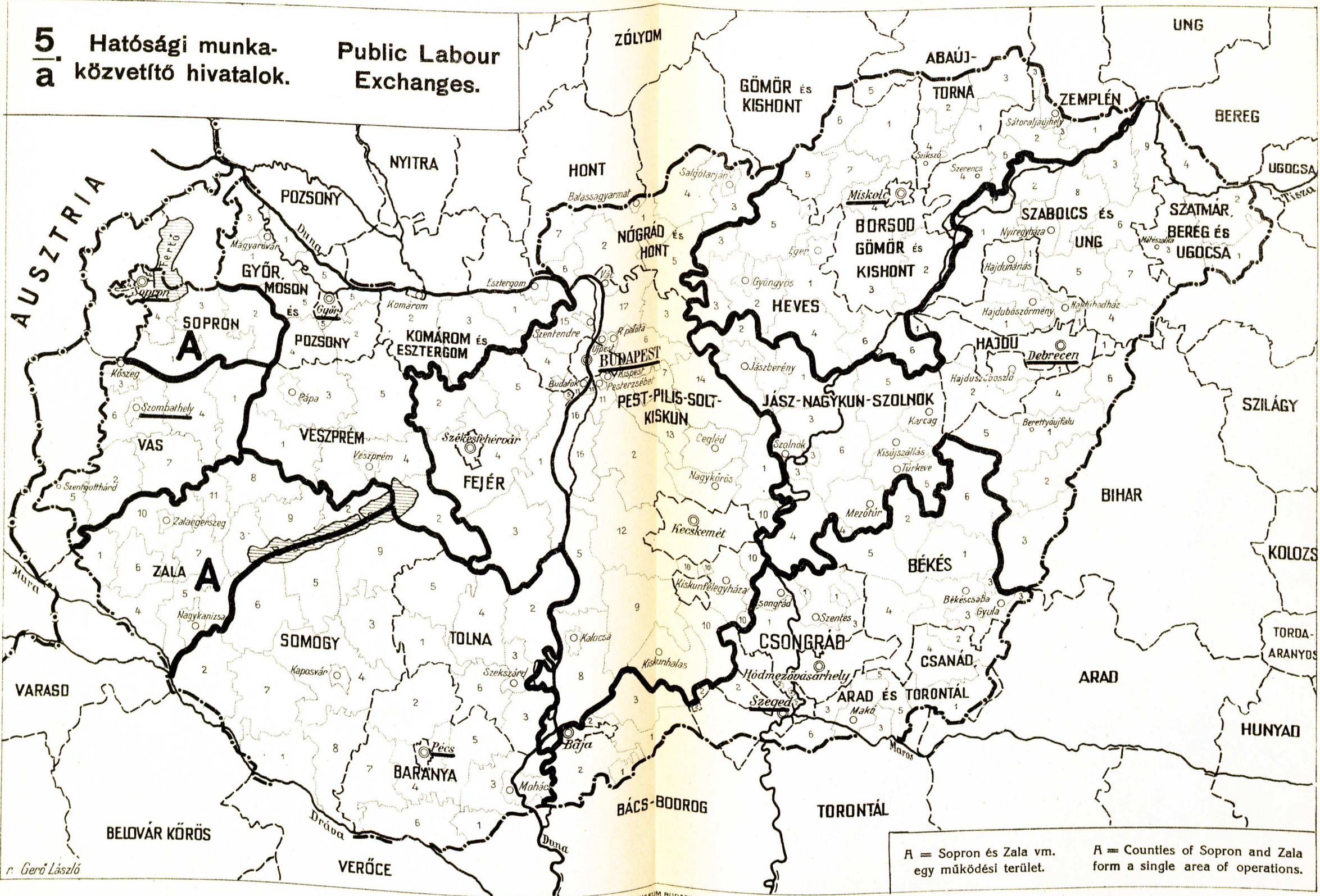
Seven (7) Districts.

Honvéd Mixed Brigade Commands. Gendarmerie Districts. Districts of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.



5.
a Hatósági munka-
közvetítő hivatalok.

**Public Labour
Exchanges.**



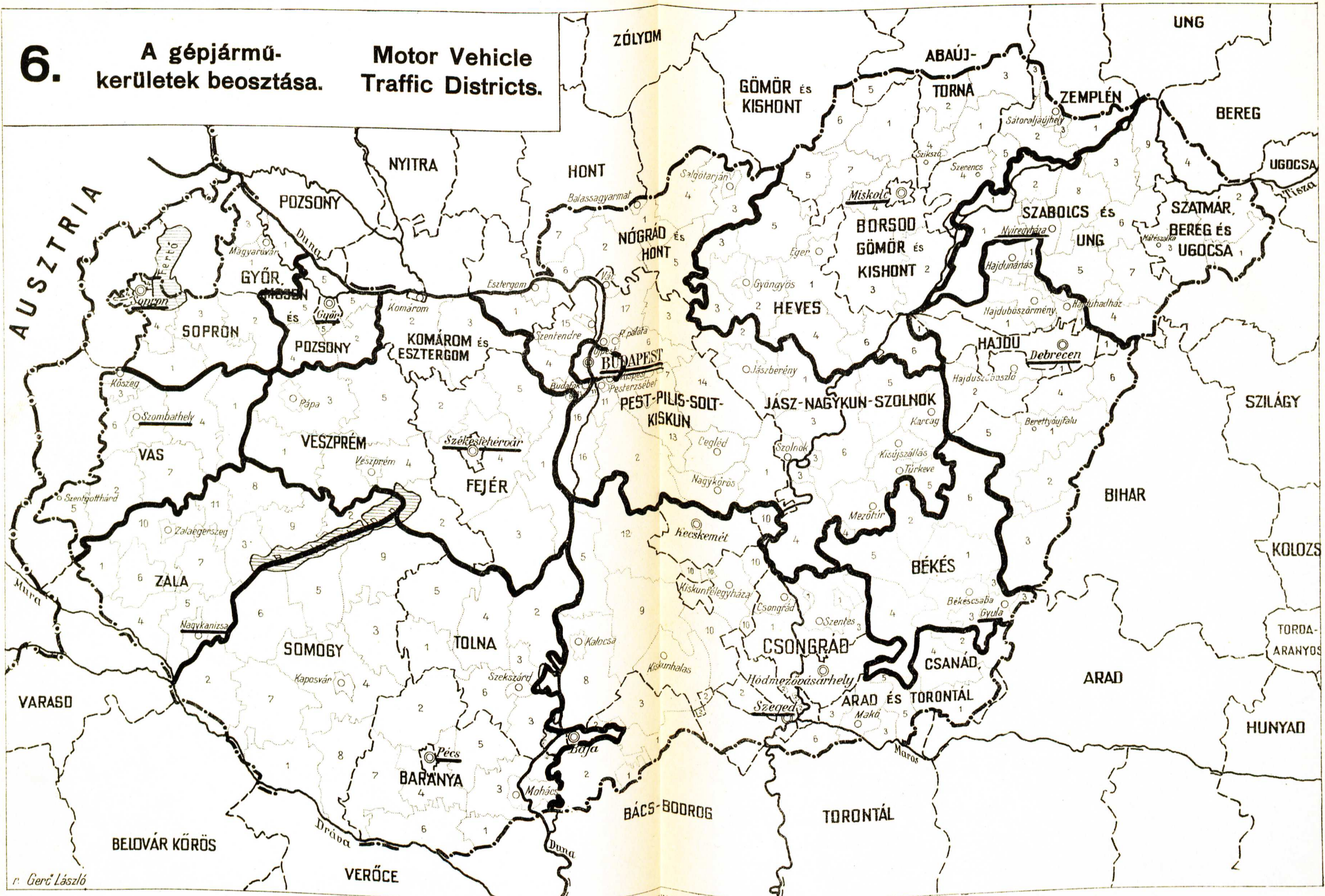
A = Sopron és Zala vm.
egy működési terület.

A = Counties of Sopron and Zala
form a single area of operations.

6.

A gépjármű-
kerületek beosztása.

Motor Vehicle
Traffic Districts.



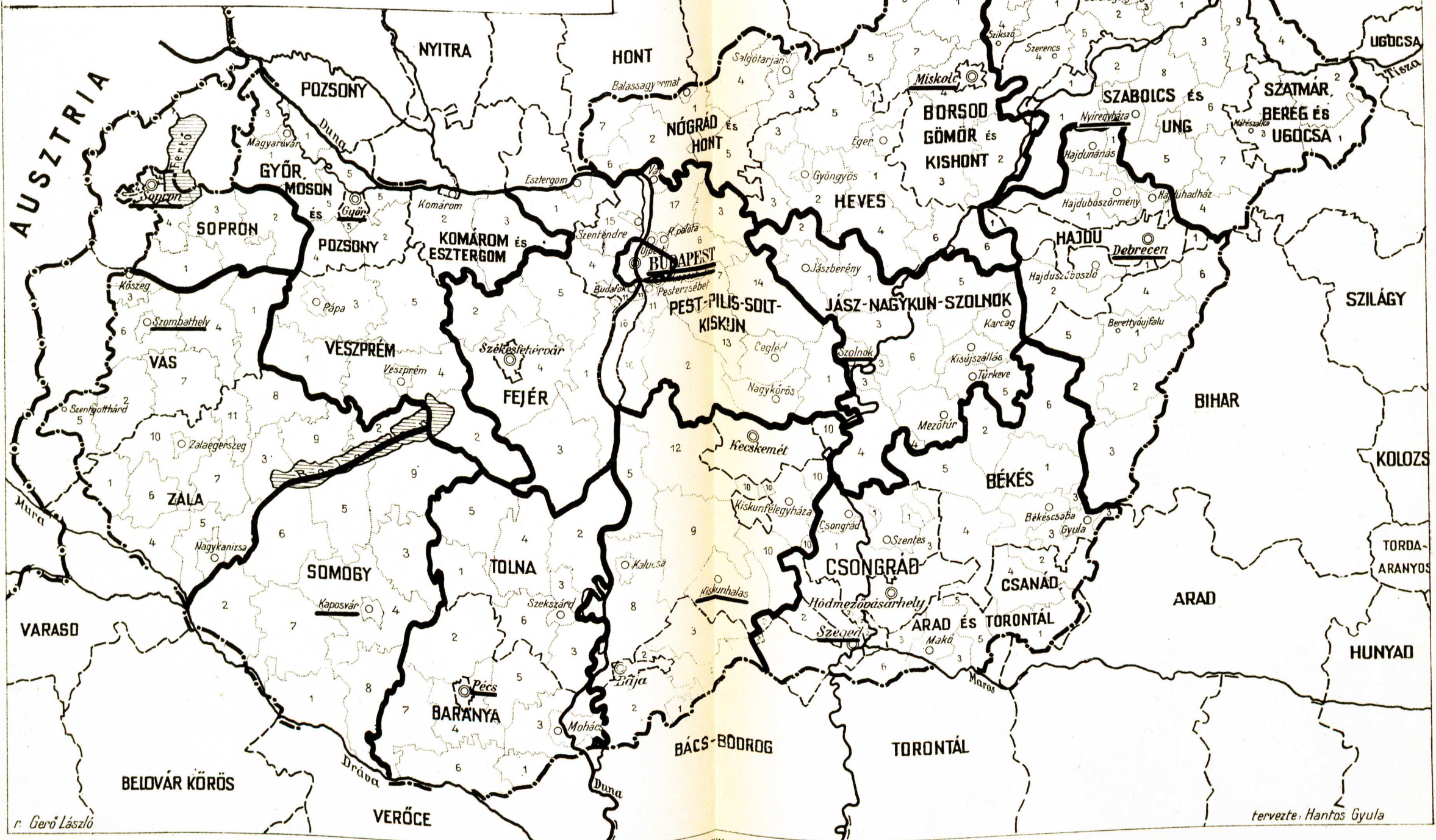
n. Gerő László

VI. Tervezet:

Draft Chart VI.

