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Inhaltsverzeichnis

Vorwort	04
<i>Oliver Schmidt: African American Combat Troops in World War II: Transnational perspectives on the „race war“</i>	05
<i>Katalin Péter: Agricultural Unemployment in Harghita County</i>	25
<i>Ádám László: Angewandte Logistik von Mineralöl und Erdölprodukten in der Republik Ungarn</i>	35
<i>Ottó György: Regional Developments on Traffic and Communicational Infrastructure</i>	47
<i>David Furch: Nobelpreis für Ökonomie geht an Elinor Ostrom und Oliver E. Williamson</i>	60

Vorwort

Das European Journal of Transnational Studies (EJOTS) ist eine interdisziplinäre Zeitschrift, die zu einem tieferen Verständnis transnationaler Prozesse sowie länderspezifischer Besonderheiten beitragen will. Durch die enge Verzahnung verschiedener Disziplinen wie den Wirtschafts- und Politikwissenschaften, der Soziologie oder den Rechts- und Kulturwissenschaften wollen wir unterschiedliche Aspekte aktueller Phänomene und Fragestellungen beleuchten und den Blickwinkel unserer Leser um tiefere Einsichten bereichern.

Einen besonderen Stellenwert in der thematischen Ausrichtung des European Journal of Transnational Studies nimmt der wissenschaftliche Austausch zwischen etablierten und neuen EU-Mitgliedsstaaten ein. EJOTS möchte dazu beitragen, dass der Prozess der europäischen Einigung kontinuierlich weitergeführt wird und setzt sich daher aktiv für die Intensivierung der europäischen Integration ein. Ziel ist die Förderung einer gemeinsamen europäischen Identität, die auf der pluralistischen Tradition Europas aufbaut.

Wissenschaftlich fundierte Artikel und enger Praxisbezug müssen sich dabei nicht gegenseitig ausschließen. Hierin sieht das European Journal of Transnational Studies seine zentrale Aufgabe: die Weitergabe von Fachwissen an gesellschaftliche Multiplikatoren. Dabei wollen wir Brücken bauen und zu einer substantiellen Vertiefung von bereits vorhandenem Wissen beitragen. Gleichzeitig wollen wir gesellschaftliche Diskurse - politischer, wirtschaftliche, sozialer oder kultureller Art - anregen und mitgestalten.

African American Combat Troops in World War II: Transnational perspectives on the „race war“

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For African American soldiers, World War II and the operations against German troops in particular represented a crucial opportunity to finally claim equality for themselves as well as for all African Americans. In fighting German troops, the GIs led a substitutional war that fundamentally changed the transnational negotiation of race both in the United States and in Germany.

Introduction

In World War II, Sergeant Edward Donald served in the 761st Tank Battalion, nicknamed “The Black Panthers”, which battled its way through France and Germany to as far as Austria. In one of his statements about the operations that brought down German resistance on the Western Front, he formulated an account of World War II experiences with which many of his fellow African American troopers would agree:

“I shall never forget that place. It took us one week to drive the Germans out of this town. They were really dug in. After an hour of fighting we knew we were fighting SS troops we had tangled with before. It might sound odd, but if you have a return engagement with a unit you know it. You recognize their style of fighting. We finally moved Jerry out, and we were right we had fought them before. It was the same group that had held Patton up at Normandy. I mention Tillet because every group that had been assigned to take it had taken a severe beating. There were tanks, artillery, and infantry inside the Ardennes. All had tried Tillet, all had failed. Of all tankers with Patton it was the 761st that was given Tillet. We took the town and drove the Germans some miles in full retreat. You can find Tillet in many books on World War II but you won’t find one word about us.” (Motley 1975: 156)¹

Sgt. Donald remembered himself and his comrades fighting as hard and persistently as anyone, that they suffered and took heavy casualties and that they were successful and victorious in most of their engagements. Moreover, he

¹ Motley also provides a general account on the battle history and war experience of the African American units in World War II. For another overview, see Silvera 1969. For the 761st Battalion in particular Wilson 1999, which is mostly based on interviews with veterans; similarly Potter et al. 1992. The unofficial unit history is provided by Anderson 1945.

recalled that African American soldiers hardly ever received any credit for their sacrifices and he also remembered the enemy: “SS troops”.

The SS troops represented National Socialist ideology and its race war on the battlefield. They were considered the supreme force of the Aryan race embodied by the armies of National Socialist Germany. African Americans were also subject to this ideology and considered racially inferior not only by many SS soldiers but also by many Germans. On the battlefields of Europe, African Americans finally got the opportunity to face an enemy that openly promised extermination to all people of coloured races. Therefore, this article shall examine what position the black combat soldiers took on the racial aspect of this conflict as well as what meaning the GIs applied to their experience of fighting Nazi Germany. Researching the African American World War II narrative opens the possibility of redefining the transnationality of the meaning of race in this global conflict. How did African American soldiers feel and think about the racial implications of their enemies' ideology? How did this influence their conduct during the operations? How did it relate to the negotiation about the meaning of the war and what impact did the war have on African American identity?

In order to find some consistent answers to these questions, this article will examine a sample of articles in the Chicago Defender as an example of the African American press's positions on Germany and the participation of the United States in World War II. This will show the challenged racial consciousness of African Americans who began to understand the war as an opportunity to prove their equality and value to a democratic society. This idea of a mostly male project of self-empowerment through fighting a substitutional war against a white male enemy underscores the general development of an African American move towards emancipation (Staples 1985; Estes 2005; Booker 2000). The war delivered the greatest opportunity yet - and perhaps the last - to achieve what former governments refused to grant. For African Americans, their overall role in US society was at stake. To prove the effect of this media

discourse, the African American veterans' accounts will show how the soldiers dealt with their battlefield experience in Germany's race war and what meaning they gave to it. Here the encounter with the German soldier will be most relevant as it will reveal constructions of racial and male identity. In contrast to the images that were produced during combat or as an effect of severe fighting, the experience of liberating countries and occupying the beaten enemies' homeland started a re-evaluation of how enemies were seen and their own role in bringing them down in terms of racial identity. This will help to pinpoint what role the African American war experience played in postwar American and US-German history.

Therefore, this article is designed to trace the meaning of World War II in Europe, the impact of conflict, liberation and occupation in the African American mental map. By discovering the developments the war triggered socially and politically, the transnational dimension of the African American experience of World War II shall be shown.²

African American combat troops in the ETO, 1944-1945

The 761st Tank Battalion (Negro) was the first ever African American tank battalion to partake in the military operations of the United States Armed Forces. This battalion represented one of the very few segregated combat units operating in the European Theatre of Operations (ETO) during World War II. Most of them were battalion-sized as well, thus eluding many researchers of World War II history. The two exceptions were the 92nd Infantry Division (Negro) that saw action in Italy from late 1944 until April 1945 when the Wehrmacht surrendered in that part of Europe. The second was the 99th Pursuit

² For the recent increase in the research of African American-German culture relations see for instance Fehrenbach 2005; Goedde 2003; Höhn 2002; Klimke 2006 and Schroer 2007. These studies, however, start their analyses in the postwar era, whereas the importance of World War II for the African American community has remained largely under researched – see Brandt 1996. Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke also lead a project of the GHI Washington on African Americans, Germany and the Civil Rights Struggle, see Klimke 2008.

Squadron, also the first African American fighter squadron, which became better known as the “Tuskegee Airmen”. In 1944 and 1945 they operated from Italy against the Luftwaffe and offered protection to the bomber fleets approaching Germany (Silvera 1969; Nalty 1986; Lee 1966).

Of about one million African American troopers of World War II only a very small percentage were combat troops and saw action in the front line. These approximately ten per cent were scattered among most of the branches and attached to whichever larger outfit needed their tactical support (Silvera 1969). This was the case with the single black tank battalion that did not fight as one unit but always divided into its companies and was given to various units. Several battalions of the field artillery experienced similar dislocation practices, as did the tank destroyer battalion seeing action in the ETO (Nalty 1986: 175 et seq.; Lee 1966: 640-656).

Despite this, the bulk of African American soldiers in World War II served in the hinterland in truck companies, supply units and on kitchen staff. The “Red Ball Express”, the line of supply trucks between the harbours along the French Atlantic coast and the front, created its own legend and was to a large extent maintained by black drivers. It was not until early 1945 that this immense and untouched manpower reserve of “Negro personnel” caught the eye of the US commanders, for manpower had become an issue after the failed German offensive in the Ardennes. Only then were the African Americans invited to volunteer for front line service, to which a larger amount of soldiers than expected responded. About 2,000 soldiers were attached to infantry units and contributed to the advance into the Reich (Nalty 1986: 178 et seq.; MacGregor/Nalty 1981: 131; Lee 1966: 633).

The battle history of all of these units is quickly told. The 92nd Infantry Division received an unusual amount of media coverage and their allegedly misguided operations reached the ear of an interested public, while the successful thrusts into the Po valley towards the end of the war failed to attract the attention it deserved. For the public, the 92nd had become a failing unit as it

was crushed in an unexpected German counter-offensive in December 1944 and missed the targets in offensive operations the following spring (Nalty 1986: 172-175; Lee 1966: 536-548.). The fighter unit, however, claimed enormous successes in both dogfights and air-to-ground operations, some of them are actually part of the legend of the Tuskegee Airmen, as it was the fighter pilots whose service was perceived as most heroic by the African American press. It was the technical units in which the Negroes could prove their equal ability to the white soldiers, who guarded their supremacy enviously in the realm of technological warfare. The airmen proved the contrary, as well as fulfilling a dream of the African American people strongly signalling the possibilities they could open with their training.³ Similarly, the tankers built up their very own story. Wielding some of the most powerful engines in the entire United States Army, they developed strong self esteem in their work.

The discourse of the “race war” in “The Chicago Defender”

When Hitler declared war on the United States of America in December 1941, the African American section of the nation was not entirely prepared to close ranks and send their boys off in defence of democracy once more. The participation of African American soldiers in World War I, when two segregated and thus almost completely black divisions joined the American Expeditionary Force on the battlefields of France from 1917 onwards, had remained a great disappointment for those who expected the final steps to equality for the African Americans and recognition as full citizens of the United States of America. Although many of the soldiers of the 92nd and 93rd Infantry Divisions had the experience of near-equal treatment from the French superior command and took the pride of a few victorious engagements with the

³ On the impression the Airmen made on the African American soldiers, see especially an interview with the writer Cyrus Colter who served as an artilleryman in Italy: Cross et. al. 1991: 855-897, particularly: 896.

Germans, the humiliating disregard for their participation and achievement from the US superior command as well as from the wider public left the African American nation scarred and incredulous (Potter 1992: 20-28; MacGregor/Nalty 1981: 77-90). In the years between the wars, African American society experienced an ongoing differentiation in political groups and organisations. No small number of the leading people in civil rights endeavours who suffered from disillusionment after World War I radicalised and partly turned against the government of the United States. When the war with Nazi Germany finally came, African Americans were divided.

