

DOKUMENTI

62. 1925., siječanj 19., Izvješće poslanika Henryja Percivala Dodgea State Departmentu o uhićenju Stjepana Radića koji se „skriva u stanu svoga zeta gdje je upuzao u, za to pripremljenu, rupu u zidu“, kao i da nitko od Radićevih vođa neće biti pogubljen što mu je i potvrdio ministar vanjskih poslova Ninčić rekavši da bi „čak i ako ih sud osudi na smrt, u što je bio uvjeren da bi trebalo, kralj pomilovati.“

NARA, M 358, R 3, 860h.00/228

[...] ³⁵²

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Belgrade, January 19, 1925.

Despatch no. 2548.

CONFIDENTIAL.

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my Despatch No. 2533 of the 3rd instant, relative to the internal political situation, I have the honor to inform you that the report mentioned therein as to the finding and arrest of Mr. Stjepan Raditch, subsequently proved to be true. Mr. Raditch was found to be hiding in his son-in-law's apartment in Zagreb where he had crawled into an excavation in a wall, apparently constructed for the purpose. I enclose a page from a local illustrated paper containing photographs of Mr. Raditch's hiding place as well as an excellent photograph of himself. Mr. Raditch's arrest and imprisonment in the local jail produced considerable excitement but no disorder. Including it the Government have now under arrest in Zagreb and other places, principally in Dalmatia, Bosnia and the Banat, all the principal leaders of the Raditch Party. It is claimed that his arrest led to the discovery of further incriminating documents, including the draft for a treaty with Admiral Horthy's Government which provided for the cession to Hungary of the Voivodina and the recognition by the Hungarian Government of the independence of Croatia. This document bears only the signature of Mr. Raditch and is believed to have been made during Mr. Raditch's visit to London in November, 1923. In speaking of this document, Dr. Nintchitch, the Foreign Minister, informed me that although it appeared quite possible that this was the text of a treaty actually negotiated with Admiral Horthy's

³⁵² Državni pečat.

Government, no evidence had yet been found to show that it was more than a draft drawn solely by Mr. Raditch. Subsequently a Foreign Office communiqué has announced that the Hungarian Minister has called at the Foreign Office and declared in the name of his Government that Hungary had had no relations with Mr. Raditch and consequently had made no treaty with him. The Hungarian official press bureau has also published a statement to the effect that Mr. Raditch has always assumed a very hostile attitude towards Hungary and that it was fantastic to believe that her Government had ever had any relations with him. Notwithstanding these official denials, the "Samouprava", the organ of the Radical Party, has published an article repeating its reasons for believing that the draft represents a treaty actually negotiated. I enclose a translation of this article.

Other compromising papers announced as found upon Mr. Raditch's arrest include correspondence with Soviet leaders but the most compromising of all are stated to have been found in his pocket and to consist of a note book in which he had entered his past acts and future plans.

Upon the arrest of the Raditch Party leaders, Dr. Ante Trumbitch, the former Foreign Minister, presented himself as their counsel but was refused admittance to the prisoners pending the completion of their examination. Dr. Trumbitch then requested a passport to enable him to travel abroad in search of evidence for the protection of his clients. This passport was at first given to him and later withdrawn and upon Mr. Trumbitch's protest, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Maksimovitch, explained that he considered it dangerous to allow Dr. Trumbitch to go abroad since the probable purpose of his trip was to manufacture false documents in favor of his clients.

After deliberating upon the arrest of the Raditch Party leaders during three days, the Court of First Instance of Zagreb decided that although these leaders were not protected from arrest by their Parliamentary immunity, no cause had been shown by the Government for instituting proceedings against them for violation of the Law for the Protection of the State or for violation of the Criminal Code. Mr. Raditch was excepted from this decision as relying upon his Parliamentary immunity, he had refused to reply to any questions. This decision was received by the Government and political circles here generally with dismay and accusations of partiality were freely made against the Zagreb judges. In speaking to me of the decision, Dr. Nintchitch himself stated that although Yugoslav judges were ordinarily above party considerations, in the present case where political passions were aroused to such an unusual extent, he believed that the judges had been influenced by party views. He declared however that a large portion of the evidence in the Government's possession had not been submitted to the Court and that on the appeal which would be taken by the Government all the evidence would be handed in. He considered that under these circumstances it would be practically impossible for the appeal judges to decide otherwise than for the acceptance of the Government's contention. I inquired what the Government's policy would be in case by chance the appeal court should also decide against the Government. Dr. Nintchitch declared that this would be impossible but that if it should, it would decide against the evidence

