

THE FORGOTTEN ROMANIAN-CROATIAN ALLIANCE: NEW AXIS BORDERLANDS IN THE BALKANS, 1941–1944

ЗАБРАВЕНИЯТ РУМЪНСКО-ХЪРВАТСКИ СЪЮЗ: НОВА ОС ОТ ГРАНИЧНИ ОБЛАСТИ НА БАЛКАНИТЕ, 1941–1944 Г.

The Balkan war, launched in April 1941 after the Belgrade *coup d'état* and the Italian failure in Greece, marked the disappearing of Yugoslavia. On April 10, 1941, Croatia proclaimed its own independence and, at the same time, Serbia requested an ordinary German occupied province, with soft autonomy led by General Milan Nedić. The worst political-military attitude toward *Ustaša* régime on the part of Budapest caused increasingly anti-Hungarian perceptions in Zagreb: because of them, Croats became most radical and incisive in the political-diplomatic *new Little Entente* project, in 1941–1943.

As small and medium-sized powers, Romania, Croatia and Slovakia had a vital interest in their collective security success. The three states focused more attention on their diplomatic relationships: the increasing Marshal Antonescu's geopolitical influence in South-Eastern Europe requested a very fast diplomatic recognition between Romania and Croatia: May 6, 1941, soon after *Poglavnik*, Ante Pavelić official recognition from part of Germany, Italy and Hungary (April 11, 1941), Slovakia (April 15, 1941) and Bulgaria (April 22, 1941). On June 1, 1941 Romanian Minister Dimitrie Buzdugan started his diplomatic office in the new Romanian Legation in Zagreb, where he remained until October 1943, soon after the Italian *coup d'état* against “*Il Duce*”.

Meanwhile, relationships between Romania and Croatia followed strictly geopolitical interests, into the Danube region and also in the Balkans.

It is a truism that since the second half of 1941, Croatian authorities had made large propaganda in favour of Romanian leadership in the region. All Croatian media presented large excerpts on Romanian history, culture and civilisation and *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelić induced to its collaborators that a strong support for Romania would cut Fascist Italian influence in Zagreb, especially concerning *Ustaša* internal affairs. On February 23, 1942, in a speech at the Parliament, Mladen Lorković urged the sustaining of Croatian political elites in the way of building a „perfect agreement” with Romania. Lorković argued that the quoted ally represented “*the greatest nation in all European South-East, with an army which followed just general and common interest of the whole new Balkans*”.

Members and also official partners of Marshal Antonescu's regime officially visited Croatia in 1942–1943.

Radical political challenge in Romania on August 23, 1944, together with the occupation of the Northern Balkans by the Red Army in the very beginning of the autumn of 1944, entirely stopped all negotiations between Bucharest and Zagreb.

Keywords: Romania, Croatia, Little Entente in the Second World War, alliance, the Balkans.

1. Exploring the new Balkans in Romanian reader, 1939–1941

The Romanian-Hungarian relationships made a new climate of permanent insidious tension till the military confrontation soon after the Second Vienna's Arbitrage of August 30, 1940, and also after the autumn of 1940 when the two countries officially became allies with-in the Axis. The cession of North Western Transylvania to Hungary could not be the best op-

portunity to act as an inter-link between Budapest and Bucharest – the two states established a full diplomatic tension between themselves. After the Second Arbitrage, the Bucharest government concluded that the sole solution had to be a *status-quo ante* in its confrontation with Budapest and, for realizing this project, developed more diplomatic decision makers (Csátari 1974; Trașcă 1998: 177-200; Trașcă 1999-2000: 219-230; Lungu 2003; Mândruț 2011: 9-26; Béni 2011: 167-177).

Few days after the Independence Act, on March 14, 1939, Slovakia had already signed an Alliance Treaty with neighbouring Germany: the reciprocal support between the two countries included a strong “yes-men” attitude on the part of Bratislava concerning foreign policy and military relations. On March 23, 1939, Hungary launched a fast and violent military campaign against Slovakia, pursuing its political aims to occupy and integrate South Slovakia in Horthy’s millenaire Kingdom. (Chmel 1999: 80; Jelinek 1976)¹. In a very short time, on April 4, 1939, at a highest expression of German foreign policy aims, Hungary and Slovakia officially signed a peace treaty, which enforced the *status-quo ante bellum*.

