



slovenska DRŽAVA

FOR A FREE SLOVENIA

I would suggest... that Canada first of all recognize Croatia and Slovenia. Second, it should declare that the country called Yugoslavia no longer exists and ask its ambassador to go home!

(Poslanec g. Simon de Jong (NDF) Regina v Parlamentarni debati o Jugoslaviji, dne 18.11.1991)

LETNIK XLII

NOVEMBER 1991

ŠT. 11 NO. 11

KOMAJ ZAZNANI PREMIKI

Slovenski narod je letos 25. junija s proklamacijo o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije vsemu svetu jasno in odločno povedal, da hoče biti na zemlji, katero lasti in poseduje že tisoč let in čez, sam gospodar in sam ustvarjati pogoje narodne rasti na vseh področjih slovenskega narodnega življenja.

S tem zgodovinskim premikom iz splošno kulturnega na izrazito politično področje, smo Slovenci postali politični narod.

Ta prehod je slovenski narod zavestno izvajal postopoma: upošteval in hkrati opiral na federativno ustavno določbo, ki izrecno omenja in dopušča narodom Jugoslavije pravico do odcepitve; s svobodnimi volitvami odstranil petinštirideset let trajajočo komunistično diktaturo in upeljal parlamentarno demokracijo; 23. decembra 1990 izvedel plebiscit, s katerim je z ogromno večino zadostil pogojem in zahtevam zdaj že globalno priznanega, a žal, vsebinsko še ne v polni meri izvajanega načela o samoodločbi narodov in 25. junija letos pa proklamiral slovensko državno neodvisnost.

Že pred in med nevedenimi zdaj že pomembnimi zgodovinskimi dogodki so slovenski predstavniki skušali z razgovori, na civiliziran način, urediti z zvezno federativno jugoslovansko vlado v Belgradu vse potrebno za osamosvojitve.

Brez uspeha! Sledila je najprej popolna gospodarska blokada Slovenije, nezakonit odvzem njenih gospodarskih izpostav v različnih delih Jugoslavije, največ v Srbiji in končno vojna.

Jugoslovanska ljudska armada je po proklamaciji slovenske državne neodvisnosti napadla republiko Slovenijo. Ta nesmiselen napad je poleg gospodarskega razdejanja terjal tudi nepotrebne človeške žrtve.

Živi narodni zavesti, ki je v tistih kritičnih junijskih dogodkih vse Slovence, kjerkoli že žive, zedinila, da smo bili, brez ozira na različne ideološke poglede, edini, gre prvenstvena zasluga, da smo iz te sicer kratkotrajne, slovenskemu narodu vsiljene vojne izšli zmagovalci.

Z Brionskimi razgovori je slovenski narod prvokrat v naši stoletja dolgi zgodovini stopil na mednarodno pozornico in s podpisi svojih svobodno izbranih predstavnikov pristal na trimesečni moratorij.

V tem času se je začela umikati iz Slovenije JLA. Koncem oktobra so odšli poslednji oddelki, in kar je bilo pričakovati, s svojim umikom še povečali razdejanje.

Z mednarodnega stališča gledano je danes predvsem važno, da je na tem zgodovinsko prehodnem ozemlju, v Sloveniji, mir, in da

se slovenska demokratično izbrana vlada vsestransko, prepričevalno in uspešno prizadeva za gospodarsko izboljšanje.

Gre torej za dostojno, politično dozorelo predstavitev svetu. Ne s prosjačenjem, ker ne zmoremo, pač pa z vsestransko dejansko gospodarsko zmogljivostjo in trezno preudarnostjo šele lahko upravičeno pričakujemo, da bo mednarodno priznanje sledilo.

V tem kritičnem trenutku slovenskega narodnega življenja pričakujemo, da bosta sleherna Slovenka in Slovenec, brez godrnjanja, z resnim delom in zadržanjem, doprinesla odgovoren delež za lepšo in pravičnejšo bodočnost slovenskega naroda, v kar trdno upamo: **svobodni, mednarodno priznani državi SLOVENIJI!**

Jugoslavija je še članica Združenih narodov in drugih mednarodnih ustanov. Vendar Jugoslavija več ne obstoja in jo je, - z ozirom na zdaj že več mesecev trajajočo vojno na Hrvaškem, dalje makedonski referendumski odločitvi po samostojnosti, razkrajajočim dogodkom v Bosni in Hercegovini, še ne rešenim, akutnem albanskem vprašanju na Kosovem, v zadnjih dnevih muslimanski zahtevi v Sandžaku, protestnem romunskem nastopu na severu in končno vsled srbske bumeranške politike nasploh, - tudi v bodoče težko predvidevati. To danes, sicer z obotavljanjem, uvidevajo že zapadne evropske države, Anglija, Združene države Amerike, Avstralija in dr..

Ta globalna uvidevanja o neživiljenjski Jugoslaviji so zaenkrat še komaj zaznatna, večkrat dvoumna ali pa nejasno nakazana.

Tragika pri vsem tem pa je še to, da zapadne evropske države, Anglija in Amerika priznavajo načelo o samoodločbi narodov obstoječim, umetnim državnim tvorbam, v tem primeru Jugoslaviji in Sovjetski zvezi..., ki sta več ali manj umetni, zato neživiljenjski politični tvorbi, ne pa, kar bi dejansko morale, v njih živečim narodom.

Premiki so danes v republiki Sloveniji vidni: predvsem v uspešni državni upravi z vpeljavo potnih listov, z uvedbo novega denarja, s prevzemom zadnjih federalnih oblasti v Sloveniji, z vzpostavljanjem diplomatskih zastopnikov v svetu i. t. d..

In ves ta spontan in hkrati odločen preobrat: osamosvojitve z istočasno proglasitvijo nove države Republike Slovenije, ki je po svoji stvaritvi v popolnem soglasju z naravnim pravom in principom o samoodločbi narodov, bo težko, če že skoraj nemogoče trajno zanikati!

L. Jamnik

News Release

Secretary of State for External Affairs

Communiqué

Secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures

No. 239

October 25, 1991

CANADA CONDEMNS ATTACK ON DUBROVNIK

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, denounced today the attack by the Yugoslav federal army on the City of Dubrovnik.

"The attack on Dubrovnik by the Yugoslav federal army is an intolerable and wanton use of violence against innocent civilians and a city of immense historical value, not only to Yugoslavia, but to the whole world," said Mrs. McDougall. "Canada's Delegation to today's United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) meeting in Paris condemned in the strongest terms the senseless targeting of this world heritage site. It is time for all parties involved to respect the cease-fires they have signed and to negotiate a settlement to this tragic conflict."

The Minister released notes used by the Canadian Delegation at an extraordinary session of the 26th General Conference of UNESCO in Paris.

For further information, media representatives may contact:

Media Relations Office
External Affairs and International Trade Canada
(613) 995-1874

NOTES FOR AN INTERVENTION BY THE CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE 26TH GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO CONCERNING PROTECTION OF THE HERITAGE OF THE CITY OF DUBROVNIK

The Canadian Delegation wishes to draw the Commission's attention to what it feels is a matter of extreme importance. The Government of Canada is very concerned about reports indicating that the fighting in Yugoslavia threatens to permanently damage the historic district of the City of Dubrovnik.

The Canadian Delegation points out that in addition to being an altogether indefensible act, the destruction of the historic district of the City of Dubrovnik violates the principles of the Convention on the Protection of the Cultural Heritage in the Event of an Armed Conflict (Convention of The Hague, 1954), and of the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972).

Conversely, the Canadian Delegation welcomes and fully supports the joint declaration of the United Nations Secretary-General and the UNESCO Director-General and their plea to stop the fighting in order to avoid a deterioration of the situation and to prevent additional destruction from occurring.

Canada condemns this senseless destruction and invites the UNESCO General Conference and all countries to join with it in insisting on the cessation of these deplorable acts that are causing the loss of human lives, the displacement of thousands of citizens and the destruction of cultural wealth of inestimable value.





slovenska DRŽAVA

FOR A FREE SLOVENIA

Subscription rates:
\$15.00 per year
\$ 1.50 single issue
Advertising: \$.45 per agata line



1987-1988

Member of Multilingual Press
Association of Ontario



Member of Canadian
Multilingual Press Federation

Owned and published monthly by Slovenian National Federation of Canada

Lastnik in izdajatelj Slovenska Narodna Zveza v Kanadi

646 Euclid Ave., Toronto, Ontario M6G 2T5

Edited by Editorial Board

Urejuje konzorcij Slovenske Države

Zastopnika:

Martin Duh
Calle 105, # 4311
1653 Villa Ballester
Argentina

Ludvik Jamnik
79 Watson Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M6S 4E2
Canada

TELEPHONE & FAX #: (416)-766-4848

Letna naročnina: Za Kanado in ZDA \$15.00, za Argentino in Brazilijo po dogovoru,
Anglija, Avstrija, Avstralija, Francija in druge države \$12.00 U.S. Po letalski pošti po
dogovoru.

