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MEMORANDUM

ON THE PROBLEM OF TRIEST AND NORTHERN ADRIATIC

TO THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED

(Presented by the "Action Committee for
Unified and Sovereign Slovenian State")

I.

At the recent Paris conference of the Four Foreign Ministers (April - May 1946) the problem of Triest and its contested Northern Adriatic hinterland belonging to Italy (since 1866 and 1919) was considered as being only a restricted frontier problem between Italy and Tito's "Jugoslavia" to be solved by a partition of the contested area on the ground of the "ethnical principle".

Four different partition lines - each drawn by one of the four delegations which composed the interallied investigation Mission sent to the spot - were submitted for the Four Ministers' discussion and decision. The fact is significant in itself proving as it does "a priori" how difficult, if not impossible, it is to solve the problem in a satisfactory way in the terms of an "ethnical" partition of the contested area between Italy and Tito's "Jugoslavia".

II.

In fact, in our opinion the problem is not simply a limited local frontier problem. The question of Triest and of the whole contested Italian dominated Northern Adriatic area has three different aspects which all determine this question as being only a part of a larger problem, i.e. of the problem of a more extended territory which one could call the "Slovenian national territory with its ethnically mixed outskirts", or as the "rounded immediate economical hinterland of the port of Triest", or still as the "geopolitically rounded off Northern Adriatic area". Each of this denominations characterizes approximately the same territory from one of three point of view which offer themselves to the observer and investigator of the contested Italian dominated area around Triest as bounding it within the mentioned larger territory. These three aspects of the same territorial problem are : the ethnical one, the economic one, and the geopolitical one.

III.

The ethnical aspect of the contested "Venetia Julia" area is given by the fact that the region is ethnically mixed with the Slovenes (and Croats in south Istria) as the largest group compactly covering almost three fourth of the territory, with Italians living in the ethnically mixed enclave-towns on the western coast of Istria, in Triest (62 %) and Gorizia (50 %), and finally with Friulians (Furlans) compactly settled in the south-western part of the region (south-west of the line Gorizia-Locinocco-Sagrado-Ronchi-Monfalcone) and bordering on its north-western outskirts (along the line Gorizia-Kojsko-Dobrovo-Dolenje-Praprotno-Sv. Peter-Torjan-Fojda-Ahten-Neme-Gorjani-Brdo-Rezija-Bovec-Naborjet-Pontebba).

According to the last available pre-War I official censuses and ecclesiastical data the said ethnical groups (approximately) represented in the contested Coastland region as it follows :

Slovenes (and Croats of Istria) 600,000
 Italians 300,000 (of which 40,000 Italians from the
 Realm - "Regnicoli")
 Friulians 80,000

As to the Italian part of the "Veneta Julia" population it is to be observed that they are in their great part descendants of colonizers and merchants of Venice provenance during last centuries; in this historical fact is to be found the main reason, why the Italians of the region are settled only in ethnically mixed town-enclaves which, except Gorizia, are all situated on the sea-coast.

(The post World War I censuses cannot be taken as a criterion for the genuine ethnical structure of the region because after 1921 one simply omitted the ethnical differentiation of the population, and that of 1921 was made according to and in view of the well known Italian policy in Coastland aiming at a gradual italianization of the dominated region by means of different expedients (favorized immigration of "regnicoli", forced emigration and deportation of Slovenes, italianization of familial names, italianization of schools and of all aspects of public life, etc). The pre World War I censuses, on the contrary, were carried out by local officials, who in the mixed spots of the Austrian Kustenland were mostly Italians by origin). - See Annex A.)

This ethnical aspect of the contested region binds it to its ethnically compact Slovenian hinterland actually politically split among Italy (Venetia Julia), Jugoslavia (the former Yugoslav Province of "Dravska banovina" - now under Tito's domination transformed into the "People's Republic of Slovenia"), Austria (the southern part of Carinthia), and Hungary (the smaller eastern part of the Slovenian region of Prekmurje round St. Gotthard on the river Raba).

IV.

The economical aspect of the contested region is dominated by the port of Triest being as it has been since its very creation the principal maritime outlet of Central Europe, and by the corresponding communication lines and junctions starting from Triest towards its central-European hinterland (Triest-Ljubljana-Zidani most (Zagreb, Pragersko-Budapest) - Maribor-Wien (Praha, Bratislava, etc); Triest-Gorica-Jesenice-Beljak (München, Wien); Triest-Udine-Trbiž-Beljak etc. This main economical aspect of the region determines its functional unity within a larger area which we have initially called the "rounded off immediate economical hinterland of the port of Triest" and which approximately coincides with the above defined "Slovenian national territory with its ethnically mixed outskirts" for the simple fact, that, at first all the ways from Triest to Central Europe run throughout the Slovenian territory through which only they can directly reach their central European destination. Further, it is just the Slovenian hinterland almost as a whole, which before the World War I was supplying Triest with necessary daily victuals and with relatively fittest and nearest manpower; the Coastland region alone is not able to satisfy these two basic necessities. Besides, the Slovenian hinterland alone, as the nearest Triest situated economical complex, can in normal economico-political conditions participate in Triest traffic with 30 - 40 % of it, as it approximately did in the last period before the World War I.

V.

The Geopolitical aspect of the contested area consists in the fact that it is an essential part of a functionally bound-together larger space (territorially approximately corresponding to that under III and IV) in which all Europe is concerned because of the following two natural facts :

a) The Northern Adriatic area is the only spot in Europe where all the four great European racial groups (Germans, Slavs, Romans, Ugro-Fins) meet and converge.

b) The same area holds the main and the shortest mainland passage from Western to South-Eastern Europe and farther on to the Near East. This passage consists of (some road-passes and of) two railway lines (France-Switzerland-Northern Italy-Triest-Ljubljana-Zagreb, etc. and : France-Germany, Switzerland-Villach-Ljubljana, etc) WHICH JOIN AT LJUBLJANA and the first of which is the only one not traversing German territory at any point.

These two characteristics determine the area as the "geopolitically rounded Northern Adriatic area".

VI.

Because, after the German liquidation of the early Slovenian state of Carantania as the genuine political body in Northern Adriatic area, this area has been politically treated according to criterions of the German and Italian antagonistic imperialistic tendencies (with absolute elimination of the autochthonous Slovenian nation as a determining factor in this its genuine national territory), therefore this area - both as the "geopolitically rounded Northern Adriatic area" as well as the rounded immediate economical hinterland of the port of Triest (since the creation of the port in the second half of 18th century) - has become a zone of permanent imperialistic conflicts, one of the most troublesome "areas of strain" in Europe.

In great lines the political development (according to or in contrast with the explained three simultaneous aspects of it) of this ethnically, economically and geopolitically rounded off Northern Adriatic area can be classified into the following nine principal stages :

1. The migration of Nations brought into this area the Slovenes as the new genuine population of the territory. For more than two hundred years then the Slovenes also politically dominated the whole area by means of their own Carantanian state with actual Carinthia as its centre. (This first political stage of the area is known to the world mostly through the rite of the enthronization of Carantania's Dukes on the field of Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal - northwards of Klagenfurt) being as it was one of the most renown examples of early democratic official symbolism).

2. In Xth century the Germans took over the political control of the whole Northern Adriatic area with the historical effect of a gradual thrusting out of the Slovenes thus reducing the Slovenian national territory in the North to south Carinthia, i.e. to one third of the original Slovenian national territory.

3. In the beginning of 19th century Napoleon I. created in the

Northern Adriatic area an independent state, named Ilyria, as a buffer state between the Austrian and the Italian states of that time. After the downfall of Napoleon the Austrian Empire got back this territory, but the state formation of Ilyria still remained a formality until 1848. This "Austrian Ilyria" was, however, a state-formation only on paper.

4. In the second half of 19th century the Germans openly proclaimed their purpose to build up in the Northern Adriatic area their ethnical "bridge to the Adriatic". In regard to this German purpose the Londoner "Balkan Review" (June 1919, p.399) characterized the Slovenian territory as "... the natural bulwark which blocks the German descent to the Adriatic Sea... the German attempt to penetrate to the Mediterranean". As the first effect of this conscious German ethnical pressure towards the coast of Northern Adriatic was the well known forced germanization campaign in Slovenian South Carinthia and South Styria, systematically carried through until 1918. (See Annex B.)

5. In 1866, politically unified Italy began to approach the Northern Adriatic area as a consequence of her alliance with Prussia which in that year defeated Austria. Through peace terms, imposed on Austria by Prussia, Italy - even though she had been defeated (for Austria had been victorious on the Italian front) - got Friuli and the most western part of the Slovenian territory which from then has been called "Venice Slovenia" (the territory extending approximately between the line Judrio river - Kobarid one side and Rezija - Gemona - Cividale - Tarcento). This was the first Slovenian territory coming under the Italian domination in unified Italy's imperialistic march toward the Northern Adriatic area.

6. With the "London Pact" of 1915 and with the German-Austrian defeat of 1918 new imperial Italy, achieving the second phase of its imperialistic march towards East, was radically brought into this area (for the first time since the ancient Roman domination over Northern Adriatic) by the occupation of the whole former Austrian Küstenland together with one part of Carniola and Carinthia, and with the other parts of the Slovenian national territory divided among German Austria (Carinthia), Yugoslavia (the Slovenian regions of Carniola, Styria and Prekmurje) and a smaller part of Prekmurje still remaining under the Hungarian domination. The fact is important, representing as it does the first historical attempt to solve the problem of the Northern Adriatic area by dismembering it among the imperialistic contenders for its possession - to the detriment of its economical and geopolitical functions and with the autochthonous Slovenian nation paying the ethnical account of the attempt.

7. The World War II reopened the problem of the Northern Adriatic. In the first stage (after the German-Italian aggression on Yugoslavia in April 1941 until the capitulation of Italy in September 1943) the political situation of the area was determined by the Ciano-Ribbentrop silent agreement in Vienna (April-May 1941) which gave the greatest part of the Yugoslav part of the Slovenian territory to Germany (all of Styria and a half of Carniola), the smallest one to Hungary (Prekmurje) and the third one the so-called "Province of Ljubljana" to Italy which thus penetrated still deeper into the Slovenian hinterland of Triest, thus achieving the third phase of her imperialistic march aiming at conquest of the Slovenian territory as key position for domination in Central Europe and in the Balkans.

8. After the capitulation of Italy in autumn 1943 the political fate of the whole Northern Adriatic area was again put under the exclusive domination of one imperialistic power which, of course, was Germany. There was created a special administrative unit called "Administrationszone Adriatisches Küstengebiet" comprising provinces

of Udine, "Venetia Julia" and the "Province of Ljubljana", and with the Gauleiter of Carinthia, Rainer, as Governor, thus imitating - by the expedient of a kind of "personal union" - Napoleon's Illyria. Imitation of Illyria was, however, only the appearance behind which the German "bridge to the Adriatic" was the real purpose.

9. The Allied victory over Germany prevented this second "German attempt to penetrate to the Mediterranean" (by a new radical German "descent to the Adriatic") from becoming a victorious reality. At the same time, however, the German defeat has opened the way to the attempt of a new power-political solution of the problem, i.e. to the attempt to include the whole Northern Adriatic area into the Soviet-controlled Tito's "Yugoslavia". Against this kind of solving the triple Northern Adriatic problem the Italians insist on the dismemberment of the area under the pretext of the "ethnical" principle because, Italy now being as she is, a defeated power, cannot now - like she did in 1915 and 1919 as one of the "big four" of that time - base her "Venetia Julia" claims openly on power-political arguments. (At the Peace conference of 1919 Italy rejected even the "Wilson line" arguing that "Venetia Julia" is an economically indivisible unity forming the minimal necessary hinterland of Triest, and claiming "natural", i.e. strategical or simply power-political borders. Italian commercial circles desired, during the World War I, even much more of the Slovenian territory, more than a-half of it, going as far as to the Savinja river, in order to enlarge "their" hinterland of Triest, further in order to get the entire length of the important railway line Triest-Gorica-Bohinj-Jesenice-Austria, and finally in order to reach Slovenian metallurgical industries at Jesenice and the Slovenian coal of the Trbovlje mine district). At present all those and similar economical and power-political considerations and motives on the Italian side have disappeared behind the new "ethnical" panacea.