12 kerület.
Gépjárműkerületek.

Twelve (12) Districts.
Motor Vehicle Traffic Districts.

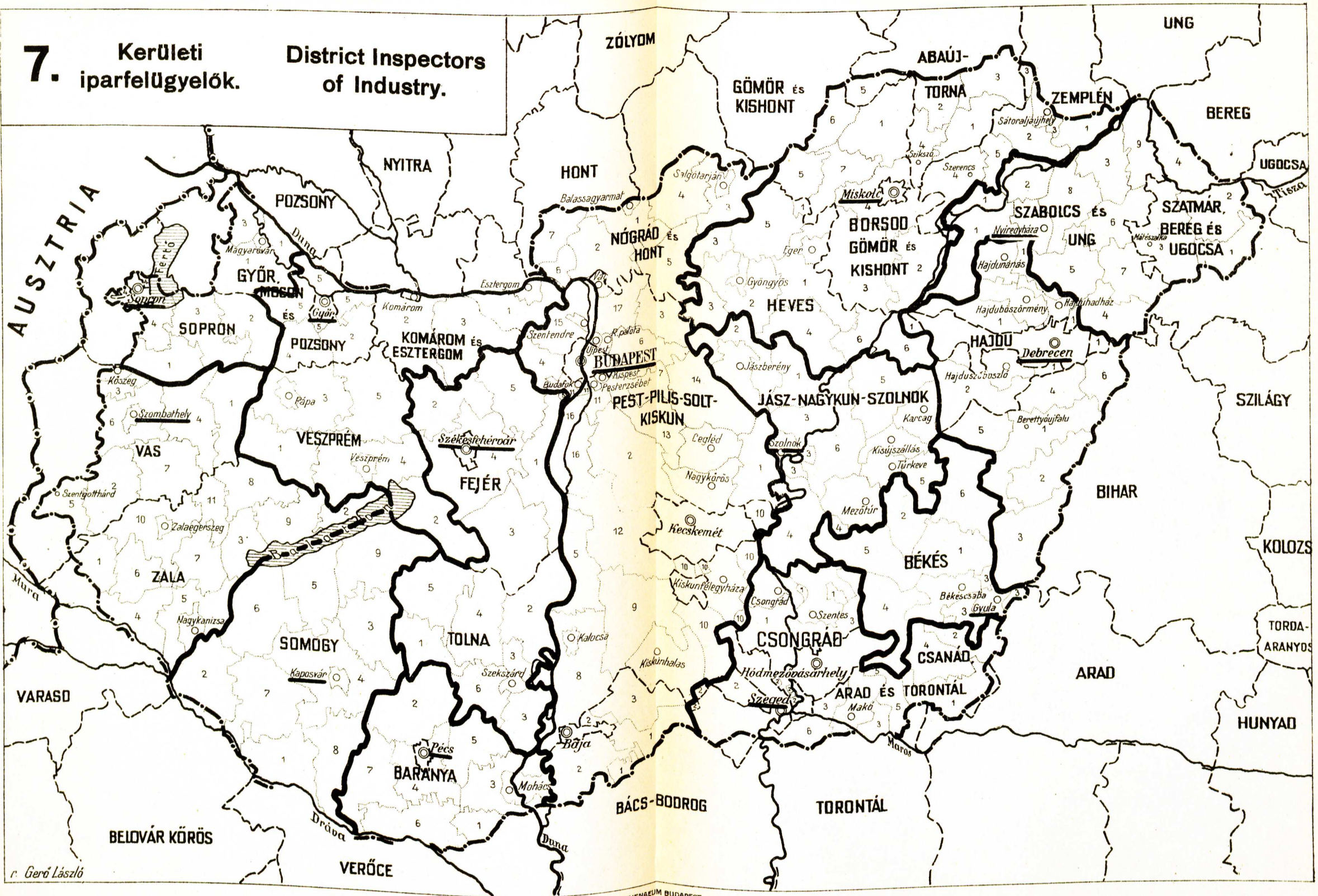


r. Gerő László

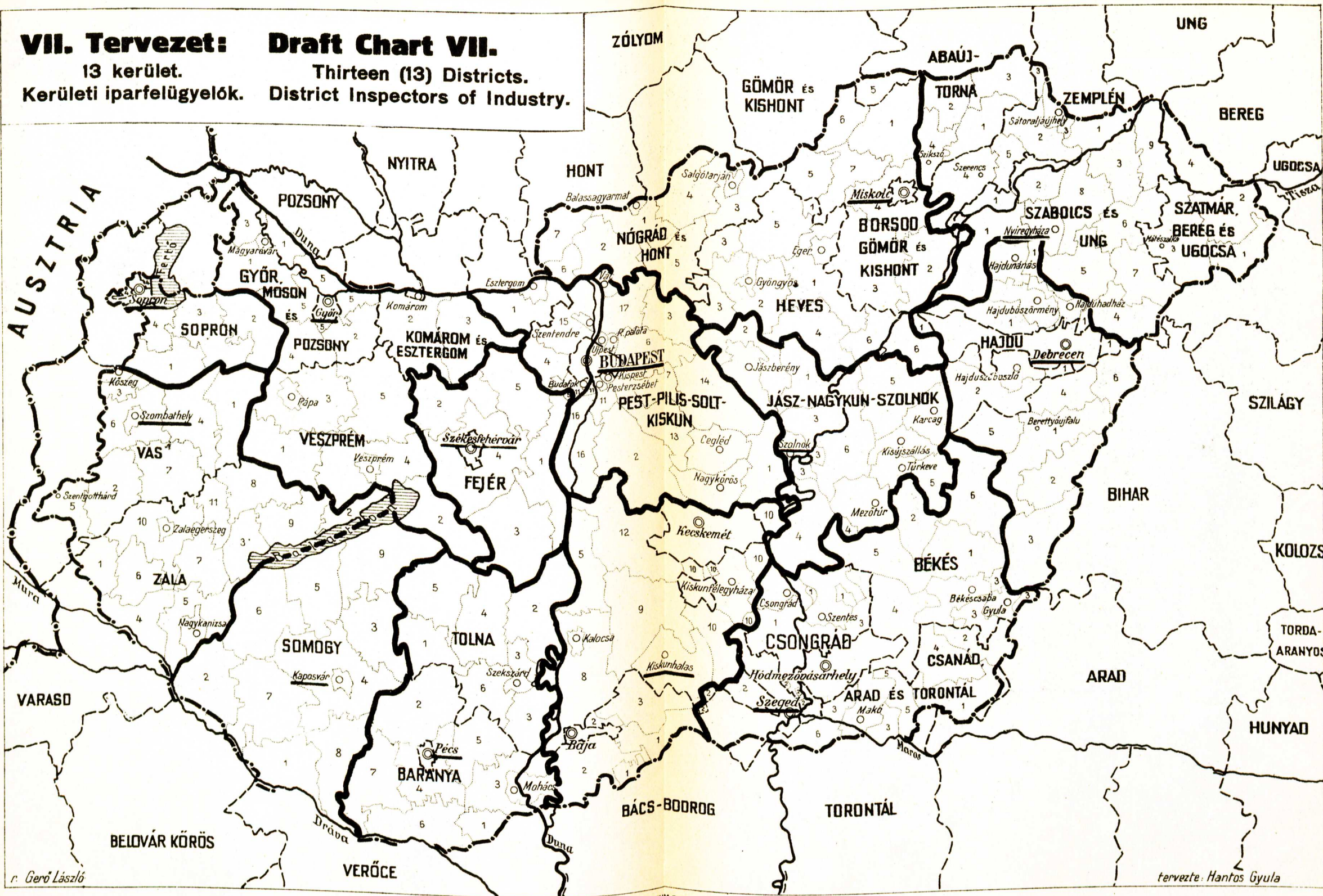
tervezte: Hantos Gyula

7. Kerületi iparfelügyelők.

District Inspectors of Industry.



