



REPUBLIC of SLOVENIA

**These papers have been prepared by Gerard and Nevenka Clarke
in cooperation with the Slovenian National Council (SNC) of Victoria
and the Australian Slovenian Conference(ASC).**

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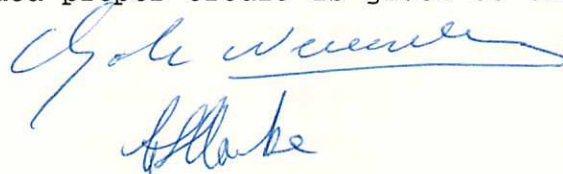
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All translations are done by Nevenka Golc-Clarke unless differently specified.

These papers can be used, if desired, in their entirety or in part, as needed, to benefit Slovenia, provided proper credit is given to the authors and contributors.

Melbourne, 18 Aug, 1991

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Golc-Clarke', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

THE SLOVENIAN COAT OF ARMS, THE SLOVENIAN FLAG and THE SLOVENIAN ANTHEM

The Coat of Arms:

The Coat of Arms is in a shape of a shield. Three peaks in the middle represent Triglav (The Three-Head mountain) which often symbolise the Slovenian people - an old Alpine nation. Triglav is the highest mountain of Slovenia as well as being the highest mountain of former Yugoslavia. Numerous rivers have their springs in these mountainous regions and descend slowly or rapidly in the shape of waterfalls to the valleys below. Rivers and other waters are presented with waves under the Triglav peaks. Above Triglav there are three hexagonal stars which were the symbol of the Counts of Celje* - whose extinction was an important tragic milestone for the Slovenian nation.

The colours are white for Triglav and golden for the stars. Both are imprinted on a blue background with a red strip around the Coat.

The flag:

The colours of the Slovenian flag are white, blue and red in that sequence starting from the top. These colours have been used to symbolise the Slovenian people for centuries. Slovenians rejoiced in 1836 when the Austrian monarch Ferdinand I announced the colours to be official colours of the province Carniola (Slovenia). The colours have their origin in the old Coat of Arms of the province of Carniola.

White means purity and innocence. Blue is the sign of stability and sturdiness. Red is love for the homeland.

The golden colour symbolises freedom.

The anthem:

The anthem has been made of a poem of the famous Slovenian romantic poet France Preseren (1800-1849). It is called Zdravljica (The Toast). The poem has eight verses. Because of its length, only the first and the seventh are usually sung. The poem tells the group of friends rejoicing after having another year of a good wine crop. Friends are toasting to Slovenia, Slovenian men, Slovenian women, to all other nations longing for freedom and to themselves because they are good people in their hearts.

* See Chapter 2 - Short History of Slovenian Nation

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Let's Get to Know Slovenia

SLOVENIA in NUMBERS



<u>Demography</u>	1989	%YU
Population	1,999,000	8.5
Men	970,000	
Women	1,029,000	
till 14 years	421,000	7.8
15 to 39 years	782,000	8.5
40 to 64 years	585,000	8.6
over 65 years	211,000	9.7

<u>Major Cities-population</u>	1990
Ljubljana (capital)	279,000
Maribor	108,000
Celje	42,000
Kranj	37,000

<u>Nationalities (No of)</u>	1981
Slovenians	1,712,445
Montenegrins	3,217
Croats	55,625
Macedonians	3,288
Muslims	13,425
Serbs	42,182
Albanians	1,985
Italians	2,187
Hungarians	1,435
Yugoslavs	26,263
others	20,316

<u>Employment</u>	1989
total	850,000
women	391,000

<u>Land</u>	1991	%YU
territory(square km)	20,251	8
<u>Borders (in km)</u>		
	1991	
Austria	324	
Italy	202	
Hungary	88	
Croatia	546	
length of sea coast	46.6	

<u>Culture</u>	1989	YU
Museums	39	380
Libraries	151	1937
Theaters	8	72
Orchestra	4	32
Cinemas	158	1165
Library attendance (per 1000)	1848	1051
Theater attendance (per 1000)	198	121
Cinemas attendance (per 1000)	1896	1860
Radio subscribers (per 1000)	303	196
Book circulation (per 1000)	3547	2172

<u>Media</u>	1989	YU
Daily newspapers (number)	3	28
Circulation (in millions)	77	690
TV stations (number)	2	9

<u>Scientists and technicians</u>	1986
Total	603,000
Scientists/engineers	60,000
- women	22,000
Technicians	543,000
- women	234,000

<u>Slovenian Trade in USD \$1000</u>	<u>Export-1990</u>	<u>Import-1990</u>	<u>Export-1989</u>	<u>YU-Export-89</u>
EEC countries	2,382,194	2,763,655	1,747,557	3,468,450
Belgium, Luxembourg	34,969	66,443	29,566	
Denmark	22,077	30,125	14,814	
France, Monaco	401,760	551,605	260,532	
Greece	29,325	22,663	23,755	
Ireland	9,395	7,185	4,335	
Italy, San Marino	775,253	745,531	650,858	
Holland	54,620	88,815	46,403	
Portugal	2,053	6,120	1,101	
Spain	22,333	52,300	12,245	
Great Britain	116,432	94,391	96,882	
Germany	913,977	1,098,477	607,066	

EFTA countries	349,217	625,117		
Austria	222,658	426,070		
Finland	12,081	11,462		
Island	298	714		
Liechtenstein	1,174	5,535		
Norway	10,545	7,696		
Sweden	50,918	66,322		
Switzerland	51,543	107,318		

Other developed countries (US,Aus)	275,345	437,867		

Socialist countries	844,701	614,769		

Countries in development	266,368	293,157		

<u>Structure of Slovenian Industry in 1990 in % ratio</u>	<u>Export</u>	<u>Production</u>	<u>Employment</u>
Food, beverages	4.09	7.48	6.88
Textile, clothing, leather	10.71	13.49	19.86
Wood and finished products of wood	7.74	7.27	8.42
Paper and finished products of paper	5.80	6.08	4.77
Chemical and pharmaceutical industry	12.01	12.26	7.78
Non-ferris refining industry	3.08	4.49	5.20
Metal primary industry	7.54	6.23	5.51
Metal industry - finished products	47.63	36.20	38.03
Other industry	1.40	1.70	1.28
Electricity, gas, water	0.00	4.80	2.27

<u>Registered firms, businesses, etc.,</u>	<u>Nov 1990</u>	<u>Net income per person in YUD, average monthly</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>YU</u>
Industry and mining	2226	Industry and mining	4957	
Agriculture and fishing	157	Agriculture and fishing	5862	3861
Forestry	16	Forestry	5582	3801
Civil engineering	239	Hydro electric industry	7645	3775
Hydro-electric industry	584	Civil engineering	4511	3579
Transport	3221	Transport	6489	4757
Tourism	417	Merchandise	4885	4077
Small business	916	Tourism	5010	3651
Technical and alike	4588	Small business	5146	4109
		Financial businesses	7696	5789
		Education and culture	7323	5405
		Medical profession	6719	5288
		Politicians	7967	5795

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Export Department
LJUBLJANA

TRADE BETWEEN SLOVENIA AND AUSTRALIA

(Translated from the official document in Slovenian language which can be found in Appendix I)

in \$1000 *
Federal Bureau of Statistics

YEAR	Yugoslavia	Slovenia	% Slov/Yug
EXPORT			
1975	5,316	3,320	62.5
1976	6,467	3,501	54.1
1977	6,695	3,177	47.5
1978	8,991	6,244	69.4
1979	11,309	7,242	64.0
1980	11,398	6,305	55.3
1981	19,141	9,666	50.5
1982	19,492	13,414	68.8
1983	14,978	9,357	62.5
1984	20,280	13,095	64.6
1985	24,794	14,878	60.0
1986	23,220	6,988	30.1
1987	34,696	9,123	26.3
1988	39,886	13,311	33.4
1989	40,900	15,027	36.7
1990	64,720	18,439	28.5
I-III 91	8,589	4,986	58.1
I-V 91		8,079 **	
IMPORT			
1975	52,681	8,110	15.4
1976	42,591	7,325	17.2
1977	103,659	12,935	12.5
1978	95,362	8,015	8.4
1979	91,656	9,110	9.9
1980	88,249	9,351	10.6
1981	89,586	10,453	11.7
1982	86,768	11,658	13.4
1983	48,013	9,507	19.8
1984	89,899	12,091	14.3
1985	95,639	12,301	12.9
1986	94,534	13,554	14.3
1987	88,573	17,354	19.6
1988	99,256	19,239	19.4
1989	136,912	30,168	22.0
1990	97,700	24,648	25.2
I-III 91	9,418	3,186	33.8
I-V 91		1,038 **	

* The official document doesn't say whether the report is in USD or AUD.

** The data of National Bank of Slovenia, Ljubljana, July 1991

Slovenian Nation Is an Alpine
Nation Not a Balkan nation

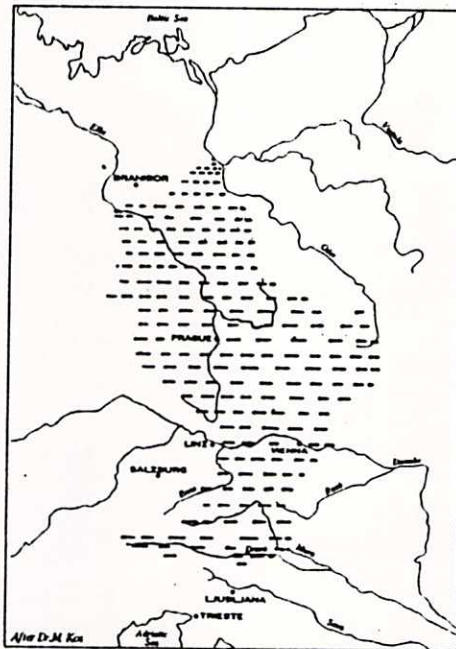
SHORT HISTORY OF SLOVENIAN NATION

In successive waves of migration from the sixth to the eighth century, the Baltic and western Carpathian Slavs* settled the territories of currently known as Czechoslovakia, and Austria, and parts of current Germany, Italy and all of Slovenia.

There was no class distinction among Slavs and everyone had equal rights. There were no hereditary noblemen, as there were in Germanic and other nations, because Slavs did not consider that noblemen were descendants of Gods, whom the lower classes (subjects, bondsmen) had to obey and honour(1).

Slavs settling the territory of Slovenia are named Slovenians. Old settlers of the territory were Illyric and Keltic tribes living under the old Roman Empire which had declined greatly at that time. Not many Illyrs and Kelts assimilated easily into the Slovene population. The time of Slovene settlement was far from peaceful. Slovenes were constantly attacked by Avars. From the west the Franks and Bavarians also pushed south to gain more territory.

In the year 623 the leader Samo led the Slavs in a war against the Avars. The war was on the territories of Moravia and Bohemia (currently Czechoslovakia), Austria and Carinthia (the Slovene territory now called Lower Austria). The Slovenian Slavs fought under the leader Valuk. The Slavs won and Samo became the ruler of the above territories. Because of this, Samo appeared dangerous to neighbouring Franks and Bavarians. Together with Langobards and Alemans they declared war on Samo. The war from 626-629 ended with a complete victory for Samo. The approximate borders of Samo's state are on the next map.



In Samo's state Carinthian Slavs (Slovenes) had a seat at the Castle of Krn (today Karnburg in south Austria/ slov. Krnski Grad), where they could enjoy their life in a free and independent state. Their first duke was Duke Valuk. He lived in the Castle with the group of notables called

* There are thesis that Slovenians have different origin as that of Slavs. In appendix A, see the thesis by which Slovenians might have originated through Venetis.

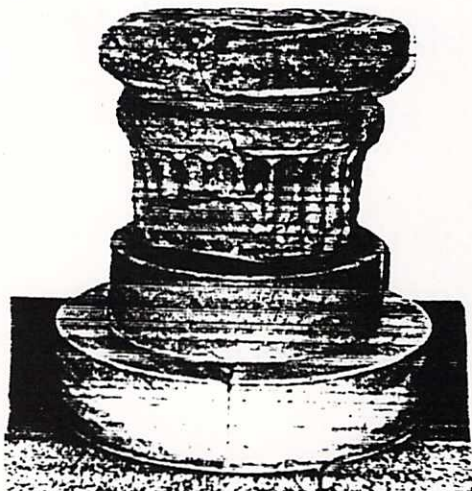
Kosezi(slov.) or Edlingers (ger). These notables played a large role in the ducal installation. Carinthians maintained their independent state for over a hundred years even after the decline of Samo's empire in 658 when he died. Slovenians were electing their dukes long after they later lost their independence to the Franks and Germans. After Slovenia lost its independence the Empire proposed a duke, but he still had to be confirmed by Kosezi (Assembly of Slovenian notables). The installation of Carinthian dukes is so specific and characteristic and has had so much impact on the world democracy that we feel we need to describe it in more detail. Later, we will return back to the times of the decline of Samo's state.

Installation took place at the Knezji kamen (Eng. Prince's Stone) (Ger. Fürstentein) at the foot of the Krnski grad (Ger. Karnburg). ...

... After the death of the old duke, the Kosezi - Edlinger gathered at a meeting of the Edlinger courts where they elected and swore in their representatives to the Edlinger assembly (Ger. Ding, Diet). The Kosezi - Edlinger assembly first chose the judge of the land, and under his leadership a vote was held whether to accept the suggested new duke. The judge asked all Kosezi - Edlinger and each in particular whether the new duke seemed "useful, good and welcome" to them and to the land. If they rejected him, the Empire had to give them a new duke, but if the majority agreed, the decision was held to be a unanimous one of the whole assembly, and "rich" and "poor" betook themselves to the Gosposvetsko polje (Ger. Saafeld) where, at the Prince's Stone near Krnski grad (Ger. Karnburg), power was handed over to the new duke on the part of the land. The duke was clothed in peasant dress (i.e. in grey pants, a grey coat with a red belt, his head covered with a grey hat with a grey band and his feet encased in peasant clogs), placed on a mare and was led around the Prince's Stone three times. The people who were standing around sang an old Slovenian song of praise to God. Thereby the duke took over all the rights which were due to him as duke and lord. ...

...The installation of Dukes of Carinthia was well known all over the Europe. The author of the life story of King Charles V, Pero Mexia, the 'magnifico caballero', from Seville, has included in his work *Selvia de varia lecion* a report regarding the ducal installation. ...

...The Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia was of Great Interest to Thomas Jefferson, when he was working on the Declaration of Independence (1776), and read the work by Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la republique* (1567). The history of the installation were one of the sources that helped Jefferson come to the conclusion that the power, handed over to a leader is not a vision of utopia but a form of government which Karantanci (people of Caranthania or Carinthia) had adapted and lived under, their leaders being selected according to democratic principles* .



Princess Stone



A fragment of Frank J. Lausche's speech of 28 November 1967 in American Parliament, stating that according to research by Dr. J. Felicijan in *The Genesis of the Contractual Theory and the Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia (Koroška)*, Thomas Jefferson initialled a page in Bodin's *Republic*, describing the Slovenian ritual of the installation of the Dukes of Carinthia.

* See appendix B for more information about Mr Lausche and the connection of Thomas Jefferson and the installation of the dukes of Carinthia.

...Evidence that the duke is not a ruler by the grace of the King but by the grace of the people, is confirmed also by the use of the Slovenian costume and their supposed appearance at the imperial court, using the Slovenian language to address the Emperor, even though they were later Germans, until the reign of Charles VI (1728)....