Za podpisane članke odgovarja pisec. Ni nujno, da bi se avtorjeva naziranja morala
skladati v celoti z mišljenjem uredništva in izdajatelja.

Slomškovo priznanje zaslužnim mohorjanom

Eden izmed temeljev Mohorjeve družbe so mnogi sodelavci, ki s svojim tihim delom prispevajo pomemben delež k uspehu Mohorjeve. Nekateri izmed njih je Mohorjeva družba odlikovala s Slomškovim priznanjem.

Priznanje so dobili:
Franc Rehsmann, Št. Jakob v Rožu
Amalija Brumnik, Dobrila vas
Micka Žlinder, Št. Rupert pri Velikovcu
Lovro Petričig, Št. Ilj Vinko Zaletel, Vogrče
Matevž Igerc, Suha
Ludvik Jank, Radiše
Franc Linhart, Libuče
Franc Oitzl, Brnca
Tomaž Holmar, Obirsko
s. Lamberta Lučovnik, Pli-berk
Alojzij Luskar, Kamen
Štefan Žerdin, Celovec

Štefan Massner, Žel. Kapla p. Ivan Tomažič, Dunaj
Janko Tolmajer, Sp. Rute
Janez in Marija Prosen, Cleveland, ZDA
Anton in Ana Gaber, Chicago, ZDA
rev. John Lavrih, Wichita, ZDA
Frank in Mara Osredkar, Toronto, Kanada
rev. Janez Kopač, Toronto, Kanada
Jožica Jakopič, Wickliffe, ZDA
rev. Karel Ceglar, Hamilton, Kanada
Ludvik Ceglar, Saou Roque S. P., Brazilija
prof. dr. Edi Gobec, Willoughby Hills, ZDA
dr. Branko Rozman, Ljubljana, Slovenija
dr. Mate Reosmann, Euclid, ZDA
dr. Miloš Krofta, Lenox, ZDA

VSEH MRTVIH DAN

NA TISTO TIHO DOMOVANJE...

Ko zlatorumeni plašč odpadajo čega listja pokriva zemljo in na visokih kanadskih planjavah naletava prvi sneg, ko jesen pospravlja bogastvo polj in vrtov, ko vrtnice in gorečnice še z zadnjim žarnim cvetjem razveseljujejo naše oči, ko se leto nagiba h koncu, nas praznik Vseh svetih in vernih duš spominja smisla in konca slehernega zemskega življenja....

Po lepi krščanski navadi obiščemo grobove svojih dragih. S svežimi krizantenami jih okrasimo in prižgemo svečo v blag spomin, v molitvi prosimo Boga za njihov večni mir. Iz rojstva, otroštva, v polnost in zlato dobo naših let, k zadnjemu utripu srca gre naša pot in potem k Stvarniku življenja in smrti po plačilo za svoja dela. Tako nas uči naša vera, kjer najdemo moči in polnost našega bivanja na zemlji.

Za praznik Vseh svetih in vernih duš poromajmo spet k znanim in neznanim grobovom.... Iz mladih let mi je ostal v spominu spomenik padlih v prvi svetovni vojni. Vsako leto je bila na pokopališču pri njem slovesna komemoracija. Prebirali smo imena in leta rojstva... Sami mladi slovenski fantje, padli za interese tuje velike države. Spoštljiva, težka misel je legla v mlado srce....

In potem se je zgodilo nekaj strašnega.... Po slovenski zemlji je zdivjala človeška zver, ubijala in ščuvala brata proti bratu, rušila z ljubeznijo in pridnimi rokami zgrajene domove, uničevala družine in iz prelepega koščka zemlje pod Triglavom izkopala grobove vsepovsod....

Danes po šestinsitridesetih letih stoji križ v Kočevskem rogu, od Svete Ane pri Teharjih pozvanja zvon k spravi



molitvi, za Šentvidom nad Ljubljano na svetem kraju mučencev gori luč, v tišini škofjeloških hribov so skoraj pol stoletja s cvetjem okrašeni skriti grobovi in še in še.... Moj Bog, koliko trpljenja, bolečin in smrti je moral prestati naš mali narod zaradi zvestobe Bogu in pravi svobodi!

Poklekimo in molimo! Iz ugodnosti varnega sveta, ki nam krade smisel za višje vrednote, iz ozkih, nesmiselnih tekmovalj vseh vrst, ki kradejo moči in veselje za skupne ideale, se vrnimo za Vse svete in verne duše k častiljivim krajem, kjer v božjem miru počivajo naši dragi! ...Šestinsitrideset in več let.... Bili so mladi fantje, pošteni, polni upov in mladostnih sanj, v dvajsetih, tridesetih letih, bili so tam možje in očetje, slovenske zemlje čuvarji.... In potem še njih dekleta, mlade žene in

otroci, starci, slovenske zemlje cvet in nada. Na žrtvenik svobode so padala izmučena življenja tisočev najboljših. Kako naj pozabimo to vnebovpajočo resnico. Saj imamo še zdrav spomin, pamet in zbujačo vest, ki kliče po pravici in zadoščanju mrtvih.

V slovenskih gozdovih, v dolinah in prepadih ustvarja čas Večno simfonijo. Nad grobovi naših mučencev je odprto pravično in sveto nebo. Tam prebiva zdaj straža slovenskega naroda. Napremagljivi, izčiščeni v zadnjem zemskem trpljenju prosijo pravičnega Sodnika za svoje ljudstvo, da bi v krščanskem miru živelo svobodno na svoji zemlji pod Triglavom.

Ljudje se zbirajo k grobovom mučencev. Na božjo pot v Kočevski Rog, k Sveti Ani pri Teharjih, pod Toško čelo za Ljubljano in drugod po Sloveniji bodo romali. Poklekimo in molimo! Prosimo, da kri naših mučencev postane seme novih kristjanov, da njih trpljenje omeči srca onih, ki sovražijo in nočejo resnice, da vsi bili bi bratje, sestre, medseboj, živeli v slogi, miru in spoštovanju, da bi bili vredni njih žrtev.

Molimo še za vse druge žrtve rdeče revolucije na Slovenskem, padle v boju za lažno ideologijo, talce in jetnike umrle v zaporih, zapuščene matere in očete, žene in otroke, ki jim je človeška zloba uničila življenje in družine!

Daj Bog, da bi se po tem trpljenju izčistila naša srca, da bi znali prav živeti!

Slovenskim domobrancem večna slava!

Anica Resnik

LIPA SPRAVE

1. november 1991

Že četrtič smo zbrani tu na ljubljanskih Žalah za vse svete. Prvič, leta 1988, je tej deželi še vladal komunistični režim. Takrat se je še moralo paziti na besede. Potem je bila posejana lipa, ki je kmalu postala Lipa sprave. Neznane se je večkrat znesel na njenem krhkem stebelcu. Mi pa nismo popustili. Dovolj dolgo je bilo. Dolgih 45 let je trajalo obdobje, za katerega je veljalo, da tisoči nikoli niso živeli na tej slovenski zemlji - na svoji zemlji! Rodili so se, živeli so, nato pa jih je Kajnova roka pometla s tega sveta tako temeljito, kot da jih na tem svetu nikoli ni bilo.

V zadnjih dveh letih sem obiskal na desetine krajev, kjer so množična grobišča. Nikjer ni bilo niti najmanjšega sledu, da so le nekaj deset centimetrov globlje človeške kosti. Ponekod je le rahla kotanja, ali rahla gomila pričala o tem. Če mi ne bi vsakokrat kdo točno pokazal mesta, grobišča ne bi bilo mogoče odkriti, niti zanj vedeti. Bog je poskrbel za priče. Bog skrbi tudi za rablje....

Vendar, še so neodkrita grobišča! Še veliko jih je. Naš

neskončni moralni dolg je, da vsa, ki so že odkrita, in teh je več deset, in še tista neodkrita, duhovnik posveti, tako da vsa grobišča in grobovi postanejo posvečeni kraji, da vsi, ki so nekoč živeli na tej zemlji, potem pa jih je "nekoč" zbrisal s te zemlje in jih 45 let dušil v črni zemlji, dobijo svoje grobove in so deležni spomina. Grobove in grobišča, ki so in vedno bolj postajajo romarska svetišča slovenskih mučencev. Naši potomci bi nam nekoč očitali, če svojega dolga do naših svojcev in prednikov ne bomo opravili. Enako je z resnico....