And between these two irreconcilable actual positions, i.e. that of Tito's "Yugoslavia" and that Italy, the Paris conference of Four Foreign Ministers, in April and May 1946, has failed to find any solution whatsoever of the Northern Adriatic question.

VII.

By trying to solve the question of the contested Italian dominated "Venetia Julia" region in a satisfactory way considering it as a local frontier-problem between Italy and Tito's "Yugoslavia" to be solved through a strict local ethnical division principle one must fail two reasons:

for

a) Whereas it is possible to trace an approximately clear and just ethnical partition line between the Slovenian part of the region and the Friulian one (just at the foot of the Carst plateau between Gorizia and Monfalcone - southwards; and at the foot of the alpine promontory approximately along the line: Gorizia-Cividale-Tarcento-Gemona-Pontebba - northwards), it is, on the contrary, wholly impossible to draw any ethnical partition line whatsoever between the Slovenes (and Croats of south Istria) on one side, and the Italians living in the ethnically mixed town-enclaves on the coast (West Istria and Triest) and in Gorizia - which all are territorially cut from the compact Italian mainland by Slovenian settlements. This impossibility is clearly proved by all four lines as proposed by the Interallied Investigation Mission.

b) By trying to draw any frontier-line whatsoever upon a strictly local ethnical basis (according to the stated criterion that there should remain on either side of the frontier-line the "least possible number" of the respective minorities) one further, destroys the above-

mentioned economical and geopolitical unity of the region within the larger Northern Adriatic area as it was explained under III, IV, and V. The line proposed by the French delegation of the Interallied Investigation Mission in Venetia Julia, which pretends to correspond "to the utmost" (but gives, nevertheless, ethnically mixed Gorizia and Triest with all the Slovenian settlements west of that line simply to Italy) to the strict ethnical criterion, proves it at first sight.

VIII.

So it remains as the only way out of the "strictly ethnical" blind alley of the problem of the contested Coastland region, to implement the local ethnical criterion by duly taking into consideration as co-decisive factors also the ethnical, the economical and the geopolitical aspects of the Northern Adriatic problem as an indivisible whole. That necessarily implies the principle of a kind of political "third solution" of the entire compact area in question, as opposed to the partition of the Coastland territory under the "ethnical" pretext or to a unilateral power-political domination over it by one of the great imperialistic contenders for its possession.

Once the strictly local ethnical criterion is duly implemented with the ethnical, economical and geopolitical aspects of the wider Northern Adriatic problem and combined with the political principle of a "third solution", it remains to be ascertained to what exact territorial extent these factors and that principle must be applied for enabling Triest and Northern Adriatic area to resume in the fullest possible way their original and natural economical and geopolitical functions.

IX.

As for the comprehensive ethnical aspect of the whole Northern Adriatic area, which determines it as being the "Slovenian national territory with its ethnically mixed outskirts", the direction for a satisfactory solution of the problem from this its point of view is evident. At first, if there is to-day so much talk about the historical necessity of liberating even of colonial peoples, then the right to the elementary unification and self-determination certainly cannot be denied to the peaceloving Slovenian nation with highest and widest popular culture (no illiterates, book-publishing primacy before Italy and even before Germany).

By cutting away from the Slovenian national territory "its ethnically mixed outskirts" one unavoidably cuts from Slovenia also considerable parts of its ethnically compact territory, at any rate relatively much more considerable ones as they would be in the opposite case, i.e. if Italy and Austria have to give away the ethnically mixed parts of the area. Such a laming of the Slovenian territory would be a great injustice committed on the small nation of not even two million souls with a territory of only 26.000 square kilometres, and which territorial outskirts are ethnically mixed almost exclusively as a result of a centenary forced deslovenization intentionally carried out by the German and Italian power-political expedients. (See Annexes A. and B.)

But there is even more. At stake is the very existence of the Slovenian nation as such, as she is not able nationally to respire without that minimum of territorial extent as represented by the actual Slovenian ethnical territory with South Carinthia and Adriatic

Coastland. Economically considered, in particular, the Slovenian territory is essentially bound to the port of Triest, not only by the centenary old traffic lines but by all its economical potential and social structure; therefore, Triest has been called "Slovenia's lungs". And viceversa, the Slovenian territory is not only the natural reservoir for the supply of Triest with daily needed victuals and with the nearest at hand as well as relatively the fittest man - power, but gave to Triest, in the last pre-World-War I period a good third of all its traffic. Therefore, like it is not possible to dis-join, for a longer period, Antwerpen from Belgium, Amsterdam from Holland, or Gdansk from Poland, so it would be unnaturally and cruel to isolate Triest from its immediate compactly Slovenian hinterland. A nation cannot be left dismembered in such a nationally and economically disastrous way as in such case the Slovenes would be; and, on the other hand, Triest as port-town cannot prosper if politically isolated from the Slovenian hinterland.

Because of the milenary German pressure on Northern Adriatic the Slovenes lost two thirds of their original national territory (the space situated between the line Slazburg-Linz-Wien and South Carinthia). In the last hundred years, following the pan-German orientation of the Austrian Imperial policy, were violently germanized new more sectors of the Slovenian territory in Carinthia and Styria (especially enclave-like towns- and industrial-centres), and the same policy also prevented a full cultural, economical and political rising of the Slovenian nation. Between the two last World Wars the German Austrian Republic non-
tinued this same germanization policy in Carinthia, Italy began forcib-
ly to italianize Slovenian Coastland, and Hungary persisted in magyarizing the Slovenes of the small Slovenian region of Porabje.

During the recent World War also the remaining Yugoslav part of Slovenia was wholly desmembered and its split pieces simply annexed to Germany, Italy and Hungary; the Germans formally declared their purpose "to make this country ethnically German"; almost a half of the nation was deported, put into prisons or in concentration camps by Germans, Italians and Hungarians: a great percent of Slovenes was brutally murdered or they died following ill-treatment; and to all this was still added the Communist slaughter aiming at a simple "liquidation" of all the leading ranks of the nation, in order to prepare the sovietization of that culturally the most western oriented of the Slav nations, sovietization which is now on the way.

And still is this nation not willing to capitulate. At the one-list-only "elections" in November, 1945 Tito was defeated in Slovenia by almost 70 % ! But in eternity can this historical tragedy of the autochthonous nation of that terrible Northern Adriatic area not be resisted. If the civilized World will finally not support Slovenia in her aspiration to be safeguarded from this continuously repeating dismemberment and foreign oppression from three sides, the time could approach when the Slovenes, volens-nolens, would have to give up this their milenary unequal struggle aiming at the reconquest of their "ancient rights" to national self-determination as the autochthonous nation of Northern Adriatic.

To whom would be profitable such a breakdown of the autochthonous Northern Adriatic nation ? Certainly not to the appeasement of that area, neither to the security of Italy. Which other nation could take over from the Slovenes their historical isolating and mediating rolls in the Northern Adriatic area in the hinterland of the port of Triest ? The Germans ? The Italians ? Or perhaps an unknown colonized Soviet people or tribe like it is happening along the Austro-Hungarian frontier ? These question necessarily arise and they require concrete answers.

And thus, on our modest opinion, the peaceloving international factors are themselves much interested that the Slovenian nation be nationally safeguarded, economically strengthened and politically affirmed, because any weakening of the Slovenian national position has as the only effect the strengthening of the geopolitical tensions on the Northern Adriatic area.

X.

So we arrive to the conclusion that the territorial and political satisfaction of the Slovenes as the principal ethnical body in the Northern Adriatic area is at the same time the natural solution of the Northern Adriatic problem from its main geopolitical point of view.

XI.

As to the main economical aspect of the Northern Adriatic area, common sense indicates that Triest will be able to fulfil its central-European maritime function to its best, when it will be situated within the same political borders together with the whole of its immediate transit and supply hinterland, i.e. with all those regions which by nature have to supply Triest with every-day victuals as well as with relatively fittest manpower, and with those which will put Triest and Northern Adriatic area in a direct contact with the greatest possible number of those regions and States which depend upon Triest as their natural maritime outlet.

From the above explained geopolitical point of view, however, it logically results, that the political body within which Triest may be included, must for the reason or under the pretext of an apparently better solution from the economical point of view - not be composed or enlarged in such a way as to give an overwhelming political predominance over it to a single nation from outside of the "geopolitically rounded off Northern Adriatic area".

XII.

At this point the reasoning of the political aspect of the problem arise in its concrete terms. A renewed "Austro-Hungarian" political combination, f.i., which would perhaps be economically the best solution for Triest as well as for the whole of Central Europe, is rather to be excluded because of its well known and proved heavy internal-political disequilibrium and German-rooted policy which put the end to that central-European formation as a historical result of the World War I. Besides, such a solution would again open the door to a political predominance over Triest and Northern Adriatic to the Germans and would thus be rather a disturbing factor than an appeasing one.

The examination of the principles and of the general framework for a reasonable political solution of the Northern Adriatic problem thus being exhausted the following concrete eventualities for a political decision on the issue offer themselves to be examined in the light of the above examinations :

a) The creation of a separate political body embracing the Adriatic Coastland alone. Even if for the time being this solution may seem to be the only one which could possibly hop out of the actual strictly local "ethnical" blind alley into which the problem has escaped fol-

wing the recent Four Ministers' conference in Paris, it would present some very unfeasible points. At first such a "corpus separatum" or state would be, generally speaking, a too small one to become a definitive one: it would be a kind of repeated, only somewhat more extended "Gdansk-solution". Secondly, Triest would still remain cut away from direct contact with the main central-European countries interested in its maritime outlet: in fact, all the communication lines and junction-points between Triest and Central Europe would still remain under the control of either Tito's Yugoslavia or Italy, neither of which (exception made for the Slovenian part of Tito's state) is among the central European countries which are vitally interested on the Triest outlet, or under that of Austria, i.e. of an essentially German state. Thirdly, the geopolitical functions of the Northern Adriatic hinterland area (as explained above under V and later) would be very poorly secured. Finally, the Slovenian nation as the main ethnical body of the Northern Adriatic area would thus remain dismembered among such a "Free Julian state", Austria and Tito's "Yugoslavia". It is obvious that in such a case the Slovenes could not be satisfied and that would thus remain a perilous disturbing factor in the area. If such a division should be made as a definitive one, the Slovenes would persistently look for salvation and unification towards the Slav East, or towards the democratic West - if it would still have some interests or some word to say in that important part of Europe. The Slovenes would naturally press and tend, with all their forces, either compactly to join this "Julian state", or Coastland has to join "them", i.e. in this second case a more or less "pan-slavized" hinterland, if the West will not be able to solve the Triest question as naturally connected with the Slovenian problem.

So we see that such a "Free Julian state" could be only a temporary and provisional solution awaiting better times for a better solution - or for a worse one.

b) A second actual possibility of the solution of the "third" kind would be a state composed of Adriatic Coastland and Carinthia. It would be larger than the first one, it would reach nearer to Central Europe, but it would still have almost the same essential defect as Coastland alone: all communication lines between Triest and Central Europe would be cut either by Italy or by Tito's "Yugoslavia", and the Slovenian nation would again be split between this state and Tito's "Yugoslavia": a fact, which would produce the same consequences as above under a).

c) Thus it is now very easy to conclude that the naturally imposed "third solution" of the Northern Adriatic question is that which would embrace the "rounded immediate economical hinterland of the port of Triest" or "geopolitically rounded off Northern Adriatic area" or "Slovenian national territory with its ethnically mixed outskirts" as an indivisible political whole, i.e. the following territories: "Venetia Julia" with that part of the Province of Udine (Friuli) through which runs (or could be made a reasonably short new conjunction line in order to avoid the inclusion of Udine) the railway line and the highway: Triest-(Gorica)-Udine-Tarvisio-Villach; the former Yugoslav Province of "Dravska banovina" (now "People's Republic of Slovenia"); Carinthia, and Porabje, i.e. that small part of the Slovenian Prekmurje region, which after 1919 remained under Hungary. This solution would duly satisfy all the three co-decisive aspects of the Northern Adriatic problem.

XIII.