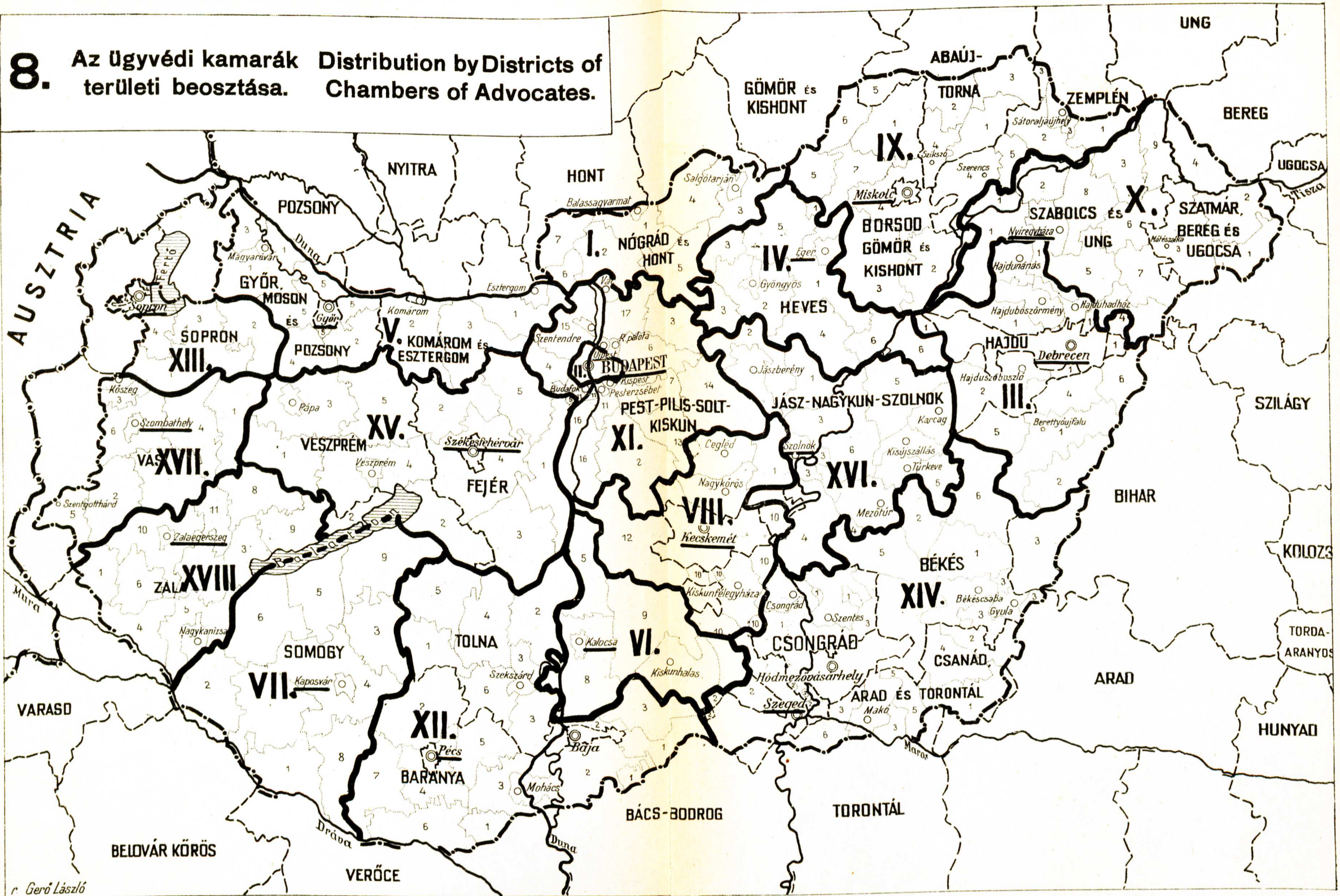
VII. Tervezet: Draft Chart VII.
 13 kerület. Thirteen (13) Districts.
 Kerületi iparfelügyelők. District Inspectors of Industry.



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tervezte: Hanfcs Gyula

8. Az ügyvédi kamarák területi beosztása. Distribution by Districts of Chambers of Advocates.

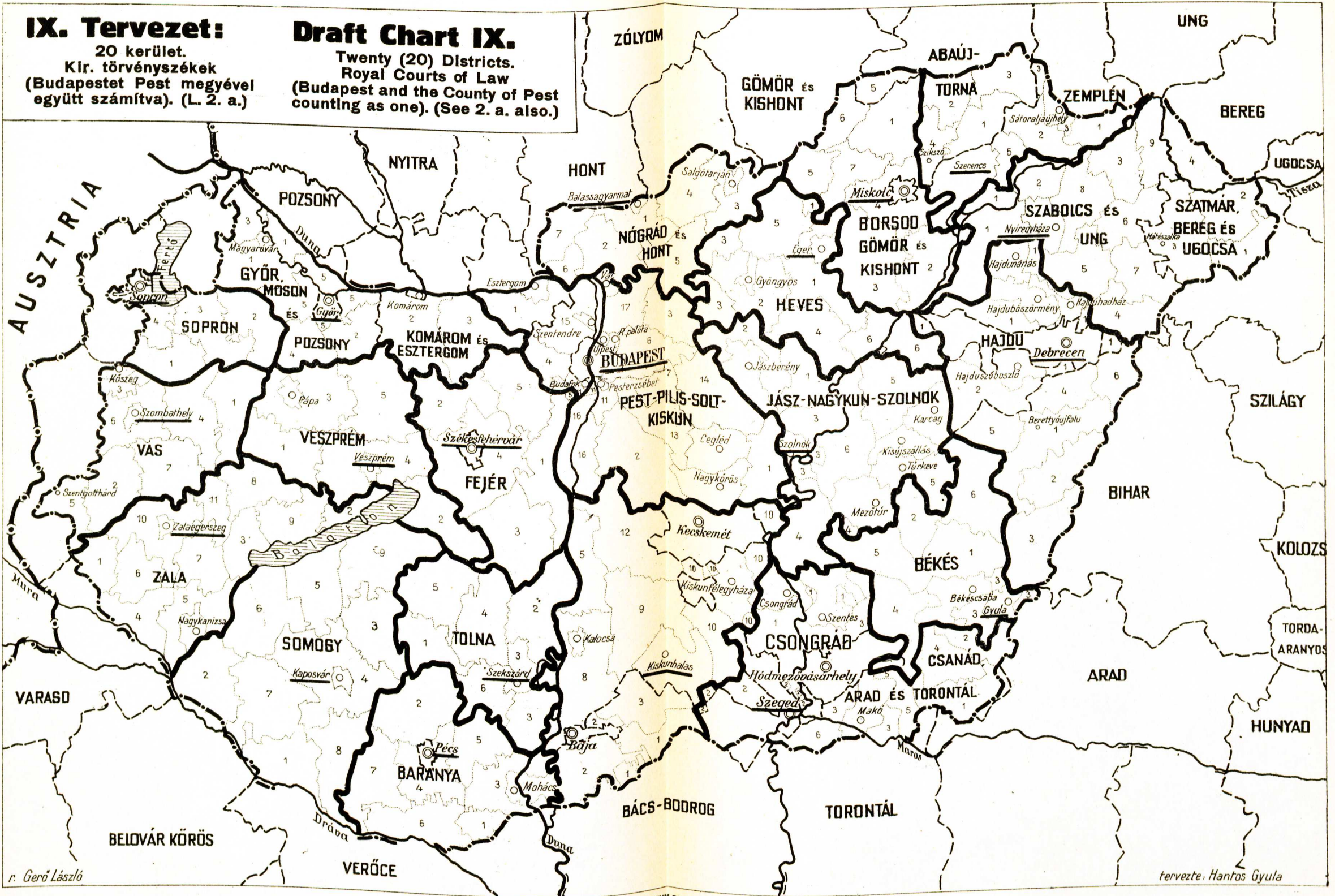


IX. Tervezet:

20 kerület.
Klr. törvényszékek
(Budapestet Pest megyével
együtt számítva). (L. 2. a.)

Draft Chart IX.

Twenty (20) Districts.
Royal Courts of Law
(Budapest and the County of Pest
counting as one). (See 2. a. also.)



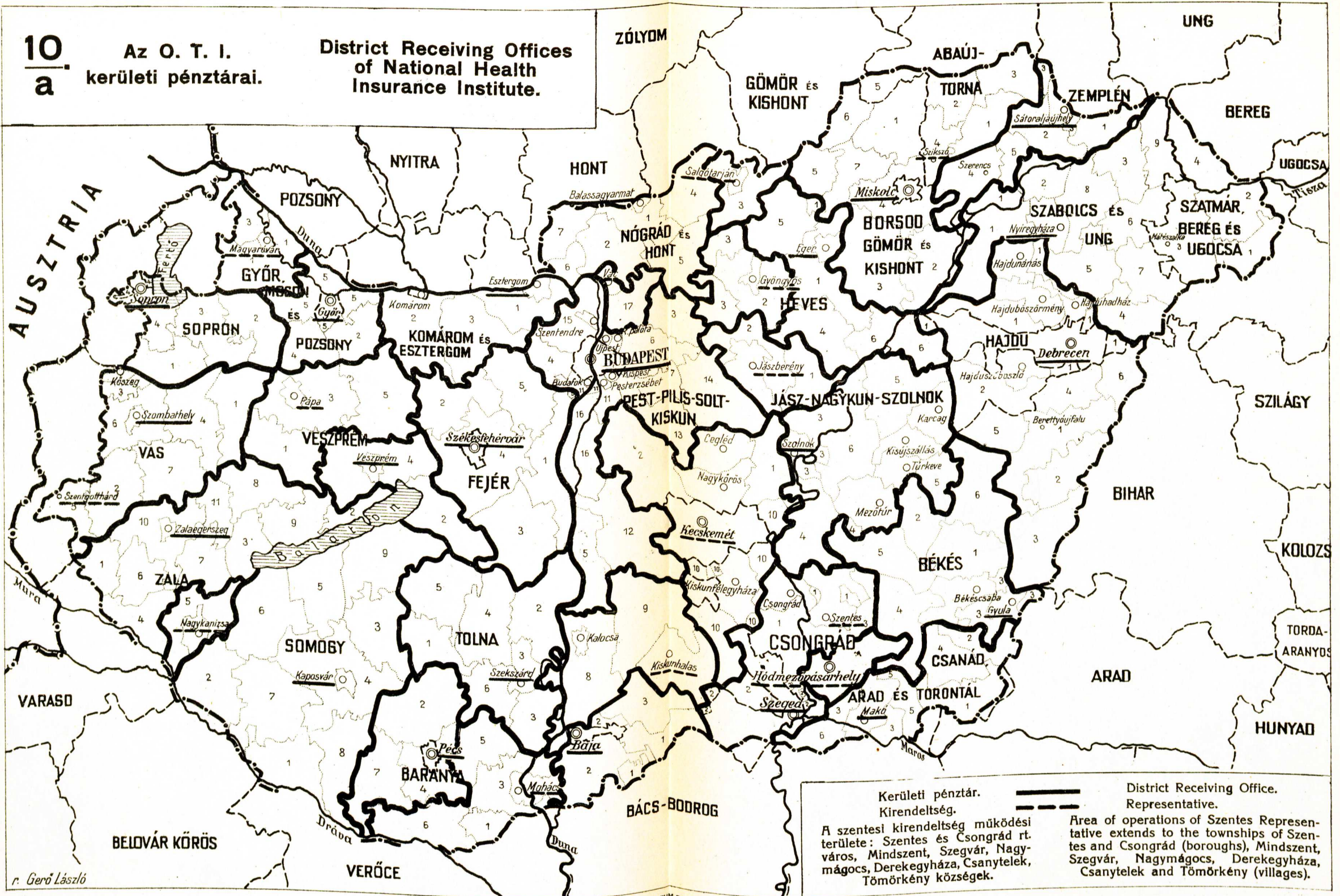
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10
a

Az O. T. I.
kerületi pénztárai.