.....The supra-national character of the empire was also emphasized in the Golden Bull of Charles IV (1356). Article XXVI provides that prospective candidates for the imperial throne should learn German and Slavic.

.....The special document Privilegium maius from the year 1359 gave the Dukes of Carinthia special rights to receive the feud while on a horseback instead of kneeling like dukes of other dukedoms. This was evidence of the duke's importance and status - of being the supreme hunting master(1)

Slovenian freedom and peace came under threat in the midst of 8th century. Avars attacks became severe and Slovenians asked for help their friendly neighbours, the Bavarians. The help they received cost them their freedom. Slovenians slowly lost independence to Bavarians. For centuries they were still able to elect their dukes but the ceremony was eventually adapted to ritualistic and religious changes.

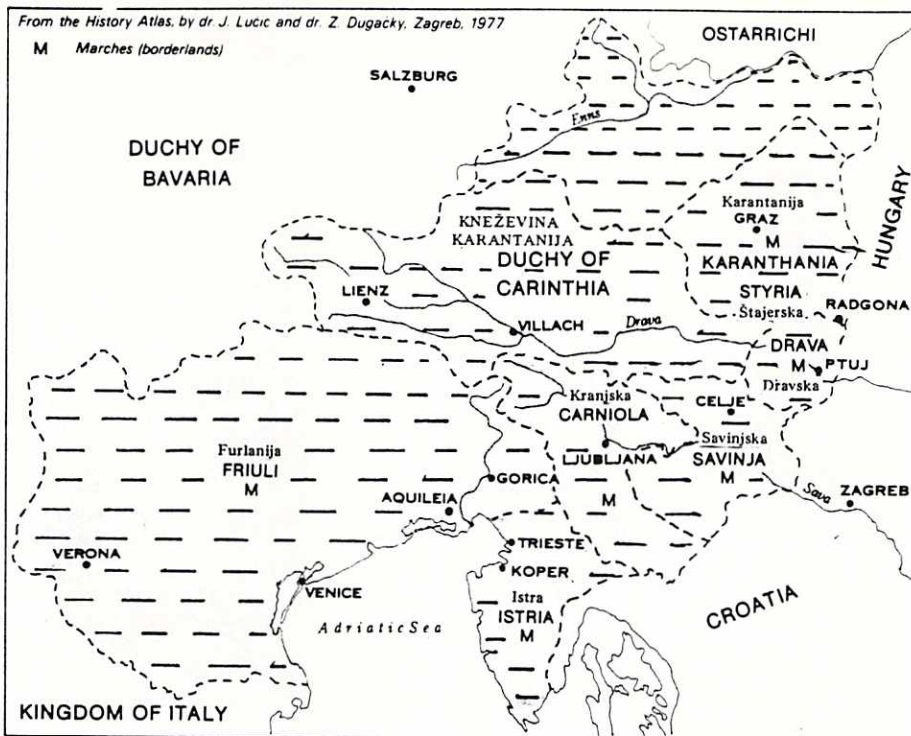
Under the Bavarians the Slovenians were forced to accept Christianity which resulted in a lot of fighting as the Christian religion was established in Slovenia. It was only after the Bavarian Duke Tassilo joined with the Franks against the Slovenians that monasteries could be established. The foundation Charter of the monastery of Kremsmünster is of great importance because

... it gives us not only historically invaluable information about the Slovene western boundary on the Danube as well as about the structure of Slovene society in the eighth century, but also a perfect view of the functioning of a great monastic house of the period; it is moreover a classical example of a medieval grant of land. The charter is prima facie evidence that Slovenes penetrated to the Traun; that Tassilo stopped them and tried to contain them in restricted areas to which, however they did not keep; that these Slavs lived in their own social groups and under their own laws and customs; that the Bavarian colonists had to be brought into the donated territory, and that duke Tassilo thought so much of this foundation and of its mission, that - as he put it - "tradidi quod potui" - he gave all he had,...(1)

Slovenians were slowly accepting Christian religion. A new threat for peace came from the eastern side of Europe in the ninth century. Hungarians had endangered and attacked Franks and Bavarians for decades. Slovenians and Bavarians fought together against the Hungarians. Germans were so impressed by the hearty fighting of Carinthia that the territory

was given a special role as a leader in the reconquest of the Frankish Eastern provinces, which had been lost during the invasions. Carinthia became, in 976, a separate Dukedom.(1)

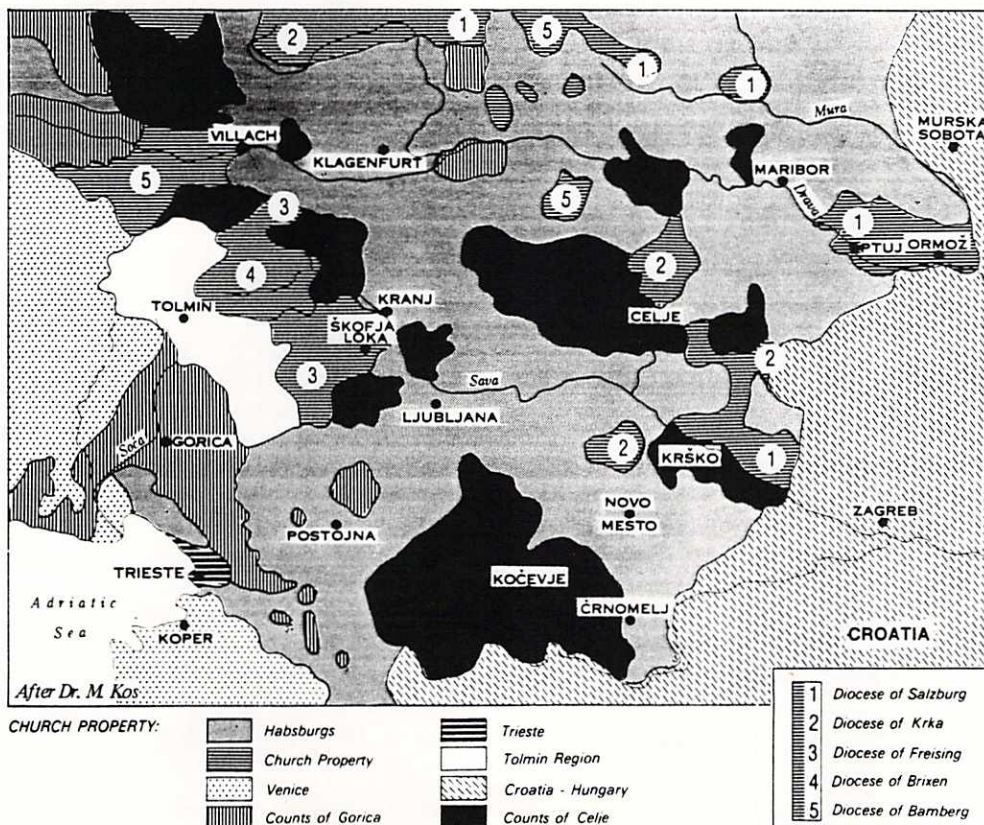
but the dukes appointed were all of German origin and were appointed by the King as he pleased which caused a lot of discontent amongst Carinthians. The size of the Dukedom is on the next map:



8. Great Carinthia.

The following centuries were dark for Slovenian freedom. The land had been divided amongst noble families and the Church. German farmers were settled on Slovenian land, Slovenian names were changed into German names and Slovenian people were pushed into the position of peasants, and throughout the centuries the Germanic rulers made sure they stayed there. Slovenian language became the language of the peasants, of which nobles should be ashamed of. Slovenian noblemen had to accept these rules.

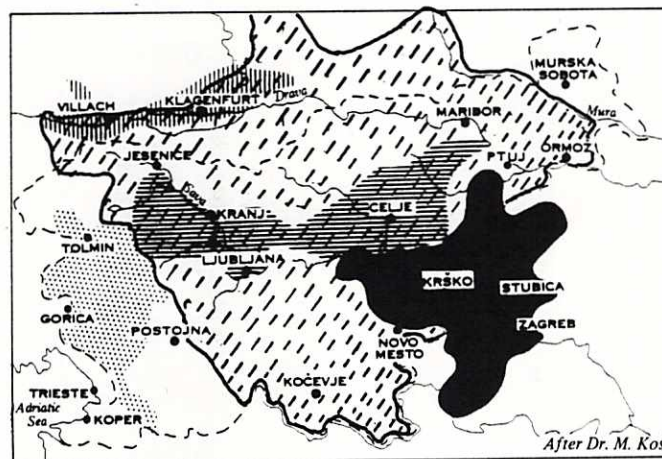
By fourteenth century a large part of Slovenian (Caranthian) territory belonged to the Habsburg family (German) but there was also a large part belonging to the Slovenian or at least partially Slovenian Counts of Celje (Celje is a town in the north-east Slovenia). The next map shows the division of the land:








Counts of Celje became very powerful. In the year 1436 they obtained the honour of 'State Dukes of the Holy Roman Empire'. This gave them the right to have their own family noble law court, mining rights and the right to issue their own currency. Newly enthroned Habsburg Frederick further recognized the Counts of Celje. There was an inheritance agreement by which the land of the Habsburgs would be passed to the Counts of Celje if Habsburgs ended up having no heirs.

The 15th century was the time of Turkish invasions. In 1440 Count Ulrich of Celje, together with Hungarians, went to Serbia to help fight the Turks. Once within the city of Belgrade, the Hungarians assassinated Ulrich who was the last of the Counts of Celje as he didn't have any heirs. That was of course very convenient to the Habsburgs who subsequently divided all the land of Counts of Celje.

The Turks continued to invade Slavic nations and penetrated right up to Vienna. There was a need for a stronger defence against them. Peasants and farmers had contributed to the landlords for protection against Turks. It was soon clear that a lot of their money didn't go for the purpose collected. On the other side many strong independent farmers were forced from their land because they were unable to pay the extra taxes demanded from them. All these social and economic struggles caused several peasant uprisings in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries in Slovenia. The following map shows the distribution and time of revolutions.



-  Carinthian uprising in year 1478 (Koroska)
-  The 'Whole Slovenian' uprising 1515
-  Croatian-Slovenian uprising 1573
-  Slovenian uprising 1635
-  Uprising of Slovenes in Region Gorica-Tolmin 1731

The 15th century is the start of a new era for Europe named the Renaissance. In short it meant a revival of intellectual freedom but its special importance was in studying human rights and revealing the corruption of the Church. The Church Reformation was of great importance for Slovenians because it helped develop the Slovenian language. The first printing house was established in Ljubljana (now capital of Slovenia) between 1575 and 1580. The bible, traditionally written in Latin, was now finally published in the language understood by the people. The first libraries were established and Slovenian language was to be taught in schools. The Austrian Habsburgs opposed teaching Slovenian at schools.

The Castle of Bogensperk was owned by Janez Vajkard Valvasor, a man and a scientist who introduced Slovenian territory to the world by writing a book *Slava Vojvodine Kranjske* or *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* (Carniola is a part of Slovenia, often used as another name for

Slovenia). The book was published 1689 in German. For his detailed research of the Lake of Cerknica, with its strange behaviour not quite understood even today he was elected a member of the English Royal Society. The Lake of Cerknica has in winter five times more water than the biggest Slovenian lake but in summer the water disappears to such extent in underground tunnels that the farmers can harvest hay on it.

In 18th century Habsburgs were still very powerful monarchists. Charles VI ensured by means of the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713 that his son would inherit the throne and if he did not his daughter would. In 1740 Maria Theresa succeeded her father. She ruled on the principle of unrestricted power and authority. She introduced compulsory army since. She also encouraged the establishment of companies to develop knowledge, public primary schools etc... On Slovenian territory only schools teaching German language were granted government support. Special beginners' grade schools were introduced to teach children German between the ages of 6 and 12 years. Succeeders of Maria Theresa were even more absolutiste.

The 18th century was time of industrial revolution. Better systems for farming and transport were developed and many rural workers moved to the city to work in factories. In France there were major changes. The Monarchy fell. France became a republic. A new great leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, emerged out of the revolutionary times. He led France to win against Britain and soon spread his rule across Germany, Habsburg territory, Italy, Russia (the only one who walked into Moscow). He also came to Slovenia. Captain Bernadotte was appointed to govern Slovenian territory and his proclamation showed very clearly that the French intended to treat Slovenia much better than the Austrians. The proclamation was written in the Slovenian, German and French languages. It stated that no Slovenian would be molested by French soldiers and that the French respected the customs of the nation. The French brought Slovenian equality before the law, built many roads to improve trade with Constantinople and re-established Slovenian schools which had been unsuccessfully launched under Maria-Theresa.

After Napoleon's fall the Slovenians once again fell under the Austrians, but Slovenian national consciousness could not be stopped any more. Slovenian intellectuals and wealthy people collected a lot of written Slovenian material and published more Slovenian books such as Grammar etc...Patritotism was on the rise. The March revolutions, known as The Spring of Nations, occurred in 1848. These revolutions were an unequivocal demand for a national freedom of European nations and also Slovenians. In Vienna there was a group formed called Slovenia. They demanded from Austrian government the rights to protect Slovenian nationality. They presented a pamphlet to the Emperor in which they demanded that the administratively divided Slovenians in Carniola (Kranjska), Carinthia (Koroska), Styria (Stajerska) and Littoral (Primorska) should be united as one Kingdom bearing the name of Slovenia and having its own national parliament. They also demanded that the Slovenian language should have precisely the same rights in Slovenia as the German language in Austria and they demanded to have Slovenian representatives in the Austrian Parliament. They have achieved 14 deputies in the parliament in the year 1848-49.

Nevertheless all until the first world war, 1914-1918, Slovenia was still under Austria. During the war a Yugoslav Club was formed to join Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and other Slavic nations under one state which Slovenes hoped would give them more freedom than any form of living under Austria. The declaration read to the Austrian Parliament 30 May 1917 by Slovenian Chairman of the Yugoslav Club Dr Anton Korosec was:

"Those deputies, members of the Yugoslav Club, demand that - according to the principles of national selfdetermination and Croat state rights - all territories of the monarchy inhabited by Slovenians, Croats, and Serbs should be united into one autonomous state based upon democratic principles. They will put forth every effort to implement this demand. They participate in parliamentary work with this reservation.."(1).

After the war a new state was formed called a Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. Although Slovenians rejoiced their new hope for freedom of exercising their nationality, they were disappointed. They realized that because of diverse series of peace treaties, over a third of the Slovenian population was surrendered to Austria and Italy. Also the new Kingdom soon showed its real nature. The first King of the newly formed Kingdom was of Serbian nationality. The kingdom became soon a dictatorship. In 1929 King Alexander declared a dictatorship and changed the constitution.

Another dictatorship was on the march in 1930s. Hitler decided to join all Europe under German leadership and only the world war with millions of lives lost stopped his plans. At the beginning of the war in 1941 Yugoslav government surrendered to Germany straight away. But the people didn't. All the nations of Yugoslavia started a guerilla war against the German occupation. The King escaped to England. Germans had to keep over a hundred thousand soldiers in Yugoslavia constantly, who were supposed to fight elsewhere especially in Soviet Union. During the war a new leader, Tito, emerged in Yugoslavia from the peoples side. He joined the Yugoslav nations against the German occupation and also against the monarchistic regime. After the war the King was not allowed to return. Six republics and two autonomous provinces joined on the basis of equal rights into a federation giving each nation the right to exercise their national freedom. The constitution of Yugoslavia in 1945, and also the current constitution from 1974, reserve the right of each of the nations to secede if they wish so.

