

Cabinet, and Pribicevitch²², Minister of the Interior largely of personal nature.²³ Probable outcome now appears to be some revolutionary government of portfolios among substantially present holders under Protich, as President.

Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs informs me he understands Allies are now agreed to take military action against Hungarian Bolshevism and are only awaiting concurrence Government of the United States.²⁴

AMERICAN MISSION

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5. 1919., kolovoz 6., Dodatak br. 2. Izvješću br. 327 Henryja Percivala Dodgea State Departmentu u kojem se donosi Memorandum razgovora predstavnika američkoga poslanstva u Beogradu s neimenovanim savjetnikom Dvora o razlozima sukoba između Stojana Protića i Svetozara Pribičevića, te o pregovorima Stojana Protića sa 'Starčevićancima' u Zagrebu u vezi s političkom borbom s Pribičevićem.

NARA, M 358, R 2, 860h.00/8

Enclosure No. 2 in Despatch No. 327 of August 6, 1919

COPY.

Memorandum of a conversation with a gentleman of the Court advisor in parliamentary affairs, relative to the Cabinet crisis.

²² Pribičević, Svetozar (1875. – 1936.), političar. Bio član Srpske samostalne stranke u Hrvatsko-srpskoj koaliciji, od 1909. i vođa koalicije koja je bila vodeća politička snaga u Hrvatskoj od 1903. – 1918. Imao ključnu ulogu u Narodnom vijeću SHS-a i zagovarao brzo ujedinjenje Države SHS i Kraljevine Srbije 1918. U Kraljevini SHS bio je ministar unutarnjih poslova (1918. – 1920.), prosvjete (1920. – 1922., 1924. – 1925.). Bio jedan od osnivača Jugoslavenske demokratske stranke (JDS), zagovornik državnoga centralizma i unitarizma. Zbog toga je došao u sukob s predsjednikom JDS-a, Ljubomirom Davidovićem i 1924. osnovao vlastitu Samostalnu demokratsku stranku (SDS). Nakon političkog adogovora NRS-a i HRSS-a 1925. prešao je u oporbu. Od 1927. blisko je surađivao sa Stjepanom Radićem protiv velikosrpske politike, jedan od osnivača Seljačko-demokratske koalicije (HSS-a i SDS-a). Nakon uvođenja diktature kralja Aleksandra Karadorđevića 1929. bio je internirao, od 1931. boravio u emigraciji u Parizu i Pragu. (*Hrvatska enciklopedija*, sv. 9 Pri-Sk, 1).

²³ Stojan Protić podnio je ostavku vlade 4. kolovoza 1918.

²⁴ Béla Kun državnim je udarom u ožujku 1919. godine srušio vladu Mihályja Károlyja i osnovao Mađarsku sovjetsku republiku. Time je sovjetski boljševizam značajnih teritorijalnih pretenzija došao na granice zapadne Europe i uzrokovao reakciju i zabrinutost među članovima Pariške konferencije. Tako je bila razmatrana i mogućnost zajedničke savezničke vojne intervencije, ali je u međuvremenu Rumunjska svojom vojnom intervencijom ostvarivši značajne teritorijalne napretke srušila Khunov režim u kolovozu 1919. godine. (Sandra Halperin, *War and Social Change in Modern Europe. The Great Transformation Revisited*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004., 205.))

The real cause of the crisis is personal between Mr. Protitch President of the Council and Mr. Pribicevitch Minister of the Interior, but as Mr. Protitch did not consider that it looked well to resign solely on this ground, he has added some other reasons questions of principle. Both Mr. Protitch and Mr. Pribicevitch are willing to remain in a new Cabinet, in which the former would be President, but Mr. Pribicevitch insists upon remaining Minister of the Interior while Mr. Protitch will not hear of his continuing in this portfolio. Mr. Pribicevitch insists on retaining the Interior portfolio because he is especially anxious to carry out certain measures in Croatia and thinks that if he consents to abandon this post, it will reflect on his policy there and seriously damage his party whose chief strength is in Croatia. Mr. Pribicevitch complains that in addition to Mr. Protitch's rough treatment of him personally, Mr. Protitch has continually interfered in his management of his Ministry, claiming that as he was ultimately responsible, he had a right to do so. He interfered in appointments, claiming Democrats were favored, and in the division of land according to the decree of the Cabinet, which has now been laid before the Parliament for approval. In this division also, he claimed that Democrats were being favored.

There is no longer trouble between them over the question of the indemnification of proprietors of large estates. At first Mr. Pribicevitch was for indemnities. Then when the Mussulman proprietors in Bosnia went over to the Old Radicals, he declared that he was glad and that he would now be able to stand solely for the peasants and against indemnities. Later, when Mr. Protitch began to receive delegations of proprietors from Bosnia and Croatia, e.t.c, he further altered his position and finally agreed to the Decree now in force in which it is declared that the State will take such measures as possible for indemnifying proprietors.²⁵ The peasants under the decree will have to pay nothing directly but indirectly it is possible that they may be made to do so by some system of tax. This was the system which was formerly used in Serbia. I do not believe that Mr. Protitch brought on the crisis willfully since if he had wanted a crisis, he might have refused to apologize to Dr. Korochetz ten days ago when he had presented his resignation. While ready to apologize to Dr. Korochetz, an elderly man and a prelate, he refused to to Mr. Pribicevitch a younger man.

