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THE  
SOUTHERN SLAV  
PROGRAMME

WITH A MAP

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Published on behalf of the  
JUGOSLAV COMMITTEE IN LONDON

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LONDON  
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1915

SERBO-CROAT ORTHOGRAPHY.

š = sh in "ship."

c = ts in "cats."

č = ch in "church."

ž = j in French "jour."

ć = ditto (softer).

j = y in "your."

# THE SOUTHERN SLAV PROGRAMME

TO THE READER

FROM the moment when, at Germany's instigation, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, a large part of the Yugoslav<sup>1</sup> nation—that which is ruled by Austria-Hungary—found itself placed into a most painful position.

As we shall explain in the Programme published herewith, almost the entire male population has been called to the colours, and those who were not enrolled were imprisoned or interned. Such of our young men as could effect their escape joined the ranks of the Serbian and Montenegrin armies. A small handful of the representatives of public opinion were also fortunate in being away from their own country at the time. These have now formed themselves into a body representing the interests of their countrymen abroad, and they have elected and appointed a Committee of Emigrant Yugoslavs, which is now sitting in London.

<sup>1</sup> The Southern Slavs or Jugoslavs (*jug*, in Slav, means *the south*), who include Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, are one and the same people, known under three different names. For the territories inhabited by the Southern Slavs, see page 13.

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The members of this Committee represent all Jugoslav countries governed by Austria, as the reader may see from the following list:—

##### PRESIDENT :

Dr. Ante Trumbić, advocate, President of the Croat National Party in the Diet of Dalmatia, late Mayor of Split (Spalato), and late Member for Zadar (Zara) in the Austrian Parliament.

##### MEMBERS :

Dr. Ante Biankini (of Starigrad, Dalmatia), President of the Jugoslav Committee in Chicago, U.S.A.

Dr. Ivo de Giulli, advocate, Town Councillor of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Dalmatia.

Dr. Julije Gazzari, advocate, late Town Councillor of Šibenik (Sebenico), Dalmatia.

Rev. Don Niko Gršković, President of the Croatian League in Cleveland, U.S.A.

Dr. Hinko Hinković (of Zagreb), advocate, Member of the Croatian Parliament and Croatian Delegate to the Parliament of Budapest.

Dr. Josip Jedlovski, advocate, secretary of the Slovene Society "Edinost," and of the Croat School Union in Trieste.

Milan Marjanović, of Kastav, Istria; Editor of *Narodno Jedinstvo* (National Unity), Zagreb (Agram), Croatia.

Ivan Meštrović, sculptor, of Otavice, Dalmatia.

Dr. Mice Mičić, advocate, Town Councillor of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Dalmatia.

Dr. Franko Potočnjak (of Zagreb), advocate, late Member of the Croatian Parliament and Delegate to the Parliament of Budapest.

Mihajlo Pupin, of Pančevo, South Hungary, Professor at Columbia University, New York.

Dr. Nikola Stojanović (of Mostar), advocate, Member of the Bosnian Diet.

Franjo Supilo, Editor of the *Novi List*, Fiume, late Member of the Croatian Parliament, and Delegate to the Parliament of Budapest.

Dušan Vasiljević, advocate, Mostar, Herzegovina, Vice-President of the Serb National Union of Bosnia.

Dr. Bogumil Vošnjak of Gorica (Gorizia), Lecturer at the University, Zagreb, Editor of the *Veda*, Gorica (Gorizia).

Dr. Niko Županić, D.Ph., of Metlika, Carniola.

In the name of Southern Slav population temporarily resident in countries other than their own, the Yugoslav Committee, thus constituted, have set themselves a great task, a sacred duty—laid upon them by the difficult and painful position in which their race is placed at present—the duty of informing the Governments and the public opinion of their friends and allies among the nations of the actual condition of affairs in such Yugoslav countries as have the misfortune to be under Austrian rule, and of the just aspirations of their nation. Our race, variously known as Serb, Croat, and Slovene, is nevertheless, in spite of three different names, but one people—the Yugoslavs. Our programme consists of the deliverance of all Yugoslavs from the Austrian yoke, and union with our free brothers in Serbia and Montenegro in one united state.

One of the best and surest means of attaining the realization of this programme, is to inform the public of the allied nations of the true state of things, through the medium of the Press and by the publication of small pamphlets. The Committee have therefore decided to publish a small library of booklets, in which their pro-

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gramme will be fully set forth and explained by political, historical, geographical, and economic facts and reasons. This library will be given the collective title of "The Southern Slav Library," and the volumes will be published in English, French, and Russian.