Yugoslav federation worked fairly well after the World War II under Tito's leadership. Each nation had the right to have their own schools, literature, and cultural development in their own language. Nevertheless on the economic side there were big differences between the republics. Slovenia and Croatia, the most advanced, had to contribute a lot more to the federal funds to maintain the federation than other republics. Part of their income went straight away for the undeveloped parts of Yugoslavia, which didn't seem to develop much from the contribution.

After Tito's death there were clear indications of a Serbian takeover again. Serbians were strongly pushing for a so called 'Yugoslav' unified School System, the curriculum which would be controlled from Belgrade (Serbian capital). In the economy they were opposing any sound reforms suggested by Slovenes or Croats which would help save Yugoslavia from financial crisis. In 1989 Serbians annexed the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo to Serbia with which they increased the number of votes in the presidency from one to three from the total of eight possible. They started to name themselves Yugoslavia.

The freedom gained to Slovenes and other nations of Yugoslavia during the World War II was threatened once again. Under all these circumstances Slovenes decided to secede from Yugoslavia. To ensure that the will of seceding was true throughout the nation, the newly democratically elected Slovenian government carried out a referendum in December 1990. The result was more than persuasive, with 88.5% voting for independence amongst the 93.5 participating to the referendum.

On 25 June 1991 Slovenia declared its independence and that it was a sovereign state.

- (1) Draga Gelt, The Slovenians from the Earliest Times, Coordinating Committee of Slovenian Organizations of Victoria, Melbourne, 1985

All pictures and maps are taken from the book Draga Gelt, The Slovenians From the Earliest Times.

See appendices A, B and K for further readings.

3

Hope to Live Together
-
Tito's Yugoslavia

MAIN POINTS OF TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA

During and after the Second World War Slovenians, Croatians, Bosniaks, Macedonians, Monte Negrins and Serbians joined in the Federation of six republics and two autonomus provinces (Vojvodina with the mixture of Serbians and Hungarians and Kosovo with 90% Albanian population).

The Yugoslav Federation worked fairly well after World War II under Tito's leadership. Each of the nations had the right to have their own schools, literature, and cultural development in their own language.

Nevertheless, economically, there were big differences between the republics. Slovenia and Croatia, the most advanced, had to contribute a lot more to federal funds to maintain the federation than the other republics. In addition, part of their income went directly to the undeveloped parts of Yugoslavia, which didn't seem to benefit much from the contribution.

After the introduction of so called "Selfmanagement" system the economy started to become chaotic. The aim of the system was to give the workers control over production resources. This way the communistic and socialistic principle of having the workers the owners of the production resources would be implemented. The worker-manager is then responsible for failures as well. This turned into a system which managed itself (self-management) or in other words nobody managed it.

After the war and until the early eighties (1970 and later) Slovenia had been developing its economy in line with western European countries such as Italy and Germany. At the beginning of the eighties the communist party was gaining more and more control, not only of the political arena but it also penetrated heavily into economy and cultural life as well. A great number of experts in the economy found themselves in limbo. They could not exercise their knowledge because of the dominant communist role in the economy and they could not even leave the country (as can for example suppressed technical staff) because their profession was strongly linked to Yugoslavia.

Tito foresaw that one nation might seek to dominate the others therefore he gave to each nation the right to secede. The right to secede, based on selfdetermination, was part of the 1945 Constitution and is in the current Constitution of 1974 as well.*

In order to diminish the power of one republic the Yugoslav Army was established with the participants of each nation. Men from each republic were sent to serve the Army in all the other republics, with only some of them serving the Army in their native republics. The Army Personnel were also moved all over Yugoslavia. This way nations would get to know each other, soldiers would get to know other territories, which might be useful if Yugoslavia was attacked from outside. This way also ensured that the Army was a mixture of nationalities which would reduce the likelihood that one nation could take over another. The Army would simply fall apart or start to fight between itself if there was an internal conflict. That actually showed to be the case when Slovenia was attacked. Over 2700 Yugoslav national army servicemen were captured or deserted to the Slovenian side during the recent conflict along with 700 officers who also crossed to the Slovenian side. A lot of Army Generals and officers resigned due to disagreements about the actions taken against the nations of Yugoslavia.

Tito's Army was probably a good arrangement but there was a catch 22 in it. What if the key positions in the Army were taken over by Generals of only one nation? Innocent soldiers "on the

* See Chapter 8 - Constitutional Rights for Secession

ground" of all other nationalities would become puppets in the hands of the one nation's generals. That way this marvellous concept of the Army would become suicidal for the other nations. The army would become, not only the Army of only one nation with other nationalities fighting and dying for it, but also would place all the weaponry and equipment in the hands of only one nation. This army could not be called the protector of the peoples of Yugoslavia any more. This happened in Yugoslavia with the Serbian generals in total control of the hierarchy of the armed forces, using their authority to impose their will against the other republics.

After the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Yugoslavia started to form local Territorial Defence units in order to prepare the people to defend themselves against any occupier. These would act in addition to the official defence forces of the Yugoslav Army. Territorial Defence has much less equipment than the official Army but its main value is to prepare local people for their own defence. During the recent events in Yugoslavia, namely before Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence, the Army with the Yugoslav Presidency blessing, ordered all the Territorial Defences in Yugoslavia to hand over all their equipment to the Army and therefore to deliberately deprive the nations of any protection against any invasion. Only part of the equipment was handed over. Some was stolen by Army break-ins to the warehouses and arms arsenals of the Territorial Defences.

The Army budget comprises about 65% of the Federal budget.

Symbiotic Common Life of Nations
with Different Cultures
and
Common Life of Big and Small
Nations
Is Possible Only on the Basis of
Mutual Respect and Recognition

YUGOSLAVIA AFTER TITO

OR

REASONS WHY SLOVENIA HAS BECOME INDEPENDENT

We present this chapter of the history to show that the Yugoslav crisis did not start on 25th June 1991 with the Declaration of Independence by Slovenia and Croatia, but it is deeply rooted in the times of the previous twenty years or so*. Certainly the last ten years led to only one solution: to "divorce".

After Tito's death there were clear indications of the Serbian desire to take over.

In the early eighties Serbians were strongly pushing for so called 'School Pivots' (Solska jedra or Programska jedra) which meant a unified Yugoslav School System, the curriculum being controlled from Belgrade (Serbian capital). The emphasis in the new School System would be on learning more of the Serbo-Croatian language (which they started to call the Yugoslav language). Local language was to become a secondary language. Knowledge about each nations' history would be replaced by "Yugoslav" history. The emphasis was that history was really to represent Serbian history with the history of the other republics being subscripted or made subservient to Serbian history. Natural sciences would get less hours and social sciences with an emphasis on socialism and selfmanagement more. The proposed reform of the School System caused so much revulsion that it has never been able to be implemented.

In Slovenia there were many cases of language abuse. There were numerous sloppy translations of official documents, instructions for use of bought consumer products and other papers. Instructions to passengers on Slovenian trains were started to be written only in Serbo-Croatian language. If Slovenians protested to the Yugoslav Government the Slovenians were called chauvinists. The biggest Slovenian computer dealer, ISKRA Delta, was organizing its programming language courses in Serbo-Croatian language. The courses were intended for the audience from other Republics as well as for Slovenians, and, in their opinion, the others were not able to follow the course if it was not in their own language. The proposal to organize separate courses for Slovenians and Serbo-Croatian speaking attendees was refused with an explanation that there was no need to do that because Slovenians can speak Serbo-Croatian. The right to be taught in one's own language has been violated. Every time the Slovenians protested and tried to protect themselves they were called chauvinists and separatists.

In order to protect Slovenian language the biggest Slovenian newspaper 'Delo' started publishing a column called 'Language Arbitrage' (Jezikovno rzsodisce). In that column cases of language irregularities and violations were presented and suggestions given for better expression in the Slovenian language.

The Slovenian magazine Mladina (Youth) started revealing political, economic and other irregularities in Yugoslavia with a special emphasis on the irregularities of the Army. Mladina wrote about cases where the Army was conscripting people with cancer, with a full awareness of it. They wrote about a villa being built for the top General of the Army in a secret place along the

* Some, especially the political immigration of Yugoslavia, would claim that the conflict has existed for much longer.

Coast. The villa was being built by the soldiers treated as prisoners. Mladina became the most revolutionary magazine in Yugoslavia. It was censored and many times taken out of the circulation.

The economy of Yugoslavia was on the brink of collapse. Obligations to cover the interest payments could not be met any more but Federal politicians wanted even more foreign aid. Belgrade decided to centralize revenue. All income was going first to Belgrade from where it was later given back to the Republics. There were many protests about that because the Republics' economies were vastly hampered and could not continue with their normal operation. Many laws about import and export were aimed against the Slovenian and Croatian economies. But one of the worst aspects was that the laws were changing so quickly that by the time papers satisfied one law a new law was issued. The economy became bureaucracized. Inflation rose at one stage to over 100%. There were a few devaluations and local traders became speculative. They hid the goods to enforce higher prices. (The same problem as in the Soviet Union). Slovenians had many suggestions to improve the overall Yugoslav economy. The suggestions were usually rejected as they were thought to only benefit Slovenians and therefore were not acceptable to others. On the other hand the Federation requires from Slovenia to pay to the Federal budget an amount which is more than double the whole amount of Slovenian budget and that would comprise 25% of the Federal budget, which they claim Slovenia must pay because they produce about 25% of the national income with only 8% of the Yugoslav population.

Serbians are also pushing very strongly to change the Yugoslav Constitution which should in their opinion increase the authority of the Federation. The only way to solve Yugoslav problems is to centralize the system. In their opinion there is also no need to have a section in the Constitution which gives to each of the nations the right to secede.

Vojvodina and Kosovo lost their independence to Serbia by the latter annexing them to Serbia without any referendums. This way Serbia got automatically three votes in the Yugoslav Presidency of eight representatives.

Kosovo with 90% Albanians demanded to become a Republic of Yugoslavia. Slovenians supported the protection of human rights in Kosovo. As revenge the Serbians imposed an economic blockade on Slovenia, in which Serbian firms were advised not to pay the bills for goods they received from Slovenia. As the Serbian economy is in ruins itself this measure helped Serbia by forcing Slovenian enterprises to subsidise it with their produce that was not paid for.

Milosevic's policies are focused only on implanting hate between the nations in order to have Serbian people support the start of a war. The Serbian economy is in deep trouble. In Serbia itself there is a weak opposition to the communist government. It, with the students, organised big demonstrations last year demanding more freedom and especially criticized control over the media. These people were suppressed by the very same army that is today fighting other nations in Yugoslavia. That clearly indicates that the true background of the war is to retain the old system in its full operation and with even more power to the hardliners.

In order to solve the economic troubles Milosevic broke into the National Bank of Yugoslavia and stole half of the primary emissions money which is the money of all the republics. How could anybody in the world expect from the Slovenians to want to live with such barbarians?

Let us see the events in a chronological order from 1987 - 1991.

1987 - 1991 Chronologically:

Feb 1987

The 57th issue of the Slovenian magazine "Nova Revija" (New Magazine) publishes an article in which the worry is expressed about the situation in which Slovenian nation found itself within Yugoslavia. The crisis of the nation is manifested in a special apathy, numerous immigrations and high rate of suicide.

May 1988

The groundswell of rumours about an Army invasion on Slovenia. The Federal Presidency rejects the rumours as unfounded.

Secret police arrests Janez Jansa (now Slovenian Defence Minister), Ivan Borstner - Army officer, David Tasic - journalist of the magazine Mladina (Youth), and Franci Zavrl - editor of the magazine Mladina (Youth) with an explanation that they found a confidential army document with Janez Jansa which was published in the magazine. The process is known under the name of "The Process against the Quaternary". The process has a big impact on democratic developments in Slovenia. Slovenian political opposition is convinced that the process has been framed and that the intention of the process is to restrain the started new waves in Slovenia especially to restrain the freedom of speech and print and started political pluralism. The Slovenian nation wakes up and a Committee for Human Rights Protection is founded which is able to attract in a very short time over one hundred thousand individuals and organizations. That is the first big organized political movement in Slovenia after the second World War. With constant actions and pressures on the Slovenian Government the Committee achieves that the process finished quickly with minor charges and imprisoned four were relatively soon released.

At the conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party they agree that the Communist Party is the only carrier of the progress in Yugoslavia.

A French magazine "La Liberation" gives a special attention to Milan Kucan (Slovenian President) who is offering a hand to all non communist parties and other streams.

June 1988

A public opinion survey shows strong inclination of Slovenian nation towards democratization of the society and towards the end of communism.

The Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party demands ban on the publication of the Slovenian magazine "Mladina" (Youth) because it is writing about anticommunism and about circumstances on Kosovo.

Milan Kucan offers an open space to all elements, parties, organizations which want to contribute to democratic reforms in Slovenia. He also emphasizes that there is no democracy without reformed market economy.

Franc Setinc (Slovenian) member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party offers a resignation which was refused.

July 1988

In Belgrade three journalists of the Serbian magazine NIN are expelled from the Communist party with an explanation they were destroying a democratic centralism.

At the session of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Serbia they discussed about the security in Kosovo. In Slobodan Milosevic's opinion, the security in Kosovo is not achievable by political means.

Serbian delegates discuss about constitutional changes. Borisav Jovic asserts that Serbia cannot function as a state because it is composed of three parts (Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo). The delegates from Vojvodina and Kosovo disagree.

The Presidency of autonomous province of Vojvodina strongly criticizes Slobodan Milosevic who claims that Vojvodina and Kosovo want to become independent states with which they want to break Serbia into pieces.

Franc Setinc (Slovenian) member in the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party requires to find constitutional and peaceful solutions for the crisis on Kosovo.

Aug 1988

Members of the Committee for constitutional changes discuss about changes in the current Yugoslav Constitution. Some of the Slovenian proposals such as to change the part in the Constitution which allows military court to judge civilists and to ban of death penalty are not discussed and are "postponed".

Serbians require sacking of Petar Matic - the president of the Union of Tito's Partisans from World War II (ZZB NOVJ) - who asserts that the current leadership of the Central Committee of the Serbian Communist Party tries to establish the Great Serbia.

In Nova Pazova a few thousand people demand resignation of the Presidency of Vojvodina and assert allegiance to Slobodan Milosevic.

Sep 1988

The Presidency of Serbia claims that the situation in Kosovo is worsening. They order to send troops of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs or Federal Militia to Kosovo. Federal militia was formed in 1981 when the State of Emergency was imposed upon Kosovo the first time. The Federal militia is supposed to act wherever there is a fear of a contrarevolution.

Bosna and Hercegovina demands to solve the Kosovo problem in a peaceful manner.

Meetings are organized all over Serbia in support to Slobodan Milosevic and his strong hand over Kosovo. They propose that a group of Serbians and Montenegrins go to Slovenia as well to tell Slovenians "the truth" about Kosovo. These meetings are known under the name "The Meetings 'of Truth'". The Slovenian Government rejects the proposal because on those meetings only one truth is heard.

Franc Setinc, Slovenian member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party finally resigns because of the atmosphere in which he cannot perform his task any more. Setinc also says that the new democratic movements in Slovenia could be an example and a contribution for the democratic developments of the rest of Yugoslavia

Oct 1988

In Ljubljana the first freely formed Council is established out of old SZDL. Its main program is the protection of human rights. A number of scientists, literates and politicians adhered the Council.