The mainstream and middle class Negro press still supported the war effort in every respect, linking it to precise demands as employment in defence industries and the armed forces. National daily and weekly publications such as “The Chicago Defender”, “The Pittsburgh Courier”, “The Crisis” and the NAACP were the pillars of the “Double Victory Campaign” for victory abroad against fascism as well as at home against discrimination and Jim Crow laws in the southern states. W. E. B. DuBois gave a prominent and integrating face to African American support of the war (Willoughby 2001: 54-57; Zhang 2002).⁴ Resistance to the engagement in Europe, however, was also considerable. The argument was that the assistance of the African Americans in this war would once more be exploited and even a victorious outcome would not change a bit of the situation of African Americans in the United States, as experienced before. Instead, one might even favour a Nazi-Japanese victory, which would mean liberation for colonized peoples in Africa and Asia, as well as for the African Americans.

A few aspects catch the researcher's eye when the African American press coverage of World War II operations is analysed. Most of all, the newspapers report the Negro units' achievements. The next remarkable observation concerns the way these reports relate to the question of race and discuss its

⁴ For an overview of the African American debate about World War II and DuBois' positions especially see Silvera 1969.

relevance. Thirdly, the African American press followed not only the progress of the African American units but also the presence of many other Allied troops "of color". These three main points shall be examined more closely here.

Often discussed was the performance of the only independent African American Infantry Division in the ETO, operating in Italy. "The Defender" suggested that the high command as well as the mainstream press highlighted the division's setbacks apparently in order to distract the public from larger crises on other fronts. While the German push through the Ardennes in December 1944 hit mostly white units, the public then did not question their general fighting abilities, nor were the units condemned to "menial labor work", the Defender stated. However, the "famous 92nd" received a lot of critical reports after its failed offensive along the Serchio valley in February 1945. The Defender coolly replied that the unit was not the only division at the front and was thus part of the greater Allied effort, to which it contributed its own share:

"When the 92nd was pushed back with high casualties, the reasons were the same as apply to any military unit. It had nothing to do with race, it had nothing to do with fighting qualities. It did have to do with such important military factors as lack of adequate men and munitions at the right places at the right time. That's what loses and wins battles." (The Chicago Defender: 03/03/1945; MacGregor/Nalty 1981: 104)⁵

At the beginning of 1945, the same newspaper had reported some recent successes of the 92nd, after it had almost completely recaptured the terrain it had given up during the surprising German counter-offensive beginning in December 1944 and ending in mid-January. According to the Defender, the division therein had faced some fierce fighting on this "forgotten front" of the

⁵ Hereinafter quoted as "TCD".

war in Italy, which was only comparable to the advance to the Gothic Line (TCD: 13/01/1945; 06/11/1944). While the 92nd appeared more regularly in the headlines, many other units received only general praise for hammering the Germans as did the many small attachments that supported the invasion on D-Day on 6 June 1944 (TCD: 17/06/1944). Even more so did some of the Field Artillery Battalions in the Army. After the invasion and the operations in Italy, the thrust towards the Rhine was the next highlight of war reporting, in the course of which the artillerymen reportedly had ample opportunity to send grenades labelled “From Harlem to Hitler” into the German lines and earned the gratitude of 8th Army infantrymen for taking out many of the feared German 88mm guns (TCD: 09/09/1944).

The press interest did not focus on whole units alone. Occasions of individual bravery were just as important, particularly when they involved self-assertion against the Germans (i. e. TCD: 29/01/1944). Here the question of racial superiority and inferiority was most visible and, by surviving, the African American GIs proved themselves as well as disproving these racial theories. Meanwhile, back in the United States, “The Chicago Defender” discussed the question of race war. Being aware of Nazi ideology, the commentators not only set the field of conflict in the theatres of operation, but also found one of the sources at home. In a “World View” commentary, John Robert Badger reiterated that race policies in the United States puzzled their Allies. In the Soviet Union, by law, everyone was equal without consideration of race, while both German and Japanese propagandists stressed the inconsistency of American democracy at this point. Therefore, Badger found, the Germans attempted to motivate the soldiers of the 92nd to escape their oppressors. The “anti-Negro leaflets distributed among Italians”, however, did not come from the “top-ranking race haters of the world in Nazi Germany”, but from “color-crazed Dixie army officers” (TCD: 13/01/1945; 17/02/1945; Lee 1966: 562). Only this kind of disunity though, Badger argued, opened the way for Nazi propaganda to undermine the Allied effort, while the GIs did everything to

reject the public discrimination by their officers. Nevertheless, for the press the war was about breaking the “Aryan [sic] supremacy” of Nazi Germany and that is why the Chicago Defender joyfully reported the thrust into the Reich. The operations against the border were helped by the “Negro volunteers” from former supply units. They were recruited for infantry service after the lack of manpower had become obvious in the course of the German offensive in the Ardennes. In March 1945, these members of the “shovel brigades” fought the “Hitlerites” on their own ground, earning high praise from their white officers and proving once more that the remaining German soldiers were not descendants of a mystical master race (TCD: 31/03/1945).

Even before “American Negroes” had engaged in combat, the African American press reported the presence of other “colored” troops in the allied armies and their successful undertakings. As early as 30 January 1943, the Chicago Defender published a photograph headlined “‘Super race’ chased on road to Tripoli” showing “a sullen Nazi prisoner” who was taken away by a “grinning British Negro soldier” in North Africa. This little anecdote is an early example of the press coverage of the beaten German soldier as a member of the self-entitled super race (TCD: 30/01/1945; Silvera 1969). In July 1943 the Defender reported the arrival of the Belgian Expeditionary Force in the Near East from the Congo. The mission of this force, consisting of recruits from “the races of Central Africa”, was to partake in the liberation of Europe (TCD: 31/07/1943). A rather triumphant piece of news celebrated the seizure of Taganrog at the Azov Sea by the 416th rifle division of the Red Army. The “crack” unit was “composed principally of tawny colored Azerbaidjans” that “slaughtered whole divisions of the Nazi forces”. Again, it was the members of the “master race” who had to escape the onslaught of the “dark skinned” Caucasian troops who were “looked down on in the fascist ‘racial scale’” and who “[mowed] the Germans down like grass before a sythe and ‘pure German blood’ flowed down Taganrog streets as water down a street [...]”. Not only was the victory of fellow coloured people complete, the Defender also reminded its

readers of the racial unity between them in commemorating the legend of Hitler's refusal to shake Jesse Owen's hand in Berlin in 1936, as well as comparing the celebrations in the streets of Baku with those in Harlem after World War I when the Dough Boys returned (TCD: 11/09/1943).

The Chicago Defender criticised the US government's policy of segregation and held it partly responsible for the racial dimension of fighting the war. Moreover, the racial ideology of National Socialism was, whenever possible, commented on ironically and even turned against the soldiers of the "Third Reich"; the African American GIs ridiculed presumptions of race theory by their mere presence in the theatres of operation.

The soldiers' account

For the GIs on the front, the encounter with the enemy covered a few remarkable narratives. Three aspects shall be pointed out in this article: the assessment of the opponent, the meaning of race on the battlefield and the triumph of victory.

As early as November 1944, only a few weeks after the 92nd was brought into action, the Defender published an interview with one of the first African American casualties of war, First Sergeant Jerry B. Davis. Davis told the paper that the "Germans may be good soldiers but they're not supermen" and that they rather surrendered when asked to than dying for "Der Feuhrer [sic]" (TCD: 18/11/1944).

For the African American soldier, the soldierly quality of their opponents served as a measurement of their own performance in combat. As one of the tank soldiers of the 761st put it, the GIs grew along with their challenge:

"The German Soldier was the most well-trained, most disciplined soldier in the world. He was the best. The only thing that defeated the German army was that they were fighting everybody. There was

no one country in the world that, alone, could have defeated the German soldier, and any real combat soldier will tell you that.”

(Potter 1992: 175)

Similarly, the success in combat, “our victory”, was celebrated and reassured the soldiers of their fighting proficiency – not least, it boosted their male self-esteem (Motley 1975: 152). Soon after the first skirmishes, the victorious soldiers indulged in their own heroism, backed up by the admiring and respectful comments of captured enemies:

“[...] but it was an inferno; my men were tigers, they fought like seasoned veterans. We got our lumps out but we took that fucking town. A German officer we captured in the town said the heroism of one of our tank crews in the battle was only equalled by that of a Russian tank crew under similar circumstances.” (Motley 1975: 153)

The praise from the enemy even reached African American newspapers. MP Staff Sergeant Michael J. Garvey, for instance, informed the *Chicago Defender* of the war stories German POWs told him. According to the prisoners, they “had the highest respect for Negro combat troops”. However, their reports also revealed the racial attitudes common among German soldiers as they described the African Americans as “the most bloodthirsty and most fearless troops they had to face in North Africa and Sicily”, thus citing popular racial stereotypes about black combatants, which similarly can be traced back to accounts on Germany's colonial wars, World War I and even early World War II (TCD: 11/12/1943).⁶

Most importantly, however, in the soldiers’ narrative the odds were usually against the African American troopers – either the opponents were in massively fortified positions or they relied on superior equipment:

⁶ For racial stereotypes in German armies see for instance: Becker/Beez 2005.