District Receiving Offices
of National Health
Insurance Institute.

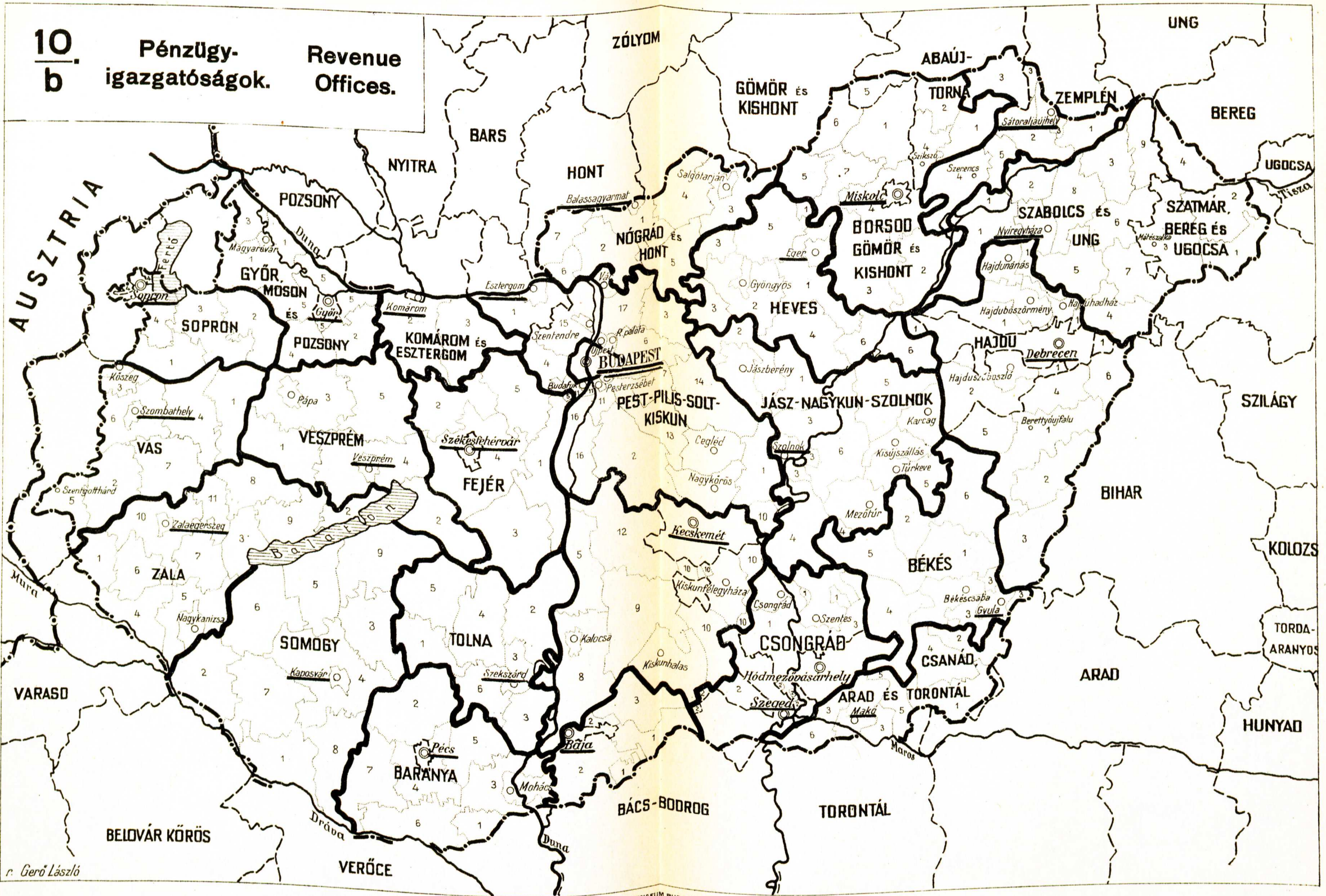


Kerületi pénztár.
Kirendeltség.

District Receiving Office.
Representative.

A szentesi kirendeltség működési területe: Szentes és Csongrád rt. város, Mindszent, Szegvár, Nagymágocs, Derekegyháza, Csanytelek, Tömörkény községek.

Area of operations of Szentes Representative extends to the townships of Szentes and Csongrád (boroughs), Mindszent, Szegvár, Nagymágocs, Derekegyháza, Csanytelek and Tömörkény (villages).



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X. Tervezet:

21 kerület.
Az O. T. I. kerületi pénztárai,
pénzügyigazgatóságok (Budapestet
Pest megyével együtt számítva).

Draft Chart X.

Twenty-one (21) Districts.
District Receiving Offices of National Health
Insurance Institute, Revenue Offices (Buda-
pest and County of Pest counting as one).



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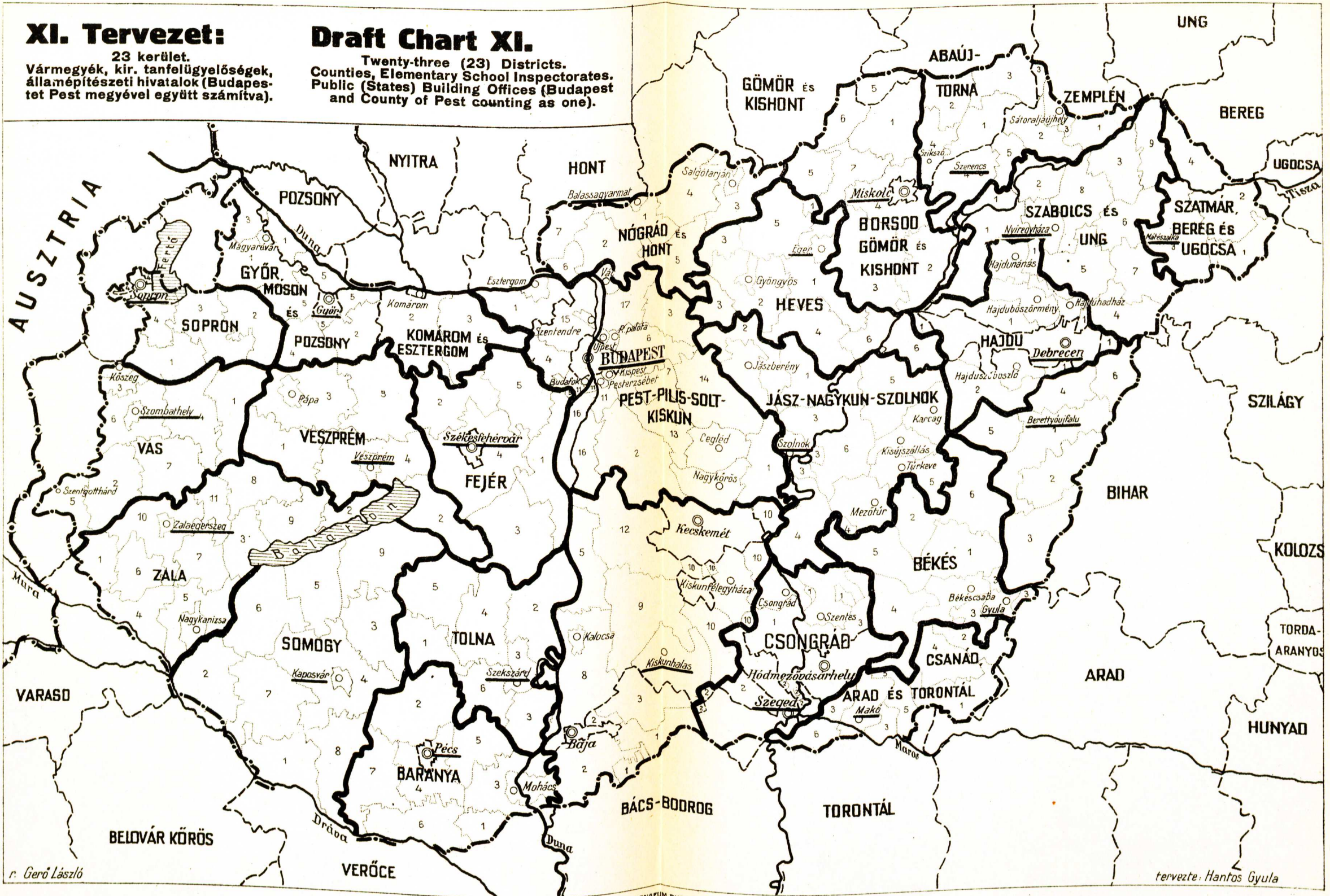
tervezte: Hantos Gyula

XI. Tervezet:

23 kerület.
Vármegyék, kir. tanfelügyelőségek,
államépítészeti hivatalok (Budapest-
tet Pest megyével együtt számítva).

Draft Chart XI.