The Presidency of autonomous region of Vojvodina is forced to resign. Further protests are organized to require resignations of all independent Vojvodina's bodies including media.

The Central Committee of the Serbian Communist Party comments changes in Vojvodina as positive changes. They assert that with the events in Vojvodina the last impediment is removed on the way to accept the new Serbian Constitution. They also suggest to expell from the Central Committe of the Yugoslav Communist Party Azem Vllasi (Kosovo leader), Kolla Shiroka and Svetislav Dolasevic.

Slovenian delegation walkes out of the session of the Federal Committee for constitutional changes because of the atmosphere emerged at the session after the Army rejects the changes being accepted by the workshop.

A group of Serbians from Kosovo comes in Belgrade and start a hunger strike demanding Kosovo leadership to resign.

Nov 1988

German newspapers report the hidden tensions between Serbia and Slovenia.

In Kosovo Vllasi and Jasharijevã are forced to resign. About 10,000 Albanians demonstrate in their support. Meetings of Albanians are banned in Kosovo.

Slobodan Milosevic claims that the Federation is irreplaceable and Yugoslavia must remain a united economy territory with united system solutions and free circulations of products and services. Meetings in support to Milosevic continue.

Dec 1988

Slovenian Assembly decides to contribute 354.1 milliards of Din and not 736.8 milliards as required by Federal Government because the real downfall of sallaries and wages hit Slovenia more than other Republics.

General Simeon Buncic criticizes some Slovenian magazines attacking the Yugoslav Army.

Jan 1989

The Slovenian Government strongly criticizes the Federal Government responsible for economy, because the latter hasn't prepared the strategy for relationship with European integrations. Isolation of Yugoslavia would hit Slovenia very badly because Slovenia is exporting 61% to EEC market.

In Monte Negro around 50,000 demonstrators requires resignation of the Monte Negrin Government which happens the next day.

The City Committee of the Communist Party of Belgrade and Central Committee of the Serbian Communist Party require the resignation of Stipe Suvar (Croatian) - the President of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party - with an explanation that he has negative position towards Serbian politics.

Ante Markovic (Croatian) becomes the President of the Yugoslav Government.

In Slovenia a new party, Slovenian Democratic Union is formed.

Feb 1989

In Kosovo there are protests of Albanian population against excluding Azem Vllasi from the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Miners go on hunger strike to force the resignation of newly appointed leaders of Kosovo by the Serbian Government.

In Slovenia another party is formed - Social Democratic Party of Slovenia.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia demands immediate interruption of all the strikes in Kosovo.

The State of Emergency is declared in Kosovo.

In Slovenia there are vast protests against the State of Emergency introduced in Kosovo and there are about 450,000 signatures collected in condemning the action.

Mar 1989

In Belgrade there are protests against Slovenian politicians.

In Kosovo Azem Vllasi and a few others are arrested.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia bans new political party formations but the Slovenian Attorney General refuses the ban as there are no law foundations for it.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia supports the State of Emergency measures in Kosovo. Meetings in Kosovo are banned. A curfew is introduced. About 21 people are killed and 74 wounded.

Apr 1989

In Slovenia Janez Drnovsek becomes a member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

At the session of the Yugoslav Socialist Labour Union (SZDLJ) they talk about a political pluralism.

Youth Socialist Union of Slovenia - now Liberal Party - (ZSMS) requires an explanation for sending Slovenian reservists to Kosovo.

Socialist Labour Union of Slovenia (SZDLS) breaks the link with the ruling Communist party and declares its independence.

In Monte Negro the new Communist Party leader becomes Momir Bulatovic.

May 1989

Slobodan Milosevic becomes the President of the Presidency of Serbia.

Milan Pancevski becomes the President of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. He replaces Stipe Suvar. At its session they discuss about Kosovo with an idea to discuss

about Slovenia at the next session. The session ended up after 16 hours during which Branko Radmilovic (Serbian) was naming Slovenia everything from separatistic to destroying Yugoslavia. Milan Kucan was defending Slovenia at that session.

Slobodan Milosevic accuses Slovenia of fascistic mind towards Serbia.

The Presidency of Slovenia writes to the Presidency of Serbia requiring open talks with Milosevic about recent accusations.

In Kosovo there are students' demonstrations. Serbians claim that no other world minority has as many rights as Albanians on Kosovo.

June 1989

The delegation of the European Parliament is sent to Kosovo but has to return because it is unable to perform its mission.

The Serbian leadership demands from Slovenia to support Serbian stand on Kosovo. The Slovenian Government answers that it is completely clear by now that Serbian side does not want any talks.

Ideological purges in Kosovo continue.

In Slovenia another party is formed - Green Party of Slovenia.

The public opinion survey shows that Slovenian nation is enviably well informed regarding human rights and political rights protections.

Serbians celebrate 600 years of a great battle in Kosovo in which they lost to Turks.

July 1989

The Slovenian Committee for Constitutional Changes confirms undeniable right of the Slovenian nation for selfdetermination and secession.

A delegate from Bosna and Hercegovina accuses the Yugoslav Communist Party to contribute to the tension between nations of Yugoslavia.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia with the president Janez Drnovsek (Slovenia) removes the State of Emergency measures in Kosovo.

The Serbian Communist Party rejects accusations to be neostalinistic, monolistic, Serbian hegemonistic and unitaristic.

Aug 1989

Slovenian delegates propose to the Federal assembly a change in a criminal law of Yugoslavia. The change is about the removal of the "verbal delict".

Belgrade militia beats Boris Muzevic, Slovenian member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in Belgrade. The incident has been regretted afterwards by the Federal Authorities.

Sep 1989

In Kosovo, they start identifying and prosecuting 1665 participants of the demonstrations in March.

For the second time the International Delegation for Human Rights comes to Kosovo and is again rejected by the Serbian Government.

In Slovenia preparations for free elections are under way.

The Slovenian Presidency is receiving several warnings from Belgrade about what can happen if Slovenia accepts its constitution giving it full right to selfdetermination and secession.

27 Sep, the new Constitution of Slovenia was accepted unanimously.

Some groups in Monte Negro and Serbia require arresting Milan Kucan and other Slovenian politicians and are calling on the Army to do their task.

Oct 1989

Tensions in Kosovo are rising. 30th Oct is the first day of a trial to Azem Vlasi.

Borisav Jovic (Serbian member of the Yugoslav Presidency) arrives to Ljubljana telling Slovenians that relationship between Serbia and Slovenia are bad and may even become worse because of the Slovenian proposal for abolition of the trial to Azem Vlasi.

Nov 1989

New demonstrations in Kosovo in conjunction with the trial to Vlasi. Federal militia intervenes.

Slovenian Socialist Union (SZDLS) requires to call off all Slovenian Militia from Kosovo.

Serbians and Montenegrins again demand to come in large numbers to Slovenia to perform their "Meetings of Truth". They claim they want to come to Slovenia even for the cost of human lives. Slovenian Government rejects the proposed meetings.

Dec 1989

Serbia declares an economic blockade against Slovenia. Serbian firms are advised not to pay the bills to Slovenian firms.

Serbian intellectuals assert that the Serbian Communist Party finally showed that it is prepared to make an utter mess amongst all the nations.

Slobodan Milosevic in his speech to the Serbian Presidency says that Serbians will insist with the economic blockade until there are conservative forces and forces of aggression in Slovenia.

Belgrade gets the first opposition party - Democratic party.

In Slovenia they declare political pluralism and are preparing for the first multiparty elections after the war.

Jan 1990

In Slovenia opposition parties of SDZ, SKD, SDZS, Slovenian Rural Society and Green Party of Slovenia and later others join into the Coalition called Demos.

New party of Christian Democrats is formed in Slovenia.

In Belgrade 14th Congress of the Yugoslav Communist party started without Slovenian delegation. Milosevic did not succeed to continue with the Congress.

A petition is organized in Slovenia to leave out Socialist from the name of Slovenia.

In Kosovo the demonstrations continue. There are a lot of victims. The danger for the civil war rises. In Serbia they start to collect volunteers.

Feb 1990

The Communist Party of Slovenia renames itself into The Party of the Democratic Reforms.

Slovenian Militia is called off from Kosovo.

Slovenian Association of Writers have withdrawn themselves from the Yugoslav Association of Writers.

The Slovenian Government accepts contra-actions in answer to Serbian's economic blockade.

Mar 1990

Slovenian Assembly erases the name Socialistic from the name of Slovenia.

Social Democrats present their project for realization of independency of Slovenia.

April 1990

Federal Assembly requires from the Republics to adjust their constitutions and bring them in line with the Yugoslav Constitution. A disputable part in the Slovenian Constitution was the part which says that the State of Emergency can be declared in Slovenia only with the agreement of the Slovenian Government.

Trial to Vllasi has finished with his release.

Federal Government ends up with the State of Emergency in Kosovo.

In Slovenia there are first multiparty elections after the World War II. Milan Kucan becomes the President of the Presidency. Lojze Peterle is the President of the Government and Demos (Coalition of the opposition) is the winning party.

May 1990

Borisav Jovic becomes the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia by rotating system.

Slovenian Government suggests to stop contributing to the funds for undeveloped parts of Yugoslavia because of liquidity problems.

June 1990

Presidency of Slovenia accepts the proposition to start the procedure to accept the new Slovenian Constitution.

July 1990

Slovenian Assembly accepts the Declaration of the Sovereignty of Slovenia.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia calls on Slovenia to revoke the Declaration.

Serbia starts with new measures of the economic blockade.

Ante Markovic - the President of the Government - starts with his first phase of the property reforms with so called "labour bonds". Slovenia is not happy with that requiring gradual changes to avoid unexpected economic and social stresses and is rejecting nationalization or free of charge once-offs.

Aug 1990

Slovenia decides that only half of the prospective Slovenian conscripts will serve the Federal Army by autumn.

In Knin in Croatia, Serbian part of the population performs a referendum about the autonomy of those Serbs in Croatia. Croatia finds itself on the verge of the civil war.

Slovenian Government requires that the majority of the Slovene conscripts serve the army in the 5th Army Zone which is Slovenia and Croatia.

Sep 1990

Ante Markovic comes to Ljubljana with a bundle of economic reforms of which some of them are unacceptable for the Slovenian economy.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia proposes to the Assembly of Yugoslavia to accept an Act which would reconstruct the country and to have in mind all options, federation, confederation or even breaking up of Yugoslavia.

In Kosovo Serbians use the force on Albanians who are waiting an American delegation. Serbians also throw out the International Helsinki delegation for Human Rights Protection.

Oct 1990

Serbians in Croatia declare their autonomy. They demand also the declaration of the State of Emergency in Croatia.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia decides that the Slovenian Territorial Defence will be led by the Army from the 5th Army Zone from now on. Milan Kucan rejects this proposal and asserts that Slovenia if need be will defend its sovereignty.

In Ljubljana a group of soldiers occupies the offices of Slovenian Territorial Defence. They take away a lot of equipment.

Green Party of Slovenia presents their project "Goodbye Arms" (Zbogom orožje) with which they advocate demilitarization of Slovenia.

Presidency of Yugoslavia discusses about the future of Yugoslavia. Previous options of confederations and breaking up are forgotten and Borisav Jovic (Serbian) is bringing forward only federation as the only possible option for Yugoslavia. In protest Slovenian delegate Janez Drnovsek leaves the session.

In Croatia Stipe Mesic is chosen to replace Stipe Suvar in the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The Serbian Assembly accepts new economic boycott. They introduce a new transport tax for the goods from Slovenia and Croatia.

Nov 1990

Slovenians are informed about the possible referendum.

Slovenian delegates in conjunction with the Yugoslav delegation joins the Conference of European Security and Cooperation in Paris where Slovenians present the Memorandum of the Yugoslav crisis and intentions of the Republic of Slovenia.

Dec 1990

23 Dec, the plebiscite on independent Slovenia is performed. 88.5% of the population out of 93.5% participating voted for independence.

Jan 1991

Serbia breaks into the National Bank of Yugoslavia and steal half of the money for primary emission. This bank keeps the money of all Yugoslav Republics. The Yugoslav Presidency does not react on this theft. Instead they require disarmament of all non-army groups in Yugoslavia.

Feb 1991

Presidency orders to disarm all paramilitary formations especially Croatian.

Yugoslav Army shows the film about "the arming of the Croatian terrorists". At the same time confidential military circulation was issued about the tasks to be performed by the Army.

Slovenian and Croatian Government meets in Otocec to talk about the future of Yugoslavia.

Mar 1991

In Croatia local Militia and the Army face each other for the first time. Fights start in Pakrac and Plitvice. Serbian towns join Serbian Republic.

7th March, the Slovenian Assembly issues a moratorium on serving the army by Slovenian soldiers.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia becomes a commander of the armed forces. They discuss to declare the State of Emergency in the country.

15th March, the Army's proposal to solve the crisis their way is rejected. That is the reason Borisav Jovic resigns from the Presidency but soon changes his mind and comes back.

The Army threatens Slovenia because of declaring moratorium on sending soldiers to the Yugoslav Army.

The Yugoslav Presidency meets in Split discussing about the future of Yugoslavia. Nothing was concluded.

April 1991

In Belgrade, the Yugoslav Presidency again discusses about the future of Yugoslavia. Talks are still on a standstill.

A week later the Presidency meets in Brdo pri Kranju (Slovenia) to talk about the future of Yugoslavia again. No changes.

Ante Markovic continues with his economic programs. Now he presents a new one known as 11+3.

May 1991

Stipe Mesic should become a President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia by the rotating key. Serbians object. Yugoslavia has no president.

In slovenia a tension between the Army and the Slovenian Terriotrial Defence rises. One civilist looses life, another is wounded.

June 1991

25th June, Slovenia and Croatia declare independence.

26th June, Slovenia is attacked by the Yugoslav Army.

Talks between Sides with Different
Opinion Could Not Be Achieved

Slovenia Decides to Go Its Own Way
and Declares Independence

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



Proceeding from the will of the Slovenian people and the citizens of Slovenia as expressed at the plebiscite on the autonomy and independence of the Republic of Slovenia, held on December 23, 1990;

considering that under the hitherto effective constitutional order, the Republic of Slovenia had the status of a sovereign state which exercised part of its sovereign rights in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

considering that the SFRY does not function as a legally regulated state and that human rights, national rights and the rights of the republics and provinces in the SFRY are grossly violated;

considering that the federal system of Yugoslavia does not provide for the resolution of the current political and economic crisis and that the Yugoslav republics have not reached an agreement that would provide for the independence of the republics and the concurrent re-structuring of the Yugoslav federal state into an alliance of sovereign states;

determined that the Republic of Slovenia will respect the equal rights of other Yugoslav republics and together with them settle all questions relating to the common life to date on an equal footing and in a democratic and peaceful way, and to respect their sovereignty and territorial integrity;

prepared to continue negotiating, in its capacity of an autonomous and independent state, institutional and other ties with other Yugoslav republics,

the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia at joint session of all three chambers held on June 25, 1991,

adopted

on the basis of amendments LXVIII, LXXII and XCIX to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and in accordance with Article 4 of the Law on the plebiscite on the autonomy and independence of the Republic of Slovenia, the

BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

I

The Republic of Slovenia is an autonomous and independent state.

The Constitution of the SFRY is no longer in force in the Republic of Slovenia.

The Republic of Slovenia takes over all the rights and obligations which under the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and the Constitution of the SFRY were transferred to the agencies of the SFRY.