“There was only one problem, Jerry was waiting for us with the proverbial kitchen sink. I swear they had bazookas mounted on some roof tops. Our first tank was hit as soon as it entered the square and this tied up those behind. We might have been green but we fought like crazy while they got the equipment to move Sergeant King’s tank.” (Motley 1975: 161)

And similarly:

“I know I was as aware as the colonel that the valley was undoubtedly mined and certainly would be covered by something like the 88 mm German field piece. Perhaps somewhere in the back of my mind was the fact that we had the only guns that could match the firepower of the Mark VI tanks.” (Motley 1975: 173)

Nevertheless, the soldiers usually overcame all obstacles and achieved their goals, from which they drew their pride and thus consciously challenging the announced racial pride of German soldiers. At the same time, the narrative of fighting in World War II developed in a way in which it appeared that the enemy the GIs faced throughout the war mostly consisted of elite outfits which, of course, increased the military glory of defeating them as well as constructing and underpinning their own morally superior position:

“And his division, I say with pride, was the crack black tank battalion, the 761st. We could let up then, but they had their work cut out for them because a good many of the Germans facing them were SS men. I learned afterwards they had been absolutely merciless on the Belgians and many of their allied captives.” (Motley 1975: 182)

The GIs were proudly conscious of the racial meaning of their progress and were regularly confronted with it by their enemies:

“We took bridges, we took towns...and the Germans respected us. They called us 'schwarze Soldaten'. The word had passed back through Germany that these black soldiers were coming, and they were afraid. And they were told not to take any black tankers prisoner: 'Kill them'.” (Potter 1992: 249)⁷

And:

“I should [remember the name], because as they led us through the town the women there got their kicks spitting on what they called the *schwarz* captain of the 'elite *schwarz* panzer division.' I do know we ended up in a citadel called Walhalla, which I believe is near the city of Regensburg. I expected to be killed, for our tank battalion had mopped up Jerry when and wherever we encountered him and these things don't remain a secret. We took thousands of prisoners, but those who wanted a fight to the finish got just that. The fight-it-out boys were usually SS troops.” (Motley 1975: 154)

As the Germans considered the presence of black soldiers a threat, the GIs positively related it to their identity. They fought and defeated a white opponent who was feared, particularly if part of the SS:

“We had no problem with the regular German soldiers we defeated in battle. However, their officers wanted to surrender to officers of equal rank. [...] We had to kill SS men because they wouldn't

⁷ However, the elimination of black prisoners of war as an official order was a legend. See also the account by Sgt. Donald who was temporarily captured in: Motley 1975: 155, which represents a rather well-humoured anecdote leaving questions of race far behind.

surrender and wanted to fight to death; they wanted it the hard way and that's just the way they got it." (Motley 1975: 171)

For the combat troopers it was clear that after the war they really would have earned their constitutional rights:

"When General Patton sent for us, he asked for the best tank in the country. Hot dog it, were we proud, proud! I was in a unit I was damn proud of, and I knew that the thing we did would shape the future for my children and grandchildren. We were so proud and dedicated to the cause of progress...going ahead so everyone would be able to live like an American." (Potter 1992: 111)

And even more explicit:

"If I can't afford to say what I think, then I wasted a helluva lot of time fighting in World War II. [...] Its [sic] funny but your question for some strange reason brings the Battle of the Bulge to my mind. It was one of our toughest fights. I guess the connection is we earned the right to speak our minds. The 761st had just punched a hole through the Siegfried Line. It had taken us three days of steady fighting, [...]." (Motley 1975: 155)

However, by fighting the Germans in order to liberate Europe from the Nazis, African American soldiers of all branches also fought their real enemy, the oppression of and discrimination against African Americans in the United States:

"They didn't leave a stone unturned to keep blacks in their so-called place and to make sure they would not share in the glory and victory

of the '40s. The whites have forgotten all about the little sadistic games they played with us at that time, the seeds of distrust and hatred they planted. We have not forgotten, we were the victims, and let us not speak of forgiveness. You can only forgive people who know the meaning of the word or have some knowledge of the meaning of Christianity." (Potter 1992: 270)

The occupation of Germany only stressed the assumption that there were more forms of coexistence of different races than in the USA. When the GIs encountered Germans and learned about their racial stereotypes, they were the living examples to prove the contrary:

"The German people didn't see many blacks, and the white American soldiers in World War I had told the German people that we were monkeys and had tails. [...] So we'd roll into a town, and they'd send their kids out. They were hungry, so we'd give them food. It's hard to see kids down in garbage cans, getting food. So I used to take my mess kit, put food in there, and give it to them. And the next day, [the kid] will come out looking for you, and then he'll invite you to his house. And you'd bring the food and everything. So they came to love us. We didn't treat them cruel, like a lot of soldiers did. We got along with the German people. They worshiped us! They didn't even want to see us leave town after they got to know us. But the war went on, we had to move on to the other fights and other sights." (Potter 1992: 257)

The African American GIs led a war against the Germans and against discriminatory practices in their own army. For both their masculine and their ethnical identity, the experience of asserting themselves in combat against the construction of a white Aryan super human as well as seeing their officers as an

additional enemy prepared the road to fundamental change in American society (Nichols 1954: 107). Moreover, cultural interaction with German people in war and occupation changed the way African Americans and Germans thought about their concepts of race:

“We were treated better by the civilian population than we were treated in America. See, in our own country, we couldn’t buy a hot dog when we were in uniform, had to ride in the back when we were in uniform – you were nothing in uniform. But over there, you were treated like a king. We ate together, slept together. After the war was over and [the Germans] had dances again, you were invited. That’s why a lot of black GI’s took their discharges in Europe. They said, ‘Look, ain’t nothing in America for me. I can’t get a decent job when I go back, I know that. I’m not gonna have any privileges, I can’t even vote. So what the hell do I want to go back there for?’” (Potter 1992: 258 et seq.)

Conclusion

The small sample of African American press coverage and the African American GIs' accounts of their experiences show in which way concepts of race and the idea of a race war were negotiated in the era of World War II. The two kinds of sources also open a glimpse of the transnational impact on the construction of race in the course and aftermath of World War II. While the press celebrated and defended the African Americans’ achievements, the soldiers fought the German troops as a substitute for the white male they felt suppressed by at home. They saw the fighting as their road to emancipation, and for them it was to claim their rights with renewed energy. Contact with black GIs changed the German way of reproducing their racial stereotypes. As the soldiers proved their racial thinking to be erroneous, the Germans initially

replaced them with more positive stereotypes of the soldiers, still influenced by racial categories.

For the African American soldiers, this experience facilitated a widespread change of consciousness among them and in a closing quotation reveals what the GIs would return home to, giving a strong boost to the civil rights endeavour.

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Agricultural Unemployment in Harghita County

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This paper presents the implications and influences of agricultural activities in Harghita County on social and community life of the population and on the environmental characteristics and factors of this area. There are numerous aspects of this region that can constitute subject of an analysis, but this paper will not detail them as it covers the above mentioned two aspects.

General data about unemployment

The analysis of unemployment, indifferent of the activity field in which it manifests, presumes the explanation of certain aspects concerning the labour market, the way as it functions and the laws that govern the internal dynamics. Practically we can affirm that unemployment is the result of dysfunctionalities in the interior of labour market.

The unemployment phenomena is complex, includes economical, social, political, psychological and moral aspects. Starting from the definition given by the explanatory dictionary, unemployment is an “economic phenomena that characterises capitalist societies and that consists in the fact that employees remain without their jobs as a result of discrepancy between demand and offer of labour market”, being a negative state of economy (Băcescu 2000). The phenomena can be characterised by the loss of income, the loss of self esteem, a breach of relations with the community and exclusion from normal life which results a social instability.

According to ILO (International Labour Office) unemployed are people who fulfil the following conditions: are beyond the age of 15, are capable of work, do not have a workplace (their contract was terminated or had been temporarily suspended and are in the search for remunerated work); do not have an occupation, are capable of work, did not have a job before or the last workplace has not been remunerated; and finally are immediately available for a lease work.

There are several theories about the causing factors of unemployment. Classical theory sustains the idea according to unemployment only exists for people who want to find a workplace, but with a salary that exceeds the one set out on the labour market. According to John Maynard Keynes the cause of involuntary unemployment is the insufficiency of demand for consumption. Neoclassic conception sustains that unemployment is a result of growth processes, something like a “natural” phenomena (Huidumac 2002).

Causes of agricultural unemployment

According to Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language (1998) the notion of unemployed defines a “person capable of work put in a situation of not finding a workplace, not being able to undertake a job (as a result of lack of demand on the labour market)”. Therefore unemployment is the immediate effect of imbalance in labour market concerning the demand-offer relationship. Unemployment represents a superior level of work offer in association with demand.

In Romania Law 1/1991 published and modified by Law 86/1992 defines that unemployed are those people who are capable of work, but who cannot be hired due to lack of workplace suitable for their professional level. Although the law does not formulate it in an explicit way, it can be understood from the context that only people above the age of 16 are taken in consideration.

The dynamics of unemployment is determined by the variations of two phenomena which characterize the economy of labour market: the loss of the workplace (due to various reasons) and the growth of work offer. At the level of national economy the problem of agricultural unemployment has a special place especially when it comes to its evaluation. According to a study from 2007, the level of employment in agriculture is 31%. The study also states that maintaining the rate of unemployment at a reasonable quota at a national level is based on two important factors: people working abroad (approximately 2 million) and agricultural employment. Approximately 3,5 million people work exclusively in the field of agriculture, resulting that the agriculture constitutes 16,9% of GDP (National Rural Development Program 2007-2013).

As a study realized by EIRO (European Industrial Relations Observatory – specific to the field of agriculture, especially in the new EU member states) stated there is a high ponderousness of individual workers and a low ponderousness of employees, the average income of employees in agriculture

represent 78,3% of the average income per economy. Although some statistics show moments when “explosions” of agricultural unemployment took place, we can state that these situations reflect more an interpreting and definition problem of unemployment rather than a real change of labour market.

The high ponderousness of people working individually in the field of agriculture caused this situation. The fact that these people were not employees determined their inclusion in the list of unemployed, but this does not mean that they had given up on working in the field of agriculture. In this manner, the notion of unemployment in the field of agriculture must be analyzed taking into consideration the above mentioned reality. We cannot talk about unemployment in a strict sense, in case there exists we must analyze the form of unemployment.

An important moment in the dynamics of agricultural unemployment is at its establishment, respectively the dissolution of CAP. The establishment of CAP in the County, as in the whole region was not a success. We might even affirm that the activity of these cooperatives was not profitable. The field that turned out to be profitable was wood exploitation and processing. The explanation for lack of profitability lies in the absence of diversity of agricultural products. The main harvest was the potato, but even in this case the production was not a special one (Gavrilescu/Giurcă 2000).

A big disadvantage and an essential factor that determined this situation was represented by the unsuitable meteorological and climate conditions for agriculture. The winter is very long and cold weather covers a long period of time in comparison to other regions of the country. We can also add the relief elements – being a mountainous area, a mechanized agriculture is sometimes much more difficult. In these conditions we must search the reasons for maintaining the CAP in the County, as profitability cannot be assured and the state has nothing to win. The answer to this question presumes that we take into consideration the area’s economical activity. Therefore we can affirm that CAP represented profitability but not from an agricultural point of view. Its

maintenance was useful for the economical activity of the region. We know that mining was developing and this meant that the mines needed larger fields for decantation or waste deposits. Obtaining these fields was simpler if these were in the property of CAP. Negotiations were not made with individual owners; the field was directly taken over by the CAP. In other words CAP was maintained with the intention to facilitate the takeover of fields by the developing mining industry.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned facts we can conclude that agriculture did not represent a leading domain in the general economy of the area. This thing led to the fact that the dissolution of CAP in 1991 did not radically alter the agricultural activities of the region (Oancea 2007). Even in the period of collectivization, production was mainly destined to cover consume and needs of the area. The rendition of fields caused the significant division of agricultural fields, which empowers the mechanized work on lands. Nevertheless one of the main problems caused by the dissolution of CAP is unemployment. Obviously the population of rural areas still continue their work in the field of agriculture, but their status has changed, practicing agriculture individually and not as employees. Here intervenes the problem of agricultural unemployment, problem that we will analyze from different point of views, both its causes and its effects on the population. Even from the start we must define that there are two main forms of unemployment: structural unemployment and seasonal unemployment. We can also talk about a certain ponderousness of structural unemployment, understood as the result of different changes of the structure of economy, changes of industry and activity domains. In the post-December period new economical activities developed in the area, there were established new firms with new products and numerous economical agents appeared on the market; this lead to a substantial growth of demand on the labour market.

