

LA LIBERA PAROLA

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THE CLAIMS OF ITALY

by Dr. Leopold Vaccaro

with preface by former Gov. Charles R. Miller of Delaware

Il Protagonista

Dopo aver apposta la propria firma sul Trattato di pace imposto alla vinta Germania, il presidente Wilson, il protagonista dell'interminabile dramma di Parigi, se ne torna in America, onusto di gloria che i posteri diranno se fu vera o usurpata, soddisfatto dell'opera sua, poiché crede di aver condotto a compimento una magnanima impresa di pacificazione e di giustizia; mentre tutto il mondo, non esclusa la maggior parte del popolo americano, è precisamente convinto del contrario.

Wilson è in viaggio di ritorno; anzi, quando questo scritto vedrà la luce, il novello Giasone, poco portando il conquistato vello d'oro, avrà diggià gettato l'ancora sulle coste della sua patria.

Vi saranno qui liete accoglienze, feste trionfali, ricevimenti magnifici, ma mancheranno la spontanea esplosione di entusiasmo di un popolo ed assisteremo soltanto al disperato tentativo del partito wilsonian, di inondare un soffio di vita al rachitico e ridicolo parto della Lega delle Nazioni che l'illustre apostolo, in cambio di presenti più preziosi e più solidi, ha voluto regalare all'Europa mistificata.

Questo ritorno di Wilson dopo il cerimoniale di Versailles, questi sforzi dei suoi seguaci, il cui numero si va giornalmente assottigliando, da farlo apparire come trionfatore, ci fan ritenere che egli voglia parodiare il trionfo di Roosevelt, reduce molti anni or sono dall'aver visitato le maggiori Corti d'Europa.

Ma quale differenza, quale abisso tra i due avvenimenti; il stesso abisso e la stessa differenza che correva e tuttavia corre tra la personalità mediocre che non ha saputo elevarsi, malgrado il momento storico favorevole, perché accecato da meschinissimi passioni, ed il grande Statista troppo immaturo scampato.

Gli amministratori della cosa non ingannano impunemente la buona fede dei popoli; ma se pure sfuggono alle critiche dei contemporanei, incappano fatalmente nel giudizio della storia, che è freddo e sereno.

Tra due anni, anzi è da sperarsi molto tempo prima, Wilson rientrerà nell'ombra, donde non avrebbe mai dovuto venir fuori; ma i veramente grandi rimangono tali sempre e la loro fronte appare circondata di gloria, anche se sfiorata dal soffio della sventura.

Quando l'Italia scese in campo, per salvare dall'estrema rovina quelle nazioni che oggi tentano pugnarla alla schiena; fin dal primo giorno il nostro Re corse al fronte a dividere, col suo esercito, le ansie e le gioie, le speranze e le amarezze. E vi rimase per quarantotto mesi, fin all'ultimo istante e quando tornò alla capitale pareva invecchiato di venti anni, ed immensamente dimagrito, ma sulla fronte vasta e pensosa una nuova aureola brillava: l'aureola della gloria.

Allora non era peranco incominciata la perdida opera della stampa e della diplomazia alleata, di svalutare l'importanza della nostra vittoria, e tutto il mondo salutò il nostro Monarca col titolo di Vittorioso e l'impresa del nostro esercito come la più meravigliosa della storia.

Il ritorno, dal fronte alla Reggia, di Vittorio Emanuele III, fu una marcia trionfale e nella capitale il Sindaco Colonna al popolo delirante, diede la lieta novella: Torna il Re e lo accompagna la vittoria!

Wilson torna anch'egli nella sua patria ma non vi è accolto con generale esultanza. Egli dovrà lottare aspramente al Congresso per fare accettare il mostruoso Trattato di Versailles; ma l'esito gli appare tanto dubbio, che si propone persino di fare anche un giro di propaganda attraverso le principali città dell'Unione, per tentare di ridurre gli oppositori colla forza dell'eloquio.

Nel Senato e nella Camera si dovrà svolgere anche la mozione riguardante l'Italia. Che cosa risulterà in proposito i due rami del Parlamento? La questione dell'Adriatico e segnatamente quella di Fiume, sono state ampiamente discusse dalla più autorevole stampa americana, francese ed inglese, e recentemente due opuscoli vennero spediti a tutti i membri del Congresso e della Camera Alta; uno redatto per cura degli italiani di Filadelfia, che riportava un articolo del Prof. Herron, intimo di Wilson e un'energica protesta dell'Historical Society di New York City, argomenti formidabili a favore del punto di vista italiano.

