

DOKUMENTI

- (4) The extent, if any, to which the Croatian movement is encouraged by foreign powers.
- (5) The degree, if any, to which this movement has hampered the diplomacy of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
- (6) Whether similar movements are gaining ground in Bosnia or other parts of the Kingdom.
- (7) The measures taken or contemplated by the Government to repress or to conciliate Croatian opposition.
- (8) Your personal opinion as to whether the Croatian movement constitutes a serious threat to
 - (a) the monarchical system in Yugoslavia
 - (b) the integrity of the nation.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
For the Secretary of the State:
William Phillips¹⁸⁶

(...)¹⁸⁷

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HBC/MC.

33. 1922., svibanj 29., Izvješće konzula Alfreda Thomsona iz Zagreba poslaniku Henryju Percivalu Dodgeu o „stanju u Hrvatskoj“ u kojem se govori o Memorandumu Hrvatskoga bloka savezničkoj konferenciji u Genovi, te vjenčanju kralja Aleksandra koje je u Zagrebu bilo indiferentno popraćeno.

NARA, M 358, R 2, 860H.00/145

No. 310

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Zagreb, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
May 29, 1922.

¹⁸⁶ Phillips, William, Zamjenik Državnoga tajnika (Undersecretary of State) od 31. ožujka 1922. do 11. travnja 1924.

¹⁸⁷ Pečat: „Alvey A. Adee, MAY 25, 1922, MAY 31, 1922“. Adee, Alvey Augustus (1842. – 1924.), Second Assistant Secretary of State od 3. kolovoza 1886. do 30. lipnja 1924.

DOKUMENTI

SUBJECT: Political Reports to Legation

THE HONORABLE,

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a report dated May 29, 1922, to the Legation at Belgrade, regarding the recent political developments in Croatia.

During the past year and a half the Consulate has sent numerous political reports to the Legation, and hereafter copies of such reports will be sent to the Department for its information.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Alfred R. Thomson¹⁸⁸
Alfred R. Thomson,
Consul.

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ART/Hcm.

Enclosure:
Political report.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Zagreb, May 29, 1922.

SUBJECT: Political Developments in Croatia. Attitude Toward Genoa Conference. Internal Affairs. Wedding of the King. American Loan.

The Honorable,

H. Percival Dodge,
American Minister,
Belgrade.

¹⁸⁸ Vlastoručno.

Sir:

Since my last report there have been no serious changes of opinion regarding the Constitution and active cooperation with the central government at Belgrade.

“The Croatian Bloc” endeavored to obtain representation at the Genoa Conference¹⁸⁹ in the delegation which was to represent the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The “Bloc” addressed a memorandum to the central government at Belgrade with the request that a number of their delegates be included in the delegation representing Yugoslavia, and, receiving no answer, drafted and sent to the Conference at Genoa a memorandum which was presented to the delegations of the various States represented there. In this memorandum the “Bloc” protested against the Italian policy in regard to the Treaty of Rapallo of 1920.

On May 15th, 1922, members of the “Croatian Bloc” met in conference at Zagreb, and adopted the following resolutions, which contain the views of the “Bloc” regarding the Genoa Conference, the question of nation minorities in Yugoslavia and the “Blocs” viewpoint as regards the relations between Serbia and Croatia¹⁹⁰. These resolutions are in substance as follows:

The powers that be in Belgrade are acting at the international conference at Genoa in such a way as to prove that they are not, and cannot, be the true representatives of the Serbian, and still less, of the Croatian peoples. The letter addressed by the Minister of Finance and delegate at the Conference, Mr. Kumanudi, to Mr. Chicherin was so misleading to Russian and European public opinion that the Central Committee of the “Croatian Bloc” performed only its duty in sending a protest to Chicherin, and in enclosing with the protest the memorandum which was fully discussed at various meetings of the “Croatian Bloc”.

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The second resolution deals with the question of non-Slav minorities¹⁹¹ and claims the same rights for such minorities as they enjoy in the United States.

¹⁸⁹ Konferencija u Genovi održana je od 10. travnja do 19. svibnja 1922. Konferencija je trebala odrediti smjernice za gospodarski razvitak i obnovu srednje i istočne Europe, te poboljšati veze sa Sovjetskom Rusijom.

¹⁹⁰ Hrvatski blok smatrao je konferenciju u Genovi izvrsnim mjestom za objelodanjivanje hrvatskoga položaja i stanja u Kraljevini SHSa. Memorandum Hrvatskoga bloka donesen je u siječnju 1922. i bio je utemeljen na pravu hrvatske državnosti te protesta protiv čina ujedinjenja s Kraljevinom Srbijom od 1. prosinca 1918., kao i protiv državnoga centralizma. Memorandum je 25. veljače 1922. bio poslan jugoslavenskom predsjedniku vlade Nikoli Pašiću. U tekstu Memoranduma bilo je istaknuto zajedništvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na vanjskopolitičkome planu, kao i potreba unutarnjopolitičkoga sporazuma. Također je bilo zatraženo i sudjelovanje hrvatskih predstavnika na Konferenciji u Genovi. Pašić nije odgovorio na Memorandum. U Genovu je otišla delegacija bez hrvatskih predstavnika na čelu s ministrom vanjskih poslova Momčilom Ninčićem. (Hrvoje Matković, „Stjepan Radić i Hrvatski blok“, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 32-33 (1999-2000): 267-276.