The surrender of the Slovaks, together with the Hungarian threats against the so-remained little neighbour, influenced in a strong sense the coordinates of Bratislava foreign policy and the attitude of President Josef Tiso, the most significant points submitting in search of alliances and friendships – in political sense – with which the modest territorial state could demand its claims and required for preserving its own security.

The Balkan war, launched in April 1941 after the Belgrade *coup d'état* and the Italian failure in Greece, marked the disappearing of Yugoslavia. On April 10, 1941, Croatia proclaimed its own independence and, at the same time, Serbia requested an ordinary German occupied province, with soft autonomy led by General Milan Nedić. Immediately after the Zagreb Independence Act, Hungary launched a rapid military action in Vojvodina and the Croat oil fields region Medjimurie, with ethnic Croats being 97% of the population. The independent Croat state was a product both of the radical nationalism of the newly awakened people and of Germany’s geopolitical strategies in the Balkans. The worst political-military attitude toward *Ustaša* régime on the part of Budapest caused increasingly anti-Hungarian perceptions in Zagreb: because of them, Croats became most radical and incisive in political-diplomatic *new Little Entente* project, in 1941–1943 (Chiper 1991; Anghel 1996: 233-257, Anghel 2011: 135-144; Zbucea 2000: 384-411; Calafeteanu 2011).

As small and medium-sized powers, Romania, Croatia and Slovakia had a vital interest in their collective security success. The three states focused more attention on their diplomatic relationships: in the beginning of September, Ivan Milecz became Slovakia’s plenipotentiary Minister in Bucharest and, at the same time, D. Hiott became the first Romanian Minister in Bratislava, on September 30, 1939 (Moldoveanu 1983: 25). The increasing Marshal Antonescu’s geopolitical influence in South-Eastern Europe requested a very fast diplomatic recognition between Romania and Croatia: May 6, 1941 (see Pavelić’s Radio Address to Croatia, on April 5, 1941)², soon after *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelić official recognition from part of Germany, Italy and Hungary (April 11, 1941), Slovakia (April 15, 1941) and Bulgaria (April 22, 1941) (Hillgruber 1994: 163; 361; Deletant 2006). On June 1, 1941, Romanian Minister Dimitrie Buzdugan started his diplomatic office in the new Romanian

Legation in Zagreb, where he remained until October 1943, soon after the Italian *coup d'état* against “*Il Duce*”³.

2. What about Romania and Croatia, and their Balkans

One of the most significant documents of Regent Mikos Horthy's staff, of November 1941, concluded Hungarian main diplomatic strategy into the Balkans. Romanian, Slovak and Croatian common interests and policies both imposed real challenge in Budapest and generated, last but not least, a diplomatic project of new Little Entente, an alliance within the Axis. A quoted Hungarian document expressed Germany's will to get Hungary as a “*super-visor*” of the whole Balkans because in Horthy's interpretation, the Danubian kingdom represented “the sole state which maintains order and trusting in the all European South-East”. (AMAE: Croația, 1, 60; Chiper 1991: 7). The Regent also insisted on the total Hungarian control over the railway links from Budapest to Fiume, via Zagreb and from Belgrade to Salonica, via Niš. In the meantime, in a document Budapest had answered that no ethnical and historical Romanian reasons existed for claiming Serbian Banat (in Vojvodina), raised by the former Yugoslav Kingdom to Hungary because its “*appartenance at historical heritage of the Millenaire Kingdom of St. Stephen*”. (AMAE: Croația, 1, 60).

Banat territorial controversy threatened the Romanian-Hungarian relations. As an example, a confidential report by the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mihai Antonescu, from June 14, 1941 mailed to the Romanian Minister in Zagreb, underlined that, for Romania, “*one of the main Balkan objectives must be the establishment of a common Romanian-Croatian frontier. That means gaining of Serbian Banat by us and getting the solidarity with Zagreb against the Hungarians.*” (AMAE: România, 512, 143). In Zagreb, Marshal Slavko Kvaternik, Commander-in-Chief of the Croatian Army, and Mladen Lorković, Minister of Foreign Affairs, both sustained the Croatian necessities to gain trust in Rome and Berlin in favour of a kind of regional security formula and, as well as it got, to transfer Serbian Banat to Romania (AMAE: România, 512, 146; Boia 1993: 299-310). *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelić in one of his confidential meetings with the Romanian Minister Dimitrie Buzdugan, on November 4, 1941, underlined: “*the interests of both our countries are the same and we have a common enemy. Our hate against it (Hungary) is older even than your hate*” (AMAE: România, 512, 174).