Kje smo danes? Vsekakor ne dalj, kot nekje na prvi polovici poti. Po svoji grozljivi polpreteklosti smo, žal, le površno pobrskali. Sedaj jo spet večina hoče dušiti v črni zemlji. Ali ni bilo teh 45 let grozljivo dolgih?

Dogodki med vojno in po vojni so večna slovenska tema. Sami sebi in svoji domovini delamo silo, če jo spet hočemo pozabiti. Izkrivljenci v tem narodu so nam naložili težko breme. Ne mečimo ga z ramen....

Pri slovenski skupščini obstaja komisija za raziskavo medvojnih in povojnih pobojev. Danes na žalost moram povedati, da bi bilo za naše mučence veliko boljše, če te

komisije ne bi bilo, saj je ljudem dala lažno upanje... Ta komisija namreč ni naredila nič.

Danes noben slovenski časopis noče raziskovalno pisati o naši polpreteklosti. Lansko leto se je po njej malo pobrskalo, nato pa smo jo pustili tako, razbrskano.

Naši otroci morajo v osnovni šoli še vedno častiti revolucijo. Resnica v osnovni šoli še vedno nima mesta. Ali nam je zaradi takega obnašanja kaj boljše?

Kdaj bomo poromali na kraje, kjer počivajo ljudje "brez imen": Kostanjevica na Krki, Brežiško polje, Sidol v Tuhinjski dolini, pri Oplotnici na Štajerskem, na Hočkem Pohorju itd. itd.?

Tu na ljubljanskih Žalah je grobnica ljubljanskih škofov. Škof Rožman še vedno počiva v daljni ameriški zemlji. Kdaj ga bomo prepeljali v njegovo domovino, sem na Žale? Kje je grob slovenskega generala Rupnika? Kje dr. Lamberta Ehrlicha, Kiklja, Župca, Narteja Velikonje itd. itd.? Grobovi slovenskih partizanov in komunistov obstajajo, grobov slovenskih

dalje na str. 8

SLOVENSKA HRANILNICA IN POSOJILNICA

646 Euclid Ave., Toronto M6G 2T5
Tel. 532-4746

747 Brown's Line, Toronto, Tel. 252-6527
John E. Krek's Slovenian Credit Union

OFFICE HOURS

MONDAY 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.
TUESDAY 10 a.m. - 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAY 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.
THURSDAY 10 a.m. - 8 p.m.
FRIDAY 10 a.m. - 8 p.m.
SATURDAY 10 a.m. - 1 p.m.

NEW TORONTO

TUESDAY 1 p.m. - 8 p.m.
THURSDAY 1 p.m. - 8 p.m.
FRIDAY 10 a.m. - 8 p.m.
SATURDAY 9 a.m. - 12 noon

BITI ČLAN

HRANILNICE —

JE V KORIST TEBI IN V
POMOČ PRIJATELJU!



Ali Vam prejšnja služba dolguje plačilo?

Ali Vam pripada plača za nazaj, plača za počitnice, ali končna plača? Je podjetje propadlo? Vam ni delodajalec plačal? Imejte upanje. Če je Vaša izjava veljavna, Ontario Employee Wage Protection Program (Program Za Zaščito Plačila za Ontarijske Uslužbenice), bo plačal kar Vam pripada... do \$5,000. Informacije? V Torontu, kličite 326-6293. Vse druge, kličite brezplačno 1-800-268-9036.

The Employee Wage Protection Program

Ontario
Ministry of Labour

Kadar delate, bi morali biti plačani.

IZ TUJEGA TISKA

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1991

Act Now in Yugoslavia

By Alois Mock

For months Yugoslavia has been the scene of bloody conflict. Thousands of people have lost their lives; tens of thousands have been driven from their homes as refugees. Towns and villages have been reduced to rubble and ashes; every day irreplaceable cultural treasures are being destroyed. Even Dubrovnik, one of Europe's cultural jewels, is threatened with destruction.

All this is happening in the heart of Europe—in the middle of that "Europe of democracy, peace and unity," to which the heads of state and government of 35 nations ceremonially committed themselves less than two years ago in the Charter of Paris. Day after day I receive innumerable letters from the scene of the conflict. What they all have in common is the despairing question: "Where is the New Europe? Why is it abandoning us?"

Europe to the Test

I believe that the dire conflict in Yugoslavia is putting Europe to the test. The EC is now faced with the necessity of translating its often projected aim of a common security policy into concrete practice. Europe's politicians will have to demonstrate what significance they attach to the principles of self-determination, democracy and human rights. And Europe will have to show whether it can take care of its own security.

Since the death of the dictator Tito, the people of Yugoslavia have sought freedom. They have demanded their basic political rights and freedoms, and, simultaneously the various nationalities that make up Yugoslavia have demanded their national freedom.

Unfortunately, the process of democratic renewal took place only at the level of individual republics—except for the Republic of Serbia, where the communists remained in power, albeit within a somewhat altered framework. At the level of the Yugoslav federation absolutely nothing changed; the undemocratic structures remained unaltered. Yugoslavia's political landscape has for a considerable time shown the tectonic symptoms of an earthquake region: Everything was in movement underground, within the republics, while the overlying federal layer stayed completely inflexible.

From the very beginning, Austria has observed the developments in her southeastern neighbor with the greatest concern. We became alarmed as early as 1990, when the Republic of Serbia erected an initial barrier to the democratic renewal of Yugoslavia by depriving the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina of their powers. This action was accompanied by flagrant and continuing violations of the human rights of the Albanian majority

population in Kosovo. As a result, Kosovo is now possibly the most dangerous powder keg in the Yugoslav minefield. An explosion here could endanger the security of the entire Balkans.

Some have accused Austria of pursuing its own interests in Yugoslavia. Some have even voiced absurd allegations of Austrian imperial nostalgia. In fact, however, we originally had only one desire: That the peoples of Yugoslavia would succeed by their combined efforts in creating a stable Yugoslavia, a Yugoslavia based on democracy, human rights and social market economy.

In the course of the year 1991, however, the centripetal forces in Yugoslavia became weaker and weaker, and finally disappeared. Therefore, in the light of the major acts of aggression at the beginning of May, I decided to make an operational proposal.

I suggested setting up a "Council of Sages." This body of European mediators would have kept the lines of dialogue open between the Yugoslav republics and the central government, while developing new security mechanisms to prevent the continual outbreak of local or regional conflict. My reasoning was governed by one consideration above all: As long as people in Yugoslavia continued to talk they were not likely to shoot.

Unfortunately, the Yugoslav side politely but firmly rejected this suggestion. Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar both held the opinion that it was unnecessary to internationalize the crisis; they wanted to solve it by their own efforts.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met with a similar reaction in June when he proposed that a group of international constitutional experts draw up proposals for a renewal of Yugoslavia. Similarly, ef-

The Yugoslav army has learned that it has to fear no practical consequences when it ignores agreements with the European Community.

orts by the republics of Slovenia and Croatia to negotiate with the central government had also met with no response.

And so Croatia and Slovenia finally decided to go their own way. The declarations of independence on June 25 were based on democratic decisions by the peoples of those republics, and are a convincing expression of the right to self-determi-

nation.

The ensuing military operations by the Yugoslav federal army against Slovenia in fact sealed the fate of the Yugoslav federation. By now, any attempt to maintain Yugoslavia as a coherent state must be seen as absolutely hopeless. The even bloodier conflict in Croatia—which still remains beyond any form of control—has only served to confirm this.

The so-called "People's Army" has long since ceased to be an army of the peoples of Yugoslavia. It has thrown off any vestige of political control. Time and again it has disregarded armistice agreements negotiated by the political authorities. And Minister of Defense Veljko Kadijevic flatly refused to obey the demand for his resignation expressed by his own head of government, Mr. Markovic.

There no longer exists even a formal legal federal authority. The so-called "Serbian bloc" is now acting alone within the collective state presidium i.e. with the exclusion of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. In the manner of a coup d'etat, this group has declared themselves to be the sole authority in Yugoslavia, and accordingly has attempted to assume the functions of both government and parliament.

How has the international community behaved in the face of all these developments? Unfortunately, I believe that the international reactions to date can only be described as "too little and too late." The international community at first completely underestimated the strength of will among the Slovenes and Croats to take the path of independence. Ignoring all the evidence of clearly escalating disintegration ignoring all the hostilities, the human victims and the material destruction, the international community continued to believe that "the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia" could be maintained. This, however, would have been possible only on the basis of voluntary consensus among the peoples of Yugoslavia. And all this time the armed conflict never ceased.