The takeover and exercise of the above rights and obligations will be regulated by constitutional law.

II

The state frontiers of the Republic of Slovenia are the internationally recognized state frontiers between the hitherto SFRY and the Republic of Austria, the Republic of Italy and the Republic of Hungary in that part of the frontier in which these states border on the Republic of Slovenia, and the frontier with the Republic of Croatia is the frontier within the hitherto SFRY.

III

The Republic of Slovenia guarantees the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all persons in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia irrespective of their nationality, without any discrimination, and in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and the effective international agreements.

The Italian and Hungarian national communities and their members in the Republic of Slovenia are guaranteed all rights deriving from the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and effective international agreements.

IV

This Basic Constitutional Charter takes effects with the adoption of the Constitutional Law passed by a two thirds majority of all three Chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia.

V

This constitutional charter comes into force on the day of its promulgation at the joint session of all chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia.

Ljubljana, June 25, 1991.

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia

dr. France Bučar



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

On the basis of the right of the Slovene nation to self-determination, of the principles of international law and the Constitution of the former SFRY and of the Republic of Slovenia, and on the basis of the absolute majority vote in the plebiscite held on December 23, 1990, the people of the Republic of Slovenia have decided to establish an independent state, the Republic of Slovenia which will no longer be a part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

On the basis of an unanimous proposal of all parliamentary parties and groups of delegates and in compliance with the plebiscitary outcome, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia has adopted the Basic Constitutional Charter on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia at the sessions of all its chambers held on June 25, 1991.

I.

Prior to the plebiscite on sovereignty and independence, Slovenia proposed, jointly with the Republic of Croatia, a draft agreement to the other Yugoslav republics stipulating an alliance or a confederation of sovereign states, according to which the present members of the Yugoslav federation would continue to cooperate in economic, foreign policy and other spheres. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia called a plebiscite, in which the vast majority of the people of Slovenia voted in favor of a sovereign and independent Republic of Slovenia.

Slovenia notified the other Yugoslav republics, and the Yugoslav public, of the actions which Slovenia was required to take on the basis of the plebiscitary outcome. These messages included the Resolution of the Proposal for a Multilateral Dissolution of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and other initiatives. Slovenia also proposed to Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav republics, as the constitutive entities of the federation, a bilateral dissolution, which would create two or more sovereign states, which would acknowledge each other's status as legal, international entities. Slovenia repeatedly voiced readiness to reach agreement on permanent and institutionalized forms of cooperation, including the arrangement of interrelations in the event of a Yugoslav confederative, or economic community, or some other suitable form of association which would benefit all its nations and citizens.

The proposal for a bilateral dissolution and the initiation of talks on new forms of relations, on the basis of a bilateral dissolution and the formation of sovereign states, was not accepted within the reasonably allotted time, except by the Republic of Croatia. The Republic of Slovenia was thus compelled to pass the Constitutional Act on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia.

II.

The Republic of Slovenia has proclaimed its sovereignty and independence and has thereby assumed effective jurisdiction over its territory. Consequently, Slovenia seeks, as an international legal entity in the full sense of the term and in conformity with the principles of the unification of sovereign states in Europe, association with other states, membership of the Organization of the United Nations, participation in the process of CSCE, in the Council of Europe, membership of the European Community and participation with other associations of states. The sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Slovenia must be understood as a condition for entering into new integrational processes within the framework of former Yugoslavia and within the European framework. Moreover, the Republic of Slovenia will strictly adhere to the Charter of the United Nations, to the Conventions of the Council of Europe, to Helsinki Final Document, to the Declaration and other acts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as to other international treaties. The establishment of the sovereign and independent state of the Republic of Slovenia on the basis of the right to self-determination is not an act against any political entity in Yugoslavia or any other foreign political unit. Slovenia recognizes the right to self-determination of the other republics, nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Slovenia wishes to exercise its right to sovereignty and association with other sovereign states in a peaceful manner, by mutual agreement, through dialogue, in line with standards of the international community, namely that future relationships on the territory of former Yugoslavia should stand on democratic principles, without changing the external and internal borders of Yugoslavia.

III.

The Republic of Slovenia as a sovereign and independent state hereby proclaims:

- that the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is no longer in force on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. The Republic of Slovenia is continuing the procedure of assuming effective rule on its territory. The procedure will be carried out gradually and in agreement with the other republics of former Yugoslavia, without encroaching on the rights of other republics;
- that it is prepared to continue negotiations regarding the possible forms of association with the states which will be constituted on the territory of former Yugoslavia. On the basis of mutual recognition, the Republic of Slovenia is prepared immediately to initiate talks in order to reach agreement on an association of sovereign states on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Within this association, the member states would be free to realize their joint economic, political, international and other interests. The achievement

of such an agreement, or at least a joint declaration of the desire to reach such an agreement, would guarantee that the process of assuming authority in the newly founded states and the process of constituting an association of these states would not cause undue conflicts. On the contrary, these processes would be mutually stimulating and would facilitate the process of self-determination in all Yugoslav nations, the achievement of the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo, the rights of national minorities and the development of democracy in the community of sovereign states on the territory of former Yugoslavia;

- *that in compliance with the decisions of the Sabor of the Republic of Croatia, Slovenia recognizes the Republic of Croatia as a sovereign state and an international legal entity; she will also recognize all other Yugoslav republics which proclaim themselves sovereign states.*

The mandate to the Slovene delegates in the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of SFR of Yugoslavia and the delegations of the Republic of Slovenia in the Chambers of the Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia, is terminated with the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia elects a new 12-member delegation, which will be authorized to participate in negotiations regarding the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the Assembly of former Yugoslavia, in the solving of current issues in the transition period and in negotiations regarding the possible formation of a community of sovereign states on the basis of approval by the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. The Republic of Slovenia appeals to the other Yugoslav republics to delegate such authority to their respective delegations. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia also expects the federal institutions of the former SFRY to participate in this process.

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia authorizes its present Member of the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia to represent the Republic of Slovenia, in the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia in conformity with the guidelines of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia.

All issues which still remain to be resolved, such as the status of the Yugoslav National Army in the Republic of Slovenia, competencies in the sphere of international relations and the issue of the division of common property will be dealt with by special agreement to be reached by the Republic of Slovenia and the corresponding bodies of former Yugoslavia.

IV.

In the capacity of an international and legal entity, the Republic of Slovenia:

pledges to respect all the principles of international law and, in the spirit of legal succession, the provisions of all international contracts signed by Yugoslavia and which apply to the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. In conformity with the anticipated agreement on the assumption of the rights and obligations of former Yugoslavia, the Republic of Slovenia will honor its share of international financial obligations towards other states and international organizations, and ensure the free flow of goods, services and people across its borders, as well as ensure the uninterrupted flow of transport and communications on its territory. In establishing a border with the Republic of Croatia, the state agencies of the Republic of Slovenia will seek to ensure in accordance with their mutual interests the free flow of people, goods and services;

- *will endeavor to gain the approval of the international community regarding the proclamation of the sovereign and independent Republic of Slovenia and to improve economic, cultural, political, financial and other ties with the international community. Furthermore, Slovenia expects legal recognition from other countries. Slovenia also anticipates that the international community will use its influence to contribute to the shaping of the community of sovereign states on the territory of former Yugoslavia and thus contribute to the bilateral and peaceful implementation of the decision to constitute the sovereign and independent state of the Republic of Slovenia;*
- *expects neighboring countries to respect and further develop the level of protection of the Slovene minority, guaranteed by international conventions and bilateral agreements.*

V.

The Republic of Slovenia is a state in which law and social welfare are respected, whose environment is suitable for a market economy. Slovenia pledges to observe human rights and civil liberties, the special rights of autochthonous Hungarians and Italians in the Republic of Slovenia, as well as the European achievements of industrial democracy (above all, socio-economic rights, the rights of the employed to take part in the decision-making processes and independent unions), the inviolability of property and the freedom of association in a civil society. Slovenia pledges to guarantee multiparty parliamentary democracy and local, or regional, self-rule. Slovenia guarantees that no political, or other kind of persuasion will be used as a basis for inequality or discrimination of any kind, pledges to solve all contentious internal and external issues in a peaceful, non-violent manner and to strive to improve cooperation, on an equal footing, with all nations and citizens of Europe in which people, regions, nations and states are free and equal.

Ljubljana, June 25, 1991
The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia
The president
dr. France Bučar

The Declaration of Independence Is
Based on the Will of People
Expressed through the Referendum

THE REFERENDUM FOR INDEPENDENCE

(See Appendix C for official documents in Slovenian language;
translated by Sherrill O'Connor-Sraj and
re-edited by the authors)

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE Republic of Slovenia

No. 44 Ljubljana, Thursday 6th December, 1990 Price: 20 Dinars Year 47

Pursuant to section 379 subsection 3 of the
Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia
Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia
hereby does

whether the Republic of Slovenia should
become an independent and sovereign state.

2.

DECREE

a law relating to a REFERENDUM on the
independence of the Republic of Slovenia.

The law is proclaimed relating to the
Referendum for the independence of the
Republic of Slovenia, passed by the
Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia at a
Joint Session of all three houses of the
Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia on
6th December, 1990**.

At the Referendum all eligible voters
shall answer the following question with
"YES" or "NO": "Should the Republic of
Slovenia become an independent and
sovereign state?"

The Referendum paper shall read as
follows:

"Question: Should the Republic of
Slovenia become an independent and
sovereign state?"

Answer: YES NO

(Circle your answer as appropriate)".

No. 0100-290/90
Ljubljana, 6th December, 1990.

Milan Kucan
President

3.

The decision that the Republic of
Slovenia becomes an independent and
sovereign state shall be carried if a majority
of eligible voters votes YES.

LAW

relating to a Referendum on the
independence of the Republic of Slovenia.

1.

On the basis of the permanent and
inalienable right of the Slovenian people
to self-determination a general Referendum
held in the Republic of Slovenia (hereafter
called Plebiscite***) on the question of

4.
A YES result at the Referendum that the
Republic of Slovenia should become an
independent and sovereign state will bind
the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia
to adopt within six months from the date of
proclamation of the Referendum to
undertake and perform all constitutional and
other acts and measures as are necessary,
that the Republic of Slovenia takes over
such sovereign rights as she was endowed
with as a body of the SFRJ (Socialist
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and begins
negotiations with other republics of the SFRJ
as to the general laws of SFRJ in operation
and as to the future resolutions within the
framework of international law, including
the proposition of an agreement for a
confederation.

** Sociopolitical Chamber,
Chamber of Deputies (Lower
House), Chamber of Associated
Labour

*** Referred to in this
translation as "Referendum"

5.

The Referendum will be held on Sunday, 23rd December, 1990

6.

Those persons who have in the Republic of Slovenia the general right to vote under the electoral law as applicable shall have the right to vote at the Referendum

7.

The Referendum will be conducted by the Electoral Office, as specified according to the electoral law and pursuant to the law relating to such elections.

The Electoral Commission shall, at the latest 10 days prior to the date of which the Referendum is to be held, advise electoral offices which polling booths shall operate and the location of the polling booths.

Electoral officers shall compile and check the electoral rolls for each polling booth within their area at the latest 6 days prior to the date of the holding of the Referendum.

Referendum results shall be ascertained and declared by the Electoral Commission of the Republic.

8.

Those persons eligible to vote shall be those registered on the general Electoral Roll on the day the Referendum is held, with the exception of those persons whom the electoral officers at particular polling booths ascertain are unable to participate in the Referendum due to their working abroad, to serving in the Army or Army exercises.

9.

In the event of any irregularity in the conduction of the Referendum by electoral officers at any polling booth, any eligible voter has the right to object to the Republic Electoral Commission within 24 hours after the closing of polling booths. Any decision of the Republic Electoral Commission considering a complaint and any complaint against a decision of the Republic Electoral Commission shall be governed by the electoral law as applicable.

10.

If the Referendum is carried, that the Republic of Slovenia become an independent state, the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia shall ceremoniously declare that decision at a joint sitting of all houses (of

Parliament) and shall at the same time enact a work programme for the realization of that decision.

11.

The effecting of and the result issuing from the Referendum pursuant to this Act shall in no way exhaust the permanent and inalienable right of the Slovenian people to self-determination nor, especially, to independence and sovereignty as a state

12.

This Act shall come into operation on the day after it is promulgated in the Government Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia.

No. 005-02/89-1
Ljubljana, 6th December 1990

Parliament of
Republic of Slovenia

Dr France Bucar
Speaker

=====

2103

PROCLAMATION TO ALL CITIZENS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

TO ALL VOTERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

Take part in the polling at the Referendum on Sunday, 23 December, 1990.

We shall vote on the question:

SHOULD THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA
BECOME AN INDEPENDENT AND
SOVEREIGN STATE?

YES

NO

The Referendum for an independent and sovereign Republic of Slovenia will be passed if YES vote is received from a majority of voters. The passing of the Referendum for an independent and sovereign state of the Republic of Slovenia has the following effects:

1.

The Republic of Slovenia will no longer be part of the federal state - of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

2.

The gradual realizing of the status of the Republic of Slovenia as an independent and sovereign state shall be effected by constitutional acts for the realization of the Referendum results with a new Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and a Constitution Act to give effect to the Constitution.

3.

The Republic of Slovenia as an independent and sovereign state may conclude international treaties, including a confederal agreement with the republics (states) of other Yugoslav peoples.

A YES vote at the Referendum for an independent and sovereign state of the Republic of Slovenia shall bind the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia to enact within six months and to take and perform constitutional and other acts and measures for the Republic of Slovenia to assume the fulfilling of sovereign rights transferred to her (the Republic of Slovenia) from the bodies of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) in relation to the inheritance of the law of SFRJ and to the future regulation of relations between each other within the framework of international law including the proposal of a confederal agreement.

We are for an independent and sovereign state of the Republic of Slovenia.

No. 005-02/89-1
Ljubljana, 6th december, 1990

Parliament of
Republic of Slovenia

Dr France Bucar
Speaker

2104

In the event of YES vote for the Referendum on an independent and sovereign Republic of Slovenia:

1.

The guarantee of human rights, etc, social justice and security for all, ecological

responsibility in the best of Slovene and European tradition.

The Slovenian state guarantees all rights of the Italian and Hungarian peoples within the independent Republic of Slovenia which are defined by the Constitution and laws and laws as well as by international acts taken by and recognized by Yugoslavia (SFRJ). Guarantee to all peoples and nationalities cultural and language rights to all having permanent residence within Slovenia, they may exercise their right to take up Slovenian citizenship, if they wish.

2.

The establishment of an independent Slovenian state does not derogate in any way from anyone within or outside Yugoslavia. With the Referendum passed for independent Slovenia, the Republic of Slovenia will offer all peoples of Yugoslavia the democratic basis for relations with each other within a possible Yugoslav confederal or economic association or other appropriate relation.

3.

The Slovenian state will, for example in the event of a YES vote for an independent and sovereign Slovenia, do all that is necessary that the new Republic of Slovenia actually exercises authority over the whole of the Republic of Slovenia. Similarly she will respect all international laws and, in relation to the laws and regulations proceeding from international treaties which the SFRJ concluded. She will endeavour to become a member of the United Nations at the earliest possible time and of other international organizations. She will ask for full membership of the Council of Europe and the OECD and a suitable relationship with the European Community as well as for concluding an agreement with EFTO.

Slovenia will concern herself with the peaceful solution of conflicts.