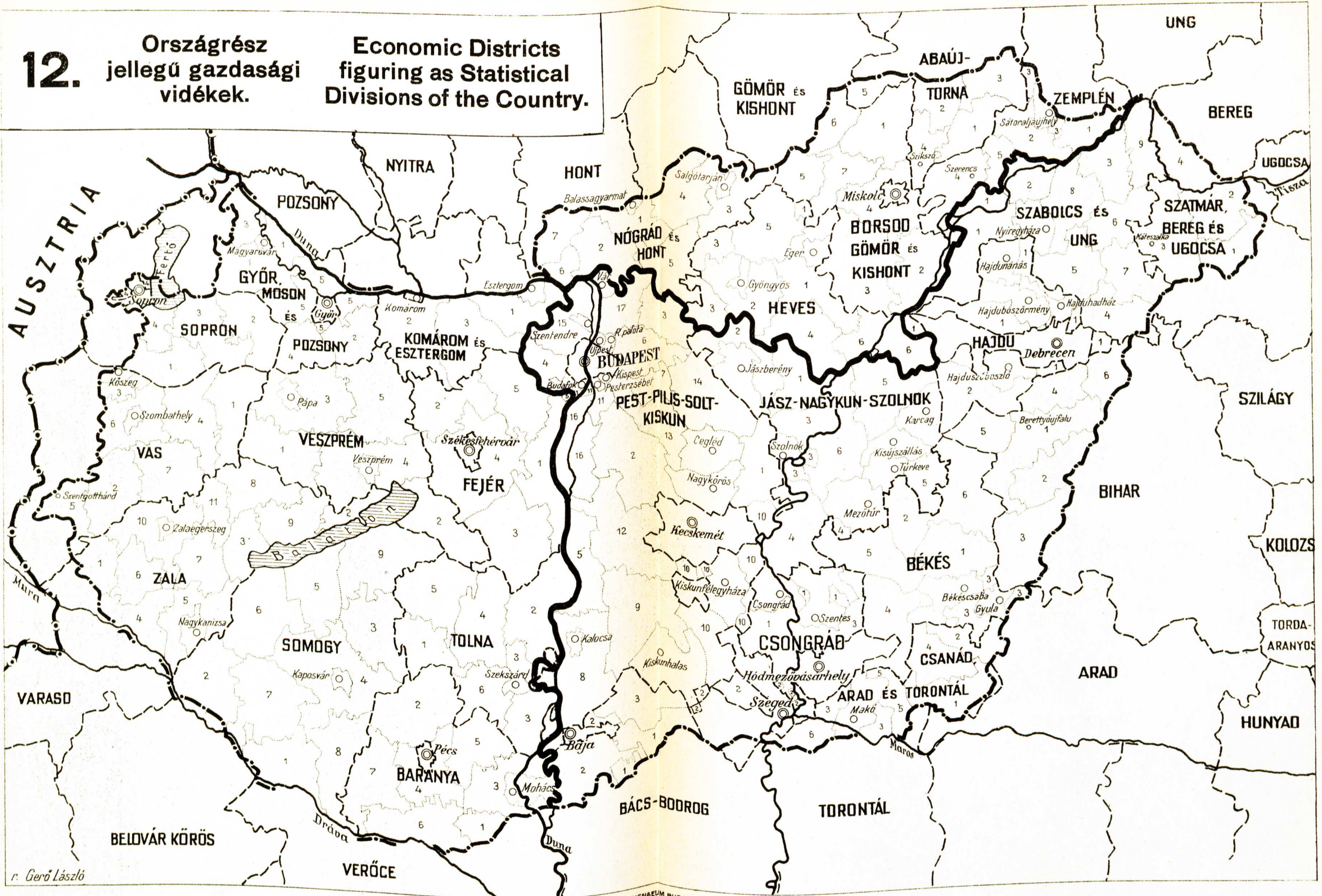
Twenty-three (23) Districts.
Counties, Elementary School Inspectorates.
Public (States) Building Offices (Budapest
and County of Pest counting as one).



12.

Országrészt
jellegű gazdasági
vidékek.

Economic Districts
figuring as Statistical
Divisions of the Country.

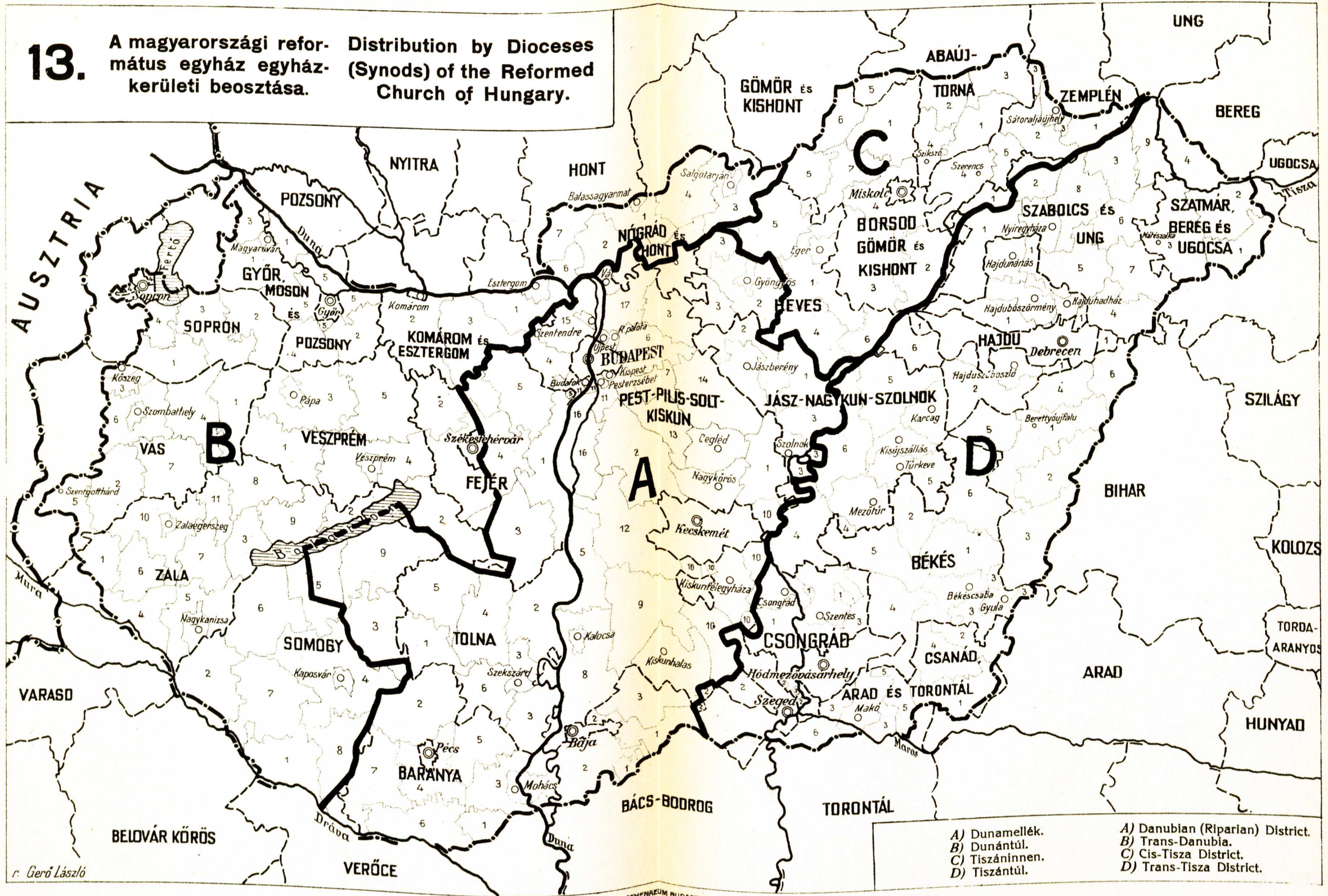


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13.

A magyarországi református egyház egyházkerületi beosztása.

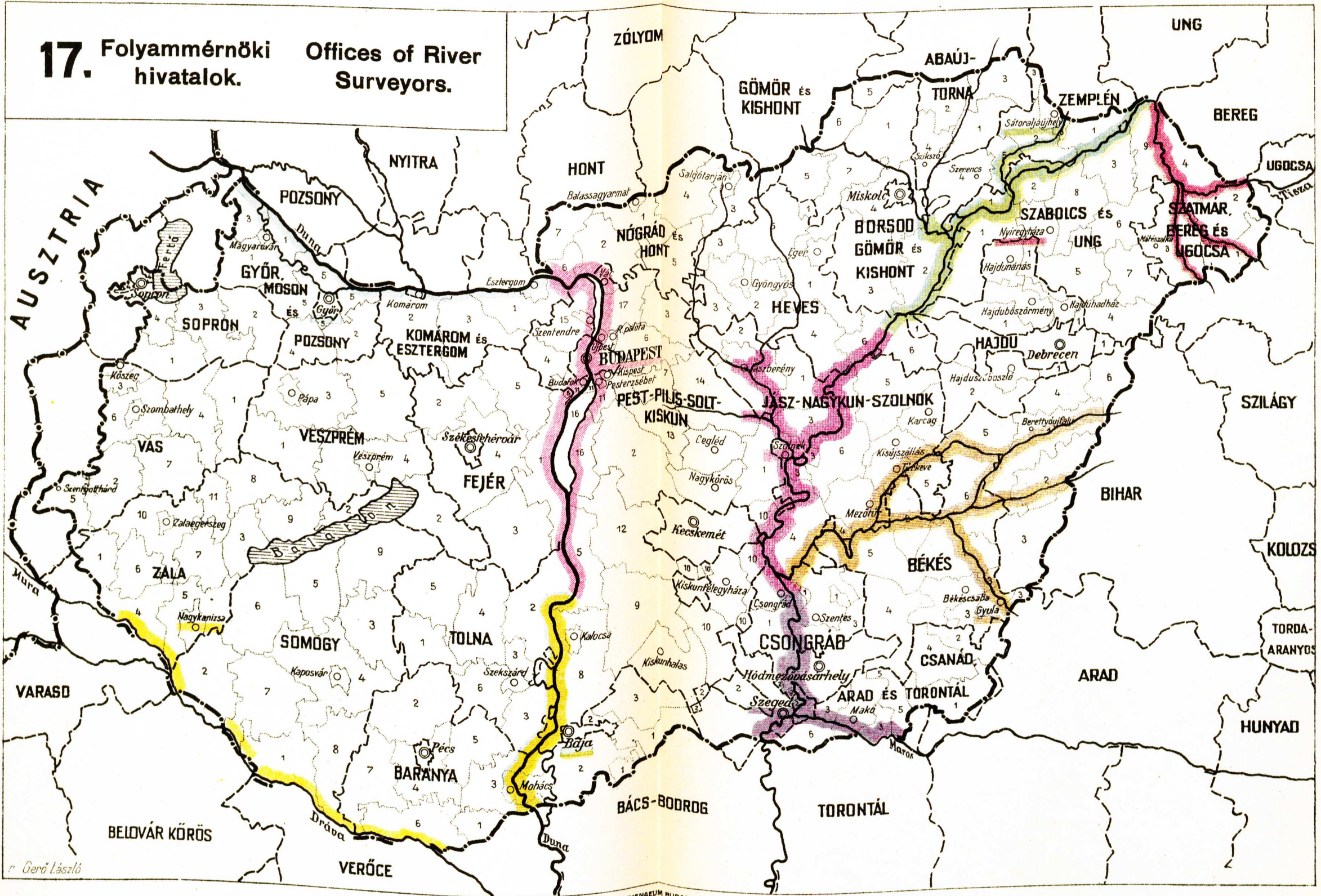
Distribution by Diocesan (Synods) of the Reformed Church of Hungary.



- A) Dunamellék.
- B) Dunántúl.
- C) Tiszáninnen.
- D) Tiszántúl.
- A) Danubian (Riparian) District.
- B) Trans-Danubia.
- C) Cis-Tisza District.
- D) Trans-Tisza District.