The European Community did, in fact, succeed in helping to calm the situation during the initial phase. With the first three "troika" missions and the Brioni agreement the EC succeeded in obtaining the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army from Slovenia. This initial success has often been overlooked in the light of the many setbacks the EC has had to accept in its attempt to mediate in Croatia. But it was shown then that consistent action can produce results.

In the meantime, however, the Yugoslav army has learned that it has to fear no practical consequences when it ignores agreements with the European Community. Announcements from several EC member countries that they would give

diplomatic recognition to Slovenia and Croatia if the fighting were not stopped have remained ineffective. The Community now has agreed on concrete sanctions. However, it remains to be seen whether they will be sufficiently sharp to induce the People's Army to modify its attitude. The nonchalance of the Yugoslav military leaders toward agreements with the European Community has been repeatedly demonstrated.

On Oct. 10, the President of the EC Council, Hans van den Broek of the Netherlands, announced that he had negotiated an agreement between the presidents of Croatia and Serbia, Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic, and federal defense minister Kadijevic, on the withdrawal of the army from Croatia. This was flatly contradicted just a few hours later by a communique from the Yugoslav People's Army that stated that a withdrawal was out of the question.

End the Killing

The disintegration of Yugoslavia now seems to be inevitable. At the moment Europe must have one principal aim: To use every possible political and economic means to put an end to the killing, the misery of refugees and the destruction of entire regions.

We must not accept that the principles proclaimed by 35 heads of state and government in the Charter of Paris can be openly flouted. With Security Council Resolution 713 the United Nations lent its authority to all international efforts to obtain a solution to the Yugoslav conflict—and those of the European Community in particular.

It is precisely those actors on the international scene that place special value on democracy, peace and human rights—the U.S., the European Community and the other countries of the West—that are called upon to ensure the maintenance of armistice agreements in Yugoslavia through appropriate political and economic measures, and to provide effective international guarantees for the protection of minorities and ethnic groups within the present area of Yugoslavia. They are, however, also called upon to offer international recognition to those peoples of Yugoslavia who have exercised their right to self-determination by democratic means.

Mr. Mock is foreign minister of Austria.

Poziv kardinala

Kuharića:

„Ustavite
končno to
brutalno
vojno!“

Hrvaški primas kardinal Franjo Kuharić je znova pozval politike v Evropi in po vsem svetu, „naj store vse, kar je mogoče, da se ustavi ta brutalna vojna na Hrvaškem“. Jugoslovansko vlado naj bi končno postavili pod tak pritisk, da bo ustavila svojo agresijo in umaknila svoje čete iz Hrvaške, je dejal zagrebški nadškof za avstrijsko katoliško poročevalno agencijo Kathpress. Priznanje suverenosti Slovenije, Hrvaške in vseh republik, ki to želijo, bi bilo po mnenju zagrebškega nadškofa „korak k okreptvi miru“.

Svetovna javnost očitno še vedno ni doumela, da na Hrvaškem vlada „resnična vojna“, s tisoči mrtvih in ranjenih in več kot 300.000 begunci, je tožil Kuharić. Samo mednarodni pritisk lahko „osvobodi od te vojne, ki je rana na telesu Evrope“. Mir bo mogoč samo tedaj, če se bodo spoštovale meje med republikami. Cerkev želi, da bi lahko „vsi občani na Hrvaškem živeli v miru, vseeno kakšne narodnosti in kakšne religiozne veroizpovedi“, je podčrtal kardinal.

Papež Janez Pavel II. je po besedah hrvaškega primasa „storil vse, kar je mogel“, da bi Jugoslavijo privedel na pot miru. Vernike po vsem svetu je pozval, naj molijo za konec vojne. Tudi po diplomatski poti je pozval vse vlade, naj priznajo Hrvaško in Slovenijo.

23.12.1990
zgodovinski dan

KAJ PRAVIJO DRUGI O NAS ?

/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, april 16, 1991./

Slovenci so delaven in samozavesten narod. Karkoli že se bo zgodilo in nastalo iz razpadajoče Jugoslavije, se bo Slovenija, najbolj severno ležeča republika, osamosvojila. Lahko se bo pridružila drugim državam, ki bodo nastale po razpadu Jugoslavije, v neko ohlapno konfederacijo, kar pa ne bo spremenilo njene neodvisnosti. Kakšna naj bi bila ta nova država na južnem delu Srednje Evrope? Kakšen je ta narod, ki si je v teh par letih izvojeval lastno državo?

Sosedje poznajo Slovence kot marljive, varčne in ljubitelje reda. Iz tega sledi, da se bo ta država pravilno razvijala. Nikomur se ni treba bati neodgovornega upravljanja Slovenije, saj je v preteklih letih sorazmerno veliko doprinesla k dohodkom in deviznemu prитоку v Jugoslaviji. Slovenci skrbno ravnaajo z denarjem in sicer tako uspešno, da jih v ostali Jugoslaviji smatrajo celo za skopušne. Le redkokdaj bo Slovenec iz bahavosti razmetaval denar, kar pa se večkrat dogaja pri drugih narodih na Balkanu. Slovenske banke so bile celo v komunističnih časih zelo uspešne pri njihovem poslovanju zaradi razumnega gospodarstva. Delavnost in organizacijska sposobnost Slovencev je v njihovi republiki blažila uničujoče posledice komunističnega režima.

Socializem se je najbolje obnesel v Sloveniji, kar so priznale tudi druge republike; to pa radi tega, ker Slovincem ni niti leninistična ideologija, niti nacionalna zavest, preprečila realističnega gledanja na položaj. Simpatija do socializma je pri Slovencih do neke mere resnična, ker je izmed njih prišel Boris Kidrič, zaslepljeni komunistični dogmatik, ki je v prvih letih komunistične Jugoslavije vodil blazno nacionalizacijo podjetij in industrializacijo kot načrtno politiko poveljne Jugoslavije. Drugi Slovenec pa je bil Edvard Kardelj, sicer načitan, vendar enostransko usmerjen in prepričan, da je bil glavni beograjski ideolog, čeprav se je mnogo drugih partijcev potegovalo za ta naslov.

Slovenci si očitajo, da so se podvrgli komunistični nadvladi. Tudi v tem je nekaj resnice. Slovenci niso po naravi uporni, dolgo časa se skušajo ravnati po predpisih vlade, toda ko jim začne presedati, se uprejo z vso silo in se ne boje žrtev. To je tudi izkusila katoliška cerkev v času reformacijskega gibanja na Slovenskem, katerega je vodil Primož Trubar, veliki slovenski protestant in ustanovitelj slovenskega knjižnega jezika v katerega je prevedel sv. pismo. Umrli je kot izgnanec v Nemčiji kot župnik v Derenginu pri Tubingu. S pomočjo Habsburžanov je uspela protireformacija, ki je zaprla vse protestantske cerkve in izgnala njihove duhovnike. Zato so mnogi Slovenci v tistem času potovali čez Muro, k nedeljski službi božji, kjer je strpna madžarska oblast dovolila luteransko bogoslužje.

Slovenski kmečki upori niso bili nič nanjši v Sloveniji kot kje drugje v Evropi.

Ko je nemški nacionalsocializem začel s ponemčevanjem in preganjanjem Slovencev, je nastal odpor, v katerem so sprva sodelovale številne politične stranke.

Leta 1968. pa so vodilni slovenski komunisti, s tedanjim predsednikom slovenske republike Stanetom Kavčičem, začeli boj, istočasno z dogajanjem na Hrvaškem, proti srbsko-komunistični nadvladi v Beogradu.

Ker je bilo v Sloveniji mirno, ostali svet ni opazil, da so se Slovenci zelo oddaljili od komunizma, že zaradi tega, ker so vzorni katoličani. Cerkve so ob nedeljah in praznikih polne, kar lahko opazimo samo še na Poljskem in Irskem. Politični klerikalizem, ki je v prejšnjih časih imel zaslombo v slovenskem narodu, je imel voditelja v duhovniku Antonu Korošcu, ki je bil v medvojnem času vplivni politik v Jugoslaviji.

V 20-tih in 30-tih letih 19. stoletja je imel klerikalizem na slovensko inteligenco večji vpliv kot pa svobodomiselnost. Tudi v komunistični Jugoslaviji je imel veren človek večjo možnost postati profesor na ljubljanski univerzi kot na zagrebški.

V tem času so komunisti po vaseh in javnih poslopih pisali z veliko vneto ateistične parole in vse vasi imenovane po svetnikih kot npr. Sv. Bernard, so bile preimenovane na samo Bernard, kar pa jim kljub temu ni nič pomagalo.