Due to its pluri-ethnical composition on its outskirts this proposed state in the Northern Adriatic may be internally organized on a "cantonal" basis like Switzerland is. Its main "cantons" could be : the Friulian one; the mixed Italian-Slovenian canton of the town of Triest; the mixed Croat-Italian-Slovenian "canton" of Istria; the mixed Slovenian-Italian-Friulian "canton" of Gorica-region with "Venice Slovenia"; the Slovenian "cantons" of Carniola (Ljubljana), Styria (Maribor), and of Prekmurje (Sobota); the mixed Slovenian-German "canton" of South Carinthia (Celovec-Klagenfurt); and, eventually, three mostly German-speaking "cantons" of Northern Carinthia (Spittal, St. Veit, Wolfsberg). Carinthia should, of course, be purified of the immigrated people from Reich who in last fifty years were artificially colonized in Carinthia for germanizing purposes following the official intentions to build up the German "ethnical bridge to the Adriatic". The same has to happen with those German-speaking people, who, instead of a new peaceful connivance and cooperation, would still prefer to act as agents of pan-Germanism.

It is obvious that all five ethnical groups within the proposed political body would enjoy an absolute equality of rights and fullest freedom of each-one's cultural development along each-one's ethnical particularities - independently of the fact to which single "canton" a member of whichsoever ethnical group may administratively belong. This ethnical "freedom from denationalization" may be sanctioned and guaranteed by a special "Charter of ethnical rights" or "Ethnical Statute" (or by a special chapter of the constitution) according to which all members of each of the five ethnical groups form a kind of "ethnical corpus separatum" with clearly defined ethnical-cultural rights.

Such constitutional and practical guarantees of the "freedom from denationalization" would create an atmosphere of mutual confidence so much needed in an area of ethnical strain where in the past the Germans and the Italians violently wanted to carry through their absolute predominance and where since a year Russian-sponsored "Titoism" is trying to become the absolute master.

XIV.

The proposed state-formation would have also enough of generally requested attributes for an autonomous political body :

- a) Extent of territory : 40.000 square kilometres.
- b) Population : approximately 2,600.000, of which 1,600.000 Slovenes, 300.000 Italians, 200.000 Friulians, 200.000 Croats and 300.000 German-speaking ones.
- c) Economical composition : Triest maritime commerce and mainland transit-traffic; all branches of agricultural production (especially vine, fruits, forests, cattle); mines (coal), Lead, Mercury, zink, antimony, manganese, bauxite); wood-, metallurgical-, construction-, meccanical-, textil- and other branches of industry; excellently developed artisanship; most various possibilities for tourist industry; and good conditions for foreign trade.

XV.

The following would be main points in favour of the proposed "third solution" of the Northern Adriatic problem, as compared to a local "ethnical" division of the area or to a unilateral power-political domination over it :

1. The Triest and Northern Adriatic issue would be taken away from both the two present imperialist contenders : Italy and Tito's "Yugoslavia", as well as from the danger of sovietization.

2. Triest would be reunited with its whole immediate economic hinterland (victuals, manpower, transit-traffic unto the larger hinterland, and a good third of its complessive traffic) and through it Triest would be put to the direct and impartial service of Central Europe which natural outlet Triest is.

3. The Northern Adriatic area in which four European racial groups (Slavs, Germans, Romans, Ugro-Fins) meet and intermingle, and the three main continental imperialisms (Germans, Italians, Russians) struggle for predominance, would thus be appeased by the elimination and isolation of power-political influences on it from any of the three imperialistic groups and by a full guarantee for all ethnical groups of the area of the "freedom from denationalization", almost like Switzerland neutralizes the space where the Germans, the French and the Italians intermingle.

4. The area in question which is, besides its other characteristics, also a kind of "junction-station" between western and south-eastern Europe, would thus be best secured to a free fulfilment of this its important international mediation function.

5. The Slovenian nation as the main and the autochthonous ethnical reality of the Northern Adriatic area would thus finally reach a free access to the sea onto which she naturally converges and tends, and would be preserved from becoming again dismembered into three or four pieces. The fact, that the Slovenes would be all included in the frame of the proposed "third solution", would definitely satisfy them, thus eliminating the "Slav danger" in regard to the Northern Adriatic area on which services all Europe is vitally concerned.

6. All the ethnical groups within the proposed state-formation would have almost the same cultural level and a similar mentality due to their centenary cohabitation under the same cultural, economical and political conditions, and they are moreover of the same religious creed or belonging to the same Church. Thus, besides common economic and geopolitical interests and duties, the new political body would be strengthened together also by common cultural bonds.

7. The rise of this political formation would, as it were, almost conclude the unavoidably needed national cristalization in Europe and it would bring a stable appeasement in that troublesome area. Thus it would at the same time be created conditions for a free and pondered decision of the appeased area and of its sovereign genuine people, whether this reunited Northern Adriatic political body should join some larger confederation which would eventually present itself as a possible an useful one in those central-eastern parts of Europe.

THE SLOVENIAN ETHNICAL BORDERS
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 IN THE ADRIATIC COASTLAND
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Slovenian - Friulian - Italian

 ethnical division line



The ethnical division-line can be ascertained only by use of statistics. At our disposal are : the Austro-Hungarian, Italian and the ecclesiastical statistics. The bad side of the Austro-Hungarian statistics are the facts that they are 45 years old and that they were attacked as being uncorrect by both ethnical groups : by Italians and by Slovenes as defective and one-sided. We cannot deal in detail with both groups of critics, which are certainly subjectively coloured, but we must mention one important fact : The census was performed according to the Austro-Hungarian law by the employees of the political administration of the local communes. These employees were in the communities situated along the division-line and especially in the ethnically mixed communities, mostly Italian. It is understandable, that they decided in all possible doubtful and disputable cases in favour of the Italians. Therefore it is intelligible that the complaints against the compositions and results of the census were, on the side of the Slovenes and Croats, more numerous and more justified than on the Italian side. Sometimes the Slovenian and Croatian complaints were so obviously justified, that the census had to be corrected afterwards and the whole procedure had to be repeated : so in Trieste in 1910 when the additional census which was performed only in a few town-districts showed a difference of 23.000 Slovenian inhabitants more than the first attacked census. In spite of all that, are the Austro-Hungarian censuses - although old - still better than the Italian one of 1921. This is the only Italian census which gives dates and figures of the nationality. The latter Italian censuses and statistics of 1926, 1931, 1936 do not even mention the ethnically non-Italian inhabitants, the national minorities were wiped out of all the official statistics. We are therefore compelled to use the Austro-Hungarian statistics not only because they are more correct and exact than the Italian ones, but also because the Italian statistics after 1918 do not show anything but the results of the pre-Fascist and Fascist cruelly conducted, forced denationalization of the Slovenes and Croats.

We have at hand the figures of the census in all communities and towns. These figures show clearly the ethnically pure Slovenian, pure Croatian, and pure Friulian communities and towns, and those with the ethnically mixed population. We see the ethnical division-line running on the borders of the neighbouring ethnically pure communities and can find out the communities with the ethnically mixed population.

We shall mention the communities beginning from the North towards the South (Karnske Alpe-Jadransko morje; Karnish Alps-Adriatic Sea) and shall divide them into two groups : the one on the northern part lies on the mainland, the other on the southern part, which composes the seaside of the Istrian peninsula. The difference between the two parts is that the northern part really represents the ethnical division-line between the Friulians and the Slovenes. There is on its western side the compact Friulian territory, and on its eastern side the compact Slovenian territory. On the contrary, the southern group of communities concerned borders only on the compact Slovenian and Croatian territory on its eastern side, and on the Adriatic Sea

on its western side. It has no geographical contact with the pure Italian territory. The ethnically mixed communities of this part represent only isolated individual enclaves.

The communities of the northern group are :

| The name of the community : | Ethnical character: | It borders upon : |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Pontabelj (Pontebba) | mixed | On the eastern side on the mixed territory, on the southern on the Friulian. |
| Naborjet (Malgorgheto) | mixed | Southern side on the Friulian, northwestern and eastern side on mixed territory |
| Trbiž (Tarvisio) | mixed | Southwestern side on the Friulian; eastern side on the Slovian ter. |
| Ravenca (Resia) | Slovenian | Northwestern side on Friulian, East and South on Slovenian territory |
| Brdo (Lusevera) | Slovenian | Western side on Friulian and eastern side on Slovenian ter. |
| Gorjani (Montenars) | mixed | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Neme (Nimis) | mixed | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Ahten (Attimis) | Slovenian | Western side on Friulian and eastern side on mixed territory |
| Fojda (Faedis) | mixed | Southern side on Friulian and eastern side on mixed territory |
| Tarjan (Torreano) | mixed | Southern side on Friulian and eastern side on Slovenian ter. |
| Sv Peter (S.Pietro al Natisone) | Slovenian | Southern side on Friulian and eastern side on Slovenian ter. |
| Praprotno (Prepotto) | mixed | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Dolenje (Dolegna) | Slovenian | Southern side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Dobrova (Castel Dobra) | Slovenian | Southern side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Kojsko (S.Martino di Quisca) | Slovenian | Southern side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Gorica (Gorizia) | mixed | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Miren (Merna) | Slovenian | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenia territory |
| Opatje selo (Opacchia sella) | Slovenian | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Doberdob (Doberdo del Lago) | Slovenian | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Ronke (Ronchi dei Legionari) | mixed | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |
| Tržič (Monfalcone) | mixed | Western side on Friulian, eastern side on Slovenian territory |

The southern group of the communities in question is composed as following :

| The name of the community: | Ethnical character: | It borders upon: |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Devin-Nabrežina, (Duino-Aurisina) | Slovenian | On Slovenian territory |
| Trst (Trieste) | mixed | On Slovenian territory |
| Milje (Muggia) | mixed | On Slovenian territory |
| Koper (Capo d'Istria) | mixed | On Slovenian territory |
| Isola (Isola d'Istria) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Piran (Pirano) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Umak (Umago) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Buje (Buie) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Gronžnjan (Grusignano) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Črni vrh (Verteneglio) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Novigrad (Cittànuova) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Viž (Visinada) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Poreč (Parenzo) | mixed | On Croatian-Slovenian territory |
| Vrsar (Orsera) | Croatian | On Croatian territory |
| Rovinj (Rovigno) | mixed | On Croatian territory |
| Bale (Valle d'Istria) | mixed | On Croatian territory |
| Vodnjan (Dignano) | mixed | On Croatian territory |
| Pulj (Pola) | mixed | On Croatian territory |
| Reka (Fiume) | mixed | On Croatian territory |

Characteristics of the boundary territory
with the ethnically mixed population.

When we just look at the map, we see immediately that the communities with the mixed population do not compose a continuous territory, connected and united in itself. On the contrary, we see isolated little groups of these communities. These groups, divided under geographical aspects are the following :

a) The communities : Trbiž (Tarvisio), Naborjet (Malgorzetho) and Pontafelj (Pontebba), gravitate towards the Slovenian Southern Carinthia. Therefore were these communities united with Carinthia till 1918. The Slovenian inhabitants of these communities are bound up with the Carinthian Slovenes by a tradition of hundreds of years and, together with the community Bela peć, with the Slovenes of Dravska banovina. These communities belong foremost to Slovenia, in no case to Italy.

b) The communities Gorjani (Montenars), Neme (Nimis), Fojda (Faedis), Torjan (Torreano) and Praprotno (Prepotto) compose together

with the purely Slovenian communities Ravenca (Resia), Brdo (Lusévera), Tepana (Taipano), Ahten (Attimis), Puler (Pulfero), Sv.Peter (S.Pietro al Natisone), Sv.Lenard (S.Leonardo), Sovodnje (Savogna, Srednje Stregna), Grmeki (Grimacchio) and Dreka (Drenchia) the so-called Venetian Slovenia, which gravitates towards Venetian plain. In the same direction gravitates also the community Ravenca (Resia).

c) The purely Slovenian border communities Dolenje (Dolegna), Dobrovo (Castel Dobra) and Kojško (S.Martino di Quisca) gravitate towards Krmin (Cormons) and further on towards Gorica (Gorizia).

d) Gorica (Gorizia) is the centre of the region and the province, has a mixed population and is surrounded by the purely Slovenian territory.

e) The Slovenian communities Opatje selo (Opacchia sella), Miren (Merna) and Doberdob (Doberdò del Lago) gravitate towards Gorica (Gorizia), the two mixed communities Ronke (Ronchi dei Legionari) and Tržič (Monfalcone) gravitate more towards Trst (Trieste) than to Gorica.

