

DOKUMENTI

If we now look toward the effect of a Carlist deus ex machine materialization through Croatia or Slovakia we will most likely find that Benes and Jonescu and the others have overestimated that range of the Little Entente Artillery. A Czech mobilization will in all probability find a Slovak flank movement and a Hungarian other hand will have to cope with a Croat flank and a Hungarian frontal attack; the Roumanian Army as a strategic factor may be listed as rather problematic. Moreover the Transylvanian population. Roumanian included, will probably stand up like one man against it. This whole inductive of the praemiseae are hard and fast facts and several of the deductions are extremely probable, the scheme appears decidedly practicable.

It may be added that Italy as a protector of the Little Entente or a part of it may not be counted upon.

29. 1921., listopad 28., Dodatak izvješću br. 1073 Henryja Percivala Dodgea State Departmentu: Izvješće konzula Alfreda Thomsona iz Zagreba poslaniku Henryju Percivalu Dodgeu o „političkoj situaciji u Hrvatskoj“ u kojem govori o stajalištima Hrvatskoga bloka i njihovoj spremnosti na pregovore s predsjednikom vlade Stojanom Protićem o izmjeni Vidovdanskoga ustava, te da „hrvatska javnost u većini gaji velike nade u politiku i djelovanje gosp[odina]. Stojana Protića, jer vjeruje da bi njegovim ostankom na vlasti moglo doći do radikalnih promjena u srpsko-hrvatskim odnosima.“

NARA, M 358, R 2, 860H.00/129

Enclosure No. 3. In Despatch No. 1073 of November 12, 1921.

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE

Zagreb, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

October 28, 1921.

SUBJECT: Political Developments in Croatia since the Promulgation of the Constitution (June 28, 1921).

Honorable H. Percival Dodge,

American Minister,

Belgrade.

Sir:

Since the promulgation of the present Constitution the political situation in Croatia-Slavonia has not undergone any marked changes. The standpoint of the opposition, i.e. Narodni Klub (Zajedničari), the Croatian Peasant Republican Party (Radich) and the Croatian Party of the Right (Frankovci) remains firmly on the basis of non-acceptance of the Constitution and non-cooperation until the Constitution is revised. Before the promulgation of the Constitution these parties were divided programatically as follows: The Narodni Klub cooperated in Belgrade until the month of April, and would have been contented with a larger autonomy. The other two parties insisted upon the preservations of the historical boundaries and demanded federation, but since the promulgation of the Constitution they have come to an agreement between themselves and have formed the so-called Hrvatski Blok (Croatian "Bloc") and are acting together in all question concerning Croatia.

The Croatian public at large have great hopes in the policies and actions of Mr. Stojan Protic, as they believe that should he attain power, there would be a radical change in Serbo-Croatian relations. I am informed that Mr. Protic assured the members of the Croatian "Bloc" that if they could come to a working agreement with him, the Radical Party, including Mr. Pasic, would follow his lead for the revision of the Constitution. It would appear that the conditions for cooperation of the Croatian "Bloc" are the following:

1. New general elections and drafting of the Constitution on the basis of an agreement between the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes that the new Constitution should embody the views of the majority of each of the three peoples taken separately; hence, the Constitution could not be passed by an absolute majority, unless such a majority interpreted the views of the majority of each branch of the nation.
2. The Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia to be preserved within its historical boundaries with a Ban (Viceroy) at its head with a separate Diet. The affairs of the State which by their nature are to be centralized, such as the army and navy, foreign affairs, foreign representation, finances, in so far as they are to cover these joint affairs, are to be considered as joint affairs. There would be a "Parliament for Joint Affairs", however, it is not clear what would be the basis of representation in such a parliament and where it would be convened.
3. Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Voivodina, Slovenia and possibly Macedonia are to be autonomous, but the autonomy of these provinces might vary in degree and importance from the autonomy of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, since none of these provinces, except Montenegro, enjoyed separate state life. Hence, the two chief factors in the life of Jugoslavia would be Croatia (in the broad sense) and Serbia.
4. It would appear that the Croatia "Bloc" would compromise on the question of Srem and southern Dalmatia, below the river Neretva (Narenta), if the population of these districts by means of a plebiscite consented to be incorporated with Serbia or Bosnia-Herzegovina. In such case they would probably

demand the incorporation with Croatia of Turkish Croatia (that part of Bosnia between the river Vrbas and the Croatian or Dalmatian frontier).

Secession is neither desired by the public at large nor the members of the Croatian "Bloc". Both desire that the actual state formation – Jugoslavia – be preserved. Both demand, however, complete change in the internal policy and in the Serbo-Croatian relations. As regards the question of the monarchy, it would appear that they would accept the Karageorgevitch dynasty, notwithstanding the fact that the Peasant Party is republican in its programme.

The absence of the King is commented upon variously. However, the most widespread local belief is that owing to the attempt upon his life on June 28th¹⁷¹, the King suffering from a nervous breakdown and will return as soon as his health is restored. The present government is blamed for withholding from the nation the truth concerning the King.

Public opinion is outwardly anti-Hapsburg and anti-Magyar, and demands action against the return of ex-Emperor Charles. In responsible circles fears are expressed as to what might happen in future of the Hapsburgs were to resume the crown of Hungary and if the present dissensions between the Serbs and Croats were to continue. The Croatian "Bloc", therefore, insists that the Hapsburgs should be prohibited from resuming the throne of Hungary and that those who are in Hungary should be expelled.

There is a widespread belief in Croatia – Slavonia that Italy is using double diplomacy and that she is actually involved in the latest attempt of ex-Emperor Charles to regain his throne. It is believed that the Italians, fearing future claims of the Jugoslavis to the lost provinces, are endeavoring to keep them in check by a restoration of a monarchy in Hungary, which would be joined by Austria. It is also believed that France favors the return of the Hapsburg, because such a circumstances might ultimately mean the union of Hungary, Austria and Bavaria, thus weakening the German Empire.

The public at large expects much from Dr. Ante Trumbic, and hopes that he may attain power and that Dr. Trumbic and Mr. Protic will succeed in bringing a Serbo-Croatian agreement into being and afford a better administration and a more settled policy.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Alfred R. Thomson¹⁷²

Alfred R. Thomson,

Consul.

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ART/mwv

Enclosures: Two copies of these report.

¹⁷¹ Nakon proglašenja Vidovdanskoga ustava 28. lipnja 1921. godine, na povratku iz zgrade Skupštine, bio je pokušao atentat na regenta Aleksandra I. Karadorđevića. Atentat je izveo komunist Spasoje Stejić bacivši eksplozivnu napravu s prvoga kata nedovršene zgrade Ministarstva graditeljstva na kojoj je radio kao ličilac. Naprava je eksplodirala u visini telefonskih žica ne pogodivši regentovu kočiju. Spasoje Stejić u „Vidovdanskome procesu“ isprva je osuđen na smrt, da bi kazna bila promijenjena u 20 godina zatvora. Poginuo je 1943. godine kao pripadnik partizanskih postrojbi.

¹⁷² Vlastoručno.