The quick access to closer regions, especially cities also represented a factor that determined the direction of o significant part of labour market towards

these areas. The appearance of new products and services appropriate for an economy in full transition and the practice of more attractive salaries caused a significant diminution of preoccupation for agriculture. While agriculture was becoming a less profitable domain at the same time became unattractive especially for the younger population. The phenomena refer to the fact that agriculture becomes more and more unprofitable, a domain in which the producer invests more than produces (Zahariu 2004). Similarly, new societies requesting labour had ameliorated working conditions as a result of demands and new standards imposed and comprised by the legislative frame. The grade of mechanization and modernization was low; the dissolution of CAP had effect on the provision with equipments necessary for the work on the fields. In these hard working conditions in agriculture, with the lack of equipments, the profitability and efficiency of this activity continued to deflate.

All the above had the effect that younger population oriented to other kind of activities, seeking higher salaries, better conditions and better standards of living and last but not least they tried to get settled in urban areas. In this context, the average age in agriculture grew, knowing the fact that professional reorientation is much more difficult in case of elder people. Transformations at an economical level led to abolition of certain workplaces, respectively creation of new, more attractive and better remunerated work places. These attracted younger people who started to migrate towards urban areas. This caused the appearance of two phenomena: acute lack of labour in agriculture and the ageing of population working in agriculture. In these terms in the locality and at the level of the region or the county we can talk about a structural unemployment in agriculture.

As well seasonal unemployment can also be considered a dominant form in the agriculture of the area knowing that this type of unemployment is characteristic in special to agriculture and tourism (Țigănescu/Roman 2005). High variations of temperature, the extent of cold periods or occasional meteorological phenomena are factors that delimit the diversity of cultures as

there are some that cannot resist these conditions. These cultures can also be developed in the areas affected many times by the specific meteorological phenomena (cold, white frost, drift etc.) (Tarisznyás 1982). Delimiting cultural diversity and its dependence from climate conditions and meteorological factors affects even more the profitability of agricultural activities, especially in certain periods of the year (Bözödi 1938). Thus we can consider that here seasonal unemployment has a higher level compared to other geographical areas.

As a conclusion we can affirm that structural unemployment and seasonal unemployment are the major forms that characterize agriculture in the rural areas of the County. To this we can add the low interest of younger people for agriculture (Péter 2008). The majority chooses other workplaces that are better paid. As well a lot of local young people migrate and establish their homes in urban areas. The same situation appears in the case of young people travelling to other areas in order to continue their studies. Only few come back to work at home. We also have to mention the lack of advantages for agriculture offered by the state attracting a lower level of interest for agricultural activities. The result is the lowering of agricultural activities and in addition a significant growth of people's age who works in agriculture. Thus the re-launch of agricultural activities in the County is a very complex process and supposes an effort of the state and local authorities, but it must also be taken in consideration modalities than can motivate the population, especially young people to practice agriculture.

The effects of agricultural unemployment

We can affirm that when CAP was established it became the most important demand in labour. In this way the majority of people capable of work used their abilities in agriculture. This way the change of agriculture, dissolution of CAP constituted a major imbalance of the relationship between work offers and

demands at the rural settlement level. Most of those people who worked in CAP became unemployed (Oancea 2007). The surplus of labour had a series of effects on economical activities of the area, effects that manifested in all economical domains.

Firstly, the interruption of systematized agricultural activities in CAP determined few of them to have individual agricultural activities but the majority saw in agriculture only a way of assuring the necessary products for their own and their family's use. Secondly, the high level of unemployment assumed the lowering of labour expenses, which determined a series of societies to be present in the area. A major part of labour oriented towards these firms from the settlement or its neighbours. Thirdly, unemployment contributed to a higher ponderousness of import products, even more leading to the discouraging of local products. Another important effect of unemployment is reflected in demographic movement and its tendencies. Seeking for new workplaces, many people migrated from rural areas towards other territories, especially, but not exclusively to urban areas nearby. This led in the same time to the growth of average age of the rural area's population as the majority of those who left were represented by younger people (Péter 2008).

The lack of income also had collateral effects such as massive upsurge in the area. Many people have started to work in wood exploitation which turned out to be quite profitable. The high level of unemployment determines also small remuneration paid by economic agents, assuring very cheap work power. A high rate of unemployment had on a long term positive effects too like encouragement of economical initiatives and establishment of private societies.

Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to present that over the years agricultural activity influenced the economical activities of this County. Transformations and phenomena of economics in rural settlements are in a strong relationship with the

dynamics of agricultural activities in Harghita County. The less successful moments of agriculture were accompanied by relative stagnancy of other economical activities and on the other hand on a long term deflate of agricultural activities encouraged the economical initiative of population in the rural areas. Geographic positioning as well as climate or meteorological conditions of Harghita County are important factors of the local agricultural activities. We must state that the diversity of agricultural products is pretty low which constrains the possibilities of a competitive agriculture. A solution could be the development of the productive segments of products. At the same time a big advantage would be the establishment of processing centres for these products and even the attempt of introducing new products on the market.

Another aspect of this paper is that agriculture tends to become a traditional preoccupation as we can observe a constant growth of average age of those who practice it. This is the result of the fact that for different reasons younger people prefer to migrate to urban areas and to orientate to other economical activities. It is necessary to elaborate advantage packages and subventions capable of transforming agriculture into a profitable and attractive domain for young people.

Last but not least we sustain the idea that economy at a local level must be treated as a whole. From this perspective agricultural activities must be permanently reported to other economical activities and must take into consideration the needs that appear at their level. This should be an important implication for local public authorities.

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Angewandte Logistik von Mineralöl und Erdölfolgeprodukten in der Republik Ungarn

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Erdöltransport stellt einen speziellen Bereich der Logistik dar, dessen Relevanz in der Bekämpfung größerer Entfernungen und hoher Gefährlichkeit, sowie darin liegt, dass der Transport 5-20% der Ölbereitstellung ausmacht. Der Transport erfordert nicht nur vorsichtige Aufmerksamkeit, sondern auch moderne Technologien, die das Endprodukt noch teurer machen. Für die Zustellung des Erdöls können folgende Transportmöglichkeiten berücksichtigt werden: Seetankschiffe, Pipelines/Leitungen, Binnentankschiffe, Eisenbahnkesselwagen und Straßentankfahrzeuge.

Die aus den außer der EU stammenden Rohstoffe werden fast ausschließlich mit Seetankschiffen zu den Raffinerien geliefert, es kann aber – wie zum Beispiel im Fall von Ungarn auch – durch Inanspruchnahme anderer Mittel erfolgen. Die verschiedenen Verkehrsmittel können teilweise substituieren, wie das in der untenstehenden Tabelle auch dargestellt ist.

Substituierbarkeit

von	durch				
	Seetanker	Pipeline	Binnenschiff	Eisenbahn- kesselwagen	Straßentank- wagen
Seetanker	0	1	1	0	0
Pipeline	1	0	3	3	2
Binnenschiff	0	2	0	3	2
Eisenbahn - Ganzzug	0	2	1	0	2
Eisenbahn - Einzelwagen	0	1	1	0	3
Straßentankwagen	0	1	1	2	0

- 1 - unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen möglich
- 2 - grundsätzlich möglich
- 3 - möglich und in der Praxis üblich

Quelle: Eigene Berechnung nach Magyar Közgazdasági Társaság Logisztikai Szakosztály

Wegen der geographischen Gegebenheiten von Ungarn ist der Seetransport nur teilweise, indirekt über den Hafen in Rijeka möglich, woraus dann die „Adria-Pipeline“ eine Verbindung mit der Raffinerieverarbeitung bedeutet, derzeit spielt aber diese Transportweise – wegen der langfristigen Verträge mit Russland, bzw. gemeinsamen Forschungen – eine marginale Rolle in der Beschaffungswegpolitik. Die Kombination der Seetanker mit Pipelines ist nur mit bestimmten Bedingungen möglich. Nicht so, wie mit Binnenschiff-Fahrt, die eine richtige Potential bedeuten könnte, da es in Ungarn zwei, vorzüglich schiffbaren internationalen Flüsse – die Donau und die Theiß – gibt, die einen diversifizierteren Transport ermöglichen könnten, seit der Privatisierung der

Fa. Mahart Rt (Magyar Hajózási Rt = Ungarische Schifffahrts-Aktiengesellschaft) hat aber Ungarn keine Seefahrer- und auch keine Binnenschiffkapazitäten, die den Erdölimport unterstützen könnten. So bleibt neben dem Rohrleitungstransport der Eisenbahn- und zur Förderung der Fertigprodukte der Landestransport als Transportmöglichkeit über. Derzeit stellt den besten Querschnitt die Kombination von Pipeline und Kesselwagen dar.

Bei der Auswahl der entsprechenden Transportmethode sollten grundsätzlich sechs Punkte berücksichtigt werden, die den Schnitt des entsprechenden logistischen Mittels ergeben.

Transportmittel	Seetanker	Pipeline	Binnenschiff	Eisenbahn Ganzzug	Eisenbahn Einzelwagen	Straßentankwagen
Eignung zur Beförderung großer Mengen	1	1	2	3	5	6
Netzbindungsfähigkeit	5	6	5	3	2	1
Anpassungsfähigkeit an Relationen	3	6	5	4	3	1
Anpassungsfähigkeit an Mengen	2	4	3	2	2	2
Schnelligkeit	4	3 4	4	2	3	2
Zuverlässigkeit/Sicherheit	3	1	3 4	2	2	3 4
Wirtschaftlichkeit	1	1	2	2	4	5

1 - sehr gut
6 - ungeeignet

Quelle: Eigene Berechnung nach Magyar Közgazdasági Társaság Logisztikai Szakosztály

Aufgrund der logarithmischen Einstufung kann festgestellt werden, dass das fast eine Ausschließlichkeit darstellende Pipeline - aufgrund des Transportquerschnitts der größeren Menge - das günstigste logistische Mittel bedeutet, das nächste Möglichkeit bedeutet die Eisenbahn, und der Landestransport (mit Straßenverkehr) entspricht am schlimmsten den Mengenkriterien. Im Fall der regionalen Prüfung besteht eine eindeutige umgekehrte Verhältnismäßigkeit zwischen der Menge und den

Netzbindungsfähigkeiten. Das Rohrleitungssystem hat eine beschränkte Anzahl im Transport, die Straßen und die Eisenbahn ziehen aber die industriell wichtigen Gebiete des Landes durch.