The communities with the mixed population of the southern group of Istria, have the following characteristics :

a) The mixed municipality Trst (Trieste) is an enclave, surrounded by pure Slovenian territory.

b) Mixed communities Milje (Muggia), Koper (Capo d'Istria), Isola (Isola d'Istria), Piran (Pirano), Umak (Umago), Boje (Buie), Grožnjan (Grusignano), Crni vrh (Verteneglio), Novigrad (Cittànuova) and Poreč (Parenzo) gravitate towards Trst (Trieste).

c) The mixed municipality Pulj (Pola) is the southern centre of the Istrian peninsula. The mixed communities Rovinj (Rovigno), Bale (Valle d'Istria) and Vrdnjan (Dignano) gravitate to this centre.

d) The mixed municipality Reka (Fiume) is an enclave surrounded by the pure Croatian territory.

This analysis of the ethnical division-line between the Friulians, the Italians, the Slovenes and Croats, shows also the following characteristics :

1) The whole division-line is ca 235 km. long; about 120 km. of it runs along the seashore, in its northern part of only about 115 km. in length crosses the mainland and represents really the division-line between the Slovenes and Friulians. The territory, which we may call the border-territory - that is, the territory with the mixed population - represents only a narrow belt of 5-10 km. between the purely Slovenian, and Friulian land. There are only some enclaves of mixed territory - the centres of the whole region - which are larger. These enclaves are surrounded by Slovenian and Croatian territory (Gorica-Gorizia, Trst-Trieste, Pulj-Pola, Reka-Fiume).

2) The territorial belt with mixed population covers only about 2.141 square kilometres.

3) In the geographical and commercial aspects the boundary mixed territory does not represent a unity. It is divided by hilly ridges and water-sheds. The mixed communities do not border on each other; the eleven pure Slovenian communities : Ravence (Resia), Brdo (Lusévera), Ahten (Attimis), Sv.Peter (San Pietro al Natisone), Sv.Lenard (S.Leonardo), Miren (Merna), Opatje selo (Opacchia sella), Doberdob (Doberdò del Lago), Devin (Duino), Nabrežina (Aurisina), Smarje (Monte di Capo d'Istria) and Vrsar (Orsera) which are situated between the mixed communities, divide the latter into ten smaller and larger sections

of which Gorica (Gorizia), Trst (Trieste), Reka (Fiume) and Puli (Pola) have the character of mixed enclaves in the Slovenian and Croatian territory.

4) The larger part of the population of the boundary belt lives in the four above mentioned enclaves. The total number of the population of the boundary territory amounts to 508.537 inhabitants. The number of the inhabitants in the four enclaves is 430.211, that is to say, more than three fourths of the whole border-belt population lives in the four enclaves.

5) The enclaves are at the same time the traffic centres and crossing points of roads and railways. They are therefore also centres of the local public and economic life. Towards these enclaves gravitate the neighbouring territories with large masses of the Slovenian population: towards Gorica (Gorizia) gravitates a territory with ca. 200.000 Slovenian inhabitants, towards Trst (Trieste) also a territory with ca 200.000 Slovenian and Croatian inhabitants, towards Reka (Fiume) a territory with ca 150.000 Croats and Slovenes. On the other side only towards Gorica (Gorizia) are gravitating a few communities with Friulian population situated on the western side of the river Isonzo; the other enclaves have no Italian surrounding, no Italian hinterland at all.

6) On the basis of this natural gravitation, close economical collaboration developed between the Slovenian and Croatian hinterland and the mentioned enclaves. The Slovenes and the Croats have created in these enclaves different branches of their economical organizations: The central unions of the economical cooperatives, firms, banks, warehouses, shops, forwarding agencies, commission-business offices, stocks on commission, navigation companies, and so on. The Slovenian and Croatian economical organizations were relatively small in comparison with the Italian ones. The Italian firms and institutions had an easy competition, because they enjoyed the support of the Austrian State-Administration and were financed by German capital in the form of credits, loans and participations in business undertakings. Especially in Trst (Trieste), there were many plants and economic institutions, which had an Italian label, but a German character: they were founded, managed and financed by the capital of Vienna.

7) Parallel with the economic development, the Slovenes and the Croats also built in the enclaves the centres of their cultural and national political network: they founded in these towns their elementary grammar, high and other schools, cultural homes, youth organizations, sport clubs, gymnastical associations, political centres, theatres, libraries, publishing houses, printing plants and book shops. They edited in these centres their own newspapers and reviews, they had their own welfare organizations, workhouses, orphanages, relief funds and other charitable institutions. We must underline that the Slovenes and the Croats had to perform all their work for the economic, cultural and social progress with their own means only, without any support from the State or other public bodies' funds or organizations. On the contrary, the public authorities and representatives disliked this work of the Slovenes and Croats and some of them were directly opposed to it. The state administration was in the hands of immigrated German officials, the administration of communities mostly in the hands of Italians. The anti-democratic laws regulating elections of the representatives of all public institutions and bodies, provided for the Italian-German minority a predominant, ruling position, because this minority was stronger economically and socially. This unjust local regime provoked many sharp local controversies and national political struggles, which sometimes became so fierce that even the Vienna Parliament had to deal with them.

8) How strong were the economical, political and cultural organizations of the Slovenes and Croats, one can judge by the long list of laws and decrees which Italy had employed after 1918 in order to suppress the Slovenian and Croatian national life. We are able to quote only some of them :

The decess from February 4th and September 3rd, 1926, destroyed the autonomous administration of the communities.

The decree of September 1st, 1923, ordered the successive liquidation of the Slovenian and Croatian elementary schools.

The decree of November 22nd, 1925 prevented the work of the Slovenian and Croatian school teachers and dispersed them outside the country.

The decree of September 27th, 1923 definitely destroyed all Slovenian and Croatian High schools.

The decree of October 15th, 1925, forbade the Slovenian language in the courts.

The decree of March 1923 forbade the use of Slovenian language in the administration of communities and municipalities.

The decree of February 12th, 1920 forbade the Slovenian language in the postal administration.

The decree of November 28th, 1925 liquidated all Slovenian and Croatian cultural, political, charitable and other organizations, associations and institutions.

The decree of August 6th, 1926 forbade all Slovenian public meetings, concerts and other public arrangements and manifestations.

The decree of November 6th, 1926 foreclosed to all associations the right to work in public.

The decree of March 28th, 1923 ordered the italianization of all geographic names.

The decree of March 8th, 1928 ordered the italianization of all christian names.

The decree of April 7th, 1927 ordered the italianization of all family names.

The decree of April 23rd, 1924 cancelled the free trade with land-properties and buildings.

The main enclaves.

Regarding the four most important enclaves we find some more characteristic and note-worthy features :

a) Gorica (Gorizia). This town had in the Austro-Hungarian time a very out of date municipal border-line. That border-line came into existence in the times of the feudal system, when Gorica did not exist as an economical and traffic centre. The Austro-Hungarian State administration was well aware that the border-line of the municipality became absurd, due to the quick development and increase of the town. In spite of that the line was not changed till 1918 when Italy annexed to the municipality the bordering suburbs, and settled a more natural border.

Why that phenomenon ? Each change of the municipal border-line changes the national structure and composition of the ethnically mixed population. In Gorica the Austrian census counted in 1910 35 % of Slovenes, if the town had at that time the border which was settled eight years later, the percentage of the Slovenes would be 52.74 %. If the Italian majority in the town council had permitted the change of the municipal borders in 1910, it would have killed its predominant position, it would have become a minority.

The enclosed demographical drawings show that out of 17 town-districts, there are in Gorica 10 with a pure Slovenian population (94%). One district has a Slovenian majority of over 80% and in the other five town-districts the Slovenes had a relative majority in one of them and in two they represented large minorities of 42 - 35 %. The Italians on the other hand had a majority of 84% only in one town-district on the western part of the town, on the western shore of the river Soča (Isonzo). Even in the centre of the town the Italians did not have an absolute majority.

b) The political strength of the different national groups of the population living in the four enclaves was manifested at the elections during the period 1910 - 1914, when the principles of democracy and a general, secret and direct electoral franchise were introduced by the laws regulating elections.

In Gorica (Gorizia) the election of the members of the town council took place in the spring of 1914. The Italian political group - well aware that she was a minority - had to give to the German group two seats in the council in order to form a coalition against the Slovenian group.

In Trst (Trieste) the balloting for the return of members of the Vienna Parliament in 1911, the Italian parties got 14.300 votes, the Slovenian ones 10.237 (proportion 58 : 42). The Socialists voted together, regardless of the nationality. Even in the centre of the town (the second ward), the Slovenian candidates collected 2.399 votes against 4.734 Italian ones (34 - 66).

This result of the election affirms the figures given by the Slovenian writers about the population of Trst (Trieste) at that time. These writers claim that Trieste had at that time 100.619 Italian inhabitants and 76.719 Slovenian ones. We find out these figures even when we count all socialistic votes to the Italian group. An explanation for the difference between the Slovenian assertion and the official census we can only find in the partiality of the census officials and in the fact, that the census did not state the nationality as such, but the so-called "colloquial language" which was predominantly Italian because of the neglecting of the Slovenian schools. Because the census was public and the Slovenian masses of labour-people depend on the Italian plant and industry owners - the elections were on the contrary secret and the people were able to express more freely their wishes and choice; so the national feelings came also to express themselves on that occasion.

c) An interesting view of the ethnical and national situation as it was at the beginning of the present century, is given us in the pamphlet edited by the municipality of Trieste in 1900 : "Censimento della popolazione di Trieste", redactor Dr. Frühbauer. There we read - as it is also shown on the enclosed demographical sketch - that the town of Trieste has three main zones : the centre, the suburbs and the country suburbs. There were, according to the mentioned pamphlet :

- in the centre which measures 5.45 square kilometres, 88% Italians, 4.50% Slovenes and 7.50% Germans and others;

- in the suburbs which measure 29.51 square kilometres, 62% Italians, 33.50% Slovenes and 4.50% Germans and others;

- in the country suburbs which measure 60.08 square kilometres, 7% Italians, 90% Slovenes and 3% Germans and others.

The number of the population of Trieste amounted in 1900 to 176,383 persons. 132,190 inhabited the centre, 36,416 the suburbs and 7,777 the country suburbs. From the total number 137,383 of Italians in Trieste, 116,327 inhabited the centre, that is to say, out of 6 Italians of Trieste 5 of them lived in the centre of the town and only one in the suburbs.

d) We read in the same pamphlet, that Trieste had in 1900 70,304 immigrants, that is 40% of the whole population. Of these immigrants only 24,600 settled in the town before 1881, 13,500 of them came into the town in the period 1880-1890, 32,400 were newcomers in the period between 1890 - 1900.

The immigration obviously to a high percentage consisted of newcomers. On the other hand we find in Trst (Trieste) in 1910 only 71,940 immigrants. After ten years the figure remained nearly the same; the number of newcomers did not exceed the number of dead and those of the immigrants who went away again.

The immigrants were partially Austrian, partially Italian citizens.

The afflux of the immigrants was natural: each economic centre, which develops and advances quickly, attracts newcomers from the surroundings. The influx was also partly the effect of the national struggles in the enclaves. So the Italians as well as the Germans were displeased because of the great afflux of the Slovenes, and therefore they supported by all means also the immigration of their own connationals: the Italian using for this purpose the municipal power and influence, the Germans through the State-administration and State-control over the different bodies and institutions, such as: railways, post, administration of the harbour, customs' offices and so on; and finally, both of them using their economic and financial influence in the public and private economic bodies, which needed and used their subsidies.

In the same manner the Hungarians and Italians in Beka (Fiume) used their influence and control.

e) The pamphlet mentioned gives us the analysis of the citizenship of the population of Trst (Trieste) in 1900. About 15%, that is over 26,000 inhabitants of Trst were foreigners. All of them lived in the centre of the town, where they composed nearly one fifth (19%) of the whole population. They were by a great majority Italian citizens. As we saw above, in the centre of the town mentioned were 116,000 Italian inhabitants, that is to say, out of 9 Italian inhabitants in the centre of Trst (Trieste), two were citizens of Italy. This fact shows us that the living conditions were very favourable and attractive for the people in Italy at the beginning of the present century. This high percentage of the immigrants from Italy to Trieste was at the same time the most important cause and reason for the increasing Italian irredentism. Italy recognized the importance of Trieste and wanted to possess it ethnically.