The closest mistrust in Hungarian regional leadership and the threats toward the powerful Nazi Germany, which insisted on the support of the Serbian autonomist government from Belgrade, led by General Milan Nedić, induced an official proposal towards Marshal Ion Antonescu. Nedić insisted on a dynastic union between Romania and Serbia, with Mihai I (1940–1947) as king. At the same, the Serbian General noticed that a Romanian military occupation and administration in Serbia requested a support in Belgrade (AMAE: Iugoslavia, 30, 212).

Immediately after the anti-Soviet war debut, in the front to search a Hungarian military intervention in Transylvania and, in the meantime, to reduce Budapest propaganda (Calafeteanu 2005: 261-283), which claimed another territorial compensations in Serbia for Hungarian actions in the Eastern front war, Romanian government started a strategy very

expensive in a diplomatic sense for strengthening the relationships with both Croatia and Slovakia. On July 17, 1941, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mihai Antonescu, informed the Legations in Bratislava and Zagreb that: "from this moment, concluding Croatia and Slovakia, we are starting a strong and direct strategy because of the new challenges in South Eastern Europe" (AMAE: Croația, 6, 297). Most radically comparing his homologue (see Legal Decree on the Croatian language, its purity and spelling, August 14, 1941)⁴, Mladen Lorković totally followed the Romanian proposal: the Croatian Minister for Foreign Affairs declined all "Hungarian duplicity policies" and firmly condemned the "wildest repression toward non Hungarian ethnical minorities" (AMAE: Croația, 6, 274). On August 25, 1941, Ante Pavelić himself was in concordance with the quoted diplomats: *Poglavnik* offered to the Hungarian Minister in Zagreb an opened advertisement and was pleased to notice that the three-state alliance within the Axis sprang from Hungary's unfriendly attitude: "Yes – acknowledges Pavelić to the Hungarian – *it exists a new Little Entente but not creted by us, Croatia, Slovakia and Romania. You, the Hungarians, aimed and founded it, with your attitudes and policies towards us*" (AMAE: România, 512, 289). At the same time, also in the summer of 1941, the Slovak Minister in Bucharest, Ivan Milecz, claimed in front of the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mihai Antonescu, a "*common action for a common frontier*", against Hungarian regained territories (AMAE: România, 512, 7). Supporting the named policy, the Slovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vojtech Tuka, argued that Romania, except Germany, became the sole ally in which Slovakia could trust in order to get an efficient and essential aid (AMAE: România, 512, 132). Tuka was a thinker who believed in fate and destiny, a man of reason unable to translate thought into deeds. He wanted to reunify Slovakia with Hungary neither for the sake of *Regnum Mariannum* nor out of allegiance to the crown of S. Stephen, but for his own sake. He probably hoped that, with the reunification of Hungary, he would become a national leader – another Mussolini (Jelinek 1976: 60).

In Berlin, any kind of such separate projects of alliance within the Axis were understood with critical tone until the summer of 1942. Preoccupied with the war against the Soviet Union, in which it had the unconditional support of Romania. Germany was not interested in the preservation or in the making of a new diplomatic crisis. Nazi officials as Goebbels in January 1942, closely defined that the Reich was not against a Romanian-Croatian-Slovak military collaboration (AMAE: România, 512, 46). Some economic and geopolitical remarks could be made: Germany was able to follow a Romanian defining policy towards the new Little Entente because of three main aspects. Both military and politically, in July 1941, Romania regained Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina and established administration in the most important neighbouring territories such as Odessa, Transnistria and the Russian Black Sea coast. And, last but not least, Romania provided a lot of oil and fuel for Germans *Reichswehr* and economy.

Meanwhile, relationships between Romania and Croatia followed strictly geopolitical interests into the Danube region and also in the Balkans. Bilateral commercial treaties were signed in August 1941 (AMAE: România, 512, 334. *Commercial Treaty between Croatia and Romania*, Zagreb, August 7, 1941) and December 1942 (AMAE: România, 512, 546). Romania promised to export 100 000 t of oil per year, 25 000 t of gas and oil derivates per

year, animals, grain and fruits. From Croatia it mentioned imports of aluminium and electric machines. Also with Romanian main materials, the economic revival of Croatian economy never happened: a very confidential report of the Romanian Minister in Zagreb to its superiors revealed that the Croatian emergent city prepared to become the most expensive capital in Europe (AMAE: Croația, 1, 328-332)⁵.