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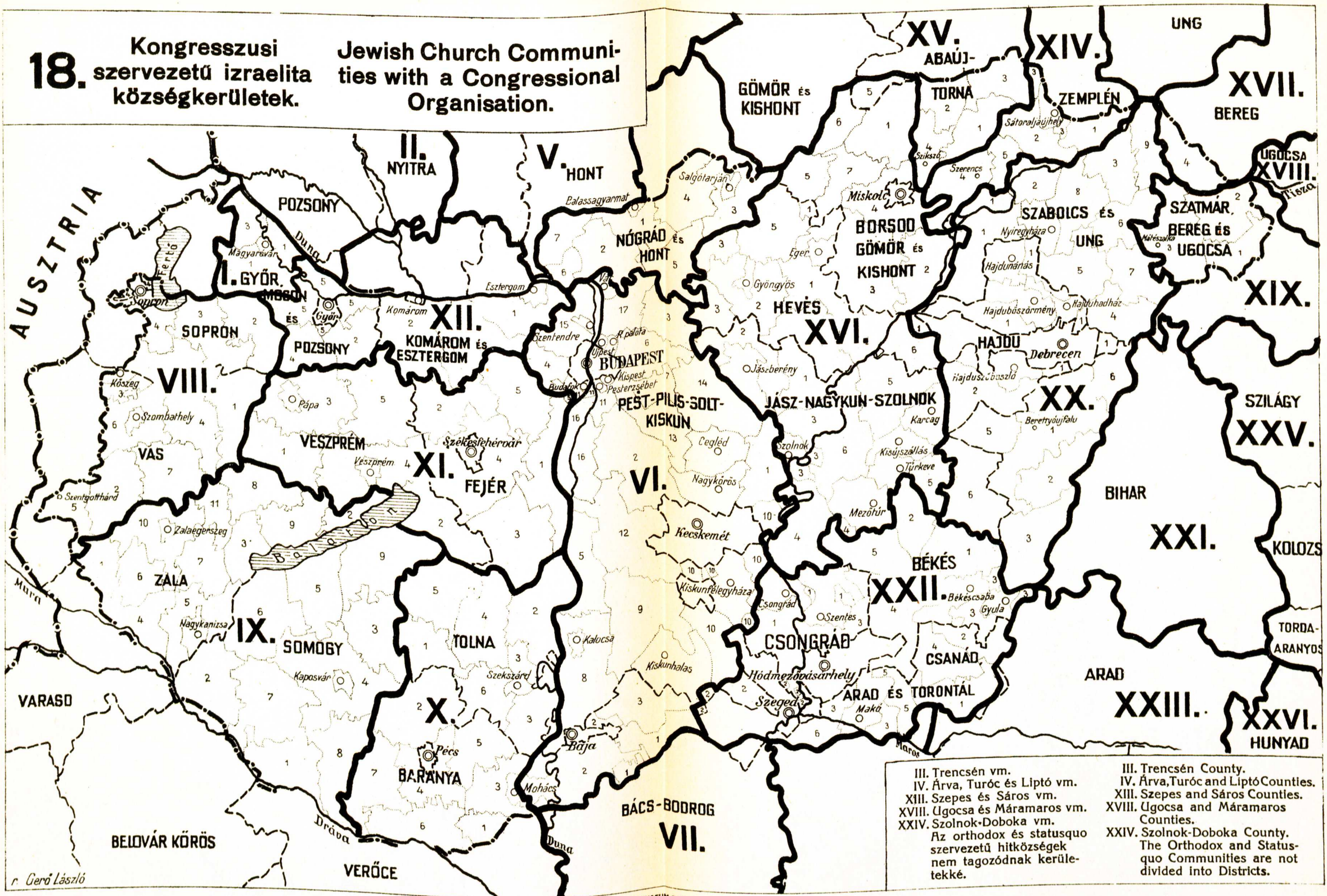
17. Folyammérnöki hivatalok. Offices of River Surveyors.



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18. Kongresszusi szervezetű izraelita községkerületek.

Jewish Church Communities with a Congressional Organisation.



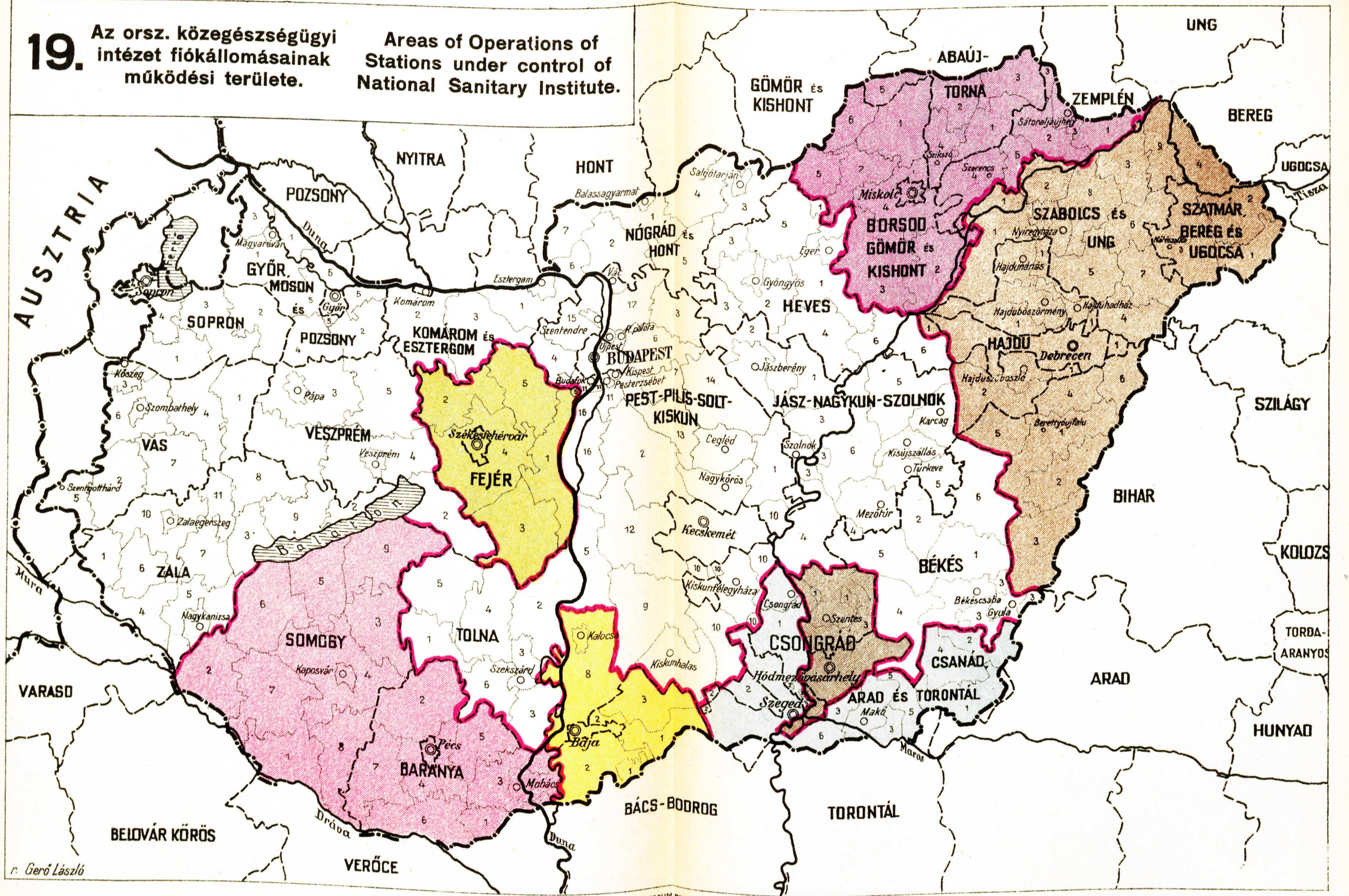
III. Trencsén County.
 IV. Árva, Turóc and Liptó Counties.
 XIII. Szepes and Sáros Counties.
 XVIII. Ugocsa and Máramaros Counties.
 XXIV. Szolnok-Doboka County.
 The Orthodox and Status-quo Communities are not divided into Districts.

r. Gerő László

19.

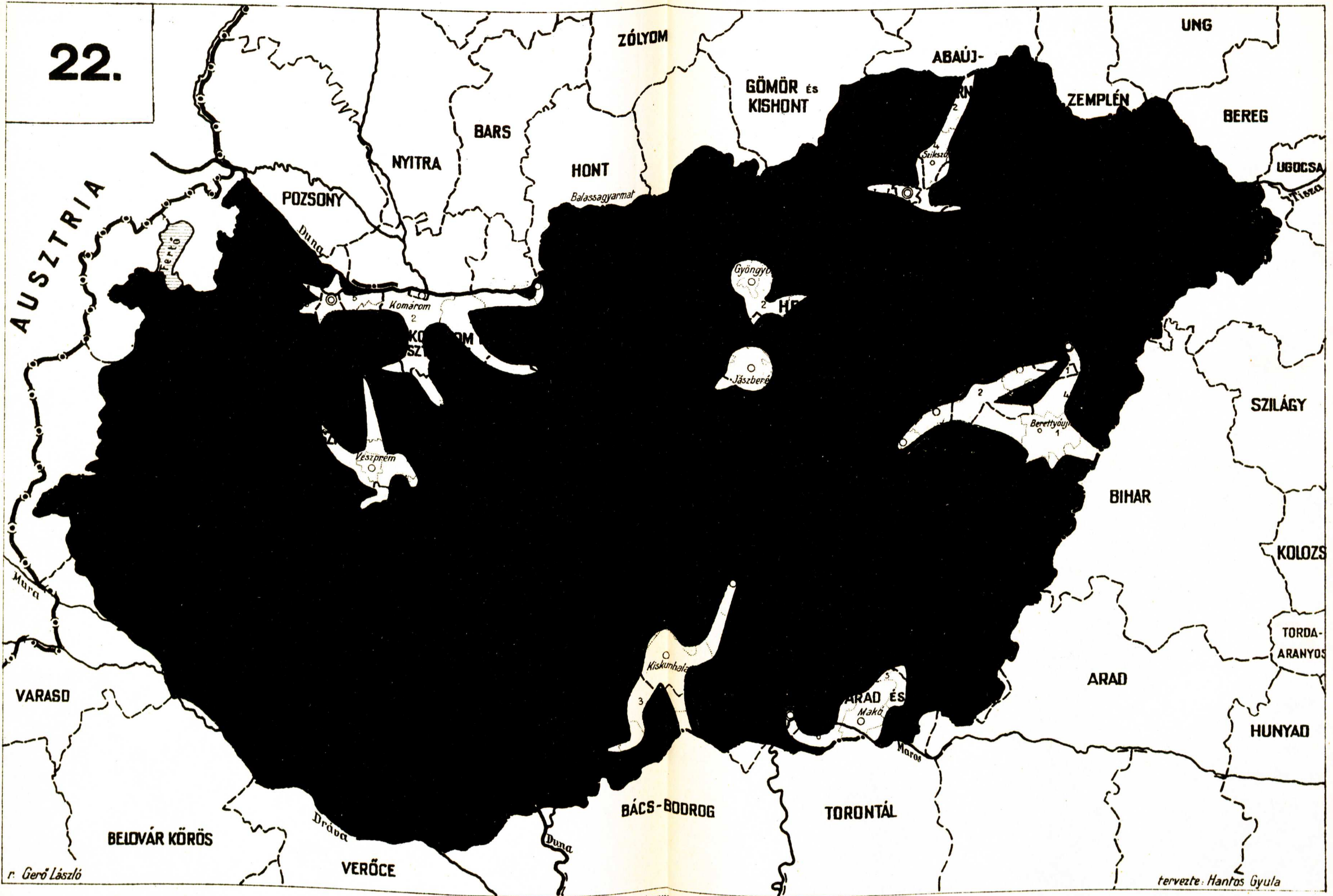
Az orsz. közegészségügyi intézet fiókállomásainak működési területe.