and intimated that it would be necessary then for the Government to proceed administratively although he stated that the Cabinet had as yet come to no decision. He added that with evidence such as the Government possessed, these leaders would be hanged in any country.

The Public Prosecutor has now appealed to the higher court in Zagreb, the "Court of the Ban's Table", and in his appeal has emphasized the identity of the Peasants' International and the Third International, the fact that Smyrnov³⁵³, the President of the Peasants' International is also Commissar for Agriculture in the Soviet Government and the fact that numerous Yugoslav communists sit in the Peasants' International. I enclose a translation of the judgment of the Court of First Instance as published in the Belgrade "Vreme".

In view of the favorable judgment of the lower court, Mr. Raditch has now waived his claimed parliamentary immunity and is now also being examined by the lower Court. In Government circles it is hoped that in view of the stronger evidence against him, the lower court may condemn him and obviate the necessity of an appeal in his case. It is expected that the appeal court will decide within a few days in the cases submitted to it as to whether there is ground for the prosecutions to proceed. Meanwhile the Zagreb court has received a telegram from Mr. Thomas Dombal³⁵⁴, Secretary of the Peasants International, in which he offers to come to Zagreb to testify in favor of Mr. Raditch and his companions. The Soviet telegraph agency has also declared the alleged Convention between Mr. Raditch and the Third International, of which a summary was enclosed in my Despatch No. 2518 of December 20th last, to be a forgery and to be copied from the twenty-one conditions of the second Congress of the third International.

The effect of the quashing of these indictments by the Zagreb court of first instance has been extremely damaging to the Government's prestige and has also resulted in dissensions in the Cabinet. Charges are freely made against the procedure adopted by the Government and the poor preparation of the Government's case. The Radical members of the Cabinet accuse the Independent Democratic members, who appear to be the ones primarily responsible for the Government's action against the Raditch leaders, of bungling, while the latter are also accused by the Croatian Ministers, Messrs. Surmin and Drinkovitch³⁵⁵, of adopting a policy of Croatian persecution. There are many rumors

³⁵³ Smirnov, Aleksandr Petrovič (1877. – 1938.), političar. Član Ruske socijaldemokratske radničke partije od osnutka, prišao boljševicima. Bio zamjenik komesara za prehranu (1919. – 1922.), narodni komesar za poljoprivredu (1923. – 1928.), te istovremeno i glavni tajnik Seljačke internacionale. Izbacjen iz Komunističke partije 1934. zbog antipartijske aktivnosti, uhićen 1937., pogubljen 1938. (Branko Lazić, Milorad M. Drachovitch, *Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern*. New, Revised, and Expanded Edition (Stanford: Stanford University – The Hoover Institution Press, 1986, 434)).

³⁵⁴ Dombal, Tomasz (1890. – 1937.), političar. Bio član Komunističke partije Poljske. Uhićen 1921., oslobođen 1923. i odmah otišao u SSSR. Bio glavni tajnik Seljačke internacionale do 1928. kada postaje njegovim zamjenikom. Bio potpredsjednik bjeloruske Akademije znanosti i član bjeloruske Komunističke partije. Ubijen 1937. u Staljinovim čistkama. (Lazić, *Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern*, 98-99).

³⁵⁵ Drinković, Mate (1868. – 1931.), liječnik, političar, publicist. Bio zastupnik Stranke prava u Dalmatinskom saboru, uhićen zbog protuaustrijskih stajališta i osuđen na pet godina zatvora uoči Prvoga svjetskog

of resignations but Mr. Pashitch is exercising his remarkable powers to keep the Cabinet together at least until after the elections which are now only nineteen days distant.