Die Anpassungsfähigkeit beschreibt die Änderungen von Transportrelationen und/oder Transportmengen, das natürlich auf die Wirtschaftlichkeit auch auswirkt. Wegen ihrer „Punkt-Punkt-Verkehr“ Eigenschaft, bzw. ihrem relativ dichten Netz befindet sich die Eisenbahn im Mittelfeld. Während der a Straßentankwagen nach diesem Kriterium über die besten Eigenschaften verfügt, das Pipeline kann den Erfordernissen des Kriteriums nicht vollständig entsprechen, da das Pipeline die geförderte Menge nur kurzzeitig durch die Druckerhöhung vergrößern kann (Gleißner/Femerling 2007).

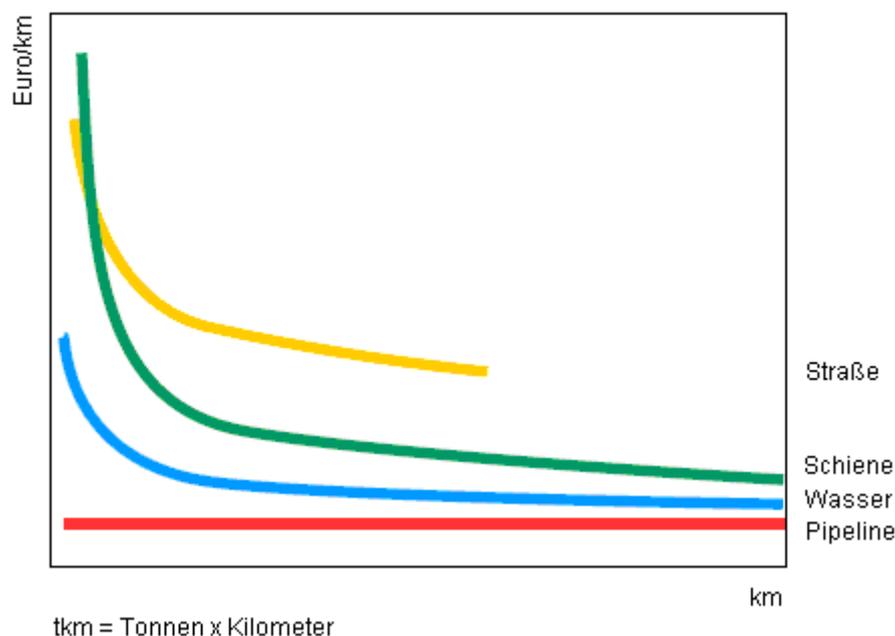
Die Geschwindigkeit des Transportes ist in Hinsicht der Wirtschaftlichkeit wichtig, da es nicht egal ist, wie schnell der gekaufte Rohstoff die Zielstation zwecks weiterer Verarbeitung erreichen kann. Hinsichtlich der Flexibilität des Transportes stellen einen der schnellsten Transportwege der Straßen- bzw. der Eisenbahntransport dar, der als Verkehrsmittel mit einer gebundenen Bahn die Zielstation anstandslos erreichen kann. Die obigen zwei Möglichkeiten setzen den Schifftransport nach, weil es auf den Flüssen aus Sicherheitsgründen bedeutende Geschwindigkeitsbeschränkungen gibt. Bei den Seewegen stellen bezüglich der Geschwindigkeit die große Entfernungen, bzw. der maximale Querschnitt der Technologie die Hindernisse dar. Bei den Rohrleitungen bedeutet einen Beschränkungsfaktor, dass die Geschwindigkeit und die Menge voneinander nicht getrennt werden können, das heißt, dass die Menge mit der erhöhten Geschwindigkeit im geraden Verhältnis steht, das nur durch aufwendige technische Lösung durchgeführt werden kann (Kerepeszki 2003).

Hinsichtlich der Sicherheit und der Zuverlässigkeit bedeuten die Eisenbahn und das Pipeline eine richtige Lösung, die den Umwelteinwirkungen relativ wenig herausgesetzt sind, während die Zustellung der Waren bei anderen Verkehrsmitteln – wie zum Beispiel das Schiff und die Straßenfahrzeuge – von

einem eventuellen schlechten Wetter bedeutend beschränkt werden kann.

Die letzte Hinsicht ist vielleicht das wichtigste, da die Wirtschaftsteilnehmer bei ihren Entscheidungen neben den obigen Punkten zuallererst die Wirtschaftlichkeit analysieren.

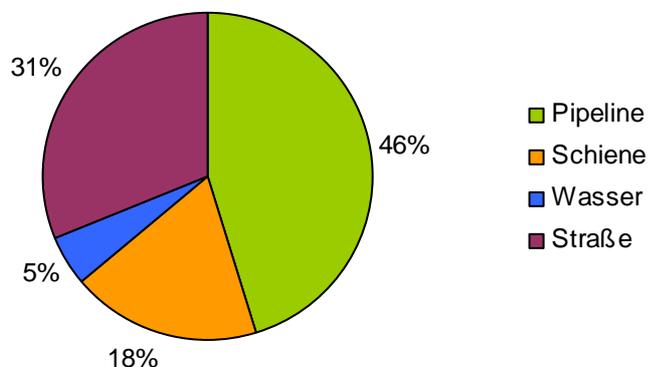
Relative Kosten des Mineralöltransports
in Abhängigkeit von der Transportweite und dem eingesetzten Transportmittel



Umso größere Mengen in einem angegebenen Zeitraum geliefert werden können, desto weniger Kosten die Logistik hat. Die Pipeline wird durch seinen konstant niedrigen Preis anstrebenswert gemacht, der Schiffsverkehr wird aber – wegen der Erhöhung der Entfernungen – von seinem immer billiger werdenden Preis den Konkurrent der Pipeline gemacht. Der Eisenbahn- und der Straßentransport sind wegen ihres höheren Preises – nur beschränkt und für kurze Zeit, bzw. mangels der entsprechenden Infrastruktur geeignet.

Wenn wir bezüglich der Verteilung des Transportes die aktuelle Statistik berücksichtigen, die obigen Feststellungen bekommen teilweise eine Bestätigung. Die Umleitung des Transportes auf die Straßen kann von dem Zurücktreten der Eisenbahn bzw. von der marginalen Anwesenheit der Binnenschifflogistik begründet werden.

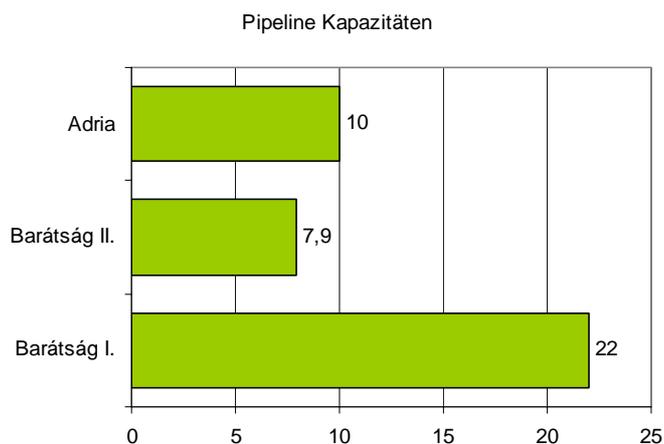
Transportmitteln bei der MOL Gruppe



Quelle: MOL Nyrt.

Lage und Rolle der Pipeline in der ungarischen Produkt- und Rohstofflogistik

Für 1978 wurde das heute auch vorhandene, insgesamt 850 km lange ungarische Erdölrohrleitungssystem, dessen Kapazitäten für die permanente und sichere Erdölversorgung von Ungarn ausreichend ist (Lászlop 2008).



Quelle: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal

Seit 1992 kommt Import-Erdöl fast ausschließlich durch die Leitung Freundschaft II., wegen der Versorgungssicherheit spielen aber die Leitungen Freundschaft I. und Adria auch wichtige Rolle (Lászlop 2005). Eine weitere Bedeutendheit der Pipeline Adria ist, dass die von ihr sichergestellte potentielle Konkurrenzsituation die Handelsposition der Fa. MOL gegenüber ihren russischen Lieferanten verstärkt. Darüber hinaus gibt diese Leitung eine potentielle Möglichkeit für den Transit des russischen Erdöls auf die Adria, woher dann das Öl mit Öltanker nach Nordamerika auch geliefert werden kann. Muss aber bemerkt werden, dass die Kapazitäten der Adria-Pipeline davon weit zurückbleiben, die die komplette Unabhängigkeit vom russischen Erdöl ergeben könnten. Die empfindliche ungarisch-russische politische und wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit kann derzeit das vollständige Ausnutzen der Leitungskapazitäten nicht ermöglichen.

Umänderung der Rolle des Eisenbahntransportes

Der Eisenbahntransport spielt eine wichtige, aber degressive Rolle im Transport der von den Raffinerien hergestellten Produkte, in der Abwicklung des Exportes sowie in der Grundstoffversorgung der Raffinerien. Dessen Grund ist in der geänderten Struktur und Bedürfnissen des Fertigprodukt-Transportes zu suchen. Die wichtigsten Aufgaben der Eisenbahndistribution sind derzeit die Folgenden: Grundstoff-Anlieferung, Lieferung der bei der Fa. TVK erzeugten „Zwillingprodukte“ (bis zum Aufbau der neuen Százhalombatta-Tiszaújváros Rohrleitung), Versorgung der über keine Rohrleitung verfügenden Großhandel-Abstellanlage in Algyő, Export - Lieferungen und Kundendienst.

Längerfristig wird die Rolle des Eisenbahntransportes schrittweise zurücktreten. Der hat früher im Bereich der Heizöllieferung bedeutende Relevanz gehabt, durch die in Übereinstimmung mit den sich ändernden Umweltschutzregelungen bzw. Marktbedürfnissen durchgeführten Raffinerieentwicklungen – besonders durch die Verarbeitung der Rückstände –

ist aber die Erzeugung der schweren schwefeligen Heizöls beendet worden, und das Heizöl mit niedrigerem Schwefelgehalt hat von seiner früheren Marktrolle etwas verloren. Mit dem Anlauf der Restverarbeitung im Jahr 2001 erschien der Petrolkoks, dessen Lieferung erfolgt zumeist über die Eisenbahn (Ercsey/Felczán/Szedlák 2003).

Die zurücktretenden Eisenbahnkapazitäten können nur durch die für die Bekämpfung der großen Entfernungen allein geeignete Pipeline abgelöst werden, die die Abhängigkeit verstärkt und straffer macht.