Areas of Operations of Stations under control of National Sanitary Institute.



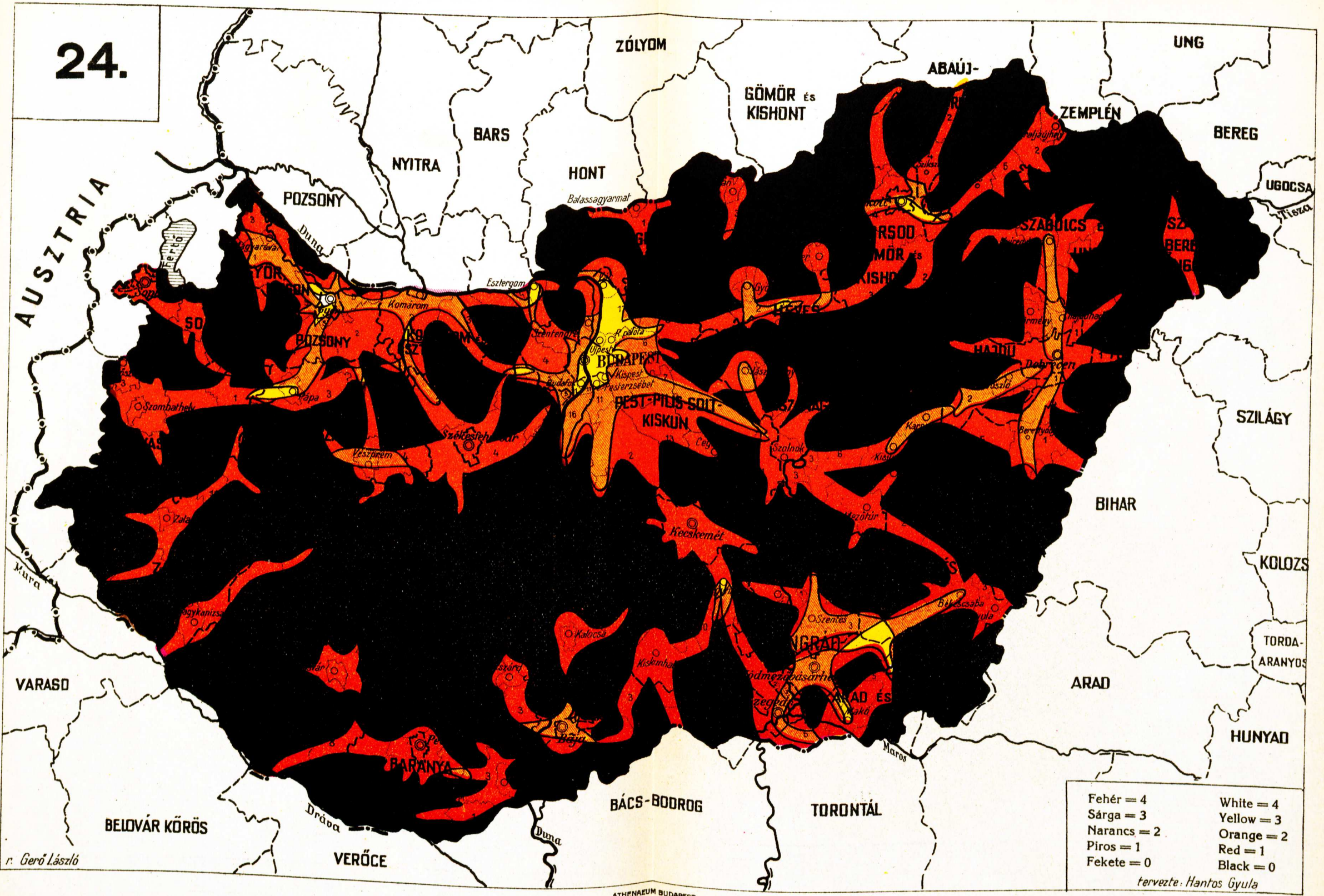
r. Gerő László







24.

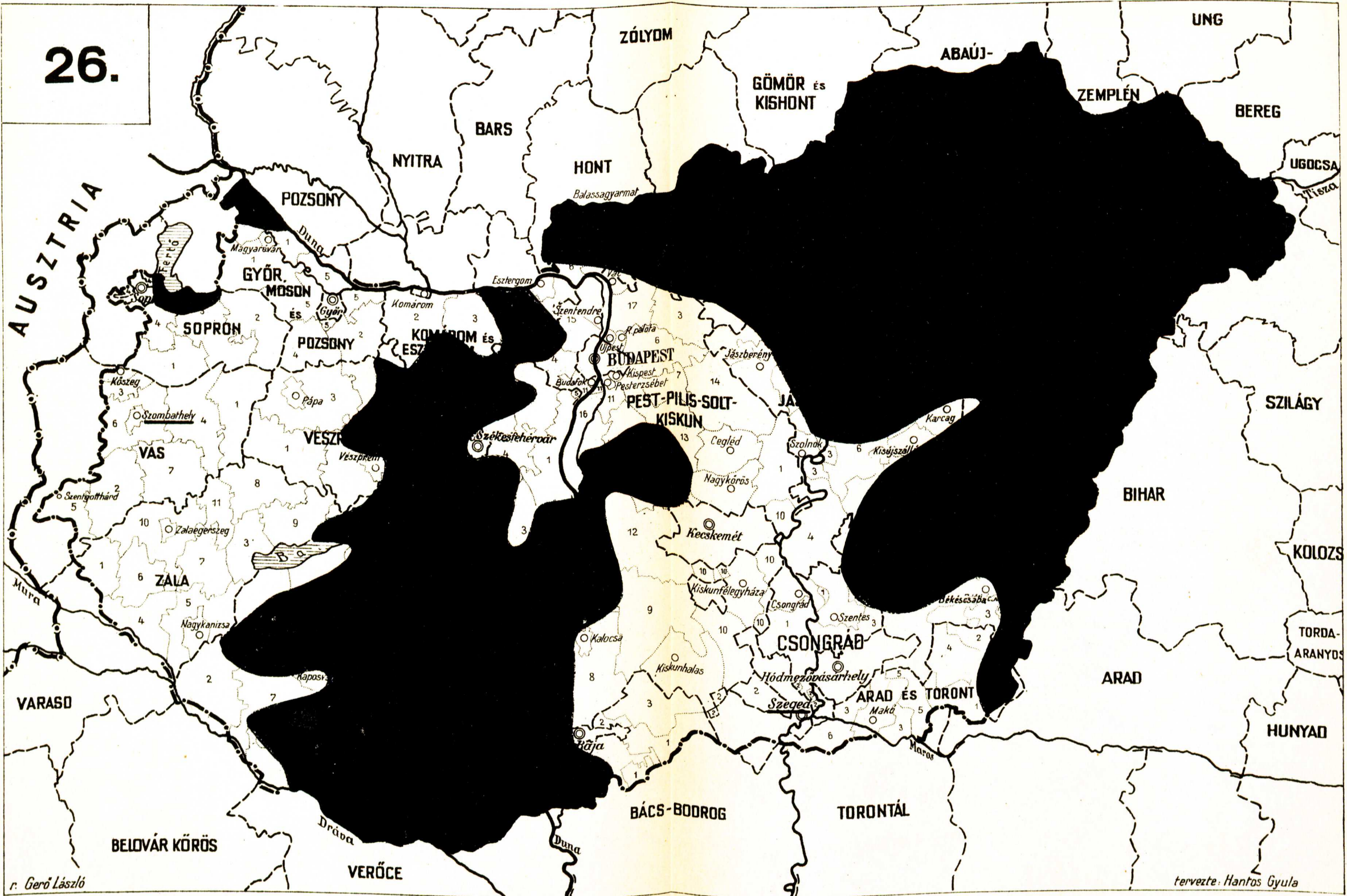


Fehér = 4	White = 4
Sárga = 3	Yellow = 3
Narancs = 2	Orange = 2
Piros = 1	Red = 1
Fekete = 0	Black = 0

