

8. 1919., prosinac 18., Izvješće br. 43 američkoga djelatnika American Relief Administration (ARA-e) DuBoisa američkom poslanstvu u Kraljevstvu SHS o „osjećajima Hrvata i Slovenaca s jedne, te Austrijanaca s druge strane.“

NARA, M 358, R 2, s.n.

Subject: Existing Feelings and Relations between the Croatians and Slovenians on the one hand the Austrians on the other.

No. 43-DuBois

Vienna, Austria,
December 18, 1919.

The information in this report was obtained on a trip from Vienna to Graz, Marburg, Zagreb (Agram), and Laibach.

The possibility of better relations between Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Austria, especially on economic grounds, has been previously discussed and is at the present receiving considerable attention by the local press. During a trip to Croatia and Slovenian December 10th to 17th especial effort was made to sound the feelings of the people on this subject. The information was obtained from the “Banus”, or head of the Government of Croatia⁴⁰, the Secretary, a banker, Dr. Jambrisak⁴¹, header in the opposition party, Dr. Rojc⁴², probable minister to Vienna, the President of the Slovenian Government, Dr. Druskovic⁴³, and others.

The importance of better relations between Austria and Yugoslavia is recognized by everybody. The proximity of the two countries, the fact that Austria is an industrial country whereas Yugoslavia is an agricultural one, the fairly equitable rates of exchange between the two countries, and the desire in Yugoslavia for close relations with Czecho-Slovakia are the reason for this desire.

Notwithstanding these many reasons for the establishment of closer relations between the two countries, every practical attempt to do so thus far has fallen down. The compensation agreement between the Austrians and Yugoslavs, whereby the former were to receive from the latter certain quantities of foodstuffs in return for cash payments and

⁴⁰ Paleček, Ivan (1868. – 1945.), odvjetnik i političar. Bio zastupnik u Hrvatskom saboru (1908. – 1918.), delegat u zajedničkom Hrvatsko-ugarskom saboru (1910. – 1918.), ban Hrvatske i Slavonije 1919. godine, ministar za Ustavotvornu skupštinu i izjednačenje zakona (1919.), član Privremenoga narodnog predstavništva. (*Ko je ko u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd-Zagreb: Jugoslavenski godišnjak-Nova Evropa, 1928), 109).

⁴¹ Jambrišak, (?).

⁴² Rojc, Milan (1855. – 1946.), pravnik i političar. Bio je član Hrvatsko-srpske koalicije, ministar za bogoštovlje i nastavu (1906. – 1907., 1917. – 1920.). Nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata postao članom JDS-a, bio je član Privremenoga narodnog predstavništva, zatim i povjerenik za unutarnje poslove Zemaljske vlade u Zagrebu. Zbog neslaganja s politikom centralizma zalagao se za reviziju Vidovdanskoga ustava, zbog čega je i napustio JDS. (*Hrvatska enciklopedija*, 9 Pri – Sk (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2007), 400).

⁴³ Druškovič, Andrej bio je tajnikom predsjedništva Deželne vlade za Sloveniju. Predsjednik Deželne vlade za Sloveniju bio je Janko Brejc.

manufactured products, has not been carried out. (A new arrangement is being made which it is hoped will be more successful).

There are many difficulties in the way of a better understanding between these countries. The greatest obstacle, I believe, is the suspicion and fear of reactionary governments in both Hungary and Austria on the part of the Yugoslav, who are convinced that a monarchy in Austria as well as in Hungary means imperialism and the attempt to reconstruct the old system of domination.

Aside from this fear and suspicion there exists a feeling of hatred for everything Austrian and Hungarian and a desire to throw off anything that seems to have any relation with their old masters. To ask Serbia to help Austria or Hungary would be much like asking Belgium to help Germany and Berlin. And from the sentiment among the reactionaries in Austria and Hungary it is certain that if Yugoslavia were the offerer that they could count on very little help from the former.

Therefore to secure help from Yugoslavia for Austria the question must be handled upon an entirely materialistic basis, which is, that (...) ⁴⁴ it is of greatest advantage for Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia to support the present republican form of government in Austria in order that the reactionaries will not so soon return to power. This the Yugoslavs fully realize, but they seem to lack the ability to formulate any active program, and besides, they claim that the Austrians make this very difficult. Besides there are other difficulties.

The Yugoslavs make the claim that the reactionary element in Austria and especially in Styria and Carinthia, with headquarters in Graz, are carrying on a defamatory propaganda against everything Yugoslav, predicting the break-up of the country, and further that the Austrians are harboring such political refugees and agitators as Dr. Gallardi, Dr. Frank – now believed to be in Rome-. Lt. Stipitich, Dr. Sustersic, former clerical leader and Hapsburg pet, and others, who in connection with the chauvinistic press, the Grazer TAGEBLATT and TAGESPOST, are waging an anti-Yugoslav propaganda. In fact, Dr. Renner was compelled to ask these newspapers to stop this activity for the sake of better relation with Yugoslavia.

Aside from the press propaganda is said to be carried on through pamphlets and leaflets which are distributed on the Yugoslav side of the border. Some of these leaflets are used for pro-Austrian agitation in the Karnten plebiscite area – giving distorted and absolutely false statements. I am sure that these activities are not approved by the Austrian Government in Vienna, but this government does not possess the authority to put a stop to them. The Yugoslavs no doubt exaggerate the importance of this anti-Slav agitation, but it is serious enough to quell any desire the Yugoslavs might otherwise have to help the Austrians.