Despite their common historical roots, also institutional civilisation, Hungary was not at anytime a strategic partner of new Croatia because of the strongly aggressive Horthy's policies in the Balkans. Ustaša régime strictly invented a propagandistic friendship with Romania – an invented ally of 1941–1944 – and at the end of this exotic and emotional partnership, in the summer of 1944, they still did not know each other in Bucharest and Zagreb.

A very predictable tripartite military alliance pushed Budapest into defensive: since the summer of 1942, Hungary had urged German and Italian officials to eliminate all the possibilities to the rebirth of the Little Entente within the Axis. Since the first half of 1942, the Hungarians had started gradually to move against the new Little Entente and, in this way they launched a propaganda in the most important Axis capitals. On December 15, 1942, the Romanian military attaché in Bratislava, Colonel C. Ștefănescu, received rumours about a decision of Zagreb government to close up until the end of 1942, the Croatian military attachés' offices in Bucharest and Bratislava (AMAE: Croația, 6, 522). In Romania, Marshal Ion Antonescu distinctively had a very irritating attitude to Zagreb's renegeation and remarked that it had to be perceived just as Italian and German decision at Hungarian suggestion. Having been raised into a continuous state of war with Hungary, the Croatian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mladen Lorković, on December 23, 1942, insisted in front of Ion Antonescu that Zagreb government should not oppose the no-named „pushes” and should never want to eliminate unilaterally the military attaché's office in Bucharest. “Romania became a respectable military power in the new Europe” (AMAE: Croația, 6, 428), declared Lorković, and because of this Croatia must sustain the regional politics of Bucharest. Also, the Minister knew and informed Bucharest that “Italy did not agree with a reborn Little Entente and even did not accept an alliance against Hungary” (AMAE: Croația, 7, 24).

It is a truism that since the second half of 1941, Croatian authorities had made large propaganda in favour of Romanian leadership in the region. All Croatian media presented large excerpts on Romanian history, culture and civilisation and *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelić induced to its collaborators that a strong support for Romania would cut Fascist Italian influence in Zagreb, especially concerning *Ustaša* internal affairs. On February 23, 1942, in a speech at the Parliament, Mladen Lorković urged the sustaining of Croatian political elites in the way of building a “perfect agreement” with Romania. Lorković argued that the quoted ally represented “*the greatest nation in all European South-East, with an army which followed just general and common interest of the whole new Balkans*” (AMAE România, 512, 193; Lorković, 1939).

Members and also official partners of Marshal Antonescu's régime officially visited Croatia and Slovakia in 1942–1943. Liviu Rebreanu, the manager of the National Theatre in Bucharest and member of the Romanian Academy, wrote very interesting memoirs about *Ustaša* Croatia (Rebreanu 1998: 60-66). In March 1942, in Zagreb, Rebreanu noticed in

not a favourable manner the lack in the city of food, electricity, oil, transport, camouflage. Despite these, he had the feeling of finding a very friendly image of his country in the media and among the elites. Ante Pavelić, Mladen Lorković and Marshal Slavko Kvaternik made remarks about Romania and its policies. *Poglavnik* confessed to Rebreanu, in an unusually long meeting, that in Croatia „Romania had all the sympathies” and it became „a very high class state and nation in the new Europe” because of its policies in South Eastern Europe and against bolshevism (Rebreanu 1998: 68). Mladen Lorković, depicted by Rebreanu as „a young, sympathetic and good friend of the Romanians” (Rebreanu 1998: 61), reinforced his unconditional intention of looking for a strategic alliance with Bucharest authorities. Croatia had nothing to do with it’s neighbours because the Italians „raped Dalmatia and Montenegro” and the Hungarians occupied Bacska” (Rebreanu 1998: 62). Antonescu noted in Zagreb, after Rebreanu’s words, that “*now we must wait and see just because we must win the war. After that, as peacemakers, we will improve all for the Hungarians, we together, Romanians and Croatians*” (Rebreanu 1998: 65).