Transport mit Binnenschiff

Der Binnenschifftransport - als eine günstigere Transportweise, als die Eisenbahn - wurde für den Öltransport bereits im XIX. Jahrhundert angewandt. Bei den Erdölprodukten wurde diese Transportweise nur später, in Ungarn ab den 1950-er Jahren eingeführt (Körmendi/Pucsek 2008). Zwei Einheiten der Fa. MOL an der Donau - die Donau Raffinerie in Százhalombatta und die Abstellanlage in Komárom - verfügen heute über Binnenschiffauflader, wovon ausschließlich Exportlieferungen nach Österreich und Deutschland abfahren können. Als Vorteil des Wassertransportes können die relativ niedrigen Kosten benannt werden, sein Nachteil ist aber, dass der jeweilige Wasserstand bzw. die Witterungsverhältnisse die Schiffbarkeit der Donau bedeutend beeinflussen können. Bei niedrigem Wasserstand kann z.B. die Wassertracht der Schiffe beschränkt werden, so können sie dann nur partiell ausgenutzt werden. Im Winter, beim stärkeren Eisgang ruht die Schifffahrt. Man kann sich also auf diese Transportweise konstant nicht grundieren - aus den früher erwähnten Gründen auch nicht, wegen dem Abbau des ungarischen Schifffahrtswesens liegen also keine entsprechenden Transportkapazitäten für die Befriedigung der Importbedürfnisse vor.

Umänderung des Tankwagenparks

Als Tendenz kann beobachtet werden, dass der Anteil des Rohrleitungstransportes bzw. der Transportes mit Tankwagen – zuungunsten des Eisenbahntransportes – sich erhöht. Dafür kann die Kundenzusammensetzung auch als verantwortlich betrachtet werden, da die meisten – für die wichtigste Zielgruppe geschätzten – Endverbraucher die Eisenbahnwagen technisch nicht empfangen und abziehen können; durch die Verstärkung des Ölproduktenverbrauchs und durch die stufige Erweiterung des Tankstellennetzes haben sich die Transportaufgaben auch schnell erhöht. In den 1970-er Jahren hat die Anzahl der Tankwagen 300 erreicht, dann hat sich aber diese Zahl stufenweise reduziert (MOL 2008).

Der derzeitige Tankwagenbestand besteht kaum mehr als 100 Tankwagen, die durchschnittliche Größe der Tankwagen ist aber viel größer als die Wagen der vorherigen Flotte. Gegenüber den obigen Verkehrsmitteln bietet diese Transportweise nur für kleinere Entfernungen eine Abdeckung.

Regionales logistisches System und Tätigkeit der MOL-Gruppe

Das logistische System der Fa. MOL und Fa. Slovnaft funktionieren integriert, mit einer gemeinsamen Führung. Ihre Stärken sind die Möglichkeit der durch eine Rohrleitung erfolgende Erdölbeschaffung, sowie die fast 1700 Kilometer lange Produktfernleitung und das wirksame Treibstofflagerungs-Depotsystem; die Letztgenannten spielen eine Schlüsselrolle in der Versorgung der inländischen Märkte (László 2004). Um die Kosten zu optimieren liefern die zwei Unternehmen auf die inneren Märkte voneinander: den südlichen Teil von der Slowakei wird teilweise von der Raffinerie an der Theiß versorgt, ein Teil der westungarischen Kunden bekommt die Ware aus Pressburg.

Die Hälfte der aus den Raffinerien der Fa. MOL und der Fa. Slovnaft stammenden Produkte – fast 6 Millionen Tonnen – findet auf den dritten Märkten – zumeist innerhalb der Region – einen Käufer; aufgrund des Absatzumfangs stellen die wichtigsten ausländischen Märkte Österreich und die Tschechei dar. Der äußerste Treibstoffmarkt der Fa. MOL ist Deutschland (Bayern).

Zur Erreichung ihrer Ziele hat die MOL-Gruppe von der Fa. Avanti das in der Nähe von Wien, in Korneuburg existierende Treibstofflagerungs-Depot gekauft, was die dann nach bedeutenden Erneuerungsarbeiten am Ende 2003 eröffnet hat. Das Depot in Korneuburg kann mit Binnenschiff aus den Raffinerien in Százhalombatta und in Pressburg, sowie von dem Basisdepot in Komárom versorgt werden.

Durch den Ankauf der Fa. Roth im Jahr 2004 erweiterte sich der österreichische Gerätepark der MOL-Gruppe mit drei neuen Depots. Die Raffinerie in Pressburg der Fa. Slovnaft verfügt über direkte Rohrleitungsverbindung mit dem tschechischen Produktfernleitungsnetz (CEPRO), die einen kostenwirksamen Transport ermöglicht. Die starke Anwesenheit der MOL-Gruppe in der Tschechei wird durch den Zugriff zu mehreren, an die Rohrleitung angeschlossenen Depots und durch ein gemietetes Depot auch unterstützt (MOL 2009).

Die Versorgung der polnischen Verbraucher erfolgt von drei gemieteten Depots, die den Treibstoff aus Pressburg und Tiszaújváros über Eisenbahn bekommen. Die Versorgung der südslawischen Märkte erfolgt über Eisenbahn und Langstraßen. Die Fa. MOL liefert in diese Länder Bitumen in bedeutender Menge auch, dieses Produkt geht bezeichnenderweise auf der Landsstraße den Kunden zu. Die Beladung der Bitumen liefernden Tankwagen erfolgt in Százhalombatta. In Rumänien, wo die Fa. MOL über ein bedeutendes, die Abdeckung des Landes sicherstellende Einzelhandelsnetz verfügt, hat die Logistik eine noch größere Aufgabe, da die permanente Versorgung von

mehr als 130 Tankstellen – teilweise mit eigenen, teilweise mit den, von lokalen Raffinerien angekauften Treibstoffen sicherstellen. Zur Erfüllung dieser Aufgabe betätigt das Unternehmen ein eigenes Depot in Tileagd, und ein gemietetes Depot in der Nähe von Brasov (Prejmer).

Zwischen den zwei größten Raffinerien (Százhalombatta und Preßburg) der MOL-Gruppe gibt es derzeit keine Fernleitungsverbindung. Die Möglichkeit der Verbindung der Produktfernleitungsnetze der zwei Länder wird derzeit geprüft, die Prüfung berücksichtigt den derzeitigen und voraussichtlichen Umfang und Kontinuität der Produktströmung zwischen einander. Durch die Verknüpfung würde sich die Verbindung zwischen dem ungarischen und tschechischen Netz realisieren, und die Lieferung der Halbprodukte zwischen den Raffinerien auch ermöglicht wäre.

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Regional Development on Traffic and Communicational
Infrastructure in Harghita County

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Nowadays the infrastructure plays a distinguished role in the regional development and in the economical analyses. The concept of infrastructure has already occurred in numberless approaches and various contexts. The presence or lack of infrastructure is the determining and qualifying factor of the development level of an area or region. At the same time, the state of the infrastructure is forecasting the future development possibilities. In this way, it can be said, that one of the most important tools of regional development is the development of infrastructure. The present study would like to analyse two fundamental categories of infrastructure: the transport and the telecommunications infrastructure.

The accessibility of a region is one of the most important economical factors these days as far as new investments are concerned. At the same time, the transport and telecommunications infrastructures are essential in the development of a region, this is why, a significant proportion of the EU assistance focuses on the investments made for the development of the transport infrastructure (Fleischer 2003). The actual social system is an information society, which is founded on the information and communication infrastructure. The basis of the economical activities and the social contacts is the fast exchange of information. The effect that the infrastructure has on the competitiveness and the economical development of a region is worth studying, since the condition and the development of certain sectors of the infrastructure can considerably influence the development level of a region (Kengyel 2002).

The purpose of the present study is to examine the transport and telecommunications infrastructure of Harghita county, since the development level of these two infrastructural subcategories count among the basic determinants of the regional development. Harghita County is situated in the central part of Romania, in the middle of the Oriental Carpathians and Transilvaniei Plateau. It is the eastern county of Transilvania and part of Centru Region. Centru Region includes six counties: Alba, Covasna, Brasov, Harghita, Mures and Sibiu. Taking into consideration the size of the thirteenth position among the Romanian counties, as it covers 6638,9 km, representing 2,8% of the countries territory. Its neighbors are Suceava at North, Neamt and Bacau at East, Covasna si Brasov at South and Mures at West. The main means of transport for accessing Harghita County are by train, by road and by air.

The railway transport is the major form of public transport in Harghita County. Owns a railway network in a total length of 209 km, 83,2% (174 km) electrified. The railway network is with normal lines, 207 km with single-track railway. With 31,5 km railway for 1000 km², Harghita county stands below national average (45,3 km/1000 km²) and below the average of Centru Region (39,5 km/1000 km²). The length of the exploited railway tracks has been

reduced lately, in 1997, the total length of railway tracks was 213 km, but since then some parts were shut down.

Table no 1: Railway tracks in Harghita County

	Romania	Centru Region	Alba County	Braşov County	Covasna County	Harghita County	Mureş County	Sibiu County
Railway tracks (km)	10789	1346	230	363	116	209	283	145
Density of railway tracks (km/100 0 km ²)	45,3	39,5	36,8	67,7	31,3	31,5	42,2	26,7

Source: Centru Region, 2006

Line 400 runs across the County in the South-North direction, assuring the connection on the Bucureşti- Braşov- Băile Tuşnad - Miercurea - Ciuc - Gheorgheni - Topliţa route and with the North-West part of the country. From the Ciceu railway node, line 501 through Ghimes Pass assures the connection with Moldova. Through Ciceu run/stop daily many trains, fast trains, and express trains, intercity and slow trains. These trains connect the region with important destinations as Braşov, Bucureşti, Baia Mare, Ploieşti, Cluj Napoca, Oradea, Suceava, Bacău, Timişoara, Arad, Galaţi, Constanţa and destinations abroad, for instance Budapest. A major problem is the lack of railway tracks between the two main cities of the County (Odorheiu Secuiesc and Miercurea Ciuc).

The major problem of road infrastructure is the quality of public roads. The amelioration of the accessibility depends on various factors: the capacity and state of public roads, finding solutions to traffic deviation problems and construction of highways that run across the County. Nevertheless, the intensive through transit has a negative effect on tourism.

In 2007, the total length of the County's road network (not taking into consideration the forestry roads and inner roads of localities) was 1.828 km, composed of European roads (E578 - 127 km), national roads (DN - 318 km), county roads (DJ - 849 km) and village roads (DC -534 km). The main national roads that run across the County are: DN12, DN 13, DN15, DN11/B, DN15. In the South - North direction runs across DN12, DN12/A through Ghimes Pass to Comănești, and D.N.12/C Gheorgheni - Lacul Roșu - Cheile Bicazului - Piatra Neamț that makes connection with Moldova. D.N.12 in Miercurea Ciuc bifurcates, D.N.13/A westwards, through Harghita Mountain assures a connection with Odorheiu Secuiesc and then Praid, Sovata, Târgu- Mureș or Cristuru-Secuiesc- Sighișoara. European Road E 578 runs across Miercurea Ciuc North-South, southwards to Băile Tușnad, Sfântu Gheorghe, and northwards to Gheorgheni, Toplița.