The statistics of 1910 give us further the following picture of the Italians of Italy (Regnicoli). Out of the total number of foreign citizens living in Trieste (38,579), 29,439 came from the Italian Kingdom. They composed therefore 20% of the whole Italian population of Trst (Trieste) - more than in 1910. 84% of them inhabited the centre of the town.

f) The book mentioned states also, that only 42% of the whole population had the competence to the municipality. The same percentage of the population had the competence of different other Austrian communities and 1% of the Hungarian ones. In 1900 therefore only 42% of the population of Triest were indigenous people, 58% were foreigners as regards the municipality. In 1910 the situation changed in favour of the indigenous people, who amounted to 54% : 46% foreigners.

g) When we look at the figures of Dr. Frühbauer from 1910, we find also the following :

1. In 1910 the proportion between the Slovenes and the Italians was 1 : 2 (59.319 : 117.959). The Slovenes composed so 33% of the Trieste population. On the contrary, they had in 1900 only 14%. In the period when the immigration was smallest, the Slav elements increased so from 25.060 to 59.319, bw 126%. How can this be explained? First of all we must take into account the natural increase. But it was not an extraordinary one - according to the statistics - anyhow it was greater than that of the Austrian-Italian.

2. The immigration does not count. Therefore there remains the only explanation left, namely that the national spirit of the Slovenes awoke and the cultural standard of this people rose; and the statistics, which stated the so-called "colloquial language" instead of nationality, had had to note such an extraordinary increase of the population with the Slovenian "colloquial language". A high percentage of the increase ^{we} have to reckon on account of the one-sidedness of the census of 1900, about which the official Austrian census-publication from 1910 (Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom Jahre 1910, Volume II, Page 31) affirms as follows: "So muss hier die Ansicht vertreten werden, dass in Triest die Zahlungsergebnisse über die Umgangssprache nicht die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse ausdrücken, sondern, dass vielmehr dem Begriffe der Umgangssprache widersprechende Angaben und ein geänderter Prüfungsvorgang diese so sehr veränderten Zahlungsergebnisse zur Folge hatten". Dr. Frühbauer states also :

In 1910, 178.599 inhabitants of Trst (Trieste) were Austrian citizens. 52.996 of them had the competency of the Slovenian communities neighbouring Triest and only 13.339 of them in the communities in Friuli. At the same time there lived in Trieste 21.699 Italians, citizens of the Italian Kingdom. These figures show us that the main part of the influx to Trieste came of the natural one from the immediate Slovenian hinterland of Trst (Trieste), and that the Italian political factors tried to paralyse this natural development bw the artificial, forced immigration of the Italian Kingdom (Regnicoli) to Trieste. One more proof for this fact is the Italian dialect of Trieste. This dialect has nothing in common with the dialect of the neighbouring Friuli; it has many features in common with the Venetian - Italian dialect. This proves again that Trst (Trieste), inasmuch it has an Italian ethnical character, is an artificial enclave, created by the commercial and political elements.

3. Now we may also find out in which part of the town the increase of the Slav population settled. The Austro-Hungarian statistics from 1910 gives the following answer: The Slovenes mounted in the centre of the town from 6.536 to 22.529, that means from 4.50% of the population to 16%, in the suburbs from 11.643 to 30.579 or from 38.50% to 50%, in the country-suburbs from 6.951 to 8.211 or from 90% do 91% of the population. Here we see that the Slovenes advanced successfully from the outer parts of the town towards the centre: in the suburbs they were already a majority, in the centre an ever increasing minority.

h) Pulj (Pola). The town is divided into 14 town districts. More than half of those districts (8) has a Croatian population (93 %), in two more districts are the Croats in the absolute majority (85 % and 54 %), in three districts the Italians are in the absolute majority and in one district they have a relative majority. In Pola we notice the remarkable percentage of the Germans. This phenomenon understandable because Pulj (Pola) was the greatest Austro-Hungarian Navy Harbour; there were employed thousands of German officials, engineers, workers, officers, specialists and so in, who lived there with their families.

The ecclesiastical statistics.

Above, in this paper, we used only the Austro-Hungarian and Italian official statistics, studies and treatises which took the numerical elements from the official state-census figures. At the beginning we underlined that those statistics were disputed and attacked. We have to take into account the onesidedness of the census. The question is to what extent and where to find the basis and the means of control. Ideal and perfect means of control are not at hand, but the ecclesiastical statistics of the Roman catholic Church we consider as a pretty reliable measure of control for our purpose. The population in question is namely 100 % Roman Catholic. The Church edited her own yearly publications of its own ecclesiastical organization and there we find figures and dates about the parishes, about the language used in the congregations and at the public ecclesiastical services and about priests employed in the exercise of the pastoral office. Some dioceses publish also the figures of the co-religionist members, divided by the nationalities. The Roman Catholic Church keeps to the praxis of giving the spiritual and religious education, relief and care for souls if possible by the priests of the nationality of the congregation in question. The Church annual publications are therefore useful for our purpose.

Studying the ecclesiastical data about parishes on the ethnical division-line and for the territory-belt of the mixed population, we see the following :

a) Enclaves Trbiž (Tarvisio), Naborjet (Malgorgheto), Pontabeli (Pontebba) :

- the Austrian statistics of 1910 quotes :
150 Slovenes, 4.992 Germans and 480 others (Italians);
- the Italian statistics of 1921 gives :
265 Slovenes, 3.852 Germans and 1.026 Italians.

The Church-statistics on the contrary quote for the country parishes alone (without the town Trbiž-Tarvisio) 2.164 Slovenes, divided into 4 parishes where 5 Slovenian priests were appointed to perform the Divine service in the Slovenian language. Although the ecclesiastical statistics quote five times more Slovenes than the state-census, it is more credible, because the Church would not employ in four parishes 5 priests for one or two hundred Slovenes only. It is clear : the Austrian statistics favour the Germans, the Italian ones the Italians, both of them decimate the Slovenes. Only the Church-statistics give us the correct picture : The whole enclave has a mixed population, among which the Slovenes are in the relative majority.

The Italian statistics of 1921 are particularly suspect as regards this enclave, giving the number of only 115 Slovenes more than they were in 1910 (1910-1921), in spite of the fact that the Slovenian commune Belapeč (Weissenfels) was included in this enclave after 1918

as a result of the new frontier-line between Yugoslavia and Italy, settled at that time. And this community alone numbers 1.030 Slovenes.

b) The ethnical division line in the so-called Resia or Venetian Slovenia is particularly interesting. That is the hilly region known by the name Julian promontory along the former Austro-Hungarian frontier-line which was already since 1868 included into the Italian Kingdom, but on the other hand was always considered and claimed by the Slovenes as a part of their ethnical territory. The Italian "Annuario statistico italiano", 1914, gives for this region the following figures :

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|------------------|
| District Šedad (Cividale) | 32.317 | Slovenes |
| " Gemona (Humin) | 2.123 | " |
| " Tolmeč (Tolmezzo) | 4.671 | " |
| " Tarcent (Tarcento) | 12.892 | " |
| in common | | 52.003 Slovenes. |

The Italian official statistics of 1921 quote for the boundary communities in that region the following figures :

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| Rezija (Resia) | 2.796 | inh. | 2.796 (100%) | Slov. | ----- | Ital. |
| Gorjani (Montenars) | 2.602 | " | 320 (16 %) | " | 2.282 (84 %) | " |
| Neme (Nimis) | 3.605 | " | 1.885 (54 %) | " | 1.720 (46 %) | " |
| Ahten (Attimis) | 4.071 | " | 4.058 (99 %) | " | 13 (1 %) | " |
| Fojda (Feedis) | 5.075 | " | 1.413 (28 %) | " | 3.662 (72 %) | " |
| Torjan (Torreano) | 3.470 | " | 774 (22 %) | " | 2.694 (78 %) | " |
| Sv. Peter (S. Pietro al Natisone) | 3.362 | " | 2.977 (88 %) | " | 385 (12 %) | " |
| Sv. Lenart (S. Lionardo) | 2.467 | " | 2.465 (100%) | " | 2 | " |
| Praprotno (Prepotto) | 2.222 | " | 950 (43 %) | " | 1.272 (57 %) | " |

c) The ecclesiastical statistics give the following picture :

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|----------|---|---------------|
| Rezija (Resia) | 100 % | Slovenes | 3 | Slov. priests |
| Gorjani (Montenars) | 34 % | " | 1 | " |
| Neme (Nimis) | {-- | 74 % | " | 14 |
| Ahten (Attimis) | | " | " | " |
| Fojda (Faedis) | 13 % | " | 1 | " |
| Torjan (Torreano) | 32 % | " | 2 | " |
| Sv. Peter (San Pietro al Natisone) | 100 % | " | 4 | " |
| Sv. Lenart (San Lionardo) | 100 % | " | 6 | " |
| Praprotno (Prepotto) | 52 % | " | 2 | " |

As we see both statistics give us the same picture of the situation in the communities with the compact Slovenian population. They differ when quoting figures of the mixed communes. One of the reasons is the fact, that the civil communes, do not always embrace the same territory as the parishes. Anyhow the statistics affirm the fact, that the Slovenes inhabit the region in compact masses. Only on the western edge of the region are they mixed with the Friulians in the half of the border communities; the other half is compactly Slovenian.

d) The Italian official statistics ^{after} 1921 do not recognize Slovenes in the region Venetian Slovenia any more. On the contrary, the ecclesiastical statistics give the following figures :

| Parish : | Inhab. 1921: | Slovenes: | Slov. priests : |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Rezija (Resia) | 3.695 | 100 % | 3 |
| Gorjani (Montenars) | 2.356 | 34 % | 1 |
| Tarcent (Tarcento nothern part) | 5.207 | 100 % | 6 |
| Neme (Nimis) | 6.165 | 74 % | 14 |
| Ahten (Attimis) | 4.327 | 74 % | |
| Foja (Faedis) | 5.409 | 13 % | 1 |
| Torjan (Torreano) | 3.607 | 32 % | 2 |
| Sv. Peter (San Pietro al Natisone) | 3.544 | 100 % | 4 |
| Sv. Lenart (San Lionardo) | 2.467 | 100 % | 6 |
| Praprotno (Prepotto) | 2.316 | 52 % | 2 |

On the enclosed map the churches of the border-region are marked in which before 1918 the ecclesiastical public services were held in the Slovenian language.

May we quote just one passage from "La Patria", Geografia dell'Italia, prof. Gustavo Strafforello, Provincia di Udine, Belluno, Treviso, Rovigo, Trieste a l'Istria (Gorizia, g. Chieri, Torino, Utet, 1905, p. 81): "Gli abitanti del distretto di San Pietro al Natisone, sono tutti di origine slovena e parlano una lingua-dialetto... ricca e armoniosa: che si presta mirabilmente a rendere le più forti passioni e i più delicati sentimenti". - "Come e quando questi abitanti e gli altri che formano colonie slovene nei distretti di Cividale, di Tarcento, di Gemona, di Muggio si siano staccati dalla grande famiglia slava... non s'è poputo finora stabilire con precisione".

e) Between the former Austro-Italian frontier-line and the town Gorica (Gorizia), three communities are situated :

Dolenje (Dolegna), Dobrovo (Castel Dobra) and Kojsko (San Martino di Quisca).

There is no difference between the statistics in regard to the communities of Dobrovo (Castel Dobra) and Kojsko (San Martino di Quisca). All statistics, the official state-census and the ecclesiastical statistics, mark the population of these communities as 98 % - 100 % Slovenian. As regards the community Dolenje (Dolegna), both official state statistics quote 400 Slovenes (28 %), the ecclesiastical statistics give us the number of 810 Slovenian inhabitants.

f) In the enclave Gorica (Gorizia) the Austro-Hungarian census of 1910 quotes 10.790 Slovenes, the Italian census gives the number of 6.141 Slovenes and the ecclesiastical statistics the number of 14.450 Slovenes with 6 churches and 6 priests for the Slovenian congregations.

g) From Gorica (Gorizia) to the Gulf of Trst (Trieste), the ethnical division-line is quite clear in respect of statistics. All three statistics quote nearly the same figures and percentage. The differences are minimal, a few percents. The ethnical division-line runs on the western borders of the communes Miren (Merna), Opatje selo (Opacchia sella), Doberdob (Doberdo del Lago) and Devin-Nabrežina (Duino-Aurisina). These communities are Slovenian; on the other hand the communities situated on the western side of the former (Zakraj-Sagrado, Ronke-Ronchi dei Legionari, and Tržič-Monfalcone) are communities with a mixed population of a Friulian majority and Slovenian minority.

h) In Trst (Trieste),

the Austrian census 1910 numbers 56.916 Slovenes and 2.403 Croats,
the Italian 1921 " 18.115 "
the eccles. statistics number 77.385 Slovenes and register in the
centre of the town 65.310 Slovenes, in the suburbs 12.075. Here one
sees very forcibly how onesided the official state censuses are.