The Minister of Propaganda, Nichifor Crainic, who spent some time in Zagreb in the beginning of June 1943 (AMAE, Croația, 7, 46), pursued the preparation of the *Cultural Agreement*, signed in Bucharest on July 7, 1943 (AMAE, Croația, 7, 68), after the *Convention about Croatian schools and churches in Romania* (from October 28, 1942). According to the first mentioned official bilateral document which sprang from the Romanian Minister for National Culture project from October 1942, Croatians in Romania could freely use their language in Croatian primary schools and also in the Catholic churches in Carașova, Nemet, Iabalcea, Clocotici, Lupac, Votnic, Ratnic (in Caraș county), Checea and Recaș (in Timiș-Torontal county). Croat professors demanded to be paid by the Romanian authorities (AMAE: România, 485, 256).

The *Cultural Agreement* of July 1943 enjoyed a rapid expansion in a very unique cooperation of Orthodox Churches. Born on April 4, 1942, the Croatian Orthodox Church issued Germogen Maksimov as Zagreb Mitropolit on June 7, 1942, and attempted a close advice on the part of the Romanian Patriarchy. On August 4, 1944, the Romanian Patriarch Nicodim recognized the autocephaly of the Croatian Orthodox Mitropol: it was for the first but last recognition on this matter for the bishopric of Zagreb. The last official Romanian-Croatian settlement was on the Orthodox St. Mary’s Day, on August 15, 1944, in Zagreb, when Metropolitan Germogen Maksimov confirmed the new Sarajevo Orthodox bishop, Spiridon Mifka. On the part of Marshal Ion Antonescu, in the holly ceremony participated Virgil Gheorghiu, a cultural attaché at the Legation in Zagreb and, more important, the Metropolitan of Bukovina and Transnistria, Visarion Puiu (Andrei 2011: 21- 22).

Between 1941 and 1943, Romanian propaganda towards Slovakia and Croatia was quite important in comparison with other Axis capitals – Berlin (Stanca 2000; Amzăr 2005; Anton 2006), Roma, Sofia, Budapest, Vichy. Radio Zagreb and Radio Bratislava managed to issue, each of them, a „*Romanian Hour*” program and the media in the two capitals insisted on the promotion of Romanian cultural and political values. In 1941–1943, in Croatian newspapers (just three official daily papers, all printed in Zagreb) there were about 25 articles about Romania monthly. Same texts were translated into German and were printed in

a Croatian paper in German language (Zbucea 2000: 409). For example, on the National Day of Romania, May 10, 1943, „*Nova Hrvatska*” presented a whole page about the most well known and promoted Romanian writers of the period: Liviu Rebreanu and Lucian Blaga (Zbucea 2000: 352). In the same issue, in German were printed fragments from the best novel by Rebreanu (“Uprising”), together with translated poems by Vasile Alecsandri and photos of pictures and sculptures by Nicolae Grigorescu, Dimitrie Ghiață and Mac Constantinescu (in “*Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien*”) (Zbucea 2000: 357). In “*Neue Ordnung*”, also on May 9, 1943, Vladimir Kovacić, the most well known cultural editor of Ustaša Croatia, joined a historical Romanian *collage* of Stephan the Great and Alexander, Moldavian voivodes from the 14th–15th centuries, and translated Mihai Eminescu’s poems for the first time in Croatian (Zbucea 2000: 355-356). At the same time, in Zagreb was printed a monumental corpus entitled *Hrvatska Enciklopedija* (in 1941–1943), with large excerpts about Romania and its elites (Hrvatska Enciklopedija 1941: I, 174, 198, 491; II, 52, 53, 131, 233, 340, 447-449, 771; III, 31, 235, 245, 497-498, 598, 623-624).

On the level of “*beaux gêtes*” in front of diplomatic and political milieus, Bucharest and Zagreb regimes supported each other by a lot of symbolic events, induced solidarity and common interests. Just two weeks after the opening of the Romanian Legation in Zagreb, *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelić received the high Order *Carol I* (AMAE: România, 512, 221) and on August 25, 1943, Ion Antonescu received the Order “*Crown of King Zvonimir*” (AMAE: România, 512, 230). The same Croat title was offered also to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mihai Antonescu, on January 26, 1943 (AMAE: România, 512, 241).