RESULTS OF THE REFERENDUM

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE Republic of Slovenia

No. 58

No 2. - 18 Jan 1991

89.

REPORT

of the Republic Electoral Commission Re voting at the Referendum, held 23rd December 1990.

The Republic Electoral Commission on 26th December, 1990 pursuant to Section 7 of the law on the Referendum for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia (Government Gazette 44/90) together with Regulation No 27 of the Electoral Law (Government Gazette of Slovenia 42/89 and 5/90 of the Government Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 10/90 and 45/90)

has established

the following results of the voting of the Referendum on the question of whether the Republic of Slovenia should become an independent and sovereign state, the said Referendum being held on Sunday, 23 December, 1990:

I

1) a) On the basis of electoral rolls, No. of voters registered: 1,490,860.

b) No of voters not registered on the Roll by way of error and permitted to vote at polling booths by way of certificate according to Section 77 of the Electoral Act: 2,434.

c) Total No of voters: 1,499,294.

2) a) Pursuant to Section 74 of the Electoral Law early voting took place on 19 Dec 1990, 20 Dec 1990 and 21 Dec 1990: 19,233.

b) At polling booths: 1,329,523.

c) absentee voting pursuant to Section 83 of the Electoral Law on the date 23 Dec 1990: 12,982

d) Total votes cast at Referendum: 1,361,738

3. a) On the basis of Section 8 of the Law on the Referendum on the question of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia it was established that

the results of the poll do not take into consideration people who are working abroad, doing military service or army exercises, and these were unable to take part in the Referendum voting.

The Republic Electoral Commission has established that for these reason 42,274 eligible voters did not take part in the Referendum voting. For this reason the number of voters, in assessing the total eligible number of voters is taken as: 1,457,020 (100%).

b) No of voting papers given out: 1,359,581.

c) In answer to the question, "Should the Republic of Slovenia become an independent and sovereign state", No of voters answering YES was 88.5%: 1,289,369.

In answer to the question, "Should the Republic of Slovenia become an independent and sovereign state", No of voters answering NO was 4%: 57,800.

Of 0.9% of the ballot papers it was impossible to determine the intention of the voter, No of papers: 12,412.

4) The Electoral Commission, pursuant to Section 3 of the Referendum Law on the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia has determined that the Referendum is passed that the Republic of Slovenia should become an independent and sovereign state,

passed

as a majority of all eligible voters have voted for the Referendum question.

No., RVK-P 1-1/90

Ljubljana, 26th december, 1990

Secretary Commission
Marko Golobic

President
Marija Ude-Marincek

The Referendum Was Organized by
the Newly Elected Government
through Multiparty Elections

THE ELECTIONS IN SLOVENIA

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE Republic of Slovenia

No. 17-30.4.1990

Page 999

892.

Secretary
Marko Golobic

REPORT

of the results of the elections for the
President of the Presidency of the Republic
of Slovenia.

Republics Electoral Commission, at its session on 24 April, 1990 at 2pm in Ljubljana, in the rooms of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia, pursuant to 1st paragraph of the Section 24 of the Electoral Law concerning the withdrawal of the President and members of the Presidency of Republic of Slovenia

has established

1. In the second round of the election held on 22 April, 1990 from 1,489,822 eligible voters, 1,146,627 eligible voters participated the election which is 76.9%.

2. For the President of the Presidency there has been returned 1,144,985 ballot papers of which 23,354 were invalid and 1,121,631 valid.

3. The two candidates for the President of the Presidency of Republic of Slovenia received the next number of votes:

Milan Kucan	457,196	or	58.59%
Joze Pucnik	464,435	or	41.41%

4. Therefore between the two candidates who obtained in the first round of the elections held on 8 April, 1990 the largest number of votes amongst the valid ballot papers, in the second round the elected person for the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia has become Mr. Milan Kucan.

No RVK 1-1/90
Ljubljana, 24 April 1990

President
Emil Tomc

893.

REPORT

concerning the results of the elections for the
delegates for the Socio-Polital Chamber of
the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia
held on 8 and 22 April 1990

I. On the basis of received reports concerning the elections for Socio-polital Chamber of the Parliament of Republic of Slovenia from Electorate Commissions in their electorate constituencies, the Republics Electorate Commission, at its session held on 30 April 1990 has established:

1. Number of eligible voters who participated the elections for the delegates to the Socio-Political Chamber of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia is 1,241,212.

2. Number of ballot papers returned: 1,238,189.

3. Valid ballot papers: 1,128,435
Invalid ballot papers: 109,754.

4. In the elections held on 8 April 1990, the following number of votes have been calculated, pursuant to the regulations of the Section 90 of the Electoral Law concerning the Parliament elections

List	Calc Votes	%
1. Socialist Union of Slovenia (SZDL)	58,082.30	5.37
2. Party of Democratic Reforms (ZKS)	186,927.80	17.23
3. Liberal Party (ZSMS)	156,843.01	14.49
4. Slovenian Democratic Union	102,930.73	9.51
5. Slovenian Enterprise Party	17,021.09	1.57
6. Slovenian Small Business Party	38,268.95	3.54
7. Green Party of Slovenia	95,640.49	8.84
8. Slovenian Christian Democrats	140,402.96	12.98

9. Slovenian Rural Union	135,808.32	12.55
10. Association for Citizens' Human Rights Protection	26,628.77	2.46
11. Socialdemocrats Union of Slovenia	79,950.74	7.39
12. United Retired People of Maribor	4,113.43	0.38
13. Democratic Union of Kosovo	3,240.01	0.30
14. Citizens Green List	21,582.82	1.99
15. New Social Movements	5,276.04	0.49
16. List of Independents	4,618.33	0.43
17. List of Individual Candidates	4,714.98	0.44

Total	1,082,050.57	

5. On the basis of the reports of elections for the delegates for Socio-political Chamber of the Parliament of Republic of Slovenia given by Electoral Commissions in their electoral constituencies, the Republics Electorate Commission has established that the following candidates were elected in the following Electorates:

1. Electorate (Ljubljana Centre)
 1. France Bucar, Slov.Dem. Union
 2. Ciril Ribicic, ZKS-SDP
 3. Mile Setinc, ZSMS
2. Electorate (Ljubljana Moste-Polje)
 1. Tone Anderlic, ZSMS
 2. Milan Balazic, ZKS-SDP
3. Electorate (Ljubljana Vic-Rudnik)
 1. Janez Kocjancic, ZKS-SDP
 2. Janez Jansa, Slov. Dem. Union
4. Electorate (Novo Mesto)
5. Electorate (Koper)
 1. Peter Bekes, ZKS-SDP
6. Electorate (Nova Gorica)
 1. Joze Skolc, ZSMS
7. Electorate (Kranj)
 1. Zoran Thaler, ZSMS
8. Electorate (Ravne na Koroskem)
9. Electorate (Maribor)
 1. Andrej Verlic, ZSMS
 2. Franci Pivec, ZKS-SDP
10. Electorate (Murska Sobota)
 1. Joze Magdic, Slov. Christ.Dem.
11. Electorate (Ptuj)
 1. Ivan Pucnik, Slov.Rural Union
12. Electorate (Celje)
 1. Franc Potocnik, Slov.Rural Union
13. Electorate (Velenje)
14. Electorate (Trbovlje)
 1. Franc Pipan, ZKS-SDP

III. After the distribution of mandates in the electorates, the Republics Electorate Commission counted the following residuals of votes:

1. Socialist Union of Slovenia (SZDL)	58,091.30
2. Party of Democratic Reforms (ZKS)	89,327.23
3. ZSMS	87,561.75
4. Slovenian Democratic Union	74,571.33
5. Slovenian Enterprise Party	17,021.09
6. Slovenian Small Business Party	38,263.55
7. Green Party of Slovenia	95,640.49
8. Slovenian Christian Democrats	126,077.36
9. Slovenian Rural Union	108,455.82
10. Association for Citizens' Human Rights Protection	26,628.77
11. Socialdemocrats Union of Slovenia	79,950.74
12. United Retired People of Maribor	4,113.43
13. Democratic Union of Kosovo	3,240.01
14. Citizens Green List	21,582.82
15. New Social Movements	5,276.04
16. List of Independents	4,618.33
17. List of Individual Candidates	4,714.89

Total	845,140.44

IV. The distribution of the residual mandates, on the Republic's level, excludes the following lists** which didn't obtain more than 2.5% of total number of votes calculated in accordance with the Regulation of 1st and 2nd paragraph of the Section 90 of the Electoral Law concerning the Parliament elections:

- a) Slovenian Enterprise Party
- b) Association for Citizens' Human Rights Protection
- c) United Retired People of Maribor
- d) Democratic Union of Kosovo
- e) Citizens Green List
- f) New Social Movements
- g) List of Independents
- h) List of Individual Candidates

V. Republics Electorate Commission has concluded that 61 mandates are to be distributed between the lists on the Republics level, because there were 17 candidates elected in respective electorates plus 2 delegates who are to be elected in electorates with mixed nationalities.

** The term list refers to the candidate-party participating the elections

VI. Successively, the Republics Electorate Commission has recalculated the common residuals of all those lists which obtained more than 2.5% votes of total number of calculated votes. The following coefficients have been established (the code of the list is the same as in the table of lists with total number of votes).

.....
.....
The table of lists with recalculated coefficients is not translated* .
.....
.....

VII. Taking the highest 61 successive coefficients, the Republics Electorate Commission has established the following distribution of mandates:

- a) Socialist Union of Slovenia-SZDL- (code 1) - 5 mandates
- b) ZKS - Party of Democratic Reforms (code 2) - 7 mandates
- c) Liberal Party - ZSMS (code 3) - 7 mandates
- d) Slovenian Democratic Union (code 4) - 6 mandates
- e) Slovenian Small Business Party (code 6) - 3 mandates
- f) Green Party of Slovenia (code 7) - 8 mandates
- g) Slovenian Christian Democrats (code 8) - 10 mandates
- h) Slovenian Rural Union (code 9) - 9 mandates
- i) Socialdemocrats of Slovenia (code 11) - 6 mandates

VIII.

In the official document in Slovenian language, this paragraph includes the list of candidates of the elected parties in each of the electorate divisions. The list was used to establish which candidates were elected. We skip the list.

.....
.....

No RVK 1-1/90
Ljubljana, 24 April 1990

Secretary
Marko Golobic

President
Emil Tomc

* Refer to Appendix D -
Official Election Results in
Slovenian Language

Pursuant to the Section 27 of the Electorate Law concerning the Parliament elections, the Republics Electorate Commission

announces

the following results of the elections for the delegates to the Chamber of the Associated Labour of the Parliament of the Republics of Slovenia, held in April 1990:

I

On the basis of the reports received from the Electorate Commissions in their electorate constituencies of the elections for the delegates to the Chamber of the Associated Labour of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia, at its session held on 24 April, 1990, the Republics Electorate Commission has established:

1. Elections for the delegates to the Chamber of the Associated Labour of the Parliament of Republic of Slovenia were held on 12 April, 1990 except in electorates where the delegates had been voted from an area of the individual personal work in forestry and agricultural. In those electorates the elections were held on 8 April, 1990 and 22 April, 1990 (Towns Skofja Loka and Jesenice).

2. Of total number 998,922 of eligible voters, 737,704 participated the elections. 737,026 ballot papers were returned, of which 45,128 were invalid.

3. The Electoral Commissions chairing the electorate constituencies formed for the elections for the delegates to the Chamber of the Associated Labour of The Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia together with the two Electoral Commissions from the electorates of mixed nationalities, formed for the elections of the delegates of nationalities to the Chambers of the Parliament of Republic of Slovenia have established the results of the elections in their respective electoral constituencies and have concluded that the process of the elections has not had irregularities which could affect the outcome of the elections.

II

THE DELEGATES ELECTED TO THE
CHAMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED
LABOUR OF THE PARLIAMENT OF
REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

.....
.....

Skipped.

No RVK 1-1/90
Ljubljana, 24 April 1990

Secretary
Marko Golobic

President
Emil Tomc

=====

895.

Pursuant to the Section 27 of the
Electoral Law concerning the Parliament
elections, the Republics Electorate
Commission

announces

the following results of the general elections
for the Chamber of Deputies of the
Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia, held
in April 1990:

I

On the basis of the reports from the
Electoral Commissions in their electorates, at
its session held on 25 April, 1990, the
Republics Electorate Commission has
established:

1. Elections for the delegates to the
Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of
the Republic of Slovenia were held on 8
April, 1990. In 80 electoral constituencies
there were 1,853,908 eligible voters of which
1,516,469 participated the elections.
1,514,029 ballot papers were returned, of
which 85,240 were invalid.

Pursuant to the 2nd paragraph of the
Section 80 of the Electoral Law concerning
the Parliament elections, in the first round
there were 15 delegates elected. In 65
electorates the second round was organized
between the two candidates who obtained
the highest number of votes in the first
round.

2. The second round was held on
22.4.1990. 1,214,835 ballot papers were
returned of which 59,533 were invalid.***

3. The Electorate Commissions together
with the special socio-political Electoral
Commissions and the two Electoral
Commissions for the delegation of
nationalities to the Houses of the
Parliament of Republic of Slovenia have
established the results of the elections in
each of the electoral constituencies and have
concluded that in the conduct of the elections
there has not been irregularities which could
substantially affect the outcome of the
elections.

II

ELECTED DELEGATES TO THE CHAMBER
OF DEPUTIES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF
REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

.....
.....

Skipped.

No RVK 1-1/90
Ljubljana, 24 April 1990

Secretary
Marko Golobic

President
Emil Tomc

*** The sentence preceding
this one is not readable in
the official document and
therefore could not be
translated.

THE ELECTIONS IN SLOVENIA-cont

(translated by Sherril O'Connor-Sraj and
reedited by the authors)

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE Republic of Slovenia

No. 20 Ljubljana Friday, 25 May 1990 Price: 15 Dinars Year XLVII
1042. II

On the basis of Amendments XCIV to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and of S26 of Standing Orders of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia the Houses of Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia at a joint sitting on 16th May, 1990:

I

elected

Prime Minister: Mr Lojze Peterle
Deputy Prime Minister (responsible for the economy): Dr Joze Mencinger
Dep. Prime Minister (responsible for Public Administration): Mr Matija Malesic
Dep. Prime Minister (resp. for Environment and Regional Affairs): Dr Leo Seserko

Members of the Cabinet of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia:

Dr. Marko Kranjc
Mr. Janez Jansa
Mr. Igor Bavcar
Dr. Rajko Pirnat
Ms. Jozica Puhar
Mr. Igor Umek
Mr. Stane Stanic
Mr. Lojze Janko
Dr. Dimitrij Rupel
Mr. Miha Jazbinsek
Dr. Miha Tomsic
Mr. Izidor Rejc
Mr. Maks Bastel
Mr. Ingo Pas
Mr. Viktor Brezar
Dr. Joze Osterc
Mr. Marjan Kranjc
Mr. Franc Godesa
Dr. Katja Boh
Dr. Peter Vencelj
Dr. Andrej Capuder
Dr. Peter Tancig

Dr. Janez Dular - responsible for Slovenes abroad and for Italian and Hungarian peoples in the Republic of Slovenia.

from amongst those members of Cabinet were named:

Dr. Marko Kranjc: Treasurer
Mr. Janez Jansa: Minister for Defence
Mr. Igor Bavcar: Minister for Interior
Dr. Rajko Pirnat: Attorney General
Ms. Jozica Puhar: Minister for Labour
Mr. Igor Umek: Minister for Social Planning
Mr. Stane Stanic: Minister for Information
Mr. Lojze Janko: Minister for Legislation
Dr. Dimitrij Rupel: Minister for Foreign Affairs
Mr. Miha Jazbinsek: Minister for Environment and Planning
Mr. Miha Tomsic: Minister for Energy
Mr. Izidor Rejc: Minister for Industry and Construction
Mr. Maks Bastel: Minister for Trade and Economic Affairs
Mr. Ingo Pas: Minister for Tourism
Mr. Viktor Brezar: Minister for Commerce
Dr. Joze Osterc: Minister for Agriculture and Forestry
Mr. Marjan Kranjc: Minister for Transport and Communication
Mr. Franc Godesa: Minister for Veterans Affairs
Dr. Katja Boh: Minister for Health and Social Security
Dr. Peter Vencelj: Minister for Education
Dr. Andrej Capuder: Minister for the Arts
Dr. Peter Tancig: Minister for Science and Technology

No. 020-05/89-2
Ljubljana, 16 May, 1990.