L'altro, riprodotto qui appresso nel testo inglese, stampato per cura del Dr. Leopold Vaccaro di Wilmington, con prefazione dell'ex Governatore del Delaware, Charles R. Miller, venne, a suo tempo, integralmente riportato dai tre giornali locali: l'Evening News, l'Evening Journal e l'Every Evening.

Vi sono inoltre le mozioni di diversi senatori, le quali tutte indistintamente raccomandano che, in vista dell'enorme contributo portato dall'Italia alla guerra mondiale, le vengano assicurate le sue legittime aspirazioni. Il materiale per la discussione, come si vede, è abbondantissimo e noi ci auguriamo che, nei prossimi duelli oratori, i sofismi di Wilson e del partito che lo appoggia non prevorranno.

Specie l'opuscolo del Dr. Vaccaro è una disamina acuta e minutissima della questione, che non lascia la più piccola lacuna.

Abbiamo voluto pubblicarlo in inglese per due motivi soprattutto; prima perché non perda nulla della sua efficacia; secondariamente perché quando Americani ignoranti e malintenzionati vorranno, in qualche maniera, menomare i sacri diritti della nostra patria con il problema adriatico, i nostri lettori potranno metter loro sotto il grugno una copia del nostro giornale.

Noi attendiamo il risultato con calma e fiducia, ma se anche i rappresentanti del popolo americano dovessero negarci quella giustizia alla quale abbiamo diritto in virtù degli enormi sacrifici sostenuti, sarà sempre il popolo d'Italia, se non oserà il Governo, a dire l'ultima parola.

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Introduction

The Hon. L. Heister Ball, of Delaware, has introduced a joint resolution in the United States Senate declaring that it is the sense of the American Congress that justice should be done to Italy in the matter of Fiume because of her great assistance to the Allies.

This resolution expresses what should be the sentiment of every fair-minded American.

In the great conflict, although her sacrifices were enormous, Italy did not hesitate. Her devotion to the cause of the Allies was unflinching.

Having been true to her pledges and faithful in the discharge of her obligations, Italy is entitled to that which she demands.

As the great issue before the Peace

Conference has not been justly or accurately presented to the American public, those who will study the admirable analysis of the Italian situation, as presented by Dr. Leopold Vaccaro, will obtain a clear knowledge of this important question.

The presentation submitted by Dr. Vaccaro should be of material assistance to the members of Congress in determining that which is a just and equitable solution of the right of the Italian nation.

CHARLES R. MILLER.

Reprinted from the Wilmington papers: "Evening News," of May 24th; "Evening Journal," of May 25th; and "Every Evening," of May 29th, 1919.

Italy's situation

So much has been written in the last few days about Italy's situation, that it is difficult for people without a thorough knowledge of the question to understand what the real situation is. Even among the conflicting pros and cons, very often confusion is artificially created in the matter in order to spread an unjust and undeserved prejudice against Italy.

For these reasons it is perhaps worth while to epitomize the main points of the whole question.

London secret treaty

It is assumed that Italy cannot base her claims on the London Treaty because the secrecy of the treaty must render it null and void.

But there is not yet an international law against secret treaties; that law is only President Wilson's words, which do not constitute laws for the universe. It could be noted that even if this law existed, no law can ever have a retroactive effect; and the Treaty of London was signed more than two years before the proclamation of this law by President Wilson.

It could be stated that the London Treaty was not signed by America, but only by the European nations which, being then at war, were interested in it, and therefore the American President has no right to interfere with it, forcing the signatories to make of it, in a German way, a scrap of paper. It could be remembered that the Treaty was necessarily secret, because it was impossible to communicate to the world, and thus to the enemy, the intentions of the Allies. It was also impossible to communicate it to the Jugo-Slavs, because they were fighting for the enemy's cause; and the lands with which the Treaty deals were then considered, by all the Allies, to be Italian; and Mr. Wilson was not there to pretend that they were Jugo-Slav.