The rapprochement between Bucharest and Zagreb showed that a new Little Entente was in making-up projects. The doctrinal dimension of the emerging alliance within the greater one – the Axis, was clearly stated by Mihai Antonescu, on October 14, 1941, in a long confidential meeting with the Minister of Croatia in Bucharest. “*Relationships between Romania and Croatia – insisted M. Antonescu – as relationships between Romania and Slovakia had nothing to do with the old regional solidarity system called Inter War Little Entente and it means no hostility toward Hungary. There is more than this. [...] The so-called Holly Crown of St. Stephen is just a doctrinal and ideological expression that must cover a biological tendency of a warrior mentality. So, the alliance between Romania, Croatia and Slovakia is something natural that has sprung from geographical community of interests and from defensive instincts.*” (AMAE: Croația, 7, 495- 496; Zbucea 2000: 395-396).

The Little Entente within the Axis, as it was concluded in the three capitals, could not have an offensive project: there were no common frontiers between the three partners. The main aim of the alliance was to regain all that Hungary had seized in 1939–1941. After the Rome *coup d’état* against Mussolini, Croatia in fact became a real German protectorate, after the Slovakian one. Because of the disagreement with this political way in Zagreb, Marshal Ion Antonescu decided, on October 1943, to back Minister Dimitrie Buzdugan from his Legation. Later Romanian Minister in *Ustaša* Croatia, M. Mitiľineu, arrived just in March 1944.

Since the end of 1943, a speedy rapprochement between Croatia and Bulgaria had started to become clear and this really seized all efforts in focusing Little Entente project. In

Bratislava, at the end of 1943 and in the first half of 1944, intentions of self-government by Slovak authorities were disappearing more and more. Just in June 1944, during ceremonies dedicated in Zagreb to the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon II (1943–1946), *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelić and the Minister of Bulgaria concluded that both countries were inspired just by “identical interests on the Balkans” (AMAE, Croația, 2, 292-293) and advised together a possible “union of the southern Slavs” (AMAE, Croația, 2, 292-293). The Yugoslavian King Petr II Karageorgević also demanded on April 1943, a *Balkan Federation*, which had to include “even countries which are now within the Axis, such as Bulgaria and Croatia” (AMAE: Iugoslavia, 17, 288).

Political radical challenge in Romania on August 23, 1944, together with the occupation of the Northern Balkans by the Red Army in the very beginning of the autumn of 1944, entirely stopped all negotiations between Bucharest and Zagreb.

NOTES

¹ Martin Sokol, chairman of the Slovak Parliament in 1939, noticed in his political memoirs, that just Adolf Hitler pushed and also decided Slovak independence.

² On April 5, 1941, just before the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia, Ante Pavelić read a speech at an Italian radio station to be broadcasted in Croatia. “*Rise, the moment of our liberation has come, arise to cleanse our homeland from enemies and to establish our freedom in our own house, in a sovereign and independent state of Croatia, in which all Croatian lands will be united. Our victory is assured*”. – <<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents>>.

³ On April 16, 1941, Ante Pavelić proclaimed himself as Head of State and named his closest advisors as State Ministers: Andrija Artuković, as Minister for Internal Affairs, Mile Budak, as Minister for Religion and Education, Marshal Slavko Kvaternik, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Minister for Home Army. – <<http://pavelicpapers.com/documents>>.

⁴ On August 14, 1941, in Zagreb was launched one of the most manic decrees to emerge in the early days of the Independent State of Croatia, *Legal Decree on the Croatian language, its purity and spelling*, initiated by Ante Pavelić and Mile Budak, Minister for Education. “The Croatian language is the public welfare of the Croatian people, and therefore nobody should distort or deform it” (art.2); “It is forbidden to give non-Croatian names and identifiers to shops, companies, associations or any kind of institutions” (art. 3). – <<http://www.pavelicpapers.com>>.

⁵ In July 1942, a very high salary of 83 000 kuna monthly, as the one of the Romanian Minister in Zagreb, was not enough for domestic, common life. A very ordinary room, in an ordinary hotel as “*Esplanada*” in Zagreb, cost 310 kuna daily, more expensive than in the very luxurious “*Athenée Palace*” in Bucharest or “*Ritz*” in Budapest. A kilo of white wheat was 120 kuna, 1 kilo of animal fat – 250 kuna, 1 kilo of sugar – 160 kuna, 1 kilo of potatoes – 45 kuna (everything at the so-called black market).

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