Of course we are not the first to appeal to the public opinion of the great friendly Powers on behalf of our people and our country. There exists already a whole library of books, pamphlets, and articles, by eminent writers of these three nations, on the subject of our people and our aspirations. Among English students it will be sufficient to quote the names of W. E. Gladstone, E. A. Freeman, O. Meredith, W. R. Morfill, Miss Irby, Sir Arthur Evans, Sir Thomas Jackson, G. M. Trevelyan, R. W. Seton-Watson, H. W. Steed, A. Stead, and Crawford Price, in order to give an idea of the value of this literature. In France, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Saint-René Taillandier, Baron d'Avril, Abbé Pisani, L. Leger, E. Denis, E. Haumant, Victor Bérard, André Barr, Ch. Loiseau, Ch. Veley, Gaston Gravier, and others have devoted many eloquent and sympathetic pages to our people, and many years of their life to the study of the Yugoslav world. In Russia, the number of eminent men who have taken an interest in our people is very great, and includes such names as Maikoff, Lamanski, Golubinski, Lavroff, Florinski, Rovinski, Kulakovski, Briancianinoff, etc.; it may even be asserted that every Russian scientist and publicist who has made a study of the Slavs and devoted a few pages

to our people, has at once conceived a real interest in, or rather sympathy and even affection for, the Yugoslavs, such as an elder brother might feel for the younger. We could easily add the names of writers of Italian, Belgian, Swiss, Swedish nationality, and others, but space forbids, and we will confine ourselves to mentioning the great Italian Mazzini, that far-seeing statesman and true friend of our people. We owe a great deal to all these names, and are deeply grateful for all that has been done for our people and our idea.

From this point of view we look upon the publications of the Southern Slav Library as a continuation of the work so admirably begun by many great men of letters and by the public press. We desire merely to underline, as it were, what they have already said, and to add what they may have accidentally omitted. We desire especially to speak of the present state of affairs, of the questions and problems which have been brought to light by the recent war, and upon which these writers have had neither time nor opportunity to bestow their attention.

It is surely superfluous to add—but still we make a point of stating the fact—that in our pamphlets we propose to publish the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We propose to assert nothing that is devoid of foundation and cannot be substantiated by tangible proofs. We will not allow ourselves to be carried away by Chauvinist sentiment from the straight course of positive argument and trustworthy comment.

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We shall be only too glad if our readers will take the trouble to verify our statements by consulting the literature on the subject to be found in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, the Imperial Public Library in Petrograd, and elsewhere. In our appeal to the public of the friendly nations we shall never forget that we have the responsibility and honour of being members of the Yugoslav Committee, and of thereby representing our whole nation. And for the rest, our cause is so just that it is not necessary to pervert any facts in its defence.

This first pamphlet contains the *Jugoslav Programme*, followed by a manifesto addressed by the Yugoslav Committee to the British Parliament and to the British nation. The following pamphlets will presently appear: "The Southern Slavs: Land and People," "A Sketch of Southern Slav History," "Southern Slav Culture," "The Idea of Southern Slav Unity."

All these books are in the press; others, of a more special nature, are now in preparation.

*May 1915.*

# THE SOUTHERN SLAV PROGRAMME

## FIRST PART

### PRESENT POSITION OF THE JUGOSLAVS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

IN all Yugoslav provinces of Austria-Hungary the present war has been made a pretext for the worst abuses. The Yugoslav nation has been silenced in most brutal fashion; almost the entire male population has been called to the colours and placed in the front ranks where it bears the brunt of every attack, and those who have not been called up have been either imprisoned or interned. Under various pretexts hangings, shootings, and massacres have been the order of the day. More than a hundred thousand persons have been exiled, and several hundreds of thousands expelled from their homes. The Zagreb Sabor has not been convoked, the Sarajevo Sabor has been dissolved, and the provincial Diets of Dalmatia, Istria, Carniola, Gorizia, Carinthia, and Styria have not been permitted to meet. The deputies have been deprived of their immunity, and many of them are in prison or interned. The political leaders of the nation and of public opinion are helpless in the clutches of martial law, and without any means of voicing their views.

#### Proceedings of the Jugoslavs abroad.

Those of our young men who have succeeded in escaping are fighting in the ranks of the Serbian and Montenegrin armies, where many of them have already died heroically.

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Only a very small number of leading men from Austrian Yugoslav provinces had the good fortune to be away from their country when the war broke out; these have now formed a Committee of Yugoslavs outside their own country, whose object it is to acquaint the various Governments and the general public of the allied nations with the position and national aspirations of the Yugoslavs at present under Austro-Hungarian rule.

The Yugoslavs in the Dual Monarchy are oppressed in every way by both Germans and Magyars. They have been arbitrarily shared between the two dominant partners in the Monarchy, and parcelled out in eleven provinces under twelve legislative systems. Notwithstanding all these artificial divisions they stand at this moment united in one aspiration, which our Committee feels itself authorized to make public.

### The Yugoslavs and the Triple Entente.

All Yugoslavs, whether Serbs, Croats, or Slovenes, confidently believe that this war will bring about the union of all the branches and all the territory of their race into one independent State. This belief is based on the solemn and oft-repeated assurances given by the representatives of the Triple Entente touching the realization and sure maintenance of the principles of nationality. It has saved the still enslaved nations of our race from despair; it has been the mainspring of the moral force whence arose the prodigious heroism of Serbia and Montenegro when, by blocking the advance of the Austrian armies, they rendered such gallant service to the cause of the Allies.