In the communities of the southern part of the ethnical division-line, i.e. on the Adriatic shore of the peninsula Istria, the statistics show us the following interesting features :

a) The coast communities Milje (Muggia), Koper (Capo d'Istria), Izola (Isola d'Istria), Piran (Pirano) :

the Austrian census 1910 numbers 9.152 Slovenes and Croats (19 %),
the Italian census 1921 " 9.028 " " (17 %);
the ecclesiastical statistics number in Koper (Capo d'Istria) and
Piran (Pirano) only 9.580 Slovenes and Croats. For the communities
Izola (Isola d'Istria) and Milje (Muggia) the ecclesiastical statistics
fail to give us any quotations. Comparison of the numbers given
by all the three statistics about the nationalities in Koper (Capo
d'Istria) and Piran (Pirano) is very interesting :

In Koper (Capo d'Istria) the Austrian cens. 1910 numbers 2.432 Slovenes
the Italian cens. 1921 " 1.419 "
eccles. stat. " 6.472 "

In Piran (Pirano) the Austrian census 1910 numbers 2.327 Slovenes
the Italian " 1921 " 764 "
the eccles. stat. " 3.108 "

b) The communities Umak (Umago), Crni vrh (Vertneglio), Novigrad
(Città nuova), Buje (Büie) and Grožnjan (Grusignano), which had in
common a population of 22.227 in 1910 and 23.063 in 1921, shows us in
ethnical respect the following :

the Austrian census 1910 records 2.007 Slovenes and Croats,
the Italian " 1921 " 491 " " "
the ecclesiastical statistics give for the deanery of Umak (Umago)
which embraces the named communities, the number of 6.978 Slovenes
and Croats with 9 churches and 9 Slovenian priests.

c) The communities Poreč (Parenzo) and Vrsar (Orsera), had in common 17.523 in 1910 and 17.423 in 1921. The Austrian census in 1910
numbers 6.541 Slovenes and Croats, the Italian census from 1921
5.810 and the ecclesiastical statistics 11.789 Slovenes and Croats
with 11 churches and 11 Slovenian and Croatian priests.

d) The community Rovinj (Rovigno), had 10.245 inhabitants in 1910
and 12.323 in 1921. The Austrian census numbers 499 Slovenes and
Croats in 1910, the Italian census only 120 of them; according to the
ecclesiastical statistics there were only in one village, Rovinjsko
selo, 890.

e) The communities Bale (Valle d'Istria) and Vodnjan (Dignano) had
13.392 inhabitants in 1910, and 13.218 in 1921; according to the
Austrian census of 1910, 4.798 were Croats, according to the Italian
census of 1921 they were 5.020, the ecclesiastical statistics give
us the number of 6.558 Croats.

f) The municipality Puli (Pola), had 70.948 inhabitants in 1910
and 49.339 in 1921. The Austrian census numbers 19.941 Slovenes and

Croats, the Italian census only 5.420; the ecclesiastical statistics give us the number of 18.902 Slovenes and Croats.

g) The municipality Reka (Fiume) is composed of two parts divided only by the small brook Rečina (Fiumicino). The Rappallo agreement subjoined the western part of it to Italy and called it by the name of Fiume, the eastern part - under the name "Sušak" - was at the same time given to Yugoslavia. In spite of this artificial division, both parts compose one real whole community and belong together. The Austrian census of 1910 gives the following figures of the population:

Reka (Fiume) : 49.558 inhabitants, 19.738 Croats and Slovenes, 23.283 Italians, 6.537 others, mostly Hungarians.

Sušak : 13.251 inhabitants, 12.607 Croats and Slovenes, 644 Italians.

In the whole there are 62.802 inhabitants, 32.345 Croats and Slovenes, 23.927 Italians and 6.537 others.

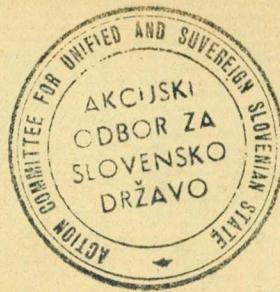
Even this official census tells us enough that Reka-Fiume is an enclave with the mixed population and surrounded by the territory of pure Croatian and Slovenian population.

In spite of the fact, that the ecclesiastical statistics have no other purpose than to show the Church authorities in which language they have to perform the divine services, to teach the religion and to communicate with the faithful, and therefore their preciseness in numbers may be disputable, they show clearly and impressively that the Austro-Hungarian and Italian official censuses were much more tools only for the tendencies of the national politics of Austria and Italy, than the objective verification of the ethnical situation and composition of the population in the national respect.

The final remark.

For the sake of completeness we have to underline that the present situation does not correspond to that shown by the statistics used in this paper. The outrageous pre-Fascist and Fascist italiansization, the forcible emigration of the Slav population during the period between the two wars, the transportation of the masses of the Croats and Slovenes into the interior parts of Italy, have changed the ethnical situation to such a great extent, that a status quo aucte could be rebuilt only after a period of one generation's lifetime. In the period between the two wars only, about 80.000 Slovenes were forced to leave the region and emigrate to the South American States and to Yugoslavia.

ANNEX B :



THE SLOVENIAN ETHNICAL BORDERS
WITH THE GERMANS AND THE HUNGARIANS

The Slovenian Problem on the Paris Peace Conference.

One really cannot comprehend how it was possible that the masters of the Versailles Peace so badly treated the modest Slovenian aspirations for the simple integrity of the Slovenian ethnographical territory and for the political unity and freedom of the small but highly civilized Slovenian nation. As a consequence of the "London pact" of 1915 Italy was given, without any consultation of the concerned population, the whole Slovenian coastland with more than 600,000 Slovenes (and Croats of southern Istria) while in the previous negotiations with Vienna, which should have decided on Italy's membership of the Triple Alliance, Italy had not dared to claim even the town of Trieste (See, Sonnino : Il libro verde, Rome 1915). Further, under the pretext of a vital necessity, the ex-enemy German-Austria, got to the detriment of the anti-German and really peace-loving Slovenian nation whole Carinthia, including its southern part with some 120,000 Slovenes, and some further 40,000 Slovenes along the other side of the new established frontier between Slovenia and Austria in Styria, while even the Austrian Emperor Charles had in 1918 promised to all former subject nations of Austro-Hungarian Empire autonomous States embracing the whole of their respective territories in the planned new Danubian federation (See the Proclamation of the Emperor Charles of October 10th, 1918), and moreover the Austrian representatives had already signed the terms of the local armistice in Carinthia according to which Slovenia was given the greatest part of Southern Carinthia (on June 6th, 1919, at 4 o'clock p.m. in Ljubljana). Finally some 11,000 Slovenes, living on the area between the most northern part of the post-World-War I Sloveno-Hungarian frontier, the river Raba at St. Gothard and the river Kerka, were given to Hungary.

Instead of being liberated and strengthened in order to be able to fulfil its natural geopolitical functions in the new European order, small Slovenia was after the World War I split among four States : Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria and Hungary.

And - it should be stated just in this connection - no other occupied country in Europe, except Poland, has during the present war so drastically experienced the fatal consequences of the failed Paris Peace organization as Slovenia has.

One Principle - Two Opposed Applications :

Carinthia and Adriatic Coastland.

For the creation of the new order in Central Europe after the World War I President Wilson proposed the principle of self-decoration of the peoples in question. The principle could have given the right basis for the new international order, under three conditions, however : firstly, the principle should have been generally applied ;

secondly, in the application of the principle one should have taken care of the notorious injustices violently committed by the German domination in the recent past (at least after 1870) and should have eliminated them; thirdly, the application of the principle should have been carried out in conditions of complete freedom of the liberated peoples in Central Europe from a new German fear and from any possible German reprisal in the future.

In the case of Slovenia, the smallest and by the German pressure the most afflicted among the oppressed peoples of Central Europe, none of these conditions were realized. One imposed the plebiscite for the eastern part of South Carinthia, but one gave without any consultation of the affected population over to Italy the whole Slovenian Coastland. For Carinthia one decided the plebiscite, but only one part of it, giving "a priori" all the rest of the contested region to German Austria. One organized the plebiscite without having previously repaired any of the committed injustices in the last fifty years and without having guaranteed to the Slovenian population elementary freedom from fear of German violence and of expected and threatened reprisals against the voters for Slovenia (Yugoslavia).

Overloaded with problems, Paris Peace Conference, on account of the ignorance of the desperate conditions in which from the middle of 19th century the Carinthian Slovenes have had to live in the flood of the general germanization, decided for Southern Carinthia, which was admitted to Slovenia even by the will of the Emperor Charles, a plebiscite.

Why the Plebiscite was lost ?

To the experts of the conditions which had dominated in Carinthia for the last sixty years before the World War I it was immediately clear that the decision for a plebiscite in such circumstances meant simply the suppression of the principle of a free self-decision of the people, and that behind it there was rather hidden the aprioristic tendency of annexing the whole of Carinthia to German Austria. The Slovenian people in Carinthia to which the pan-German Administrators already in 1913 had left only three Slovenian schools, and which had been submitted to a hundred years pressure of the planned general germanization, - this people was, of course, not able to measure instantaneously its forces with pan-Germanism in a "plebiscite", prepared in such conditions that the predominancy of the seventy million German nation over the small two million Slovenian nation, which at that time was just only liberating itself from the milenary German chains, could make itself felt to the full extent.

Even in more propitious historico-political conditions a plebiscite for the Basin of Celovec (Klagenfurt) could then hardly have succeeded in favour of Yugoslavia because of the conviction, predominant in that period, of the economical and communicational indivisibility of Carinthia. Plebiscite zones were so decided and divided that the real alternative of the plebiscite was : either for Carinthia (voting for Austria) or against Carinthia (voting for Yugoslavia). It is not necessary to point out that the German plebiscite propaganda knew, of course, how masterly to exploit this particular point of issue in its favour. And, finally, many Slovenes votes for Austria, because they didn't like to enter in a common State with the Balkans.

The result of the plebiscite gave 15,279 votes for Yugoslavia and 22,025 for Austria. In spite of all the above exposed handicaps on the Slovenian side the Germans thus won only with a relatively small majority. That the voters in the Carinthian plebiscite were in majority Slovenes, this essential fact is admitted by the Germans themselves. So, for instance, the Nazist I. Gruenberg quotes in his book "Die deutsche Sudostgrenze" (Berlin, 1941, on the page 156), that among 22,000 votes given for Austria 10,000 were Slovenian ones. In the light of the exposed conditions in Carinthia this German admission explains the whole secret about the Carinthian plebiscite.

A short historical and ethnographical survey.

Three hundred years of Slovenia's independence.

Slovenes, the most western branch of the western Slav nations, settled in their actual national territory in 6th century. In 9th century the Slovenes were settled in a territory of about 70,000 square kilometres, extending from the river Tagliamento in Friuli and from Istria to the Balaton Sea in Pannonia, from the Gulf of Trieste to High Tauern and unto Danube at Linz and further on to Vienna.

On this large area the Slovenes created their independent State, named Carantania, with Carinthia as its centre.

The original democratic character of Carantania is well known, symbolized as it was in the ceremony of enthronement of the Carantanian Dukes. It could be said to be the first Democracy on the European continent, especially in contrast with the aristocratic-feudal system of the Germans. Jean Bodin, the author of the sovereignty conception of the modern state, characterized the Slovenian rite of enthronization in Carinthia with the following words: "The Ceremony of the enthronization of Dukes in Carinthia has no rival in the world". And Aeneas Silvius, the later Pope Pius II, wrote about this rite in his "Asiae Europae elegansima descriptio" that no other nation possesses an analogous example of official symbolism. In its full content the rite disappeared in 15th century. But still in 1728 the Emperor Charles VI received in Celovec the homage of the provincial states as a reminiscence of the old Slovenian rite.