The Opposition block has recently published its official reply to the decree of the Government for the arrest of the Raditch leaders. I enclose a translation of it which will show the violence of its tone which however is only illustrative of public feeling.

The Opposition appears to be having difficulty in presenting a more or less united front for the coming electoral struggle but, as I have already noted in my Despatch No. 2533, above referred to, the Radical Party is also having great difficulties in keeping its forces in line. Dissident Radical lists for electoral candidates are numerous and include one, at Velika Kikinda, in the Banat, which seriously threatens the election there of Dr. Nintchitch. For the 315 deputies to be elected there are now that the lists have been closed, 163 lists. The Radicals have dissident lists in twenty districts, the Democrats in ten and the Raditch Party in only two. Various arbitrary acts are reported by the Opposition press on the part of the Government the chief of which is the recent arrest of the leader and Vice President of the Hungarian Party in the Banat whose newspaper has also been seized on a charge of being subventioned by the "Awakening Magyars". The German Party and other opposition parties also complain of official obstruction in their electoral campaigns.

The situation is undoubtedly a serious one and political passions are stirred to the utmost. Government officials practically admit that the issue, of the elections is so serious, involving the very existence of the State, that practically any illegalities if they are to assist the Government to win, are permissible.

It would appear that the Government has compromised itself so deeply in its action against the Raditch Party that even if the accused are acquitted by the Zagreb Appeal court, it may feel itself obliged to keep them under arrest and maintain the dissolution of the Raditch Party. There is of course no question of any of the Raditch leaders being executed. Even Dr. Nintchitch assured me that if they were condemned to death, as he was convinced they should be, they would be pardoned by the King.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. Percival Dodge³⁵⁶

H. Percival Dodge,

American Minister

rata. Nakon proglašenja Opće amnestije 1917. proveo godinu dana u internaciji u Beču, nastanio se u Zagrebu 1918. Bio članom Središnjega odbora Narodnoga vijeća SHS-a u Zagrebu, povjerenik za narodnu obranu, član delegacije za ispunjenje napatka o ujedinjenju s Kraljevino Srbijom. U Kraljevini SHS bio zastupnik u Privremenom narodnom predstavništvu, ministar pošta i telegrafa (1920.), bez resora (1924. – 1925., 1930.), socijalne politike (1928.), socijalne politike i narodnog zdravlja (1929. – 1930.). (*HBL*, 3 Č-Đ, 611-612).

³⁵⁶ Vlastoručno.

DOKUMENTI

Enclosures:

- 1.- Illustrations from the Belgrade "Balkan im bild" of January 18, 1925:³⁵⁷
- 2.- Translation of article from the Belgrade "Samouprava" of January 13, 1925, entitled "Hungary and the plots of Mr. Raditch";
- 3.- Translation from the Belgrade "Vreme" of January 13, 1925, containing the text of the decision of the Zagreb court of first instance regarding the Raditch leaders;
- 4.- Translation of article from the Belgrade press of January 9, 1925, containing the text of the protest of the Opposition Block.³⁵⁸

File No. 800-Quintuplicate.

Copy to E.I.C., Paris.

63. 1925., siječanj 28., Izvješće poslanika Henryja Percivala Dodgea State Departmentu o sudskom procesu i optužbama protiv Stjepana Radića.

NARA, M 358, R 3, 860H.00/230

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Belgrade, January 28, 1925.

Despatch No. 2555

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my Despatch No. 2548 (860h.00/228) of the 19th instant, relative to the internal political situation, I have the honor to inform you that on the 22nd instant the decision was published of the "Table of the Ban", the court of highest appeal in

³⁵⁷ Vidi sliku 5.

³⁵⁸ Sažetak „iz beogradskih novina od 9. siječnja 1925.“ Vidi: „Blok o Obznani“, *Politika* (Beograd), 9. siječnja 1925.

³⁵⁹ Državni pečat.