Serbia and Montenegro are not waging a war of aggression to enlarge their frontiers. These two Serbian states are the champions of liberation for all Yugoslavs

alike, and our helpers in the common task of establishing our national existence in our own united country.

### The Guiding Principle in Yugoslav History.

This idea of national and political unity was in the minds of the great rulers of our national Empires before the Turkish invasion; it was the ideal of all the martyrs of our race during the time of the Ottoman oppression; it inspired our national poetry and the works of the great thinkers and poets of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), to whom Napoleon I. owed his idea of a united Illyria; it gave strength to the heroic resistance of the Montenegrins, and to the rising under Karagjorgje which gave birth to modern Serbia. It directed every action of the great Njegoš, inspired the policy of Prince Michael, and has been the goal of all the house of Karagjorgjević and of Petrović. It accomplished the renascence of the Croats and Slovenes, which bore such heroic fruit in the struggles of 1848, and irradiates the life-work of the great Bishop Strossmayer. It was the primary cause of the long and often sanguinary struggles of the Croats for their independence and unity, and of all the national struggles in Dalmatia, Istria, Rieka (Fiume), and South Hungary, in the Slovene lands, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Political deliverance, the integrity of our national territory, and the foundation of a unified State has been the final aim of all Pan-Croatian and Pan-Serbian aspirations, of every constitutional struggle and of every riot and insurrection throughout our lands, whether in Austria-Hungary or in the Balkans. Strengthened by the principles of democracy, and crowned by the successes of the Serbian arms in the recent Balkan wars, this idea has now assumed a precise and definite form. The present

war has given it the sanction and support of the civilized world, and our national ideal is ripe for realization.

### **Austro-Hungarian Opposition to the Yugoslav Idea.**

Austria-Hungary has vainly pitted all her strength against the Yugoslav idea. By every means in her power she has tried to compromise, to defame, and to crush it. To this end she established the Dualism in the Monarchy, parcelled out the Yugoslavs in detached provinces, mutilated the kingdom of Croatia, and sought to germanize the Slovenes and to magyarize the Croats. To this end Bosnia-Hercegovina was first occupied and finally annexed. To this end innumerable political charges were brought against the Yugoslavs and they were subjected to endless persecutions. To this end she encouraged mutual jealousies and conflicts between the Slav states in the Balkans, and finally, by threatening the sovereign rights of Serbia, Austria unchained the present war.

For, in her subservience to German Imperialism, Austria thought by this war to crush Jugoslavdom, the great obstacle in the path of Germany and herself towards the East. She provoked the war, because she believed that the Yugoslav question could no longer be solved by partial or palliative measures, and she flung herself upon Serbia to absorb her, and with her the Yugoslavs. But when Austria, as Germany's vassal state and pioneer, encountered the national resistance of Serbia, the Powers of the Triple Entente rose on behalf of the smaller nation. In this way the Yugoslav question became a European problem, and it is of paramount importance to Europe that it should be fully and finally

solved ; only a complete solution will ensure the results for which the Triple Entente has gone to war.

### The Yugoslav Idea.

Our nation, which has suffered so cruelly and been so often deceived, is determined that its fate shall be decided once and for all, even at the uttermost cost. Our unnatural existence and constant sufferings must be ended ; we desire peace and peaceful development. We hold that we have a right to be something more than a subject for intrigues and a pawn on the chess-board of foreign interests. Neither will we continue to bring slaughter and ruin upon each other at the bidding of strangers.

The Yugoslav peoples, known in history as Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, are all members of one and the same nation, with all the necessary conditions for the formation of an independent national state, and they have every ethnographical and historical right to the territory they inhabit, in which they form a compact population.

### National Territory of the Yugoslavs.

The national territory of the Yugoslavs comprises :

- (a) Serbia and Montenegro ;
- (b) Bosnia-Hercegovina ;
- (c) Dalmatia and the Dalmatian archipelago ;
- (d) Croatia and Slavonia with Rieka (Fiume) and the Medjumurje ;
- (e) The country of the Drava in South Hungary, and the district formerly called the Serbian Vojvodina (Bačka and Banat) ;
- (f) Istria, the Istrian Isles and Trieste ;

(g) Carniola and Gorizia ;

(h) Southern Carinthia, Southern Styria, and the adjoining territory in South-eastern Hungary.

In all these territories the Jugoslavs constitute a compact population of exceedingly pure race. The mixed population on the borders is partly due to natural contact with neighbouring races, and partly the artificial result of hostile policy, and cannot seriously affect the national character of the country.

### Interdependence of the Yugoslav Lands.

All these lands form an ethnical unit; they are geographically contiguous, and economically interdependent.