But there are still better reasons: it is impossible to condemn a treaty merely because it is secret. It is the provisions of the treaty that must be taken into consideration. If the provisions are moral and just, even the adversary of secret treaties must accept it. And nothing in Italy's claims is against the principles already applied to England and France, and, it is possible to say, to America itself.

And this is still stronger: In consequence of that treaty Italy entered the war. She has done fully what the Treaty asked from her, in blood, money, and sacrifices. If it is possible to conceive that the Treaty must have had force regarding Italy's obligations and can be nullified in that part which concerns Italy's compensations?

The Adriatic Coast.

It is not necessary to affirm again the Italianity of the Adriatic Coast; those lands are Italian by ethnology, by geography, by tradition, by history, by religion, by art, by literature, by character. They would also be Italian by ethnography, but for the violent denationalization carried on by Austria. In fact, those lands are more Italian than Alsace-Lorraine is French.

Nobody thinks of a plebiscite or arbitration for Alsace-Lorraine, and the legitimate refusal of Italy to submit her identical claims to a plebiscite or an arbitration is represented as an act of imperialism or aggression. If no contrary plebiscite could take away Alsace-Lorraine from France, so no contrary plebiscite could take away the Adriatic lands from Italy.

In both cases the possible majority of contrary votes could only be a consequence of violence, and violence is not Right!

Arbitration is possible only when Right is doubtful; but when all the rights are on one side and none on the other, the latter has all to gain, the former all to lose, from arbitration. It is especially true in this case; the arbitrator should have been President Wilson, but everybody can see how prejudiced he is against Italy, only by looking at page 212-14 of his History of the American People, Vol. V.

Fiume

Fiume is denied to Italy for two main reasons: 1. Fiume is necessary to the peoples of its hinterland as an outlet on the Adriatic. It is very hard to understand why the peoples of the hinterland, in order to use the seaport of Fiume, must possess it. This is a new and dangerous theory. Switzerland has no outlet on the sea, and uses

freely the port of Genoa. Must Italy yield Genoa to Switzerland? Trieste can be a natural outlet for German Austria in the Adriatic. Must Italy give back Trieste to Austria? Why cannot the countries of Fiume's hinterland use Fiume's seaport, should it be assigned to Italy? Why must it go to Jugo-Slavia, not being Jugo-Slav, and not to Hungary, for instance, not being Hungarian, but being necessary for Hungary's outlet on the Adriatic? In this argument it has been forgotten that Fiume is Italian, and justice demands that it must not be given to Jugo-Slavia or Hungary or anybody else, but to Italy. Italy's democracy and sentiment of freedom are the best guarantees that Fiume will really and freely be used by all nations concerned.

And it is not true that without Fiume the Jugo-Slavs have no outlet on the Adriatic. This false statement is apt to create a wrong impression of the justice of Italy. Notwithstanding the Italianity of the eastern coast of the Adriatic, Italy has sacrificed a great deal in order to give to Jugo-Slavia what it really needs, and more. Outside of Fiume, not less than five ports are left to Croatia south of that port, from Bucari to Carlogajo; and if, as it now seems certain, Croatia will be a part of Jugo-Slavia, Jugo-Slavia will have these five harbors in addition to more than two-thirds of the Dalmatian coast, with at least four more ports.

2. Fiume is not included in the London Treaty. That is true, but it is very difficult to see how this can be a good reason for refusing Italian Fiume to Italy. During the war every body knew that among the aims of the war was the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine to France; nobody knew that France was going to get the Saar Valley; and it is very hard to persuade a quite new German Government that it is not right to give by a quite new agreement to the Saar Valley to France, and that it is not right to give by a quite new agreement the Italian Fiume to Italy.

Moreover, if Italy did not ask for Fiume, it was Fiume which, even before the arrival of the Italian troops, decided to join Italy. What could Italy do? Suppose America in this case: what should America do? Simply accept the plebiscite and defend her own city against any foreign interference.

It is also said that Italy cannot claim what the London Treaty grants her and at the same time claim Fiume, which is not granted to her by that Treaty. Anybody who looks serenely at these things will be unable to discover a contradiction in this. Independently of the London Treaty, Italy asks what is her own on the same basis that France claims Alsace-Lorraine; for Fiume the general, just claim is enforced by a spontaneous plebiscite. Where is the contradiction?