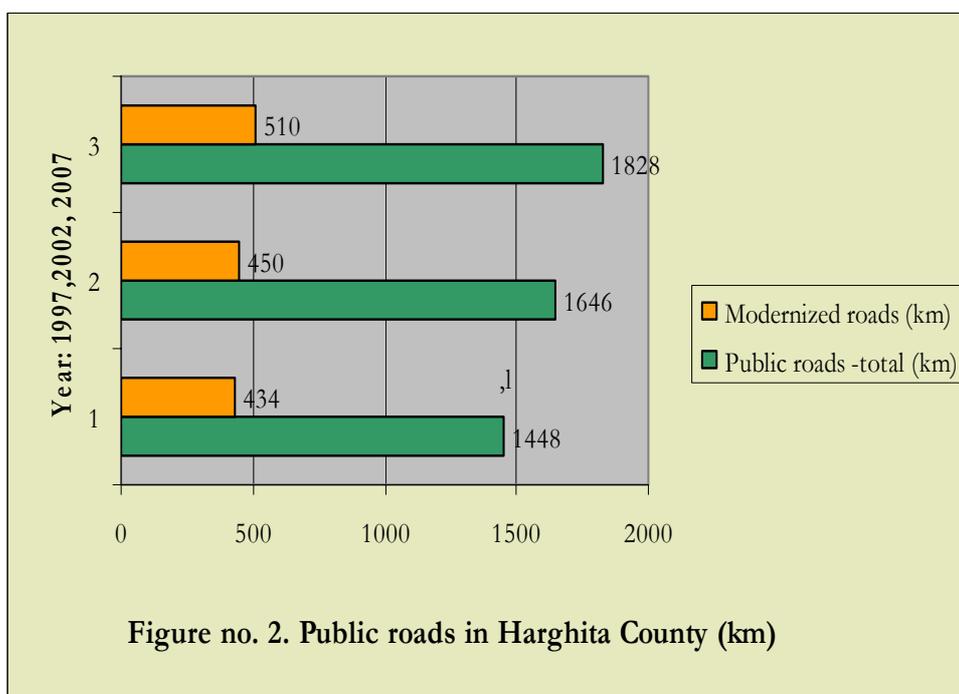
Table no. 2: The state of public roads in Harghita County

	Romani a	Centr u Regio n	Alba Cou nty	Brașo v Coun ty	Covas na Count y	Hargh ita Count y	Mur eș Cou nty	Sibiu Cou nty
Public roads (km)	79952	10211	2642	1499	839	1647	1985	1599
Density of public roads (km/100 km ²)	33,5	29,9	42,3	28	22.6	24,8	29,6	29,4

Source: Centru Region, 2006

The density of public roads is lower than the regional and national average, phenomena that can be explained by predominance of mountainous ground in the County. In 2007 the length of public roads had a growth of 181 km. Between 1997 and 2007 the length of public roads grew with 26%, respectively 380 km. The statistic data of the year 2007 show that the ponderousness of county roads

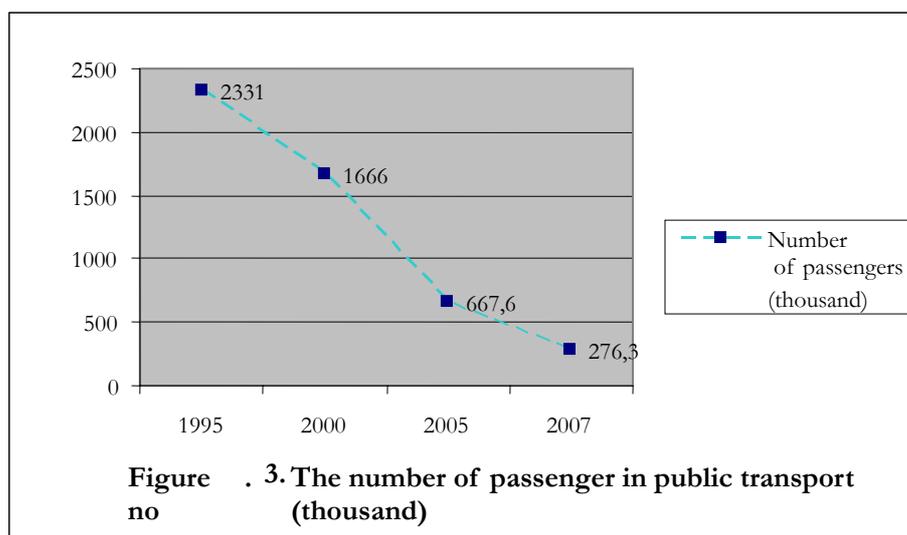
was the highest (47%) followed by the village roads (29%) meanwhile the national roads represent only 18% and the European roads almost 7%. The following graphic shows that the length of modernized roads had lately a slight growth tendency.



Source: processing of the data, INSSE- Tempo Online

The state and situation of public roads is not satisfactory. Taking into consideration that in the following years is going to be built the Transilvania Highway, that will run across Centru Region (the construction works have been started in 2004, and will assure the connection between Braşov and Oradea) and although the highway will not run across Harghita County, its proximity will have an important role in the growth of the County's accessibility. There is also in the project phase the Transilvania - Moldova highway, planned on the Sovata -Lupeni -Remetea -Tulghes route, probably northwards from Gheorgheni, that will mean a better accessibility from the northern part of the County.

As regards public transport, the main mean of transport is the bus. There are several regular bus services between localities in the County, but in the past few years, the number of buses had a quite significant decrease tendency, so in 1995 there were registered 39 buses and in 2007 there were only 13. The quality of these bus services is in most of the cases inadequate, the used means of transport are outmoded and used, there were only few investments in this filed in the past years. Not only the number of vehicles had decrease tendency, but also the number of passengers. The following graphic shows that the number of passengers in 1995 was 2331 thousand and in 2007 there were only 276,3 thousand people.



Source: processing of he data, INSSE- Tempo Online

Besides these buses there are several private companies that facilitate public transport, and this way the public transport services in the County are well developed. There are several international courses especially to Hungary. The most important private companies in the field of public transport are: Autotransport, Corundtrans Csavargo, ITAS S.A., Gas Tours SRL, Transp-Tur. Internațional, Open World SRL, Trans Mag SRL, Farkas Trans SRL and others.

Table no. 3: Public Transport

Cities in the County	Number of roundtrip courses (county, region, international)
Cristuru Secuiesc	30
Băile Tuşnad	8
Bălan	24
Borsec	6
Gheorgheni	112
Miercurea Ciuc	312
Odorheiu Secuiesc	290
Topliţa	28
Vlăhiţa	26

Source: <http://www.businfo.ro/static04/HR/index.html>

In Romania, there are 19 airports. By air, Bacău and Târgu Mureş international airports are the closest to Harghita County. In Centru Region operate two airports; taking in consideration the number of passengers Sibiu airport is on the sixth place, and the merchandise traffic registered in 2006 puts it on the fifth place. The airport in Bacău is situated at a 124 km distance from Miercurea Ciuc, meaning that the duration of transport is approximately 2,5-3 hours. There are weekly and regular national and international flights from Bacău with various destinations. At the airport operate in the present 4 airline companies: Tarom, Carpatair, Blueair and Clubair. The most frequent international flights are to Germany, Austria, Italia, Moldova, Greece, France and Ukraine.

The international airport in Târgu Mureş is situated at a 157 km distance from Miercurea Ciuc, with a 3 hours transportation period. Airlines that operate in the present in Târgu Mureş are: Tarom, with destinations Bucharest and Sibiu, Malév Hungarian Airlines to Budapest, Wizz Air to Budapest, Cimber Air to Copenhagen and Billund (periodically), Aegean Airlines to Heraklion (periodically), Air Berlin (periodically), Blue Air to Antalya (periodically).

Other important international destinations with escalade in Timisoara are Italia (Rome), Germany (Munich).

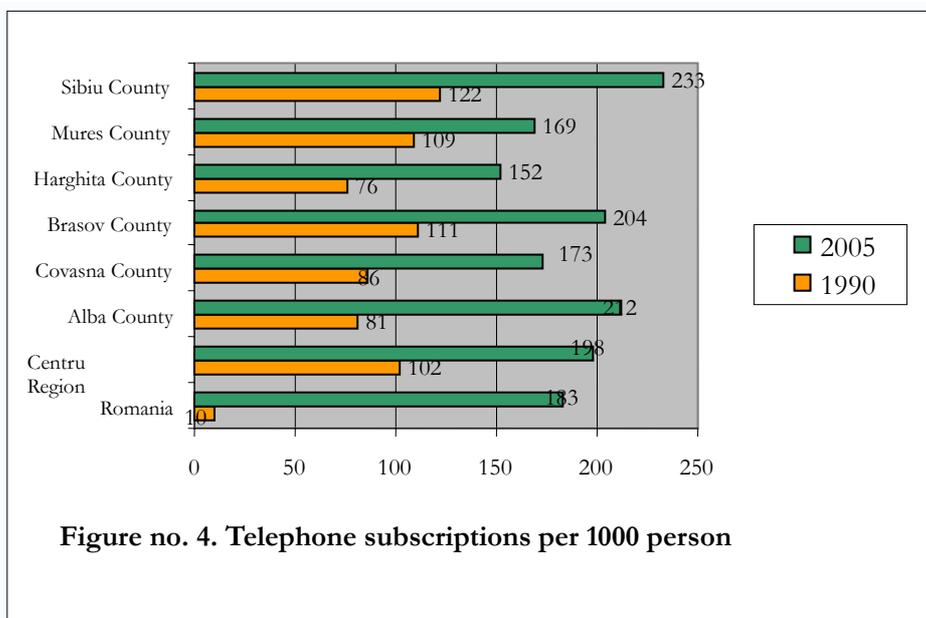
Besides, these two airports must be mentioned the international airport in Cluj Napoca, that connects Transilvania with several important European cities such as Budapest, Wien, Frankfurt, Milano, Munich and Bologna with direct flights. There are also regular flights to Ancona, Bergamo, Florence, Munich, Rome, Stuttgart, Treviso and Verona with simple stop or transfer to another plane in Timisoara, indicated at the airport with Cluj/Timişoara - destination. The international airport in Cluj Napoca is one of the most important gates by air in Romania. It is situated at a 249,5 km distance from Miercurea Ciuc, with transportation time 4-4,3 hours.