Serbia and Montenegro with Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot attain their normal development without the possession of Dalmatia; detached from its hinterland the Dalmatian coast would be valueless for commerce and navigation, and the safety of Dalmatia would be permanently jeopardized, were she deprived of her archipelago. One reason why Austria-Hungary occupied and annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina was that she already possessed Dalmatia. Dalmatia and the Dalmatian archipelago must properly belong to the owner of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Moreover, in the Middle Ages, Dalmatia formed an integrant part of the Yugoslav states—whether Serbian or Croatian—which arose during the course of history, and when she was incorporated with Austria, Dalmatia herself evinced the tendency towards union with other Yugoslav countries. As the utmost that could at that time be aspired to, she asked to be united with Croatia-Slavonia, and the Diets of Zadar (Zara) and Zagreb (Agram) have never ceased to demand such a union.

Obviously these demands were prompted by a strong desire on the part of our countrymen in Dalmatia to be united with the rest of the Yugoslav race.

For centuries Croatia-Slavonia sturdily defended her autonomy against Germanism and Austrian centralization no less than against magyarization. In a union of all Yugoslav countries Croatia would at once take her proper place; first of all for ethnical reasons; secondly, because her national and political renascence was accomplished under the banner of a great Yugoslav movement, and because the Croatian Diets have always demanded Yugoslav unity, territorial integrity, and political independence; and finally because her three great waterways, the Sava, the Drava, and the Danube, as well as the railway that traverses the country and connects Belgrade with Rieka (Fiume) render Croatia the natural intermediate link between eastern and western Jugoslavia.

Rieka (Fiume) is the only natural and practicable seaport for Croatia-Slavonia, and at present also for Serbia. The right of Croatia to Fiume as an incontestable part of her territory was never called into question before the falsification of § 66 of the Croato-Hungarian Agreement in 1868. As a result of this crime Hungary deprived Croatia of the administration of the town and seaport of Rieka, just as she had in 1861 deprived her of the administration of the Medjumurje, a purely Croatian district between the Drava and its affluent the Mur. As a port Rieka is valueless without its hinterland, and this again cannot thrive without its natural seaport. A Yugoslav Rieka is of vital necessity to Croatia-Slavonia, Serbia, and a large part of Istria and Carniola.

The possession of the Quarnero (Kvarner) Islands and of Eastern Istria is inseparably bound up with Rieka, just

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as Western Istria is bound up with Trst (Trieste), the only seaport of the Slovene hinterland.

In the hands of the Jugoslavs, Trst (Trieste) would prove, economically speaking, an important stronghold against German economic pressure, and nobody would stand to benefit more by this than France and England.

If the Yugoslav lands were deprived of Trieste and their communication with the sea, they would no longer be sufficiently strong to resist German southward pressure, which is continually encroaching on the Slovene territory in Carinthia and Styria. Only the possession of Trieste, Carinthia, and Southern Styria can enable the Slovenes to block the advance of Germanism towards the Mediterranean, and so accomplish their mission as the Alpine Guard of the Adriatic and Yugoslavdom. In this capacity they would serve the interests of all the opponents of Pan-Germanism, and ensure the security of the Mediterranean Powers as well as the national existence of all the Yugoslav countries.

There are in Hungary 102,000 Slovenes living between the Mur and the Raab, and 800,000 Serbo-Croats north of the Drava and Danube. This entire population, which consists largely of wealthy landholders, can only be saved from forcible magyarization by union with the brothers of their race. If they are permitted to remain Jugoslavs, the fertile plains of the Bačka and Banat will be preserved to the nation and furnish the other Yugoslav countries with the granary they require.

Any partition of the national territory, and above all things the cession of any part whatsoever to a foreign Power, would not only seriously impede the development of Yugoslav unity and violate the principle of nationality, but prove a mere repetition of the Austrian system, and a fresh source of endless conflicts and collisions.

### Political Union.

Only by uniting all the members of the Yugoslav race and their territories in one independent state can a lasting peace be secured for South-Eastern Europe, and especially in the Adriatic and the Balkans.

At a general Congress in Chicago on March 10, 1915, the Yugoslav emigrants from Austria-Hungary in America and Canada, numbering  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions and represented by 563 delegates, recorded their enthusiastic adherence to this national programme.

(1) The following resolution was unanimously passed :—

“The Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes are one and the same as regards nationality and language, though they are known by different names. They inhabit a number of provinces in South-Eastern Austria-Hungary, as well as the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. Collectively they are known as ‘Jugoslavs.’ In Austria-Hungary, where the Germans and Magyars are the dominant races, the Jugoslavs are ruthlessly oppressed. Having no political rights, they are economically victimized and exploited, hampered in their development, socially downtrodden, and their nationality is imperilled. This state of affairs can no longer be tolerated, if their national existence and individuality is to be preserved, but their only hope lies in liberation from Austria-Hungary and the severance of every tie that binds them to her. Their lives and national development can only be safeguarded through a union of all Yugoslav countries with Serbia in one single state. They confidently appeal to the Powers of the Triple Entente, who are waging this war for the deliverance of the down-trodden nations, and entreat their help in the realization of their just aspirations, which, by establishing order in South-Eastern Europe, will greatly help in laying a durable foundation for the world’s peace.”

