

File Michailovitch

July 11th, 1918.

My dear Mr. Minister:

July 28th, 1914, marked the opening of the great war, and it was Serbia which first dealt and first received the iron strokes of battle in this gigantic struggle for right among the nations of the earth. Germany struck at Serbia by the means of Austria Hungary, and both nations, and also Germany's other vassal states, Bulgaria and Turkey, stand as responsible for the terrible iniquity inflicted upon mankind and the awful sufferings endured by mankind during the past four dreadful years.

As you well say, the question of liberty or servitude for the well-behaved nations of the civilized world depends upon which of the opposing sides in this war is victorious.

Therefore July 28th is the most important date in this war. Nor is it important only because it marks the beginning of the war. It possesses an infinitely greater importance because the crucial question to be determined by the war is the dealing of the world with the dual empire of Austro-Hungary. Germany can achieve her plan of world dominion only if she keeps Austro-Hungary

substantially as it is, using the Austrian Germans and the Magyars as her subservient tools, and rewarding them by permitting them to keep the Slavs, Italians and Roumanians in subjection. There can be no peace worth having unless Austro-Hungary is broken up, unless Italian-Austria is united to the Italian Kingdom and Roumanian-Hungary to the Roumanian Kingdom, and unless the Slavs of Austria (and of elsewhere likewise) are given their independence. There must be a free Slav commonwealth composed of the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks (just as there must be a free commonwealth of Poland). There must also be a great, free southern Slav commonwealth with a seacoast on the Adriatic, a commonwealth including Serbians, Croats, and Slovenes, and also the Orthodox, Catholic and Mohammedan Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The allies should pledge themselves never to make peace until these aims are achieved; just as they should also pledge themselves never to make peace until the Turk is driven from Europe, and Armenia made independent, while the Arabs likewise receive their independence, and the Syrian Christians are protected, and the Jews given control of Palestine.

The independence and the enlargement of the great Jugo-Slav state is vital to the future

peace of the world; and so also the independence (not nominal, but real) of the Polish commonwealth, and of the Czecho-Slovak commonwealth.

America should do all it can to help carry aggressive war into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. We should encourage the subject peoples to revolt, and at the same time guarantee to give them such assistance as will make the revolt effective; and we should pledge ourselves never to desert them.

As the great French publicist Andre' Cheradame has so clearly pointed out, it is absolutely necessary from the standpoint of future world welfare to obtain a decisive victory over Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey; and to this end there should be a scientifically organized insurrection of the peoples oppressed by the Germans - and the recent remarkable feats of the Czechs in Siberia show what these people can do if given an opportunity. Europe must be reconstructed on the basis of the principle of nationalities; which means that, in addition to full reparation by Germany for the hideous injuries she has inflicted on mankind, both Austro-Hungary and Turkey should be dismembered. Neither is a nation. Each is a tyranny of one or two races over more numerous individuals of other

aces. Turkey's savagery has surpassed that even of Germany; and the Austro-Hungarian Empire has become the chief pillar of Prussian Militarism.

Yours sincerely,

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