An other proof of the ancient Slovenian sovereignty in Carinthia and that the totally Slovenian character of the region lasted at least unto 16th century is to be found in the "Carinthian Chronic" of the historiographer Unrest of about 1500. There we read: "Since the ancient times all the Dukes of Carinthia had the right to defend their cause in the Slovenian language, if they were accused before the Emperor or the Roman King..., because Carinthia is an absolutely Slovenian country". It is known too, that the Carinthian Dukes, even if after Xth century of the German origin, used unto 15th century the Slovenian language as the official language of their court.

For three hundred years the Slovenes enjoyed total political independence. The last Slovenian State formation, after the decline of Carantania's independence, had been in IXth century in Inferior Pannonia with its centre at Blatno hezero (the lake of Balaton), which was then destroyed by the irruption of the Hungarians into Central Europe, followed by a gradual hungarization of the most north-eastern Slovenian settlements.

Politically subdued, territorially divided, but nationally united.

As a consequence of these historical events the Slovenian territory became divided among different "frontier Marks" of the German Empire, which the Germans created between the Danube and Adriatic in order to defend their Empire against the East. These "Marks" afterwards developed mostly into feudal counties or duchies, continuously changing their masters and borders. From these counties arose the later Austrian Imperial Lands : Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Gorizia and Istria. Thereby the original Slovenian territorial unity was split, the indigenous Slovenian nobility replaced, and the Slovenian settlements slowly but constantly pressed from the north down towards the Adriatic.

By this historical process, which had been a direct consequence of the conscious policy of the German Emperors in the Middle Ages to penetrate down towards the south (Italy), the original Slovenian national territory was at the end of 18th century reduced in the north to the south and central Carinthia and to south Styria.

In spite of this tragical historical and political development the Slovenian nation preserved its national consciousness and unity, which manifested itself particularly at the time of the Turk irruptions in Central Europe, when the whole Slovenian nation took up arms for the defense of her native land and of the western civilization.

Slovenia in Napoleon's Iliria.

In the beginning of 19th century victorious Napoleon created on the coast and in the hinterland of the northern Adriatic a new State formation, named "Iliria", including in it Dalmatia, Istria, Gorizia, Carniola and the eastern half of Carinthia, just in order to prevent the German plan of cutting the non-German Europe in two by penetrating down to the Adriatic coast. Of the Slovenian settled Austrian Lands only Styria, the western part of Carinthia and the Slovenian Prekmurje (the region bordering on Styria on the other side of the river Mura in Hungary), remained outside Illyria.

After the collapse of Napoleon the Habsburgs maintained the Iliria formation and in 1825 they even subordinated to the Ilirian regional Government in Ljubljana the political district of Celovec. Their aim was, however, just the opposite of that of Napoleon. It was only in 1849 that Carinthia was again detached from its renewed union with other Slovenian provinces, and since that date the German imperialism did not omit any effort to break every political and cultural relation of Carinthia with other Slovenes in order to make easier the germanization of this most north-western Slovenian region.

Carinthia an essential part of Slovenia.

But these pan-German aims could not succeed? Carinthia was not only the cradle of the Slovenian national existence and the pride of their political traditions. Carinthia also has had a great part in the development of the Slovenian national culture. In the period of the Renaissance (1550-1600) Carinthia was for some years leading in the Slovenian literature. In the period of the Catholic renewal in Carin-

thia was published in 1574 the first Slovenian Catholic catechism. Historiographer Megiser printed in 1592 in Celovec the first Slovenian-Latin-German-Italian dictionary, and in 1600 "Thesaurus Polyglottus". In the period of the so-called "Enlightenment" Oswald Guttman from Grabščajn in Carinthia published in 1777 in Celovec the first Slovenian grammar, which had six editions. In 1806 Japelj published the first Slovenian traduction of the Holy Scripture. In the first as well as in the second half of 19th century in Carinthia lived some of the greatest Slovenian writers and politicians. In Celovec also worked the first Bishop of the Slovenian Catholic Diocese in Maribor (Styria) Anton Slomšek.

In the first part of the second half of 19th century Celovec became the centre of the whole Slovenian cultural life. In 1852 the collaborators and disciples of Slomšek founded in Celovec the greatest Slovenian popular editorial institution, "St. Hermagor's Society", which then every year published for its members over 500.000 Slovenian books, creating by this the basis for Slovenia's editorial primacy among the nations of the whole Central Europe, Italy and the Balkans.

These facts prove sufficiently that Carinthia has been a Slovenian land continuously living in intellectual community with other Slovenian regions.

In the second half of 19th century the historical process of germanization of Slovenian settlements in Carinthia and Styria took violent and systematic forms, becoming after 1870-73, the year of the German victory over France and of the conclusion of the new Germano-Austrian Alliance, an official means of the modern pan-German imperialism, which in the north pressed upon Polish settlements in Silesia, Poznan and Pomerania, in southeast upon Slovenian Carinthia and Styria, in order to build their planned "bridges" on the Baltic and on the Adriatic.

The germanization after 1870.

The main means and methods of the modern germanization in Carinthia and Styria were :

1) The public administration and bureaucracy was wholly pan-German oriented and acting. The officials were carefully selected for this purpose. Over 5.000 pan-German minded Austrian officials invaded Slovenian Carinthia. They were almighty. The Slovenian farmer who dared to speak Slovenian in a public office was sure to fall in disgrace. From 1903 in Carinthia was officially forbidden the use of the Slovenian language even at the law-courts.

2) The schools in Carinthia were German or so-called bilingual, i.e. germanizing. The aim was to prevent Slovenes from having their own intellectuals and to make people accustomed to speak fluently German while the Slovenian language, on the contrary, should only have been spoken in the local dialects so as not to be appropriate for the public use. Of 230 teachers of the so-called "bilingual" schools in Carinthia only some twenty of them were capable of reading and writing the Slovenian language. Instead of teaching the Slovenian children beautiful Slovenian popular songs one forced them to sing pan-German imperialistic hymns as "The Guard on the Rhine", "Salute to you (the German Emperor) crowned with the victory", etc.

As late as in June 22nd, 1918, the semi-official German newspaper in Celovec "Freie Stimmen" wrote : "The aim of the schools among the Slovenian population (of Carinthia) is to raise not only the

number of those who speak German (the criterium of Austrian census ! - ed.n.) but also the number of the people who act in the German spirit considering the adversaries of the Germans as their own enemies".

3) Thereby the whole public life and economical development in towns became gradually germanized. On this "spontaneous" basis then worked the overwhelming German capital, and especially the semi-official pan-German organization with expressly germanizing purposes like "Schulverein" (with schools germanizing aims), "Suedmark" (with the purpose systematically to buy Slovenian land properties in Styria and Carinthia), "Gustav Adolf Verein", and other similar institutions of all kinds.

4) The administrative and political division of the region was made according to such an "electoral geometry" that Slovenian South Carinthia was split in small pieces and these pieces attached to the great electoral districts with German majority. Thereby 120.000 Slovenes of South Carinthia could send only one sole representative to the Vienna Parliament, while as an average for every 27.000 Germans there was one member of Parliament. In the Carinthian Provincial Council 114 big German proprietors had ten seats, while 120.000 Slovenes had only two of them.

The fictive germanization.

Characteristic of the artificial germanization of Styria and Carinthia was the method of the official Austrian census of the population. As criterium for the census was chosen the "colloquial language", which in the exposed conditions was, of course, predominantly German. By this cheating method of census one aimed at giving the Austrian Empire an overwhelming German, and in the Hungarian part of it Hungarian appearance. Besides the execution of the census was in the hands of pan-German minded officials, and carried out, according to the admission of the pan-German "Grazer Tagblatt", as a propaganda matter for pan-germanism. All other means of official and private German pressure too were put into action. Thus the Austrian census after 1870 was like political elections in an absolutistic State without secret vote. The knowledge of the German language, however feasible it might be, was sufficient for the German census-official to put in the German column of the census schedule all inhabitants who were somehow able to make themselves understood in German. Still more. All persons who at the moment of the census stayed at a place where they had not legal domicile, were automatically classified as German-speaking.

How the fictive germanization was demasked in Styria.

This fictive germanization, existing originally only in census registers, served to the German rulers for the justification of all the methods of the subsequent active and real germanization carried out in the regions and communities indicated by the census as overwhelmingly German-speaking. After the germanization established on the paper real germanization began to be systematically carried out. By cutting off in that way one piece after another of the Slovenian national territory in Carinthia and Styria the pan-German oriented rulers of Austria hoped to appropriate gradually the whole of Slovenia down to the Adriatic.

In this way the Germans acted both in Carinthia and in Styria. Just as Beljak (Villach) and Celovec and other greater centres in Carinthia so also in Styria the towns of Maribor and Celje and other greater centres in compactly Slovenian settled hinterland of South Styria were officially shown as "German-speaking". But as soon as the German domination was over and the greater part of South Styria after 1919 had been included into free Slovenia this pan-German swindle of Austrian census was at once completely demasked and exposed. Maribor, Celje and all other "German strongholds" in Under Styria manifested their absolutely Slovenian character. For Maribor, for instance, the Austrian census of 1900 showed 19.298 "usually German-speaking" people and only 4.062 Slovenian speaking. In 1919, on the contrary, the relation was more than reversed, although there has been in Yugoslavia for the Germans an absolute political and cultural freedom, as it was several times proved (see for instance: *Carinthiacus*, The position of the Slovenes under Austria compared with that of the German minority in the Serb, Croat, Slovene Kingdom, Ljubljana 1925). It would be similar in Celovec and in Beljak and elsewhere in South Carinthia if this Slovenian region were in 1919 given back to Slovenia. Just as in Maribor, in Celovec and Beljak too, with some exceptions, the real Germans are only masses of German officials who were sent there to dominate and to germanize. There were in Celovec and other centres of Slovenian Carinthia in 1914 more than 5.000 of mostly immigrated German officials, while Slovenian officials were generally allowed to serve only in Carniola or were sent in service to different non-Slovenian regions of the Austrian Empire.

Therefore the official Austrian census after 1870 in the mixed Austrian territories can in no way be taken as a reliable measure of the real national situation. On some examples we shall see to what absurdities this pan-German cheating and terrorizing method led.

The only more or less reliable sources for the real ethnographical situation in Carinthia and Styria might therefore be considered the census before 1870. As regards latter sources the ecclesiastical Annuals, indicating for every parish what language was used at divine offices and in the ecclesiastical administration of single parishes, is the only reliable indication. This is the only reasonable ethnographical criterium in a country where the mother-language of the indigenous population is banished from all the public life except from the Church.

The ethnographical situation in Carinthia.

According to the official Austrian census of 1846 and 1851 and on the basis of their own information the known Austrian ethnographs Petz, Hain, Czoernig, Hermanitz, Fischer and Kozler unanimously declared as compactly Slovenian territory the part of Carinthia south of the line: Pontabelj (Pontaffel) - Smohor (Hermagor) - Zilja (Gail) Alps - Dobrăč (Villacher Alpe) - Osoje (Ossiacher) Jauern-Senturška gora (Ulrichsberg) - St. Lenska gora (Magdalenenberg) - Svinška planina (Saualpe) - Labud (Lavamuend) - the border of Styria. As it is shown on the map, this ethnographical line is essentially the same as that made on the basis of the latest ecclesiastical data of 1910 and 1918.

The official Austrian Census :

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Census of | 1846 | 1851 | 1869 | 1880 | 1910 | 1934 |
| German-speaking | | | | | | |
| | : 223,033 | : 223,489 | : 240,000 | : 241,785 | : 304,287 | : 377,000 |

Statistics for the territory south of the mentioned line :

Official Austrian Census of 1890 : 100,331 Slovenian-speaking
45,644 German-speaking

Official Austrian Census of 1900 : 89,992 Slovenian-speaking
61,033 German-speaking

Official Austrian Census of 1910 : 81,588 Slovenian-speaking
81,457 German-speaking

The Annual of the Diocese of Celovec of 1880 : 119,440 Slovenes
25,659 Germans

The Annual of the Diocese of Celovec of 1910: 123,000 Slovenes
40,553 Germans

The statistics of the Parishes concerned in 1913 : 124,000 Slovenes
38,000 Germans

The cited statistical data speak for themselves. Southern Carinthia is genuine Slovenian land in spite of all pressures and tricks of the pan-German domonators of Carinthia.