As recently as May 9, 1915, a similar demonstration took place in Nish, when at a meeting of several thousand Austro-Hungarian Jugoslavs, a resolution was passed, demanding the union of all Jugoslavs,

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and protesting against the abandonment of any part whatsoever of the national territory.

(2) The resolution was worded as follows:—

“In these momentous times of sacrifice and of faith in Freedom and the Right, we herewith proclaim the indivisibility of our Serbo-Croato-Slovene national unity, which must be politically realized, even as it has already been morally accomplished. We therefore declare that we will never permit any purely Yugoslav territory to be sacrificed or dismembered, least of all in any part of our Adriatic coast-lands inhabited by Serbs, Croats, or Slovenes. We appeal to all the Powers who are at this moment fighting for the principles of nationality and justice, to guarantee the unity of our race, so that Serbia may fulfil her mission of liberation, and thus ensure one of the primary conditions for the future peace of Europe. The dismemberment of the Adriatic coast-lands would be an act of terrible injustice, especially in a war waged for the liberation of nations.”

### The Principle of Yugoslav Future Policy.

All questions as to the modes and forms of the grouping of our nation in the future state must be considered as internal questions, to be settled in accordance with the free decision of the whole nation.

After centuries of struggle for existence our nation feels the need of peace, and therefore earnestly desires to live in perfect accord with its neighbours. United in one State, it will possess all the necessary attributes to become an element of order and progress in South-eastern Europe. Neither numbers nor aggressive propensities will render the Yugoslavs a danger to their neighbours, more especially because the great problems of their own organization will fully occupy their energies.

Tolerant in religious matters both by nature and because of its democratic sentiments, our nation, once

free and united, will see no cause to persecute other creeds and nationalities, more especially as we ourselves do not all hold the same creed, a circumstance which neither impedes nor prevents the unity of our sentiments and interests. Our nation therefore contains in itself the necessary guarantees for religious liberty.

Our nation inhabits the entire eastern coast of the Adriatic. In this district we are above all things anxious to live in complete economic co-operation with all our neighbours by land and by sea, and to utilize our natural talents, not in warfare, but for the furtherance of peace, by placing them at the service of civilization and commerce. It will be to our own economic advantage to throw open our ports to commerce and to guarantee the freedom of the routes of communication between those ports, and of all traffic with our hinterland.

Thus the interests of our nation coincide entirely with those of peace and universal civilization, and especially with the interests which inspired the great Powers of the Triple Entente, when they took up arms against a brutal Imperialism, that perpetual menace to peace.

## SECOND PART

ITALY'S INTERVENTION PRESENTS A POLITICAL QUESTION OF VITAL IMPORTANCE, WHICH IS AT THIS MOMENT OCCUPYING ALL THE STATESMEN OF EUROPE

WE welcome Italy's intervention with sincere and heartfelt joy, if it is to hasten the end of this terrible war and the dissolution of the Austrian Empire, for there is nothing our nation desires more fervently. Our down-trodden people hail Italy as a new helper in the work of liberating and unifying all our race.

Undoubtedly Italy must be recompensed for the sacrifices she is about to incur, but not at the expense of those who have hitherto suffered so much. Surely nothing could benefit her more than the disappearance of Austria from the Adriatic and the southern slopes of the Alps. As Germany's vanguard, Austria-Hungary is both a hindrance and a menace to the free economic development of Italy. A national union of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, organized into a state, would constitute no menace to Italy, but would, on the contrary, prove a help and support against pressure from the North, and become the pivot of her commercial and economic expansion.

All Jugoslavs bitterly resent the thought that any part of their territory should become the colony of a foreign Power. The Serbian Government recently made a declaration in the Skupština which proves that Serbia is no less disquieted by these apprehensions than we are ourselves. We feel it to be our duty—both as patriots who are responsible to their country and because of

the loyalty we owe the friendly Powers—frankly and confidently to state our opinion.

We are not fighting simply for a change of masters, and we cannot permit the vital members of our national organism to be cut off. We desire to see the end of our age-long struggle for the rehabilitation of our national integrity.

These suggested concessions have grieved, irritated, and exasperated our whole race. Faced by this tragic outlook our people are asking whether Italy can in truth deny her own origin, and compromise her future by embarking on a far more hazardous adventure than the annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which nevertheless led up to the present cataclysm, and whether Europe, in order to hasten the advent of peace, is content to create a source of fresh conflicts. We find it hard to believe that France should have consented to this scheme—France whom we look up to as the apostle of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and whose genius, one hundred years ago, created Illyria, the first Yugoslav state on the Adriatic; or that it should have been approved by England whom our people, themselves a race of sailors, admire as the vigilant guardian of the safety and freedom of the seas, and the defender of justice and the rights of small nations against the piracy of the great in this present war; or Russia, the protectress of Serbia and champion of the Slav cause.