V začetku beograjske nadvlade je družila Slovence skrb za obstoj naroda. Slovenci so mali dvo-milijonski narod in njihova domovina ima morje, alpsko gorovje, valovito gričevje ter del panonske ravnine. Na severu in zapadu meji na dve močni kulturi: nemško-avstrijsko in italijansko. Strah da bi jih ti dve kulturi prevladali, je močno ukoreninjen. To je tudi eden vzrokov, da so se po prvi svetovni vojni naslonili na srbsko kraljestvo Jugoslavije, kateri so ostali zvesti v kljub hudim razočaranjem. V drugi svetovni vojni, ko so si Nemci in Italijani razdelili Slovenijo, so Slovenci potrdili pripadnost k Jugoslaviji tudi prav zaradi tega, in pa, ker je že od začetka 20. stoletja vladal duh panslavizma med slovenskimi narodi.

Komunistična oblast je bila za Slovenijo že od vsega začetka velika nesreča. Gotovo se je nekaj Slovencev dalo preslepiti, ker so mislili, da jim bo Titova Jugoslavija pridobila Trst in njegovo zaledje. Že v 60. letih pa je začela nejevolja radi centralistične oblasti in strah, da bo srbski imperializem zatrl slovensko kulturo. Borili so se z vso silo za televizijsko postajo v svojem jeziku. Srbi so jih smatrali v zgodovinskem pomenu le za južnoslovanski privesek. Zavedli so se, da po narodnosti in svojem jeziku pripadajo k zapadnim Slovanom. Z

železno voljo so si v tem času komunizma priborili in obdržali svojo narodnost.

Vedno bolj so začeli dvomiti v trajnost Jugoslavije. Zavedali so se tudi, da v tem beograjskem-socialistično-balkanskem zgrešenem gospodarstvu nikdar ne bodo dosegli stopnje srednje-evropske ekonomije. Sloveniji nič ne pomaga, če ima najvišjo produktivnost v državi, če ima najbolj moderne tovarne, ko pa jim je bil uspešni gospodarski sistem prepovedan. Če pa bi kljub temu uspeli, bi morali velik del dobička poslati v centralno vodstvo za pomoč zaostalim republikam. Slovence so drugi Jugoslovani nazivali "Nemce", kar pomeni, da so pametni, ne odobravajo pa, da so "drugačni" od njih. Tako mnenje vzbuja pri Slovencih mešane občutke, ker je slovensko mišljenje o Nemcih razdvojeno. Skozi stoletja so živeli pod pokroviteljstvom Frankov, nato pa habsburške Avstrije, kar jih je obvarovalo precej nesreč, ne pa turških vpadov. V tem podložniškem stanu si niso mogli ustvariti svoje državnosti. Radi tega so se oklenili svojega jezika. Slovensko so govorili skozi stoletja le kmetje, v uradih pa nemško. V prvi polovici 19. stoletja se je prebudila zavest za slovenski jezik. Temu so nasprotovali nemško govoreči meščani, katerih stan je vedno naraščal, v glavnem zaradi industrializacije.

Ko je Napoleonov maršal Marmont za kratek čas ustanovil provinco Ilirijo, je odločil, naj se v šolah poučuje v slovenščini; manjkalo pa je učiteljev, ki bi bili za to sposobni. Največji slovenski pesnik, dr. France Prešeren, je pesnil v slovenskem jeziku. Univerz na slovenskem ni bilo, radi tega so Slovenci študirali v Gradzu, Dunaju, Zagrebu ali Pragi. Mnogo Slovencev je doseglo visoka mesta v dunajski administraciji, vendar so s tem prekinili zvezo s slovenskim narodom.

Katoliška konservativna slovenska ljudska stranka je pripadala pokretu, ki se je boril za južnoslovansko enakopravnost in narodno eksistenco v avstro-ogrski monarhiji. Glavni predstavnik tega pokreta pri Slovencih je bil duhovnik dr. Anton Korošec, ki pa se je že l. 1917 začel odvrčati od Avstrije.

Po končani prvi svetovni vojni so se Slovenci v narodno-samozavestni omami zoperstavili vsemu, kar je bilo avstrijskega ali nemškega. Nemci v Ljubljani, Mariboru in Kočevju so bili zapostavljeni. Mnogi so zato zapustili Slovenijo in se izselili v Avstrijo. Slovenski filozofi, teologi, umetniki in pisatelji so se naslanjali v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih na Francijo, kar je tudi dokaz protinemške miselnosti. S pojavom boljševizma se je to nadaljevalo med drugo svetovno vojno. V zadnjem desetletju se Slovenci spet srečujejo z nemškim svetom. V evropsko skupnost želijo priti kot samostojen narod.

Prevod: O. M.

SPOMENICE SLOVENSКИH PREDSTAVNIKOV

ZA MEDNARODNO PRIZNANJE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE



Ljubljana, 23 October 1991

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

PRESIDENT

Ljubljana, 23 October 1991

Your Excellency,

Allow me to inform You, Your Excellency, that the Federal Authorities continue to interfere with the economic relations of the Republic of Slovenia and the world. The National Bank of Yugoslavia has recently adopted a decision to withdraw from commercial banks of Slovenia and Croatia, authorization for foreign operations. As you may know, all correspondents of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, together with all correspondents of Yugoslav authorized commercial banks, have been informed of this decision with the aim of disrupting payment transactions with commercial banks of the Republic of Slovenia and to divert these transactions to banks outside Slovenia and Croatia.

I earnestly hope that you will treat this message with all gravity and help prevent potential problems in the normal course of payments between and among your and Slovenian banks, this being a crucial part of our economic cooperation.

I am sure that, in your actions concerning this matter, you will also bear in mind that payment transactions between and among Slovenian banks and banks abroad have always been prompt and that we have duly met all our foreign obligations, to creditors from your country as well as to the National Bank of Yugoslavia. It is our desire, however, as we have repeatedly expressed, to reach an agreement on the legal succession and, within this framework, on the division of resources and property, rights and obligations of the SFRY.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Lojze Peterle

PRESIDENT

His Excellency
Mr. Martin Brian Mulroney
Prime Minister of Canada

Your Excellency,

On the basis of the plebiscite decision of the citizens of Slovenia, the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia proclaimed sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Slovenia on 25 June 1991. The Government of the Republic of Slovenia pleaded for the international recognition of the Republic of Slovenia with all states and international organizations. Enclosed please find our request addressed to the Government of Canada.

Slovenia has, following the military intervention of the Yugoslav Army, accepted the Brioni Joint Declaration of 7 July 1991 in its desire for peace and political settlement of all open issues between the Republic of Slovenia and the federal authorities of the former SFR Yugoslavia and deferred the implementation and execution of the decision on independence for three months. This period expired on 7 October 1991.

After this date, the Republic of Slovenia has executed the conclusions on sovereignty and independence and fulfils all conditions for international recognition.

On behalf of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia, I herewith request the Parliament of Canada to consider and discuss the issue of the recognition of the Republic of Slovenia and the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

His Excellency
Mr. Guy Charbonneau
President of the Senate
the Parliament of Canada



Ljubljana, June 25, 1991

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and in my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to inform you that at its session on June 25, 1991, the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the Declaration of Independence, Constitutional Charter and Constitutional Law by which the independence of Slovenia is proclaimed and enforced. The proclamation of independence is based on the results of the Plebiscite held on December 23, 1990.

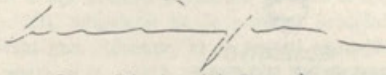
The Republic of Slovenia is therefore pleading for recognition as sovereign state. We kindly ask Your Excellency to submit this request for recognition to your Government.

We would like to assure you that we will take all necessary measures actively to maintain established forms of cooperation between our countries. We kindly expect the same from your side. We believe in the successful development of our relations in the future.

Although the Republic of Slovenia is assuming all prerogatives and authorities which have been partly delegated to federal institutions in the past, we are still prepared to negotiate with sovereign Yugoslav republics on all questions of mutual interest.

Please find enclosed the documents cited above.

Her Excellency
Mrs. Barbara McDougall
Secretary of State for External
Affairs of Canada

Minister for Foreign Affairs

Dr. Dimitrij Rupel



PRESIDENCY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA
PRESIDENT

Ljubljana, October 23, 1991

Dear Mr. President,

Allow me to address you with the wish that, before the planned meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, the members of this important body of the United Nations Organization succeed in their efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The Republic of Slovenia has high regard for the role of the United Nations and its activities to date in the termination of crises throughout the world.