Another difficulty is the failure of the Austrians to release the sums of money belonging to Yugoslavs deposited in Vienna banks, amounting to two and three quarter

⁴⁴ Nečitko.

billion crowns. In retaliation the Slovenes have sequestered a great number of Austrian owned properties, which the Austrians claims are being sold or managed at a great loss or in a manner ruinous to the owners. This action, the blocking of traffic on the Radkersburg railway, the occupation of territories assigned to Austria by the Peace Conference, and the general persecution of Germans and the German language, naturally in turn embitters the Austrians against the Yugoslavs.

No practical steps are being taken to reduce these causes of friction. A practicable means for doing so would be the forming of a mixed commission of Austrians and Yugoslavs to investigate the points of friction and find a solution which would at any rate minimize them. With the exception of the general hatred and prejudice many differences could be allayed by common sense joint action, and which cannot be handled through regular diplomatic channels. For it must be remembered that Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia are quite distinct parts of the same country with different points of view, different problems, and at present separate local administrations, and that for these reasons a commission working on the ground can accomplish more than an exchange of notes through diplomatic channels. And, both sides are tired of the intermediation of the Entente.

Aside from the political there are also material obstacles in the way of the Yugoslavs rendering aid to Austria by the shipment of foodstuffs. When it was first learned that a compensation agreement had been made between Yugoslavia and Austria speculators immediately bought up great quantities of grain and other foodstuffs and held these at outrageous prices. Furthermore the Italians and French taking advantage of the favorable rate of exchange – and to a lesser extent – the English – have bought heavily in the Yugoslav market with the result that the prices have been forced up which in turn is causing a great deal of dissatisfaction and unrest among the population. In fact it is said that the trainmen refuse to ship cars with foodstuffs on account of this increase in prices and also on account of the Austrian agitation.

The President of Slovenia stated that the French forced Yugoslavia to sell them foodstuffs “at the point of the gun”. It is quite evident that the French are not well liked.

Another difficulty is the lack of transportation facilities, the shortage of rolling stock, the long stretches of second class road and the disinclination of the railroad men to work.

Graft plays a part too. It is said to be difficult to move a train without bribing the driver, the trainman, the fireman, and the various switchmen. In fact their⁴⁵ seems to be a great deal of bribery which helps to make irregular commerce and transportation.

Then there is the difficulty with the train equipment and rolling stock. A case in point. A banking house purchased twenty eight carloads of materials in Austria to be sent via Yugoslavia to Roumania. The cars were all Austrian and stenciled accordingly. One morning in Yugoslavia the train guard inquired why the train did not continue and they were told that the cars were SHS cars (Yugoslav cars), and were told to look at the marks. During the night the Austrian marks had been painted over.

⁴⁵ Vjerojatno „there“.

DOKUMENTI

The Murazombat area, east of Radkersburg, old Hungarian territory now occupied by the SHS troops formerly marketed its grain through Radkersburg in Upper Styria. This area which is cut off from the north and has no accessible outlet to the south on account of the River Mur would find an outlet through Radkersburg and help relieve the food situation in Graz and vicinity if the Yugoslavs could be induced to permit free transit across their line of occupation.

Recommendations: Definite establishment of frontiers as soon as possible, inclusive plebiscite area and withdrawal of troops behind respective frontiers.

Opening of Radkersburg-Spielfield railway, and country to east and south. Mixed commission of Austrian and Yugoslavs to investigate and do away with local differences, irritations, etc.

Allied commission to buy for Austria and handle transportation of foodstuffs. Austrian government to take repressive measures against anti-SHS agitation in Styria and Carinthia.

9. 1919., prosinac 29., Izvješće br. 44 američkoga djelatnika ARA-e DuBoisa američkom poslanstvu u Kraljevstvu SHS o „jugoslavenskoj vanjskoj politici kako je se vidi iz Hrvatske i Slovenije.“ Autor izvješća donosi mišljenje da „postoje velike razlike između naroda Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije, te moglo bi se dodati, i Bosne i Crne Gore; razlike u vjeri, kulturi, kao i konceptu političkog života. Možda i više no ikada vidljiva je razlika u duhu, ona razlika između pobjedničkih Srba i pokorenih Hrvata i Slovenaca“.

NARA, M 358, R 2, 860H.00/29

No. 44 – DuBois

Vienna, Austria
December 29, 1919.

Subject: Internal and External (“”) in Yugoslavia as viewed from Croatia and Slovenia.

The object of this report is to (...) ⁴⁶ on the internal and external politics of Yugoslavia obtained to a trip to Marburg, Zagreb (Agram), and Ljubljana (Laibach) from December 11th to 17th.

The information in this report was obtained from the “Banus” or head of the Government of Croatia, Dr. Zoricic, the secretary of the government, Dr. Rojc, University professor and probable minister to Vienna, Dr. Jambrisak, a leader of the opposition, also from the President of Slovenia, Dr. Druskovic, secretary of the government,

⁴⁶ Nečitko. Nekoliko riječi prekriveno je pravokutnim prijemnim pečatom State Departmenta.