The foregoing reflections prove our confidence in the Great Powers to whom we appeal; but our trust has been shaken by the disquieting rumours to which we have alluded. There is a danger that Austrian astuteness might work upon the fears of our people to lead them astray. There is a danger that these rumours may tend to discourage the Serbian troops, and raise the question

whether it is worth their while to go on sacrificing their lives without stint or bargain, and for such barren results. And we must take into consideration the popular frame of mind in a country whose Government is obliged to prepare the representatives of the nation for fresh disappointments. We must remember that at the present moment Serbia has staked all the strength of her army on behalf of the common cause, and that her moral force would be materially increased by the conviction that she is sacrificing herself for the complete emancipation of Jugoslavdom, and especially for the liberation of the Yugoslav coast-lands.

In our American colony these rumours produced so painful an impression, that the Executive Committee appointed by the General Congress in Chicago on March 10th, felt it incumbent upon them to lodge a strong appeal with the Russian Embassy in Washington, on March 23rd, protesting on behalf of their countrymen against any proposed dismemberment of our national territory; and calling upon the Governments of Russia and her Allies to preserve these threatened regions to our nation.

The grievous uncertainty which is at present troubling all the Yugoslavs may even exercise a regrettable influence on the general situation. It would surely serve a useful purpose if, as soon as the secret nature of the convention in question will allow, we were given some guarantee that our fears are groundless.

### The Adriatic Question.

The Adriatic Question is a problem which concerns Central Europe and the Mediterranean. It cannot be solved either by closing the Adriatic, or by allowing it to become the monopoly of any one Power; in fact a

just solution would be one which precluded the danger of a conquest of this high-road to the Mediterranean. It is greatly to the interest of all countries which by their geographical position are compelled to gravitate towards the northern and eastern shores, to reach the Adriatic seaports across the territory of one state only, and not of several states. For this reason both coastlands and hinterlands of the northern and eastern Adriatic regions must form part of one and the same state. If Italy were to obtain part of the practicable eastern coast, she would unjustly monopolize the whole of the Adriatic; this would bring her into conflict with the Jugoslavs, and by that very circumstance afford Germany the chance of a renewed advance towards the south. An understanding between Italy and the Jugoslavs would obviate this disastrous possibility.

The Adriatic problem centres chiefly about the towns of Trst, Rieka, Šibenik, and Split (Trieste, Fiume, Sebenico, and Spalato), and the importance of these four seaports is proportionate to their being the commercial gates of their hinterlands.

### Trst (Trieste) and Italy.

Trst is the essential outlet for the Slovene, Czech, and German Alpine countries. Rieka is the outlet for Eastern Istria, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Croatia, and Hungary; it is also a natural outlet for Serbia. Italy has never given, and could never give, economic vitality to either Trst or Rieka; this is acknowledged by the commercial circles of these towns themselves. In Italian hands these two seaports would be exploited solely in the interests of Italy to the great detriment of their hinterlands. If we except the districts of Gradisca and Monfalcone, which mark the end of the Italian

ethnical continuity, there are in the whole of Trst (Trieste), Istria, and Gorica (Gorizia) only 284,325 Italians as against 431,023 Jugoslavs. In the duchy of Gorica (again excepting the districts before-mentioned) there are only 17,949 Italians as against 148,388 Jugoslavs; in Istria there are only 147,417 Italians as against 224,201 Jugoslavs, and even in Trst (Trieste) there is a large minority of 59,319 Jugoslavs as against a majority of 113,959 Italians. When these figures are taken into consideration, it is evident that the cession of these lands to Italy could never be justified on the basis of the principle of nationality. From an economic point of view these regions are valueless to her. She is unable to give them anything in the nature of economic development; on the contrary, they would have reason to fear the loss of their present importance. As Jugoslav possessions their prosperity is assured, because they are of vital importance to all Jugoslav countries.

### Rieka (Fiume).

Concerning Rieka (Fiume) it must be noted that it really forms one town with Sušak, from which it is separated by a mere rivulet, the Riečina. Sušak possesses neither harbour nor railway-station. There are 45,000 Jugoslavs in Rieka-Sušak and only 25,000 Italians, most of whom have only recently styled themselves Italians, and who frequently have Croatian surnames. Rieka is the terminus of the only railway connecting Croatia and Serbia with the sea at present and—in all probability—for a long time to come.

### Inadequacy of the Dalmatian Southern Seaports.

The railway-lines crossing Southern Dalmatia are of no commercial value whatsoever. Kotor (Bocche di

Cattaro), Gruž (Gravosa), and Metković are all three quite useless as harbours. They are connected with Bosnia and Hercegovina by a narrow-gauge line, funicular in places, which was constructed by Austria for a purely strategical object, and only local trade has been attracted by it to the above-named ports. Even if this line were extended into Serbia, the length and difficulty of this route would render it inadequate for the requirements of Serbian export trade, and in spite of its distance from Western Europe, Salonika would remain her only practicable outlet. The only existing outlet of real practical value for Serbia is the line to Rieka (Fiume), viâ Croatia. Hungary, as mistress of Rieka (Fiume) and the Croatian railroad, paralysed all export by this route; this resulted in the stifling of Serbia's trade, the economic stagnation of Croatia, and led to innumerable conflicts.