¹⁹¹ Podcrtano rukom, dopisano: „who?“.

-III-

The third resolution protest against the arbitrary dismemberment of Croatia, which is the work of four oligarchs at Belgrade, and they affirm that if the Serbian public officials and Serbian public opinion accept passively the carrying out of this dismemberment, the "Bloc" will never enter into any negotiations with any political parties in Serbia.

As an appendix to the foregoing resolutions the "Croatian Bloc" goes on to comment on the financial policy of the Central Government, which they state is not based either on the Constitution, or on the experience of other nations; but that it is the expression of the autocratic tendencies of the Council of Minister and of the Minister of Finance, so that rates and taxes are gradually taking the form of systematized plunder of the people.

The plundering, states the "Croatian Bloc", began with the conversion of the crown into the crown-dinar, four crowns being accepted as one dinar, and with the withdrawal of 20% of the crowns at the converting or stamping operation. The Government directly took this money from private citizens, and in spite of its given word and promise, it has not yet returned the money. The 20% withdrawn in 1919, amounted to one billion crowns. This plundering continued with the pretended voluntary, but in reality forcible, internal loan of two billion crowns, which were to be spent on construction and improvement of railways and of the rolling stock, but none of this money has been spent for these purposes. This plundering continues with the taxes on the so-called "war profits" for the years 1919-1920, which taxes are not being collected in Serbia, nor does this law extend to Serbia proper.

The culmination of the plundering policy of the Government is to be the new loan of one hundred million dollars for the construction of a railway which hardly touches Croatia, or the other provinces outside of Serbia proper, while Croatia and the other provinces must pay eight-tenths of the total amount of the taxes.

Therefore, the Croatian Bloc, in its capacity of sole legal representative of the Croatian people, announces to the Croatian people and to Croatian financial circles, that it will never recognize this loan, or any other loan, internal or external, which is made, or will be made, without the comment and approval of the representatives of the Croatian people.¹⁹²

These are very serious charges, but the Croatian Bloc, it appears, does not consider any plan to overthrow the present Government.

The wedding of King Alexander is being received with indifference, not because of any personal dislike to the King or the future Queen¹⁹³, but because of the centralistic policy of the Government. That does not mean that the King is being identified with this policy. The indifference to him, like the republicanism of the "Croatian Bloc", is not a

¹⁹² Podcrtano rukom.

¹⁹³ Kralj Aleksandar I. Karadorđević oženio se u Beogradu 8. lipnja 1922. rumunjskom princezom Marijom Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.

matter of faith or belief, but a means of propaganda against the Belgrade Government. They are afraid that if they not differently their uncompromising attitude towards the centralistic movement would be weakened. There is sound reason to believe that if the Croatian autonomistic demands were met, the Croats, together with Radic, would become staunch monarchists. In spite of this assumed indifference towards the marriage of the King, it is believed that the marriage will strengthen the position of Yugoslavia.

There are rumors that the envoys of the King were privately conferring with Radic in an effort to effect a settlement of the Croato-Serb question. However, a trustworthy confirmation of this rumor was unobtainable.

Reports that the United States Government might intervene in the matter of a loan from American bankers have made a favorable impression here, as it is believed that the United States may exercise its influence in order to induce the Belgrade Government to change its internal policy. On the other hand, a loan from the American financiers is more welcome than from any others, for the reason that the Americans are believed to be guided by purely economic motives, while European financiers are always suspected of political motives in any investments or loans.

As to the execution of the Treaty of Rapallo¹⁹⁴, the Government is strongly censured for entering into a discussion, instead of insisting on a carrying out of the original terms of the Treaty. It is believed that Italy is neither trustworthy or sincere, and will not carry out the agreement regarding the execution of the Treaty of Rapallo, and will only take advantage of the concessions of the Yugoslav Government, in order to obtain yet further concessions.

In spite of internal political dissensions, a general revival of trade is noticeable on all sides, which is especially applicable to the building industry. In Zagreb whole new parts of the city are being built. The general prosperity¹⁹⁵ is much above the pre-war standard, and it is a very promising sign for the future.

Alfred R. Thomson,
Consul.

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34. 1922., lipanj 8., Izvješće konzula Alfreda Thomsona poslaniku Henryju Percivalu Dodgeu o dvjema demonstracijama u Zagrebu večer uoči vjenčanja kralja Aleksandra. Tijekom prvih demonstracija oko 5 000 ljudi klicalo je „Hrvatskoj republici i Radiću“, a koje je pred Maksimirom dočekala i rastjerala policija, na drugim demonstracijama sudjelovalo je dvjestotinjak pristaša JDS-a kličući „Nek’ živi kralj“ i „dolje Austrija“.

¹⁹⁴ Podcrtano rukom.

¹⁹⁵ Podcrtano rukom.