We also sincerely welcomed the personal envoy of the Secretary General of the UN, Mr. Cyrus Vance, who has already informed the Secretary General about actual conditions in former Yugoslavia. We expect the report on his visit to Yugoslavia to make an important contribution to the clarification of our problems and to the assurance of peace in this region at the coming Conference of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Respected Mr. President, we are aware of the impact the coming meeting of the Security Council will have on the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, for time is running out, while the general situation is worsening daily. We have difficulty in understanding why, despite ten signed agreements on a cease-fire, the invasion of Croatia continues unabated, its effects are more and more tragic each day and also ever more irreparable in terms of the future coexistence of the nations involved in this war. I particularly wish to lay stress on the mass exodus of people, people have had their homes destroyed because of this war, people whose future is now so utterly uncertain.

At this moment there are approximately 30.000 refugees in Slovenia alone, and the total of all refugees, according to Mr. Vance's estimate, will be over 400.000 by the end of the year. I hope that you understand that from the purely humanitarian aspect, this problem is becoming ever more difficult for Slovenia with its 2 million inhabitants.

We believe that the first task is to stop this senseless war in the heart of Europe and establish peace, which is critical for the stabilization of political conditions and the restoration of trust among the independent, sovereign and autonomous republics on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The Republic of Slovenia has already notified the Secretary General, on June 25, 1991, that the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia has accepted the constitutional law on the dissociation of the Republic of Slovenia from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the complete achievement of independence, together with the Declaration of

Independence. This decision was based on the will of the Slovenian nation expressed at the plebiscite held in December, 1990.

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia has also accepted the declaration that the foreign policy of the Republic of Slovenia will be peaceful and based on the principles of the Charter and other documents of the United Nations Organisation. The state of Slovenia has also constitutionally bound itself to implement all international obligations. The Republic of Slovenia, in the same letter to the Secretary General of the UNO, also expressed its desire to become a full member of the UNO, since it is prepared and actually capable of meeting all the requirements of the Charter of the UNO and other resolutions of the bodies of the UNO, as well as expressing an interest in opening an observer mission at the seat of the UNO in New York and in Geneva.

The military intervention of the Yugoslav People's Army, which followed the Declaration of Independence, was an utterly ruthless and violent manner of postponing its realization. It caused many human victims and enormous material damage (approx. 2,7 billion USD).

The Republic of Slovenia has constantly supported the proposals and activities of the European Community in its efforts towards a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. On the initiative of the European Community, it accepted the Brioni Declaration and the three month moratorium on the implementation of acts of independence. This moratorium was to enable negotiations on dissociation and a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Despite the numerous initiatives of the Republic of Slovenia, no negotiations at all materialized, while Slovenia has for its part fulfilled all the key points of the Brioni Declaration.

Now, after the expiry of the moratorium, Slovenia is continuing with the process of achieving independence, of acquiring full economic independence and international recognition. It has introduced its own currency unit and has set out on the path of monetary emancipation. It is indicative that eleven European countries have already recognized the Slovenian passport and some countries are already establishing a selective approach in bilateral relations with Slovenia, especially in the economic field.

By decision of its parliament, the Republic of Slovenia continued, after the expiry of the moratorium on October 7, 1991, with constructive participation at the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, with the status of an independent, sovereign and inheritor state. At the Conference, it supports peace in the region of former SFRY and the guarantee of the legitimate interest of all nations and republics, as well as the ordering of questions of succession and the division of property, obligations, and debts.

I wish particularly to stress, respected Mr. President, that Slovenia honors the interests and already accepted decisions of the Yugoslav republics on their future life and relations among them. We do not want to obstruct the establishment and development of this cooperation in any way whatsoever. The Republic of Slovenia, as an independent and sovereign state, wishes, and sees its best interest in cooperation as a sovereign state with the republics/states of the former SFRY or their community, if such be established on the basis of mutual interest, mutual recognition, respect and equal rights. I also expressed this view at the meeting in The Hague on October 18, 1991.

At The Hague Conference, we have constantly supported the great efforts made by Lord Carrington and his colleagues, together with the European Community and the President of the Council of Ministers, Mr. H. Van den Broek, in their search for a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. At the last meeting, we also gave agreement in principle to the general specifications of the document submitted "Measures for the general ordering of the crisis", above all to the point which mentions the recognition of the independent republics on the basis of existing borders.

Five republics and the European Community have now recognized that Yugoslavia no longer exists, that the federal bodies no longer have legitimacy, and that the essential precondition for the further coexistence of free and independent republics is respect for the human rights of minorities and the inviolability of borders.

With respect to the critical stress on human rights in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, we believe that Slovenia has to date itself maintained international standards of human rights in its legislation and practice. It will continue to do so, as well as simultaneously providing for the development of internal and international control of such respect.

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia has also expressed the desire of Slovenia for access to international instruments in the field of human rights, including the European Convention on human rights, in order for it to accept the authority of the European Commission and the European Court for Human Rights as agencies of control.

In view of the worsening political and economic situation on the entire territory of former Yugoslavia, Mr. Vance's concern is far from groundless.

I am convinced, Mr. President, that the UNO, in accordance with Security Council Resolution No. 713 on Yugoslavia can further contribute to the establishment of conditions for a permanent solution to the Yugoslav crisis. We are counting here on the support and understanding of all members of the UNO and the entire system of the UNO.

I ask you, Mr. President, to direct your attention, power and creativity, and the influence of the Security Council, into

nadaljevanje s str. 5

efforts towards an immediate cessation of armed conflict in the Republic of Croatia, so as to create the basis for an internationally recognized Slovenia and all those republics which so desire, and to enable agreement on future cooperation on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

In the hope that your personal engagement at the coming conference of the Security Council of the UNO will contribute to a solution of the Yugoslav crisis as soon as possible please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

H.E.
Mr. Chinmaya Rajaninath GHAREKHAN
The President of the Security
Council of the United Nations
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative
of India to the United Nations

Milan Kučan
P R E S I D E N T

REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA
Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Ljubljana, 6 November 1991

Your Excellency,

Despite all the well-intentioned endeavors of the international community, the fighting in Croatia has still not been halted, thus rendering impossible the initiatives for a peaceful political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The Republic of Slovenia comprehends the demands expressed by an ever-increasing number of nations for the introduction of economic sanctions against those forces within Yugoslavia which are blocking and opposing the efforts to bring a cessation of hostilities, and which are flouting the accepted cease-fire agreements. This is why we further support the efforts of the UN to impose economic sanctions, particularly an embargo on oil imports, as a means of obliging the aggressors in Yugoslavia to honor the agreements reached, and signed, at the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia.

We note with grave concern that the Yugoslav diplomats have been spreading certain allegations concerning the role of Slovenia in the Yugoslav crisis. The underlying aim of this defamation is to ensure that Slovenia would also be subject to the oil embargo if the United Nations were to pass a resolution on economic sanctions against those responsible for provoking armed conflict in Yugoslavia. At several recent international meetings, it has already clearly been established who is mainly responsible for the present painful situation in Yugoslavia. It may suffice here to mention only the speech of the State Secretary of the USA, Mr James Baker, to the UN Security Council on the adoption of Resolution 713, and the Declaration on Yugoslavia by the EC Council of Ministers on 27 August 1991.

To impose nonselective sanctions, or "linear" penalties, on all the republics - including those which are not directly involved in the present conflict between Serbia and Croatia - would be contradictory to the aims and the logic of economic sanctions which, ultimately, should be punitive measures, designed to bring the aggressor to reason.

At this point, I should like briefly to draw your attention to the role which Slovenia has already played in attempting to find a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Slovenia has faithfully fulfilled all its obligations stemming from the international initiatives towards a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia. Slovenia did its utmost to cooperate with the EC monitor mission which was sent here following the signing of the Brioni Declaration on 7 July 1991. We are now gratified to note that both the members of the mission and the EC leaders have been positively appreciative of our cooperation and of the results achieved through our joint attempts to stabilize the situation.

However, in direct contradiction to the Brioni Declaration - which established the initial framework for settling the Yugoslav crisis, with the active involvement of the EC - during the three-month moratorium on the implementation of our already-proclaimed independence (from 7 July to 7 October 1991), an economic war began to be waged against Slovenia by the various organs and institutions of the former Federal Government. Slovenia was excluded from the monetary and foreign exchange system, as well as from economic policy. The Federal Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy both adopted a discriminatory approach towards Slovenian businesses and economic subjects. In Serbia and Montenegro, and in parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, organized confiscation began - and is still continuing - of Slovene premises and property. It is this economic warfare which the Yugoslav diplomatic authorities, now exclusively under the control of Serbia, are attempting to extend to the international arena.

One of the preconditions for the success of international economic sanctions is that there should be a differentiated approach towards the Yugoslav republics, taking into account their fulfilment of commitments and their honoring of cease-fire and other signed agreements. In this respect, Slovenia has thoroughly and conscientiously fulfilled all its obligations.