Rieka is the commercial outlet of the greater part of Istria, Carniola, and Southern Styria, by the Rieka-Sv. Petar-Ljubljana-Maribor (Marburg) line. If Italy were to establish herself in Rieka, the entire economic life of this essentially Jugoslav hinterland would be at the mercy of a foreign Power.

### The Croatian Littoral.

From Rieka down to the River Zrmanja, which forms the Dalmatian frontier, the Croatian coast possesses no seaport whatever, not even a harbour accessible by rail, as the exceptionally difficult configuration of the country and the violence of the Bura (north wind) present insuperable obstacles. Apart from Rieka, this entire coast offers no commercial outlet of any importance to either Serbia or Croatia.

### Split (Spalato).

The future grand route connecting Central Serbia, Bosnia, and the other Balkan countries with the sea, will be a normal-gauge line running viâ Sarajevo-Rama, near the centre of Dalmatia and the seaports of Šibenik (Sebenico) and Split (Spalato); but such a line could only be constructed by a state possessing considerable economic resources, and moreover comprising the territories of the present kingdom of Serbia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, with Rieka (Fiume). It is indeed a high-road of the future, and would be an earnest of prosperity to come.

An enterprise entailing such enormous difficulties, and such heavy outlay, could never prove remunerative unless the countries involved were enjoying economic union within the bonds of a single state, and only under this condition could such a railway create new commercial life in Bosnia and Serbia. It would establish mutually advantageous relations between Rieka (Fiume), on the one hand, and Šibenik and Split (Sebenico and Spalato) on the other, by securing to Rieka (Fiume) a more rational exploitation of her present trade, by providing Šibenik and Split (Sebenico and Spalato) with a new route to Bosnia and Serbia—which countries are at present economically strangled—and by attracting a big share of the trade from other parts of the Balkans. Šibenik (Sebenico) and Split (Spalato) already possess extensive wharves, docks, etc., whose further extension presents no great difficulties.

Šibenik and Split as trade centres of Northern and Eastern Dalmatia and natural commercial outlets for all Bosnia and Serbia cannot hope for economic progress any more than the regions dependent upon them for their outlet, unless both coast towns and inland territory form integral parts of the same state.

### Šibenik (Sebenico).

Šibenik (Sebenico), an essentially Yugoslav town, the ancient capital of King Kresimir of the Croatian national dynasty, is to-day a commercial centre of considerable importance owing to the export trade of Northern Dalmatia, the north-western part of Bosnia, and the neighbouring part of Croatia. The port of Šibenik is connected with Bosnia by the Knin-Drvar railway, which joins the Novi-Banjaluka line. If Italy were to obtain Šibenik, the above-named districts would be deprived of their seaport and, in effect, of the railway as well, and this would mean the loss of their natural outlet.

All this proves conclusively that as possessions none of these ports have any value for Italy, whereas an Italian possession of any or all of them would mean first the economic and political exploitation, and subsequently the strangling of the whole Yugoslav hinterland. The position of Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, and the Alpine Yugoslav lands would become even worse than it is at present—in fact the entire Yugoslav littoral would be impoverished.

### The Sea and the Archipelago.

The natural wealth of Dalmatia lies in the exploitation of her geographical position as littoral of Bosnia, Serbia, and the Balkans.

Apart from these, Dalmatia possesses neither independent life nor commercial value.

The Archipelago of the Quarnero and Dalmatia is a vital part of Yugoslav life on the Adriatic. In all Dalmatia, including the islands, there are only 18,029 Italians as against 610,669 Yugoslavs. The islands themselves have a population of 120,000 Yugoslavs of the oldest and purest stock, and the 1,469 Italians living

among them are broken up into small scattered groups. These isles, which owe their present prosperity to fishery and navigation and the production of wine and oil, would become poor if they were taken away from their Dalmatian hinterland and the continent beyond. At present the whole personnel of the Austro-Hungarian Navy is recruited from this island population, which is exceedingly industrious, thrifty, and moral. Bereft of these isles, we should lose one of the most vigorous branches of our race and one of our fairest possessions. It would be a mortal blow to our nation, for it would render commerce in our own waters impossible for us. No strategic reason whatsoever can justify the taking of these isles or of any part of them from the Yugoslavs. As our nation has no desire for expansion, it cannot constitute a menace for Italy in the Adriatic. We are not even contemplating the construction of a navy. There is no need for us to be or to become a danger to Italy, since it is altogether to our advantage to live in peace and friendship with her.

### The Venetian Supremacy.

The history of the Venetian rule and supremacy on the eastern shores of the Adriatic proves that an Italian domination is incapable of creating the welfare and prosperity of these lands, and could only bring in its train an antiquated and dangerous system of exploitation. Trst (Trieste) always rebelled against the Venetian supremacy. Rieka (Fiume) was never subject to it. Dalmatia was never more neglected than under Venice, while the example of the free Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) proves to what extent progress and civilization would flourish all along the eastern coast if it were permitted to become a free Yugoslav country.