The international airport in Brasov - Ghimbav is under construction, near the A3 highway that will be built in the future. The construction started in 2008 and the planned term for finalizing is 2010. The functioning of this airport will reduce the transportation time as Brasov is 91,8 km far from Miercurea Ciuc, less then 2 hours distance. The construction of the airport in Brasov will contribute to the development of tourism in the region. As a conclusion, we can affirm that Harghita County from a geographical point of view is situated in a very good place, but the road quality and the counties accessibility present many deficiencies.

Telecommunication Infrastructure

Telecommunications infrastructure can be analyzed from different perspectives: telephone system, cable television, radio, internet, postal services, publications, local or regional newspapers etc. From the telephone user's point of view in the last 15 years, there had been a significant growth. Besides this fact, the County has a modern telecommunications network, connected in many of the County's localities. The number of fix telephone users in the period 1990-2005 grew with 21921, in the year 2005 according to statistical data there had been 49471 fix

telephone subscribers. This means 152 users for 1000 people in 2005. This number is the lowest (although grew in the past few years) in Centru Region and it is below the national average.

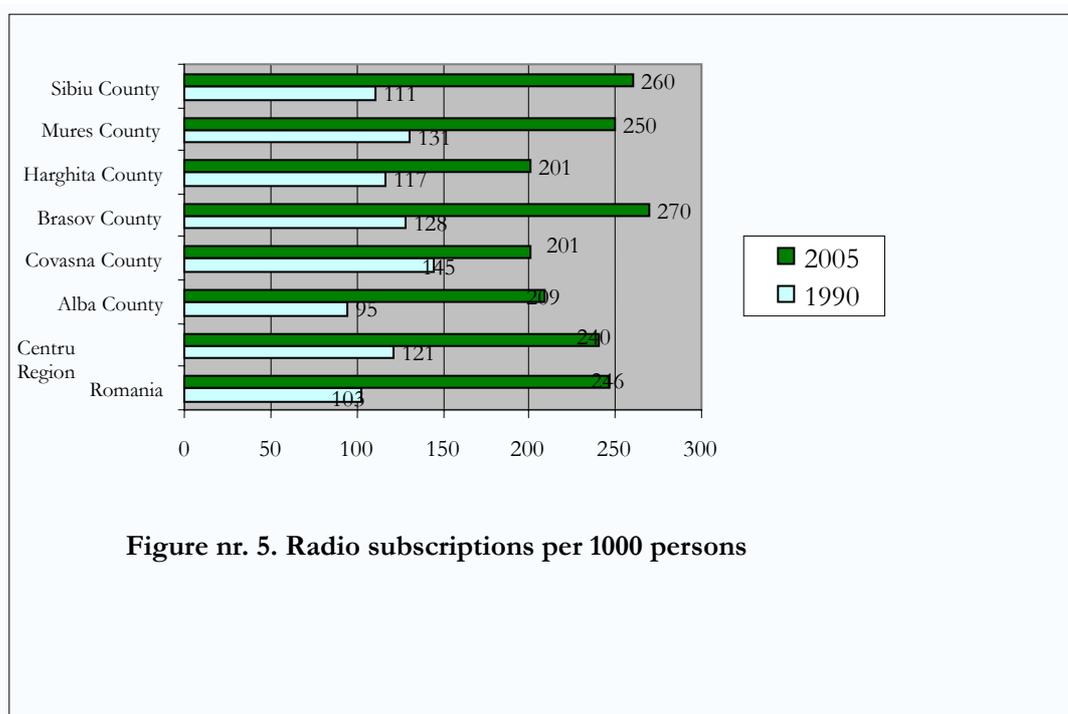


Source: processing of the data, INSSE- Tempo Online

Besides the fact that the number of users grew in the past ten years at national and county level, in the past few years also grew the mobile phone coverage (the number of users grew significantly). Mobile phone appeared in our country in 1993 (Telefonica company), but mobile phone services started to develop and to extend in 1997 (the official launch of mobile phone services entitled Connex). The development was continuous, in 1995 there had been 5.250.369 users, and the coverage area was 94,7% of Romania's population and 73.33% of the territory's (ANRC Report 2005).

The most important companies in the field of mobile phone services are: Orange (the biggest in the field in our country, at 31 December 2003, Orange Romania had more than 3,3 million customers) and Vodafone. This sector is modernized continuously and thus, access to information develops as well.

The cable television market developed significantly in the past 20 years. There are multiple causes, in 2004 in Romania were registered 3111882 users, the penetration rate was 14,34% at the level of the population and 42,51% at the level of households. From the cable TV services user's point of view, Romania occupied the sixth place in Europe (Vaduva 2005). The rate of access to information can be analyzed from the county's TV/radio users and television and radio services point of view. The number of radio users in the past 15 years similarly to national level and Centru Region had a growth tendency, but remaining under national and regional level. In 2005, the number of radio users per 1000 people was 201, lower than the regional (240 per 1000 persons) and national average (246 per 1000 persons). In the County, radio subscriptions had grown since 1990 until 2005 with 55%. In the region, television subscriptions also had a significant growth in the period 1990-2005.



Source: processing of the data, INSSE- Tempo Online

In Harghita County, there are 22 registered radio companies, most of them in urban areas, but two of them functioning in rural area: Suseni and Izvorul Mureș. The other companies are: Gheorgheni (6), Miercurea Ciuc (5), Toplița (5), Odorheiu Secuiesc (2), Cristuru Secuiesc (1), Borsec (1). The number of television subscriptions also had a significant growth rate in the period 1990-005, due to the growth of local/regional cable TV Companies number. In Harghita County exists several cable television companies (23) and also a number of cable television companies with external posts (9). Besides these, many of the localities have cable television companies with their own program, but there are several companies providing only cable television. There are 81 units providing cable television in the County and exists the possibility of digital television services. Many people use the digital services through private antennas.

The market of internet services is another important form of telecommunications. The main internet suppliers in the County are: UPC România, RomTelecom S.A., RDS- România Data System and the internet suppliers especially for Orange and Vodafone mobile telephone users. In the Ciuc Basin exists a project entitled Harghita Halo, assuring internet connection by functioning of Telecenters for 25 localities (3 cities and 24 villages). The significance of wireless internet connections also grows; by buying our own wireless devices, we can have access to the internet anytime, anywhere. There are 129 post offices in Harghita County within the Post Office Harghita, 31 being post offices and the rest agencies, wickets or postal divisions.

We can conclude that in the past few years, the transport and communicational infrastructure in harghita County had a growth tendency, but rural areas are in an unfavorable situation. The development level of the telecommunication infrastructure has a significant role in this rate of economical developemtn, has a decisive impact on the investment dynamic, especially foreign investments, and on the development of society in general. In Harghita County, foreign investments are insignificant, especially in rural areas,

as the lack of efficient communications possibilities represents an important impediment. From a geographic perspective, Harghita County stands in a very good position, but the quality and accessibility of public road has many deficiencies. In the future will be needed continuous investments aiming infrastructural developments in the field of telecommunication and the rehabilitation of public roads. An important role in this process will have public authorities, the Harghita County Council and local Councils as well.

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Aus aktuellem Anlass:



EJOTS

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Nobelpreis für Ökonomie geht an Elinor Ostrom und Oliver E. Williamson

David Furch

(Universität Hamburg / Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung)

Die Königlich-Schwedische Akademie der Wissenschaften hat die US-Wissenschaftler Oliver E. Williamson und Elinor Ostrom mit dem Nobelpreis für Ökonomie ausgezeichnet. Beide sind führend auf dem Gebiet der Institutionenanalyse und haben nicht nur die wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Forschung maßgeblich beeinflusst. Damit stärkt das Preiskomitee eher interdisziplinär orientierte Ansätze, die sich im Gegensatz zur klassischen Wirtschaftsforschung durch ein umfassenderes und tieferes Verständnis wirtschaftlicher Prozesse auszeichnen.

Die Politikwissenschaftlerin Elinor Ostrom hat sich in ihrer wissenschaftlichen Karriere damit auseinandergesetzt, wie knappe Güter verwaltet werden können, sodass möglichst viele Menschen davon profitieren. In ihren Arbeiten (z.B. „Governing the Commons“, 1990) konnte sie die konventionelle Haltung der Wirtschaftswissenschaften widerlegen, dass gemeinsam genutzte Güter wie beispielsweise Bewässerungssysteme oder Fischgründe entweder privat oder staatlich verwaltet werden sollten. Ostrom vertritt eine dritte Möglichkeit: So könnten knappe Ressourcen wie Wasser, Land oder Infrastruktur durch die Nutzer selbst verwaltet werden, wobei diese verbindliche Regeln aufstellen und für deren Einhaltung sorgen. Mit ihren Überlegungen hat Ostrom sehr stark die Politik der Weltbank in den Entwicklungsländern beeinflusst. Da ihr Ansatz auf globale Probleme wie den Klimawandel und die Verschmutzung der Meere übertragbar ist, hat sie in großem Maße zu der Erforschung einer ökologisch verträglichen Wirtschaftsordnung beigetragen.

Oliver E. Williamson, Professor für Betriebswirtschaftslehre an der Universität von Kalifornien in Berkeley wurde 1975 mit seinem Werk „Markets and Hierarchies“ berühmt. Er beschäftigt sich mit der Frage, warum manche Geschäfte innerhalb von Unternehmen abgeschlossen werden und nicht auf dem Markt. Seine Ausführungen gehen auf den Wissenschaftler Ronald Coase zurück, der durch seinen „Transaktionskostenansatz“ herausfand, dass Hierarchien für bestimmte Dinge geringere Kosten beinhalten würden als Märkte. Williamson konnte als erster diese Beobachtungen erklären: Je komplizierter die Transaktionen, je größer die Abhängigkeit der Teilnehmer voneinander und je schwieriger die vertragliche Regelung der Abmachungen der Akteure, desto eher werden diese Probleme innerhalb des Unternehmens durch Hierarchien und nicht durch den Markt geregelt. Durch seinen Ansatz beeinflusste Williamson neben seiner eigenen Profession auch eine ganze Generation von Sozialwissenschaftlern, die auf seinen Gedanken aufbauend

weitere Koordinierungsmodi für wirtschaftliches Verhalten identifizierte: Verbände, Staat und kooperatives Verhalten.

Ostrom und Williamson konnten zeigen, dass Märkte nicht die einzigen Steuerungselemente wirtschaftlicher Prozesse darstellen. Ihre Erkenntnisse haben die Wirtschaftswissenschaft bereichert und den Analysefokus der Disziplin erweitert. Durch die Verleihung des Nobelpreises für Ökonomie an Elinor Ostrom und Oliver E. Williamson hat das Preiskomitee Ansätze gestärkt, die berücksichtigen, dass auf Märkten auch soziale Komponenten eine Rolle spielen. Nicht nur vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Wirtschaftskrise ist diese Entscheidung zu begrüßen.

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