Mr. Protitch after his decision to resign, went to Zagreb to find out what he could against Mr. Pribicevitch and talked there with the Starchevists.²⁶ They had taken advantage of this to declare in their paper, the "Obzor", that finally Mr. Protitch had knocked at the right door and had come to see them, Mr. Protitch formerly had conver-

²⁵ Riječ je o *Prethodnoj odredbi za provedbu agrarne reforme* od 25. veljače 1919. prema kojoj su u Kraljevstvu SHS ukinuti svi kmetški i kolonatski odnosi, a svi su veliki posjedi bili ekspropriirani uz obvezu naknade veleposjednicima koji su bili državljani Kraljevstva SHS. Odredba nikada nije prošla zakonsku proceduru u Skupštini, ali se njome ravnalo sve do 1931. godine i donošenja *Zakona o likvidaciji agrarne reforme*, što je značilo da je bila provedena proizvoljno i neuravnoteženo.

²⁶ Starčevićanci. Poznati i kao Milinovci. Nazvani prema predsjedniku Starčevićeve Hrvatske stranke prava Mili Starčeviću.

sation with the Starchevists and laid down to them that the Old Radical Party could not enter into any discussions regarding the question of the Dynasty and the Monarchical form of Government: these questions they considered as settled. The Starchevists replied that they would agree to the Dynasty and the Monarchy but held that these questions should also be submitted to the National Constitutional Assembly for final decision. Mr. Protitch denied this and this question remains open between them. The Starchevists insist upon the retention in the Constitution of the historical limits of Croatia with a central Parliament in Belgrade but provincial parliaments. The central Parliament would legislate for the entire Kingdom but the details and applications of these laws would be matters for the local parliaments. Mr. Protitch was ready to agree this. Mr. Hinkovitch²⁷ also agreed to this. Possibly the article in the "Obzor" and Mr. Protitch's visit to Zagreb have given rise to the reports of impending far-reaching changes.

There is much excitement over the crisis which is much like the one last year at Corfu, a question of persons. It may take as much as five weeks to settle it. Mr. Protitch and Mr. Vesnitch²⁸, now Minister at Paris, have been mentioned as possibly to form a Cabinet. In the case of Mr. Vesnitch, who has been so long absent from affairs in Serbia, his Cabinet would mere be a stop-gap. Mr. Pribicevitch also claims that having the largest number of deputies, he should be entrusted with the formation of the Cabinet to which Mr. Protitch has replied that the Old Radical group is the largest homogeneous group. To this Mr. Pribicevitch answers that this is not so since his own group in the Democratic party, the Serbo-Croat Coalition, is the largest homogeneous group. Mr. Protitch then further replies that while his Old Radical deputies in the Parliament were regularly elected, although two years before the war, Mr. Pribicevitch's deputies have been, owing to the circumstances which prevented any election, more or less arbitrarily chosen.

The smaller parties are holding themselves aloof in the discussions between the two large parties but are prepared to support such arrangements as the two larger parties may come to together.

²⁷ Hinković, Hinko (Mozer, Mozes; Heinrich) (1854. – 1929.), hrvatski pravnik, političar i publicist. Za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata emigrirao je iz Austro-Ugarske i pridružio se Jugoslavenskom odboru. Bio je sudionik pregovora Jugoslavenskoga odbora i srbijanskih političara koji su rezultirali donošenjem Krfske deklaracije 1917. godine. Krajem iste godine otišao je u Sjevernu Ameriku gdje je propagirao jugoslavensku ideju među hrvatskim iseljenicima. U Hrvatsku se vratio 1919. nakon čega se zalagao za federativno uređenje Kraljevstva SHS protiveći se politici centralizma i unitarizma. (*HBL*, 5 Gn-H (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2002), 575-576)

²⁸ Vesnić, Milenko (1863. – 1921.), srpski pravnik, diplomat i političar. Bio je u diplomatskoj službi Kraljevine Srbije od 1891., zastupnik NRS-a u Narodnoj skupštini. Najdulje je obnašao dužnost poslanika Kraljevine Srbije, a zatim i Kraljevstva SHS-a u Parizu (s prekidima od 1904. do 1920.). Sudjelovao je kao izaslanik na Mirovnoj konferenciji u Parizu (1919.), bio jedan od potpisnika Rapallskoga ugovora. Bio predsjednik vlade i ministar vanjskih poslova (1920. – 1921.). (*Hrvatska enciklopedija*, sv. 11 Tr-Ž (Zagreb: leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2009, 357).