### Importance of the Yugoslav Coast.

Our nation is determined at all costs to save its coastlands, and with them the flower of our sailor population. Our people are the true representatives of commercial and maritime enterprise all along the northern and eastern Adriatic coast. In Trst and Rieka alone there are more than 20,000 sailors of our race and a large number of shipping and trading companies. We desire ourselves to retain possession of the rich mines and quarries of the Kras and Nabrezina down to the Neretva (Narenta) and to profit by the rich water-supply and motor-power of our rivers, especially the Krka, the Cetina, and the Neretva. We desire to keep our beautiful Riviera from Trst (Trieste) to Kotor (Cattaro) and ourselves to profit by the rich revenues that accrue from its possession. Without our coast and the entire freedom of our seas, without our sources of production, our nation would be bereft of the means necessary to a development that would render her worthy of her elder sisters.

We refuse to believe that Europe, who has gone to war against brute force on behalf of the rights of the small nations, and on the principle of "Justice for every nation," would repudiate this principle solely with regard to our nation, which has in the past proved a bulwark against the Turks, and which constitutes a present and future barrier against Pan-Germanism. We refuse to admit that Europe will endeavour to hasten peace by provoking new animosities which will inevitably lead to new conflicts.

We therefore confidently await that at the final settlement the whole Yugoslav question will also be fully and equitably settled, in accordance with the rights and the will of the still unredeemed people which we have the honour to represent.

## TO THE BRITISH NATION AND PARLIAMENT

Austria-Hungary and Germany have imposed upon the Southern Slav nation a fratricidal civil war. Eight million Southern Slavs (Jugoslavs) are condemned to fight against their own brothers and liberators. Large numbers have been expelled from their native soil, or put to death, while the prisons are crowded with political victims.

To-day the Yugoslav people cannot give expression to its wishes; its representative assemblies are closed, many of its deputies are in prison or subjected to a rigorous surveillance.

Those of our young men who succeeded in escaping, are fighting in the ranks of the Serbian and Montenegrin Armies. We, who at the outbreak of war happened to be abroad, feel it to be our bounden duty to acquaint the civilized world, and above all the British nation, with the true sentiments and aspirations of our people. Our Yugoslav brothers in America, meeting last March at Chicago in a Congress of 563 delegates, have unanimously adopted our programme.

The Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes pray for the victory of the Triple Entente and confidently await from it the salvation of the Yugoslav nation. The conviction that the Triple Entente is fighting for the triumph of the principle of Nationality, inspired the moral energy and superhuman efforts of Serbia and Montenegro and prevented their kinsmen across the frontier from utterly losing heart.

For Serbia and Montenegro this war is one of self-

defence and liberation, not of conquest; they are fighting to emancipate our people from a foreign yoke and to unite them as a single free nation. The military and political overthrow of Austria-Hungary will for ever put an end to that system of *Divide et Impera* by which our people has for centuries been governed. The Yugoslavs form a single nation, alike by identity of language, by the unanswerable laws of geography, and by national consciousness. Only if united will they possess the resources necessary for an independent existence.

The Yugoslavs (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) inhabit the following countries: the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro; the triune kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia (with Fiume and district); the provinces of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Carniola; considerable portions of the provinces of Istria, Trieste, Gorizia-Gradisca, Carinthia, and Styria; and finally the Yugoslav zone of Hungary proper.

To perpetuate the disunion of these territories by leaving so many under Austro-Hungarian rule, or to transfer even portions of them to another alien rule, would be a flagrant violation of our ethnographical, geographical, and economic unity, and to this our people would unquestionably oppose an energetic and justifiable resistance.

The Southern Slav people aspires to unite its territories in a single independent state. The internal arrangements of the new state will be determined by the nation itself, in accordance with its own wishes and needs.

The Southern Slav state will be an element of order and of peace. While devoting its whole energies to the cause of progress, it will also develop those well-

## 2 THE SOUTHERN SLAV PROGRAMME

known virtues of its seafaring population which the British nation will be the first to appreciate. Its ports will be open to trade in a manner hitherto unknown, and through them a commercial outlet will be assured to all the nations of their hinterland, especially to the Czechs and the Magyars.

Our people, which professes several religions, and whose tolerant spirit is well known, will crown its national unity by guarantees of religious equality and complete freedom of worship. Sure of the goodwill of our Russian brothers, we appeal also to the sympathies of their western Allies in our struggle for liberty. And in thus appealing, as representatives of a democratic people, to the British Nation and Parliament, we look for such support as shall enable the Yugoslav nation, after centuries of martyrdom, to achieve at length its unity and independence.

*(Signed)* THE JUGOSLAV COMMITTEE.

# THE SOUTHERN SLAV BULLETIN

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