The Islands and the Dalmatian Coast.

Italy could claim, as hinted before, almost the whole of the Adriatic eastern coast, refusing to recognize its violent denationalization, but, showing all possible moderation, has consented to leave Jugo-Slavia more than two-thirds of the Dalmatian coast. But she is entitled to have all the islands granted to her by the Treaty of London, not only because they are inhabited by Italian population, but also because they could be a good defense for her in case of war. In peace-time no danger to the Jugo-Slavs can come from these islands, but in war-time they would be a great danger and menace for Italy, should they go to the Jugo-Slavs. And Italy has realized too much this menace from the Austrians in this war to consent the same menace to survive in a possible future war with the same people.

The Aegean Islands.

Not satisfied with trying to deny Italy what is contemplated by the Treaty of London, Mr. Wilson would be delighted to deprive Italy of the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean archipelago, claimed by Greece. It could be asked why Greece did not claim those islands when they were kept by Turks, and claims them now that they have been for seven years under the liberal regime of Italy. But the important point is another one. Those islands are mentioned in the Treaty of London only in an incidental way, because they were ceded by Turkey to Italy, under certain conditions, by the Lausanne Treaty, October, 1912. If Mr. Wilson is entitled to revise the treaties existing before the war in the name of nationalities, we hope that he will not stop at 1912, but, going back, we can hope that in applying the same principles, he is going to ask England and France to give back to Italy at least Malta and Corsica!

Italy's Imperialism

Italy's imperialism is an old story. In order to join the Allies and have back her lands and her sons suffering under Austria, of which Jugo-Slavs were a willing part, Italy refused Trentino, Trieste free-port, Savoy and Nice, Corsica and Tunis, offered to her by the Central Empires, without any risk, with the only condition that she remain neutral. A real empire, one hundred times bigger than the littoral territory claimed by her as her own on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, which the Jugo-Slavs, beaten by Italy in war, try, with the strange complicity

of Mr. Wilson, to steal from Italy at the peace table. It is very difficult for the Italians to understand why England is not imperialistic in claiming the German colonies and the sea power, why France is not imperialistic in asking for Alsace-Lorraine, for the Saar Valley and the left bank of the Rhine, why Jugo-Slavia is not imperialistic wishing not only Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only Croatia and Montenegro, and it is doubtful if they are anxious to join her, but to steal also Italian lands and harbors, why Italy alone is represented as imperialistic when she asks for the little that is her own by every possible reason, notwithstanding the denationalization violently attempted by Austria and her faithful servants.

Of course, in the lands she claims Italy will have some foreign people under her. This is a consequence of the natural infiltrations along the boundary lines and, in this case, of the artificial superposition of Slavs to the Italians forced by Austria. But Mr. Orlando has clearly demonstrated that no nation, under the contemplated arrangements, will have so little per cent. of foreign subjects as Italy, even if she could have everything she is entitled to.

Austria's collapse.

A very strange theory is announced when Mr. Wilson states that Austria's complete collapse was not anticipated, and that the new state created by her by that collapse is a good reason for the Allies to escape the obligations contracted under the London Treaty. It is very easy to see the absurdity of this statement at first sight. Had Italy scored half a victory, and left Austria crippled but living, she could ask what the treaty promised her, having won a complete and decisive victory, she must have less. In other words, Italy must be punished because her victory was too complete.

Mr. Wilson this way is treating very badly, not only Italy, but England and France. It seems that he wants to tell the world that England and France are jealous of the great victory of Italy, or that England and France were in bad faith when they signed the Treaty, hoping that Italy was not able to win, in order that they could give her the best of both worlds; that they had promised her, having won a complete and decisive victory of Italy, or that England and France were in bad faith when they signed the Treaty, hoping that Italy was not able to win, in order that they could give her the best of both worlds; that they had promised her, having won a complete and decisive victory of Italy, or that England and France were in bad faith when they signed the Treaty, hoping that Italy was not able to win, in order that they could give her the best of both worlds; that they had promised her, having won a complete and decisive victory of Italy, or that England and France were in bad faith when they signed the Treaty, hoping that Italy was not able to win, in order that they could give her the best of both worlds; 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