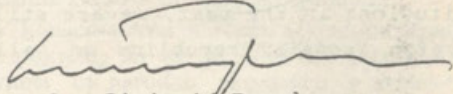
It is, therefore, quite unacceptable and unjust that Slovenia should have to endure the aggression of other forces in Yugoslavia, the flagrant violation of human rights and minority rights, together with the flouting of democratic principles, all of which has been inflicted by the leadership of some Yugoslav republics, on whom Slovenia's protests have had no effect. As the Yugoslav crisis intensifies, Slovenia has continued to abide consistently by these principles. It was Slovenia which launched the concept of the democratic transformation of Yugoslav society as a whole, and which criticized the breach

of human rights in, for instance, Kosovo. The price which Slovenia had to pay for this outspokenness was the loss of her market in Yugoslavia, and an economic blockade. It would therefore be all the more absurd, if Slovenia, though no fault of her own, were to be further punished by the international community.

Throughout these times, the Republic of Slovenia has strived to achieve a mutually agreed settlement of the present problems within the Yugoslav Federation, and to ensure that the commitments undertaken are honored. Unfortunately, however, the many proposals we have made in recent months for finding a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis and for reaching a consensus seem to have fallen upon deaf ears. Nevertheless, we remain convinced that the aid of the international community is essential to solving this crisis. This is why we have not only signed the Brioni Declaration, but have also actively participated in the work of The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia, which was initiated by the EC. Furthermore, following the expiry of the three-month moratorium, Slovenia has continued to cooperate at The Hague peace conference and to be actively involved in the collective endeavors to reach a peaceful solution to the conflict between Serbia and Croatia, and in the attempts to solve the Yugoslav crisis as a whole. We are firmly persuaded that the Yugoslav crisis can be settled only once an effective peace-agreement has been reached. It is becoming increasingly clear that the attacking forces in Yugoslavia will not desist until the international community makes it firmly clear, through decisive measures, that their hostile aims cannot be achieved by force. We feel that stringent measures should be taken against the attackers and against those republics which fail to respect the peace agreements and which are determined forcibly to change the borders. Furthermore, we consider that economic sanctions should be selectively imposed and they should apply to those who are chiefly responsible for the present situation, and those who have broken the previously-signed agreements. Within Yugoslavia, Slovenia is neither an aggressor nor a trader in arms.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

His Excellency
Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Secretary General
of the United Nations


Dr. Dimitrij Rupel
MINISTER


PREDSEDSTVO
REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE
PREDSEDNIK

Ljubljana, 4 November 1991

Your Lordship,

Allow me first to express my gratitude for all your efforts to stop the war in Yugoslavia and for Your endeavours in helping to find such solutions of the Yugoslav crisis to which all of the Republics of former Yugoslavia could agree.

May I also express our appreciation for the latest changes of the "Treaty Provisions for the Convention" in particular those in Chapter I which have expressed more precisely the possible different solutions for the Republics which would wish - following the recognition of their independence - to establish a voluntary association or even common state, and those wishing full recognition of their independence and sovereignty. Given this clear distinction, the Republic of Slovenia, bearing in mind the general settlement, also sees the possibility of realizing its decision, clearly expressed at the plebiscite, to become an independent and sovereign state - a state which will neither be a part of SFRY nor will be institutionally linked with other Republics. We do expect, as envisaged in the cover note of your latest proposal, that the discussion on the issues of state succession of the former SFRY will begin soon.

In order to make an effective contribution to the negotiations within the framework of the Conference in The Hague we prepared the amendments to the document "Treaty Provisions for the Convention" (3 November 1991). Please, find these amendments enclosed. It would be highly appreciated if these amendments could be circulated to the participants at the Conference in due time.

Your Lordship, may I take this opportunity to draw Your attention to the fact that, in addition to the tragic armed warfare on the territory of Yugoslavia, a veritable economic war is being waged against Slovenia. This is causing irreparable material damage; it is endangering the future of an increasing number of Slovene companies and individuals - in particular disrupting normal commercial and economic relations - thus worsening the already very difficult economic situation in the Republic of Slovenia. Immense investment over many years will be required to re-establish former level of relations among the economies of the Republics, to revive the economy and return it to a level which would allow for normal economic development and cooperation.

As you are aware, the Republic of Slovenia has made every effort to fulfil its obligations under the "Brioni Declaration". However, at the same time, the Federal bodies of SFRY and institutions in some Republics started an economic war against the Republic of Slovenia. After the expiry of the moratorium, this war has continued, and even intensified. On the days of 9 and 11 October the Government of the SFRY and the self-appointed "Presidency" of the SFRY called upon all other Federal bodies to take sanctions against the Republic of Slovenia. We are facing an escalation of this pressure in the fields of the monetary system, foreign trade, customs control, commercial traffic and other areas. Please find a few of the most evident and concrete measures taken against the Republic of Slovenia in the Enclosure II.

nadaljevanje s str. 6

As the last units of the Yugoslav Army have finally been withdrawn from Slovene territory on 25 October it became evident that the purpose of these present measures against Slovenia is to achieve - by means of economic and other pressures - whatever the Yugoslav army failed to achieve by the attack it launched against Slovenia in June this year.

For all the above reasons and in order to enable a rational discussion on the maintaining of economic links among the Republics of former SFRY, I believe that it is necessary, within the framework of The Hague conference, to reach a "truce" in this economic war which is harmful to all. At the same time, the Republic of Slovenia is looking to its economic partners and to the EC member-states for pragmatic solutions to the specific concrete problems referred to above.

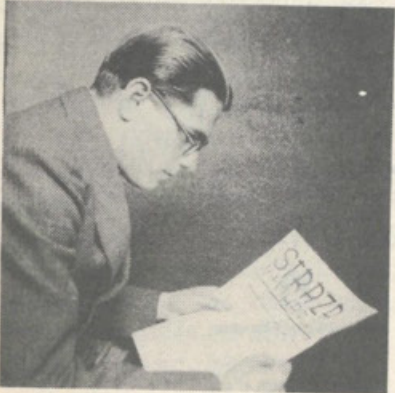
Please accept, my Lord, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

The Right Honourable
Lord Carrington
Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia
The Hague

Milan Kučan

+ DR. POŠTOVAN MATEJ

Iz Primorskega leksikona



Dr. Matej Postovan

POSTOVAN Matej, kulturni in polit. delavec, r. 19. sept. 1912 v Ivanjševcih, obč. Gornja Radgona, živel v Trstu. Oče Jožef, posestnik in gozdar, mati Alojzija Verberič. Osn. š. v bližnji Ngovil, klas. gimn. v Mrbu, matura jun. 1933. Vpisal se je na Pravno fak. Lj. U., a se mu je študij nekoliko zavlekel, ker je deloval v različnih akademskih društvih. Diplomiral je mar. 1939, doktoriral 30. okt. 1939. Na U se je najprej vpisal v Slov. katol. akad. društvo Zarja, pozneje se je prepisal v akad. klub Straža. Ko je ta klub začel izdajati svoj list Straža v viharju (od 1. nov. 1934 do 1941), je bil dve leti njen odgov. ur. (2. in 3. letnik). Štiri leta je vodil Vincenci-jevo konferenco za akademike, ki je zbirala denarna in druga sredstva za pomoč revnejšim študentom. Večkrat je bil izvoljen v odb. Akademске akcije za vseučiliško knjižnico, ki se je pozneje razširila v akcijo za izpopolnitev slov. univ. ter je bila obenem nokakšna reprezentanca vsuč. študentov, ker reprezentance v formalnem smislu univ. ni imela. Tako je P. skupaj s Cirilom Zobotom izposloval v Bgdu pri dr. A. Korošču in finanč. ministru Letici prvih pet milijonov din. za slov. univ. knjižnico, kolikor je bilo takrat potrebno za zidavo palače po načrtih arh. J. Plečnika. Od 1934 do 1936 je bil P. tudi preds. Akademске zveze, reprezentančne organizacije, v kateri so bila včlanjena vsa takrat obstoječa katol. akad. društva na slov. univ. (Danica, Zarja, Borba, Društvo slov. bogoslovcev in Društvo katol. akademičark Savica). Sodeloval je tudi v vodstvu Slov. dijaške zveze (SDZ), v kateri so bili včlanjeni slov. katol. srednješolci, a so jo vodili akademiki. Med študijem je veliko pisal v dij. liste in občasno v dnevnik Slovenec. Se pred diplomom je odšel v Bgd. Nastavljen je bil v senatni knjižnici, toda takoj imenovan za osebnega tajn. preds. senata dr. A. Korošca (febr. 1939). Na tem mestu je ostal do promocije, ko je bil 1. nov. 1939 pokli- can k vojakom. Po vojaškem roku se je vrnil v Lj. in se zaposlil kot ur. Slovenca, kjer je ostal do konca apr. 1945, ko ga je aretirala Gestapo. Med okupacijo je urejal zunanjepolit. stran. Med ital. okupacijo je moral nositi na cenzuro krtačne odtise Slovenca, ker pa ni hotel