Dr France Bucar
Speaker of Parliament
Republic of Slovenia

=====

1043

(relating to legislation: veterans affairs): not translated

Yugoslav Constitution Gives Right to
Each of the Nations of Yugoslavia to
Secede; Secession is Based on the
Selfdetermination of Each Nation

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOR SECESSION

(See Appendix E for the parts of the Yugoslav Constitution relating to the
right to secede in Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian language;
1974 Constitution is in Slovenian language;
1945 Constitution is in Serbo-Croatian language - Cyrillic alphabet)



THE CONSTITUTION of THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC of YUGOSLAVIA

Law
342.497
023
YUGO

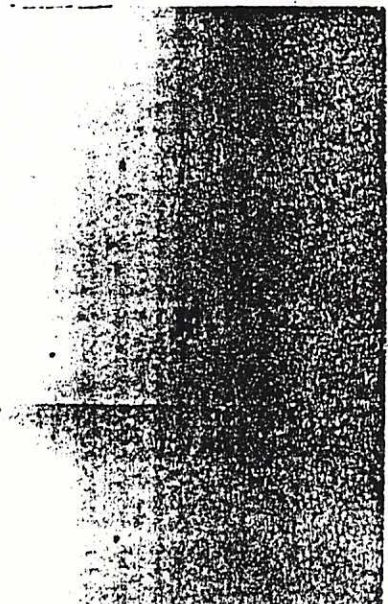


THE CONSTITUTION of THE Socialist Federal Republic of YUGOSLAVIA

TO THE
LIBRARY OF
THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
JAN 31 1976
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS
MERRICK, NEW YORK
1976



THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

INTRODUCTORY PART

BASIC PRINCIPLES

I

The nations of Yugoslavia, proceeding from the right of every nation to self-determination, including the right of secession, on the basis of their will freely expressed in the common struggle of all nations and nationalities in the National Liberation War and Socialist Revolution, and in conformity with their historic aspirations, aware that the further consolidation of their brotherhood and unity is in the common interest, have, together with nationalities with which they live, united in a federal republic of free and equal nations and nationalities and founded upon a socialist federal community of working people—the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which, in the interests of each nation and nationality separately and all together, they shall realize and ensure:

socialist social relations based on self-management by working people and the protection of the socialist self-management system;

national freedom and independence;

the brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities;

the uniform interest of the working class, and solidarity among workers and all working people;

possibilities and freedoms for the all-round development of the human personality and for the rapprochement of the nations and nationalities, in conformity with their interests and aspirations on the road to the creation of an ever-richer culture and civilization in a socialist society;

the unification and adjustment of efforts to develop the economic foundations of a socialist society and the prosperity of the people;

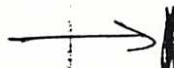
a system of socio-economic relations and uniform foundations for a political system which will ensure the common interests of the working class and all working people and the equality of the nations and nationalities;

and linking Yugoslavia's aspirations with the progressive strivings of mankind.

The working people and the nations and nationalities shall exercise their sovereign rights in the Socialist Republics and in the Socialist Autonomous Provinces in conformity with their constitutional rights, and shall exercise these rights in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when in their common interest it is so specified by the present Constitution.

"Izložaj još 13"

prince usalega
naroda do
stavu odlozbe



(*) ki vllpuvije tri marica do
odceptve

Brioni Declaration-
Hope to Achieve Independence in a
Peaceful Way
or
Betrayal of European Countries?

BRIONI DECLARATION

One of the Slovenian parliamentarians commented that the acceptance of the Brioni Declaration was sacrificing Slovenia for peace. He mentioned that at the beginning of the Second World War the European Community also sacrificed a small country to Hitler but they still had the war.

Namely, when Hitler attacked Czechoslovakia in order to join Germans living in a western part of Czechoslovakia, none of the European countries raised an eyebrow. Let's keep the peace.

Slovenia signed the Brioni Declaration to get peace and to be able to gradually achieve a full recognition of its declared independence. As Mr Kucan said in his speech* to the Slovenian Parliament:

"..., it is a the fundamental guaranty that there will be peace and that we will be able to achieve this recognition in a peaceful and democratic way, without violence and war, just as we promised our people who at the elections put their trust in us. ... Every war is followed by negotiations, but lives are lost during its course...."

The Brioni Declaration does not revoke the Declaration of Independence by Slovenia and Croatia as it has been interpreted by some circles. The right for self-determination and independence have not been disputable in any way neither by the European Community nor by the Yugoslav Government.

The Brioni Declaration will not change the mind of Slovenians in these three months. Slovenians had been making up their minds for several years and every year, and recently every month, they were more and more determined they are going the right way. There are governments, for example Australia, which claim the Slovenians may change their mind in three months and thus are holding up recognition of Slovenia as an independent nation. This is not true. Slovenians will not change their mind on their independence.

The Brioni Declaration also means that the European Community shares responsibility for the fate of the Slovenian nation. They say they would recognize Slovenia immediately if the latter is attacked again. We cannot understand why would European Community recognise Slovenia only if there is a war and not in peace. Slovenia has achieved its independence in an absolutely correct way and there is no legal, political, economic or moral reason not to recognize her.

Recently we received startling news about the plans of the revengeful Yugoslav Army. The plans are about the intentions to destroy Slovenia completely or as much as possible before the Army moves out of Slovenia? And if Croatia is found weak in its defence the Army will not move out of Slovenia - the officers still in Slovenia have the task to delay the retreat - and will instead attack Slovenia again. The Army officers have the task to attack the Nuclear Power Station's waste depots, and if possible, to damage and disable the Nuclear Power Station itself.

What sort of peace does the European community want?

Is the European Community expected to help only in a full scale war? Or are they expected to act also when subversive actions are carried out against the territory of Slovenia and its people. The terms of complete destruction are actually nothing new to Slovenians. They have been being destroyed slowly for many years now already. Only an incredible sturdiness and stubbornness of

* For entire speech of Mr Kucan see Appendix F

the Slovenian nation has kept them alive** . The Declaration of independence is not only the fight for freedom but also to save the nation from extinction*** .

Do subversive activities against Slovenia count in obtaining the recognition?

Because the countries are holding up recognition Serbians are getting more and more courage to act as they please. Slovenia has not signed the Brioni Declaration to be destroyed under the cover of it by subversive actions. As Slovenians have not obtained recognition yet they will again have to defend themselves by themselves. We all know that the saying "God help us" usually transforms into "Help yourself and God will help you".

** See Chapter 4 - Reasons Why Slovenia Has Become Independent and Appendix B for comments on an incredible survival of the Slovenian nation

*** One might think we are exaggerating but one would be surprised how many Slovenians think the same



URADNI LIST

REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

MEDNARODNE POGODBE

Številka 1

16. avgust 1991

Leto I

L

Skupščina Republike Slovenije je na skupni seji vseh zborov dne 10. julija 1991 obravnavala in sprejela Skupno deklaracijo, ki se v angleškem in slovenskem besedilu glasi:

JOINT DECLARATION

At the invitation of the Yugoslav Government, the European Community Ministerial Troika met on July 7th 1991 at Brioni, with representatives of all parties directly concerned by the Yugoslav crisis.

The objective of the Troika mission was to create the appropriate conditions for a peaceful negotiation between all the parties. All the parties concerned took note of the European Community and its Member States declaration of July 5th 1991 and reaffirmed their commitment to full implementation of the European Community's proposals of June 30 1991 in order to secure the cease-fire and enable negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia.

In regard of these proposals further modalities were agreed in *Annex I*.

Parties agreed that in order to ensure a peaceful settlement, the following principles will have to be fully followed:

- it is up and only to the peoples of Yugoslavia to decide upon their future.

- a new situation has arisen in Yugoslavia that requires close monitoring and negotiation between different parties:

- negotiations should begin urgently, no later than August 1st 1991, on all aspects of the future of Yugoslavia without preconditions and on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe (in particular respect for Human Rights, including the rights of peoples self-determination in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of International Law, including those relating to territorial integrity of States).

- the Collegiate Presidency must exercise its full capacity and play its political and constitutional role, namely with regard to the Federal Armed Forces.

- all parties concerned will refrain from any unilateral action, particularly from all acts of violence.

The Community and its Member States for their part will assist in reaching peaceful and durable solutions to the present crisis, provided and as long as the commitments undertaken above are fully abided by.

In this context, the European Community and its Member States accept the request by the other parties to assist and facilitate the negotiating process.

Their help could be extended to a monitoring of the progress of the negotiations, expertise for the working groups to be established by the parties concerned, inter alia legal, Human Rights, including the rights of minority populations, economic, commercial and security relations.

SKUPNA DEKLARACIJA

Na povabilo jugoslovanske vlade se je dne 7. 7. 1991 Ministrska trojka Evropske skupnosti na Brionih sestala s predstavniki vseh strani, ki so neposredno vpletene v jugoslovansko krizo.

Cilj misije treh ministrov je bil, da bi ustvarili ustrezne pogoje za mirna pogajanja med vsemi stranmi. Vse vpletene strani so vzele na znanje deklaracijo Evropske skupnosti in njenih držav članic, sprejeto 5. 7. 1991, in ponovno potrdile njihovo polno zavzetost za uresničevanje predlogov Evropske skupnosti z dne 30. 6. 1991, da bi zagotovili prekinitev ognja in omogočili pogajanja o prihodnosti Jugoslavije.

V zvezi z omenjenimi predlogi je bil dosežen sporazum o oblikah in načinih uresničevanja, ki jih vsebuje *Priloga I*.

Strani so se strinjale, da morajo - z namenom, da bi zagotovile mirno rešitev - v celoti spoštovati naslednja načela:

- le narodi Jugoslavije in zgolj oni sami lahko odločajo o svoji prihodnosti.

- v Jugoslaviji je nastala nova situacija, ki zahteva natančen nadzor in pogajanja med različnimi stranmi.

- nujno, vendar ne kasneje kot 1. 8. 1991, se morajo začeti pogajanja o vseh vidikih prihodnosti Jugoslavije, brez vnaprejšnjih pogojev in na osnovi načel Sklepne listine KEVS iz Helsinkov in Pariške listine za novo Evropo (zlasti v zvezi s spoštovanjem človekovih pravic, vključno s pravico narodov do samoodločbe v skladu z Ustanovno listino Združenih narodov, ter v skladu z ustreznimi načeli mednarodnega prava, vključno s tistimi, ki se nanašajo na ozemeljsko celovitost držav).

- kolektivno predsedstvo mora vzpostaviti polno avtoriteto in odigrati svojo politično in ustavno vlogo, zlasti glede na zvezne oborožene sile.

- vse vpletene strani se bodo vzdrževale slehernih enostranskih, zlasti nasilnih dejanj.

Skupnost in njene države članice po svoji strani bodo pomagale pri doseganju mirnih in trajnih rešitev sedanje krize, pod pogojem in tako dolgo, dokler ne bodo zgoraj naštetih obveznosti v celoti spoštovane.

V tem kontekstu Evropska skupnost in njene države članice sprejemajo prošnjo ostalih strani za pomoč in pospeševanje procesa pogajanj.

Njihova pomoč lahko obsega tudi opazovanje poteka pogajanj, strokovno pomoč delovnim skupinam, ki bi jih ustanovile vpletene strani, in se med drugim nanaša na pravna vprašanja, vprašanja človekovih pravic, vključno s pravicami manjšin, kot tudi na gospodarska, trgovinska in varnostna vprašanja.

In the wake of the decision taken in Prague in the framework of the CSCE, they agreed that a monitoring mission should become operational as soon as possible in order to help stabilise the cease-fire and to monitor the implementation of the remaining elements of the agreement reached between Yugoslav parties with the contribution of the European Community. Guidelines for the preparatory mission are set out in *Annex II*.

They welcome the expected arrival of July 9th of this preparatory mission of High Officials.

All Yugoslav parties committed themselves to support the envisaged monitoring mission by, inter alia, providing full protection and guaranteed freedom of movement.

They all agreed that the protection of minority populations is critical to a successful outcome of the negotiations. They also reconfirmed that they will fully respect in this matter their commitments under International Law.

The European Troika is prepared to inform all the CSCE Participating States about developments in the negotiating process.

Annex I

FURTHER MODALITIES IN PREPARATION OF NEGOTIATIONS

I - Border regime:

Control of border crossings will be in the hands of Slovenian police. They will act in conformity with federal regulations

II - Customs:

The agreement signed by the representatives of the federal government and the government of the Republic of Slovenia on June 20th 1991 is reconfirmed and shall be implemented. Custom duties shall remain a federal revenue and be collected by Slovenian custom officials. They shall be payed into a joint account to be controlled by the federal and republican ministers of finance plus one of two external controllers.

III - Air Traffic Control

There is a single air traffic control for the whole of Yugoslavia. All domestic and international air traffic over Yugoslavia is controlled and guaranteed by the competent federal authority.

IV - Border security

The situation prevailing before June 25th 1991 shall be reestablished. Within the suspension period (of three months) negotiations shall be completed in order to ensure and orderly transfer of the competencies of the YNA in this field. A border regime based on European standards remains a firm objective.

V - Further modalities for the implementation of the cease-fire

- lifting of the blockade of YNA units and facilities
- unconditional return of YNA units to their barracks
- all roads to be cleared
- return of all facilities and equipment to YNA
- deactivation of territorial defence units and return to quarters.

All these measures shall be effective as soon as possible, but no later than July 8th at 24:00 hours.

VI - Prisoners

All prisoners detained in connection with hostilities since June 25th 1991 shall be released at the earliest but no later than July 8th at 24:00 hours. The International Red Cross should be associated with the implementation of this decision.

Glede na odločitev, sprejeto v Pragi v okviru KEVS, so se dogovorile, naj bi čimprej začela delovati opazovalna misija, da bi pomagala pri ustalitvi prekinitve ognja in pri nadzoru nad uresničevanjem preostalih elementov sporazuma, ki so ga ob pomoči Evropske skupnosti med seboj sprejele jugoslovanske strani. Smernice, ki se nanašajo na pripravljajalno misijo, so našteje v *Prilogi II*.

Pozdravljajo pričakovan prihod pripravljajalne misije visokih funkcionarjev, načrtovan za 9. 7. 1991.

Vse jugoslovanske strani so se obvezale, da bodo načrtovani opazovalni misiji nudile podporo s tem, da bodo med drugim njenim članom nudile polno zaščito in jim zagotovile svobodo gibanja.