The reliability of the Austrian census

Let us make only three observations regarding the reliability of Official Austrian Census after 1870, the year of the beginning of the pan-German preparations for a complete domination in Europe.

a) The German historiographer Wutte, a great authority among the Germans, declared regarding the Austrian censuses in mixed territories, that "it is clear by itself that the partition of the population by nationality can not be effected on the basis of the colloquial language" ... and that "persons who by birth have the conscience of being Slovenes see themselves forced to declare the German language" ("Carinthia" 1900, p.171).

b) The provincial Council for the Public Education in Carinthia composed on December 18th, 1910, registers of parishes containing the number of children by nationalities. Let us cite some of them :

| | Children | German | Slovenian |
|-------------------------|----------|--------|-----------|
| Borovlje (Ferlach) | | 31 % | 69 % |
| Grabščain (Grafenstein) | | 10,6 | 89,4 |
| Žrelc (Ebenthal) | | 24,4 | 75,6 |
| Pokrče (Poggersdorf) | | 1,3 | 98,7 |
| Bistrica (Feistritz) | | 16,2 | 83,8 |

Twelve days later the official census gave for the same parishes the following figures :

| | Population | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | German-speaking | Slovenian-speaking |
| Borovlje | 90 % | 10 % |
| Grabštajn | 50,1 | 49,9 |
| Žrelc | 49,2 | 50,8 |
| Pokrče | 41,1 | 58,9 |
| Bistrica | 44,4 | 55,6 |

Still some typical examples of the "reliability" of the Austrian census in Carinthia after 1870 :

| Villages | Communities | Percent. of "German-speaking" peop. | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| | | 1880 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 |
| Alpe | Vetrinj | 12 | 84 | 100 | 70 |
| Lipica | Ruda | 18 | 65 | 86 | 54 |
| Kostanje | Kostanje | 1 | 15 | 68 | 87 |
| Sekulce | Poreče | - | 1 | 67 | 76 |
| Crezdol | Kotmaravas | 27 | - | 73 | 69 |
| Novaves | Vetrini | 20 | - | 92 | 100 |
| Seraj | Marija na Zili | 5 | - | 8 | 56 |
| Hrašće | Marija na Zili | 3 | 4 | 1 | 60 |
| Veliko Sedlo | Marija na Zili | 12 | - | 12 | 53 |
| Bergl | Vrba | 2 | 24 | - | 57 |
| Karl | Sv. Martin | 23 | 3 | 39 | 53 |
| Podkrnos | Žrelc | 41 | 2 | 13 | 64 |
| Rogarjavas | Sv. Tomaž | 21 | - | 17 | 84 |
| Bučinjavas | Sv. Tomaž | 13 | 40 | - | 95 |
| Marija na Zili | Marija na Zili | 4 | 4 | 9 | 57 |
| Medborovnica | Medborovnica | - | 26 | 69 | 34 |
| Lim | Lim | 10 | 100 | 6 | 100 |
| Bekštajn | Bekštajn | 4 | 8 | 8 | 46 |
| Trdnjavas | Trdnjavas | 89 | 40 | 88 | 65 |
| Hodiše | Hodiše | 4 | 5 | 31 | 7 |

The same official governmental publication "Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31.10.1910, bearbeitet vom Bureau der K.K. statistischen Zentralkommission, Wien 1912", (p.58), felt itself obliged to declare that the official census statistics cannot be used as a solid basis for the considerations about real proportions of the nationalities.

According to the official Austrian statistics in Carinthia the natality of Slovenes was 34‰ and that of the Germans only 30‰ (Oesterreichische Rundschau, 1915, III, p.116). The official census between 1846 and 1910 show on the contrary a diminution of the "usually Slovenian-speaking" population from 29,99 % to 20,05 % of the total Carinthian population and the respective increase of the "usually German-speaking" population from 70,01 % to 78,01 % of the total population !

The only possible conclusions regarding the ethnographical situation in Carinthia (and also in Stryria) after 1870 therefore are :

1. The germanization, fictive as well as real, carried out during the later period of the aggressive pan-German imperialism, especially after 1870, cannot be accepted as basis for the geopolitical delimitation between the German north and Slovenia.

2. The cited ecclesiastical sources show that the Slovenian ethnographical territory in Carinthia as delimited by the reliable ethnographs on the basis of the census of 1846 and 1851 was still wholly Slovenian in 1918.

Slovenian Carinthia under German Austrian Republic.

Still less one can accept as a reliable indication of the real ethnographical situation the post-World War I official census in Carinthia, based upon the same formal criterium of the "colloquial language" as in ancient Austrian Empire, when we remember that the extremely chauvinistic policy of German Austria in regard to the Slovenian minority was only an accentuated continuation of the previous pan-German methods of germanization. The autonomous administration of Carinthia and other decisive factors in the public life of the post-World-War I Carinthia were the same as those of the pre-World-War I period. The possibilities for uncontroled germanization, fictive and real, were in the after-World-War I German Austria still larger than in the ancient Habsburg Empire, when, in the Vienna Parliament and in Carinthia's Provincial Council, there had been also Slovenian and other interested representatives. Besides the post-World-War I German Austria was a federative State (Bundesstaat). Thus the traditionally pan-German oriented leaders in Carinthia were in the post-World-War I period still stronger than before. Thus, for instance, the Austrian Central Government in Vienna answered all complaints, regarding the treatment of the Slovenian minority which was in notorious opposition to the respective prescriptions of the Paris Peace Treaty, with the statement that it could do nothing being without force against the Provincial Government of Carinthia. The very leader of the pan-German policy in Carinthia, Dr. Arthur Lemisch who in May, 1917, had declared at a public meeting in Celovec that "the Germans of Carinthia will continue on their clearly traced route, as they did until the present in the interest of pan-Germanism", said at the solemn assembly of the Carinthian regional Parliament on November 29th, 1920: "With the German culture and the Carinthian good nature, if school and Church will do what they have to, we shall fulfil in the time of one sole generation the task which we have undertaken". Before the World War I the Church could do its sacred duty, without having to be willing to serve pan-Germanism but only God and the people. After the World War I many things changed. Many Slovenian priests had to leave Carinthia and German ones came in their places. The pan-German political pressure, which in ancient Austrian Empire had not been able to subdue the Church, could in the post-war German Austria exercize a notable political pressure and control over the Church also. After the Anschluss Slovenian priests were persecuted and the whole Slovenian clergy of Carinthia, over 80 in number, were forced to leave Slovenian Carinthia, like the Slovenian clergy of 1941 German occupied Yugoslav Slovenia. Already before the Anschluss the last Slovenian private schools in Carinthia were suppressed. So the program of Dr. Lemisch's "Carinthian good nature" was duly carried out.

In particular about the post-war Austrian census it is enough to cite what was written on them by the German newspaper "Arbeiterwille" of Graz on April 5th, 1925: "It is pure nonsense to claim that there are only 37,000 Slovenes in Carinthia... The figures of the census of 1923 cannot serve as a basis for the racial distribution of the population because of the lying propaganda, and in some cases terrorization... There are to-day in Carinthia about 80,000 Slovenes".

It should be noticed that the cited figure was not applied to the whole of South Carinthia, (since the communities of Jezersko /Seland/, Sv. Daniel, Guštajn /Gutenstein/, Kotlje /Koetelach/, Mežica /Miessdorf/, Prevalje /Praevali/, Crna /Schwarzenbach/ and Dravograd /Unterdrauburg/ with some 25,000 Slovenes had in 1919 passed over to Yugoslavia), but only to that part of it which remained under the Austrian domination. For that part the official census statistics of 1910 had given only 68,462 as Slovenian-speaking population, i.e. however nearly twice that which the official post-war Austrian statistics gave, but still 12,000 less than the figure admitted by the cited German source in 1925. In reality there are in Austrian Carinthia over 100,000 true Slovenes and tens of thousands of recently germanized people who, however, still understand their mother-language.

Slovenian settlements in Styria.

The historical region of Styria is geographically divided in Upper, Central and Under Styria. Under Styria is ethnographically a genuine Slovenian country. Statistically declared "usually German-speaking" enclaves, disappeared at once when this part of Styria was in 1919 included into free Slovenia. But there have still remained in German Austria the northern outskirts of Under Styria which Slovenia is with justice claiming to be attached to it.

How the germanization was carried out in Under Styria, appears not only from the general criterium of Austrian census, i.e. that of the "colloquial language", and from the most different terrorizing and cheating methods in its application, but also from a specially interesting fact. It was officially admitted (Statistische Monatsschrift, 1901, p. 557-592) that the natality among the Slovenian population of Under Styria was twice as great as that of the Germans in Central and Upper Styria. So from 1880-1890 the 388,419 officially admitted Slovenes had 32,869 newborns, meanwhile the 794,841 alleged Germans had in the same time only 29,071 newborns. In the period between 1890 and 1900 the 400,480 Slovenes had 39,535 newborns and 847,923 Germans only 39,407. The official Austrian census of 1910 had, however, no difficulty and no shame in declaring only 153 Slovenes more than in 1900, but on the contrary 80,909 more Germans!

As characteristic of the pan-German policy of the Austrian Empire after 1878 are significant also the following comparisons. The official census of 1910 admitted in the German Central and Upper Styria only 2,882 "Slovenian-speaking" population, while it results from the same census that there were 45,196 persons with domicile in different compactly Slovenian Under Styrian communities. The same census alleged for Under Styria 67,825 "usually German-speaking" people, while there were only 3,156 persons with domicile in really German communities.

The places which are to be considered as ethnographically still belonging to Slovenian Under Styria, either because they still are wholly Slovenian as for instance the communities round Radgona (Radkersburg), or because they have been fictively or really germanized only in the last decades, are:

a) Sloboda (Sobot) and Ivnik (Eibiswald), belonging before 1919 to the jurisdiction circuit of Marenberg, which in its greatest part was given by St. Germain's Treaty to Slovenia. They have been germanized only recently. On the area of Ivnik as late as 1910 some 1940 persons had their domicile in absolutely Slovenian communities. Even the official census of 1910 showed in the circuit of Marenberg 10,348 "usually Slovenian-speaking" people and only 4,724 "German-speaking".

b) The communities of Klanjec (Glanz), Gradišče (Schlossberg), Arvež (Arnfels), Lučane (Leutschach), Gomilica (Gamlitz) and Ernovz (Ehrenhausen), farther down towards the river Mura on the other side of the actual Yugoslav-Austrian frontier.

The named communities are victims of the described fictive and real germanization in most recent times. But even the official census of 1910 could not avoid showing the mixed ethnographical character of those communities. For Klanjec (952 Slovenian-speaking, 749 German-speaking) and for Gradišče (1198 Slovenian-speaking, 888 German-speaking) it was obliged to admit the majority of the Slovenian-speaking population.

The ecclesiastical data show, however, the Slovenian character of all these communities. The German rulers of ancient Austria themselves considered these places as being Slovenian: in fact they detached them from the quite totally germanized political district of Lipnica (Leibnitz) and attached them to the Slovenian electoral circonscription of Maribor.

c) The small town of Radgona (Radkersburg) with the neighbouring villages Petrina (Laafeld), Zetinci (Sicheldorf), Dedonjci (Dedenitz), Gorica (Goritz) and Zenkovci (Zelting) on the left bank of the river Mura (Mür) in the corner which the actual Austro-Yugoslav frontier makes at the point where the river passes into Yugoslavia. According to the official census of 1880 there were in these villages 774 Slovenian-speaking people and only 92 German-speaking ones. For the town of Radgona itself the census of 1910 showed 1,700 German-speaking inhabitants and 970 Slovenian-speaking people. The truth is that the said villages are compactly Slovenian and there are no genuine German settlers. The town of Radgona too was a genuine Slovenian settlement. The inhabitants are, for the greatest part, of Slovenian origin even if in recent times most of them have been fictively or really germanized.

Ecclesiastical informations, in so far as they exist, show that in nearly all the above mentioned places on the other side of the actual Austro-Yugoslav frontier divine office was celebrated in Slovenian language till 1914.

Slovenes in Hungary.

After 1919 there remained in Hungary nine communities which have been absolutely Slovenian according to the official Hungarian census of 1910 and some communities which have had an officially admitted Slovenian minority.

As wholly Slovenian can be considered the following communities on the Hungarian side: Dolnji Senik (Alsozoelnoek), Stefanovci (Apatistvanfalva), Gornji Senik (Fersoezoelnoek), Andovci (Orfalu), Verica (Permise), Rabska Slovenska vas (Rabatotfalu), Ritkarovci (Ritkahaza), Sakalovci (Szakonyfalu), Otkovci (Ujbalaszofalva).