tervezte: Hantos Gyula

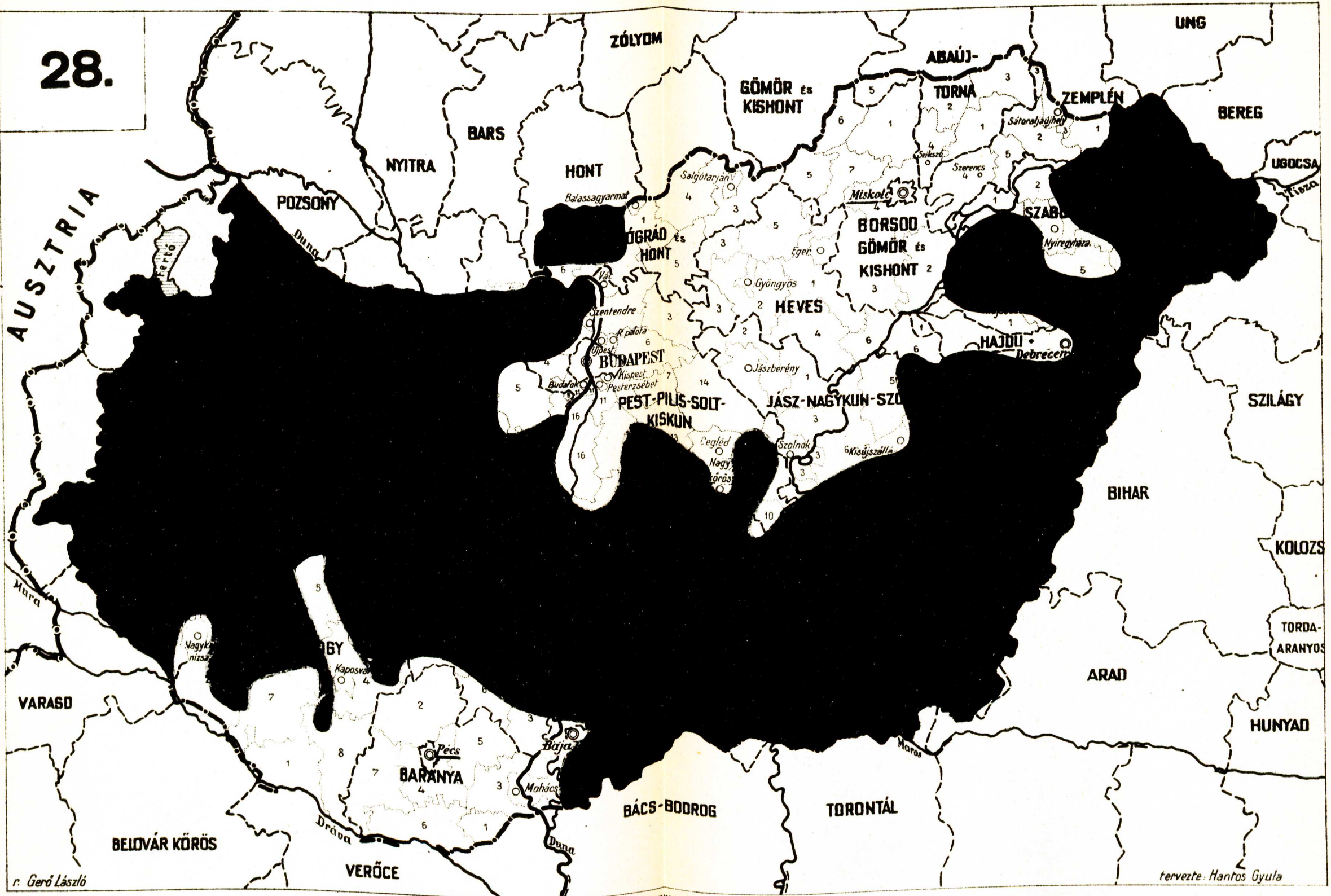
r. Gerő László

26.

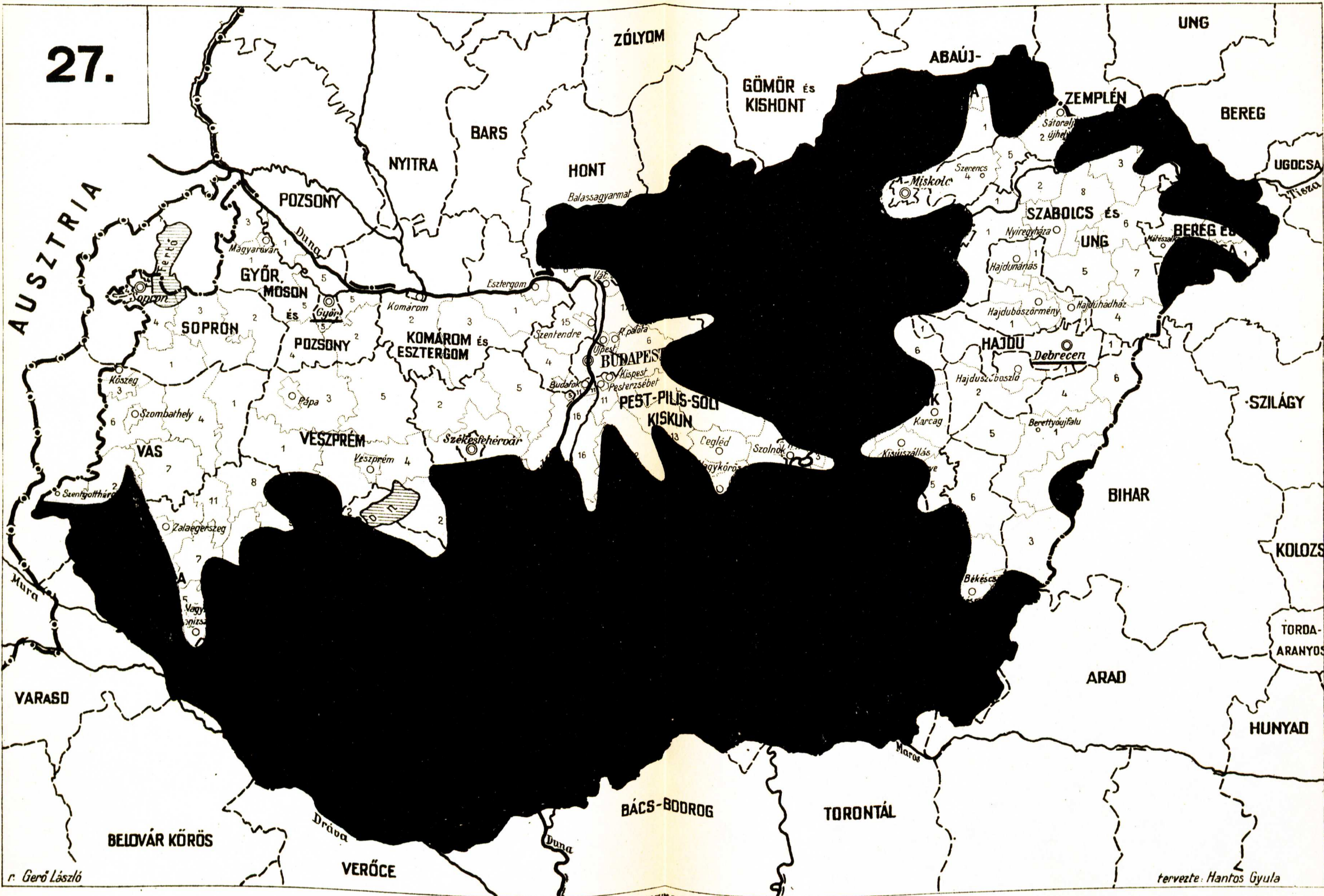


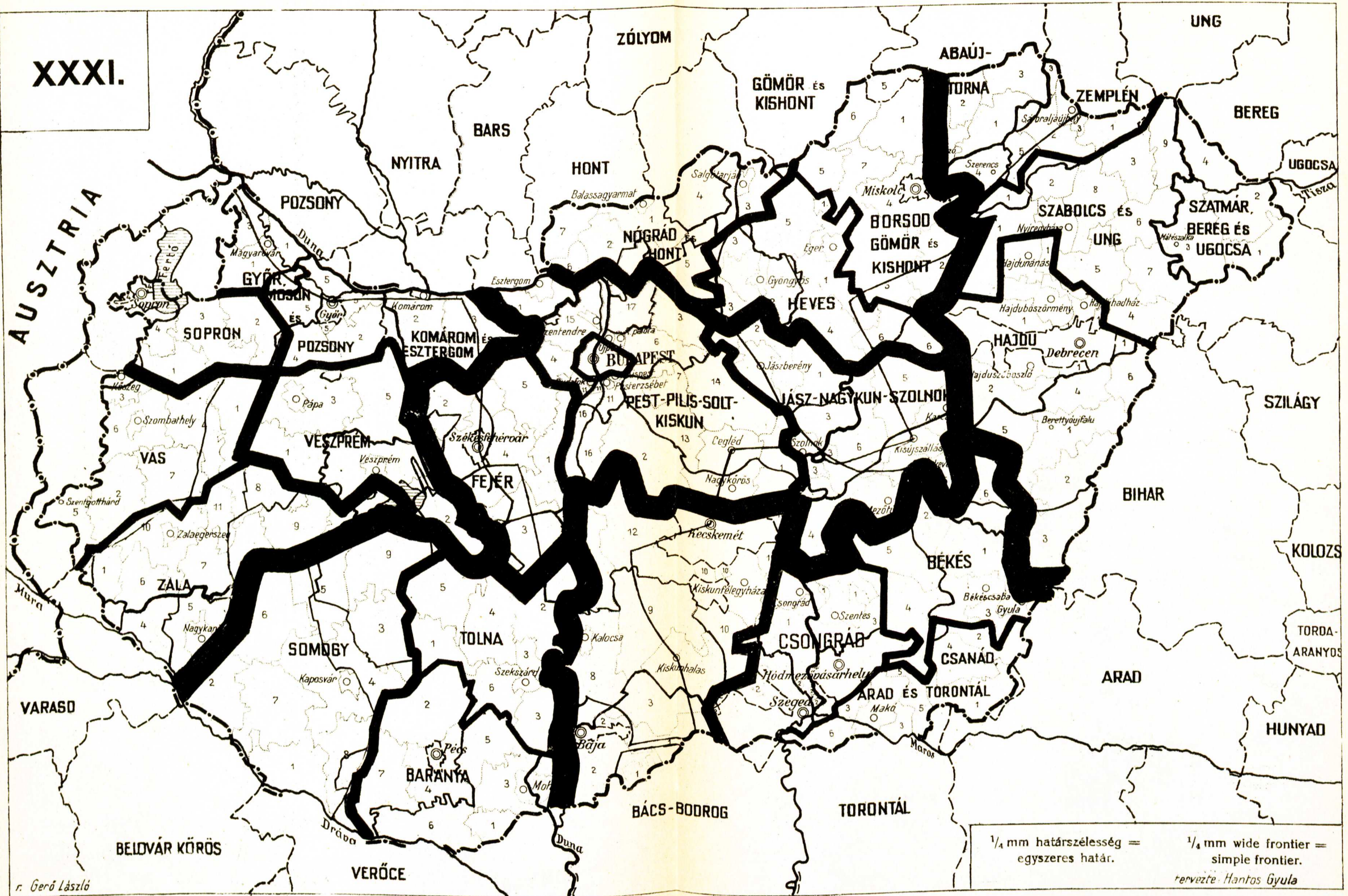
r. Gerő László

tervezte: Hanfcs Gyula









r. Gerő László

1/4 mm határszélesség =
egyszeres határ.

1/4 mm wide frontier =
simple frontier.

revizta: Hantos Gyula