po faš. pozdravljati, so mu prepovedali vstop v cenzurni urad, ki ga je vodil Carlo Tigoli (poznejši glavni ur. videmskega dnevnika Il Messaggero Veneto). Pod nem. okupacijo so cenzuro odpravili, toda vsak ur. je z glaslo jamčil za svoje članke. Takoj po vstaji v varšavskem getu je general Rupnik poklical k sobi 12 vidnejših, zaveznikom naklonjenih Ljubljancev (med njimi je bil tudi P.) in jim govoril: »Memento Varšava, memento Pariz! Če se bo v Lj. zgodilo kaj podobnega, bom imel za odgovorne vas.« Ze naslednjo noč so aretirali dr. Puca in ga odpeljali v Dachau, nato pa vsak eden po enega izmed dvanajsterice. Prav na dan, ko so part. zasedli Trst, so aretirali P. in mu očitali »tudi druge grehe«. V Dachau ga niso mogli več odpeljati, ampak si ga je posebej pridržal SS-esoovski gon. Rösener, ki je zaradi skorajšnjega premirja v It. mislil na beg. P. je bil izpuščen iz zaporov in takoj je odšel z ženo v Celovec, od tam pa v taborišče Monigo pri Trevisu, nato pa v Rim, kjer je bil takrat njegov svak dr. Miha Krek. Po treh mes. so ga Angleži odpeljali iz Rima v Trst in ga nastavili na trž. zavezniškem tiskovnem uradu (AIS). Tu so iz angl. in ital. prevajali novice in članke ter jih pošiljali vsem slov. časopisom, ki so izhajali v Trstu, Gor. in Cilu. 1947 so ga prestavili na USIS. Ostal je v istem uradu, le da ni bil več odvisen od ZVU, ampak naravnost od amer. zunanjega ministrstva, in to vse do odhoda zaveznikov iz Trsta 1954. Zadnjih šest let je bil šef slov. odseka tega urada. Poleg dela v uradu je v imenu Amerikancev nadziral še slov. poročila na trž. radiu; do 1972 je bil ur., potem do upokojitve 1977 načelnik govornjenih sporodov RAITrsta. Po prihodu v Trst je pisal članke v SlovPrim. in kasneje v KatG ter v enkratne revije. Sodeloval je tudi s skupino, ki je v Trstu obnavljala nekdanjo Krščansko-socialno zvezo, in imel več predavanj zlasti narodnoobrambenega in social. značaja. Ko je bil načelnik zavezniškega tisk. urada, je opustil polit. delovanje, ker je bil urad pluralističnega značaja. Po odhodu zaveznikov in po pridobitvi ital. državljanstva 1960 je na vabilo slov. demokratičnih in zlasti katol. polit. delavcev začel spet polit. delovati. Sodeloval je pri ustanovitvi in nato pri vodstvu Slovenske skupnosti ter pri sestavi njenega prvotnega programa. Bil je večkrat polit. tajn. Slovenske skupnosti in skoro vedno vodilno sodeloval pri njenih akcijah. Zmagala je tudi njegova ideja, da mora matična domovina podpirati vse polit. skupine v zamejstvu, in tako je SSK navezala stike s predstavniki matične domovine, ki jih prej ni imela. Dvakrat je predaval na študijskih dneh Draga: *Dialog v svetu* (1966) in *Slov. zamejski katoličani in njihovo javno delovanje po koncilu* (1967).

Prim.: Osebni podatki; Nadja Maganja, Trieste 1945-1949. Nascita del movimento politico autonomo sloveno, Tr. 1980, 105.

Jem.

Hon. Alan Redway, PC (Don Valley East):

Earlier today I received a telegram from a good friend of mine and a constituent, MIRO MIHELIČ. It read: "In the forthcoming debate, stand up and demand the immediate recognition of Slovenia. Let Canada be first. Slovenia fulfils all conditions and more. She has democratic government, undisputed borders, necessary infrastructure, its own currency and no enemies. Recognition will improve the prospect for peace. Absence of recognition will imperil the economic survival."

KANADSKI PARLAMENT IN VOJNA V HRVATSKI

Gospod Jesse Flis, kanadski federalni poslanec za Parkdale-High Park in uradni Liberalni so-kritik za Zunanje zadeve, Kanadčan poljskega rodu in velik prijatelj Slovencev, je v zadnjih mesecih naslovil na kanadski parlament in vlado več pozivov naj ta javno zahteva takojšnjo ustavitev sramotnega in neciviliziranega napada "Jugoslovanske armade" na Republiko Hrvatsko.

Predvsem je predlagal, naj kanadska vlada javno zahteva čete Združenih narodov za vzdrževanje miru na Hrvatski.

Skupno z Hon. Lloyd Axworthy-jem (Lib) je dne 23. sept zahteval nujno izredno sejo odbora za Zunanje zadeve v zadevi Jugo-Hrvatskega konflikta. Rezultat vseh teh pozivov je bilo izredno zasedanje kanadskega Parlamenta, dne 18. novembra, ki je trajalo štiri ure, od 8. zvečer do polnoči. Ker so bili v tej debati omenje ni večkrat tudi Slovenci, bomo nekaj izjav poslancev priobčili vrnatim iz uradnega Hansarda (zapisnika) za ta dan, da bodo Slovenci v Kanadi na prihodnjih volitvah lahko vedeli kdo so njihovi prijatelji. Moramo pa takoj pripomniti, da so s to debato odlašali vse do časa, ko je ministerski predsednik Hon. Brian Mulroney, z ženo Mili, bil v Parizu na frankofonski konferenci.

Pri debati je aktivno sodelovalo 23 poslancev: eden iz PC stranke, 9 Liberalcev, štirik iz NDP in devet neodvisen. Čeprav iz različnih strank, so si bili v glavnem vsi edini, da je sramota, da Kanada in ostali svobodni svet ne napravi ničesar, da se ta brezglavna morija neha. Skoraj vsi so priznali, da Jugoslavija dejansko ne obstoja več. Skoraj vsi so zagovarjali idejo, naj Kanada cimprej da mednarodno priznanje suverenima Republikama Hrvatski in Sloveniji. Temu je oporekala Hon. Barbara McDougall, minister za Zunanje zadeve Kanade, češ, da za tako priznanje še ni čas. Dalo bi namreč po njenem mnenju signal za prenehanje mirovnih pogovorov in pustilo nadaljevanje sile in nasilja. Da bi tako priznanje lahko dalo moronskim generalom in politikom signal, da ne uživajo več tihega pristanka Zapadnih velesil za njihovo barbarsko početje, ji seveda ni prišlo na misel. V ostalem je pa še vedno za govarjala stališče Zapadno-evropskih in ameriških "graditeljev NOVEGA REDA", katerim je beseda "samodločba" le hipokritska fraza, ki jo uporabljajo pri svojih egoističnih, mračnih in skritih načrtih.

Hon. Mr. Friesen, P.C. Surrey-White Rock:

"All these (Balkan) peoples have reached the conclusion that Yugoslavia as we know it can no longer continue to exist. A new arrangement between Yugoslav republics must be found. ... The Slovenes feel that their situation is relatively simple. They account for 90 per cent of the population of Slovenia and a vast majority voted by referendum to form an independent republic. ... On the other hand is the gratuitous use of violence by the Yugoslav federal army, which is out of control of the government and which has its own political agenda. ... A diplomatic offensive unprecedented in Europe has been mounted by the Netherland Minister Vanden Broek and his colleagues in an effort to stop the fighting. They have developed compromise solutions which have had some positive results. The violence has quelled in Slovenia and the federal forces have withdrawn from the Republic. ... We strongly oppose the attempts of the Yugoslav army and ultra-nationalistic militia (Cetniks op. ur.) to seek to modify the ethnic make-up of certain regions by force, thus causing the exodus of tens of thousands of people."

Mr. Svend J. Robinson (NDP) Burnaby-Kingsway:

"Surely as a Parliament that must be the basis of our understanding that Yugoslavia no longer exists as a nation. We must recognize that the people of the republics of Yugoslavia, whether it be in Slovenia and Croatia which voted overwhelmingly, 94 per cent, for independence in a referendum proclaiming... sovereignty of the republics, Yugoslavia is no more."

Mr. John Brewin (NDP) Victoria:

"There are reports that (Canadian aid) is not getting through. It is said to be routed through International Red Cross. That aid should be routed through Slovenia, to be sure that it gets in to the people of Croatia who need it."