Vse so se strinjale s tem, da je zaščita manjšin bistvenega pomena za uspešen izid pogajanj. Poleg tega so ponovno zagotovile, da bodo polno spoštovale s tem v zvezi sprejete obveze, v skladu z mednarodnim pravom.

Evropska trojka je pripravljena obvestiti države, udeleženke KEVS, o poteku procesa pogajanj.

Priloga I

NADALJNJE OBLIKE IN NAČINI URESNIČEVANJA PRI PRIPRAVI POGAJANJ

I - Režim na meji:

Nadzor mejnih prehodov bo v rokah slovenske policije. Delovala bo v skladu z zveznimi predpisi.

II - Carine:

Sporazum, ki so ga podpisali predstavniki zvezne vlade in vlada Republike Slovenije 20. 6. 1991, je ponovno potrjen in bo uresničen. Carine ostajajo zvezni prihodek, carino pa bodo pobirali slovenski carinski uradniki, ki jo bodo nakazali na skupni račun, ta pa bo pod nadzorom zveznih in republiških ministrov za finance in enega ali dveh zunanjih nadzornikov.

III - Nadzor zračnega prometa:

Za celotno Jugoslavijo obstaja enoten nadzor zračnega prometa. Notranji in mednarodni zračni promet nad Jugoslavijo nadzorujejo in zagotavljajo pooblašene zvezne oblasti.

IV - Varnost meja:

Ponovno se vzpostavi stanje, ki je veljalo pred 25. 6. 1991. V obdobju suspenza (treh mesecev) bodo zaključena pogajanja, da se zagotovi urejen prenos kompetenc JLA na tem področju. Mejni režim, zasnovan na evropskih normah, ostaja trden cilj.

V - Nadaljnje oblike in načini izvajanja prekinitve ognja:

- odstranitev blokad enot in objektov JLA,
- brezpogojna vrnitev enot JLA v njihove vojašnice,
- deblokada vseh cest,
- vrnitev vseh objektov in opreme JLA,
- deaktiviranje enot TO in vrnitev v prostore nastanitve.

Vsi našteji ukrepi začnejo veljati čimprej, vendar ne kasneje kot 8. 7. 1991 ob 24. uri.

VI - Ujetniki:

Vse ujetnike, ki so bili zajeti v zvezi s sovražnostmi od 25. 6. 1991, je treba izpustiti čimprej, vendar ne kasneje kot 8. 7. 1991 ob 24. uri. Mednarodni Rdeči križ bo sodeloval pri izvajanju te odločitve.

Annex II

Priloga II

GUIDELINES FOR AN OBSERVER MISSION TO YUGOSLAVIA

Introduction

The situation in Yugoslavia is of concern to all CSCE Participating States. The Committee of Senior Officials meeting in Prague discussed the dispatch of a multinational Observer Mission into Yugoslavia. Obviously, such an Observer Mission can only operate with full consent of all Parties concerned. To ensure that the Observer Mission can fulfill its tasks, it is necessary to define its mandate and to determine its rights and duties. The financing of the operation and a number of practical aspects have to be decided upon. For this purpose, the following elements are suggested:

Mandate

An Observer Mission will be established with the objective to monitor the situation in Yugoslavia, in particular by monitoring activities in Slovenia - and possibly also Croatia. The aim of these activities is to monitor the implementation of the remaining elements of the agreement reached between Yugoslav parties with the contribution of the European Community.

Duration of the mandate

The Observer Mission should be able to take up its activities as soon as possible. The Observer Mission could continue its operation as long as this is deemed necessary by all Parties concerned.

Area of deployment

Under the current circumstances, the Observer Mission would geographically limit its activities to Slovenia, and possibly Croatia. If need arises, the area of deployment could be reviewed in agreement with all Parties concerned.

Composition and operation

The Observer Mission could be of mixed composition, i. e. both military and civilian personnel.

The Mission could consist of 30 to 50 people. Since it is important to act as expeditiously as possible, selection of personnel should not be allowed to delay the beginning of the Observer Mission's activities. A practical solution could be to recruit observers from the civilian and military members of the Vienna CSBM delegations where expertise of the CSCE process is available. They could be supplemented with other civilian and/or military officials.

The Mission would establish a Co-ordination Centre within Yugoslavia. From this Centre smaller units - of e. g. two men - would be deployed in different sectors. One liaison-officer of each of the opposing parties would be assigned to escort such observer units at all times.

Command structure and supervision

The observer units would work under the responsibility of the Head of the Observer Mission.

The Head of the Observer Mission would submit a daily report, through the Prague CSCE Secretariat, to the Committee of Senior Officials.

The Committee could be the appropriate venue to take stock of the activities of the Observer Mission and to decide on the prolongation of the mandate of the Mission, if this is necessary.

Legal arrangements

Legal arrangements would be necessary to ensure that the Observer Mission can carry out its tasks. These arrangements include provisions concerning diplomatic immunity as well as the freedom to travel and communicate freely within Yugoslavia, i. a. with the Co-ordination Centre and with Embassies.

SMERNICE ZA MISIJO OPAZOVALCEV V JUGOSLAVIJI

Uvod

Vse države članice KEVS so zaskrbljene zaradi razmer v Jugoslaviji. Odbor visokih funkcionarjev je na sestanku v Pragi razpravljal o odpošiljanju večnarodne Opazovalne misije v Jugoslavijo. Očitno je, da lahko takšna Opazovalna misija deluje le s polno privolitvijo vseh vpletenih strani. Da bi zagotovili, da Misija opazovalcev lahko v celoti uresniči svoje naloge, je potrebno definirati njen mandat oziroma pooblastila in določiti njene pravice in dolžnosti. Potrebno je sprejeti odločitve o financiranju njene dejavnosti in o številnih praktičnih vidikih. V ta namen so predloženi naslednji elementi:

Mandat

Opazovalna misija bo ustanovljena s ciljem, da nadzira razmere v Jugoslaviji, še zlasti s tem, da nadzira dejavnosti v Sloveniji - po možnosti tudi na Hrvaškem. Cilj tega dela je nadzor nad uresničevanjem preostalih elementov iz sporazuma, ki je bil dosežen med jugoslovanskimi stranmi ob sodelovanju Evropske skupnosti.

Trajanje mandata:

Opazovalna misija bi morala biti sposobna čimprej začeti s svojim delom. Opazovalna misija bi lahko delala toliko časa, dokler bodo vse vpletene strani menile, da je to potrebno.

Območje delovanja

V sedanjih razmerah bi Opazovalna misija geografsko omejila svoje dejavnosti na Slovenijo in po možnosti na Hrvaško. Če se pojavi potreba, bi lahko območje delovanja na novo določili v sporazumu med vsemi vpletenimi stranmi.

Sestava in delovanje

Misija opazovalcev bi lahko imela mešano sestavo, to je, sestavljena bi lahko bila iz vojaških in civilnih oseb.

Misijo bi lahko sestavljajo 30-50 oseb. Glede na to, da je pomembno čimprej začeti z delom, izbiranje članov Opazovalne misije ne bi smelo odložiti začetka njenega delovanja. Praktična rešitev bi lahko bilo rekrutiranje opazovalcev iz vrst civilnih in vojaških članov dunajskih delegacij v CSBM, kjer je na voljo ustrezno strokovno znanje o procesu KEVS. Dopolnjena bi lahko bila z drugimi civilnimi ali vojaškimi uradniki.

Misija bi v Jugoslaviji ustanovila Koordinacijski center. Iz tega centra bi na različne sektorje pošiljali manjše enote - na primer s po dvema članoma. Vsaka od nasprotnih strani bi določila oficirja za zvezo, ki bo ves čas dodeljen v spremstvo omenjenim opazovalnim enotam.

Struktura vodenja in nadzora

Opazovalne enote bi delovale pod nadzorom vodje Opazovalne misije. Vodja Opazovalne misije bi dnevno lahko poročal Odboru visokih funkcionarjev preko Sekretariata KEVS v Pragi.

Odbor visokih funkcionarjev bi lahko bil pravo mesto za evidentiranje informacij o dejavnosti Opazovalne misije in za odločanje glede mandata oziroma pooblastil Misije, če bi to bilo potrebno.

Pravna vprašanja

Da bi zagotovili Opazovalni misiji možnosti za opravljanje njenih nalog, bi bilo potrebno rešiti nekatera pravna vprašanja. Dogovori v zvezi s temi vprašanji vključujejo tudi določila, ki se nanašajo na diplomatsko imuniteto, kot tudi svobodo potovanja in komuniciranja v Jugoslaviji, med drugim tudi s Koordinacijskim centrom in veleposlaništvu.

Practical arrangements

Amongst the many practical arrangements to be decided upon are questions regarding the means of transport and interpretation services that will have to be made available to the observer units and the way in which the observers will identify and distinguish themselves as members of the CSCE Observer Mission.

Since the Observer Mission is not a peacekeeping force, the observers would not carry arms.

Praktična vprašanja

Med številnimi praktičnimi vprašanji, o katerih se je treba dogovoriti, se nekatera nanašajo na transport in prevajalske storitve tolmačenja oz. prevajanja, ki jih bo treba zagotoviti opazovalnim enotam, kot tudi na način identificiranja opazovalcev in njihovo medsebojno obeležitev kot članov Opazovalne komisije KEVS.

Glede na to, da Opazovalna misija ni enota, zadolžena za ohranjanje miru, opazovalci ne bi nosili orožja.

2.

Na podlagi določbe tretjega odstavka 63. člena zakona o zunanjih zadevah (Uradni list RS, št. 1/91-I) Izvršni svet Skupščine Republike Slovenije izdaja

UREDBO

o ratifikaciji Memoranduma o soglasju o opazovalni misiji v Jugoslaviji

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE MONITOR MISSION TO YUGOSLAVIA

Taking into account

– the decision of the Committee of Senior Officials of the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe to welcome the readiness of the European Community and its Member States, building on their initiatives, to organize a mission to help stabilize a cease-fire, to monitor the return of all armed forces to their previous positions and to monitor the suspension of the implementation of the declarations of independence, as well as to note the strong interest of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to make a concrete contribution to resolution of the present Yugoslav crisis.

– the invitation by the Yugoslav authorities to the European Community and its Member States to organize such a mission, and

– the agreements reached at Brioni on July 7, 1991.

The European Community and its Member States: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom and the Commission.

Hereinafter called the Sending Parties.

on the hand,

and

The Federal Authorities of Yugoslavia
And the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia,
Hereinafter called the Host Parties.

on the other hand,

Together hereinafter called the Participating Parties.

Recognizing the devastating consequences hostilities in Yugoslavia would have for all its inhabitants.

Aware of the serious impact hostilities in Yugoslavia could have on peace and security in Europe,

Determined to seek peaceful means of resolving the situation which currently separates the peoples of Yugoslavia,

Anxious to promote conditions to discourage new outbreaks of violence and bloodshed, and

Resolved to work together to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security and to open the way to negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia.

Reached the following understandings:

1. člen

Ratificira se Memorandum o soglasju o opazovalni misiji v Jugoslaviji, podpisan 13. julija 1991, med Republiko Slovenijo, Evropsko skupnostjo in njenimi državami članicami, Republiko Hrvaško ter zveznimi jugoslovanskimi organi.

2. člen

Besedilo Memoranduma v angleškem izvirniku in slovenskem prevodu se glasi:

MEMORANDUM O SOGLASJU O OPAZOVALNI MISIJI V JUGOSLAVIJI

Ob upoštevanju

– odločitev odbora visokih uradnikov Konference o varnosti in sodelovanju v Evropi, ki pozdravlja pripravljenost Evropske skupnosti in njenih držav članic, in njegove pobude, da se pošlje misija, ki bo pomagala utrditi prekinitev ognja, opazovala vrnitev vseh oboroženih sil na njihove izhodiščne položaje in spremljala odložitev uresničevanja deklaracij o neodvisnosti, kakor tudi na podlagi poudarjenega interesa držav udeleženk Konference o varnosti in sodelovanju v Evropi za konkreten prispevek k rešitvi sedanje jugoslovanske krize,

– povabila jugoslovanskih oblasti Evropski skupnosti in njenim državam članicam, naj pošljejo takšno misijo, ter

– sporazumov, doseženih na Brionih 7. julija 1991, so se Evropska skupnost in njene države članice: Belgija, Danska, Francija, Nemčija, Grčija, Irska, Italija, Luksemburg, Nizozemska, Portugalska, Španija in Velika Britanija ter Komisija

(v nadaljnjem besedilu: strani pošiljateljice) na eni strani

in

jugoslovanski zvezni organi
ter republiki Hrvaška in Slovenija

(v nadaljnjem besedilu: strani gostiteljice) na drugi strani

(v nadaljnjem besedilu skupno imenovane strani udeležence)

priznavajoč uničujoče posledice sovražnosti v Jugoslaviji za vse njene prebivalce,

zavedajoč se resnih posledic sovražnosti v Jugoslaviji za mir in varnost v Evropi,

odločeni, da z mirnimi sredstvi poiščejo rešitev položaja, ki zdaj razdvaja narode Jugoslavije.

v želji, da vzpostavijo pogoje, ki bi onemogočili nove izbruhe nasilja in prelivanja krvi, ter

odločeni, da s skupnim delovanjem prispevajo k ohranitvi miru in varnosti in odpro pot pogajanjem o bodočnosti Jugoslavije,

sporazumeli o naslednjem:

Article I (mandate)

1. A multinational Monitor Mission will be established. The aim of its activities is:

a. to help stabilize the cease-fire. To that end, to conduct ad hoc evaluations of, and to investigate alleged violations; of the following elements in the cease-fire agreed between Host Parties:

- the lifting of the blockade of YNA units and facilities;

- the unconditional return of YNA units to their barracks;

- the clearing of all roads;

- the return of all facilities and equipment to the YNA, and

- the deactivation of territorial defence units and their return to quarters;

b. to monitor the suspension of the implementation of the declarations of independence for the period of three months as agreed between the Host Parties, in the context of the arrangements reached in Brioni, particularly on the border regime and border security;

c. if and when required, to monitor the release and return of prisoners, detained in connection with hostilities since June 25, 1991, in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross.

2. To this end, the Host Parties will provide the Sending Parties with all information and extend full co-operation as necessary for the accomplishment of the Mission's objectives.

Article II (duration)

1. The Monitor Mission will commence its activities described in Article I as soon as possible after signature of this Memorandum of Understanding by all Participating Parties.

2. The Monitor Mission will end its activities three months after signature of this Memorandum of Understanding by all Participating Parties. The Participating Parties may decide to prolong the mandate of the Monitor Mission.

Article III (mission area)

1. The Monitor Mission will concentrate its activities on Slovenia and, as appropriate, Croatia, unless the Participating Parties agree that the implementation of the Mandate also requires activities beyond these areas.

2. The Monitor Mission will establish a Co-ordination Centre, which for practical purposes will be situated in Zagreb. It will have a Regional Monitor Centre in Ljubljana. The Mission will liaise with the authorities in Belgrade.

Article IV (status)

1. The Host Parties will be responsible for the full protection of the Monitor Mission and its members.

2. For the purpose of conducting its activities, the Monitor Mission and its personnel will enjoy, together with its vehicles, vessels, aircraft and equipment, unrestricted freedom of movement in the mission area.

3. When conducting its activities, personnel of the Monitor Mission will at their request be accompanied by at least one escort officer designated by the Host Parties, having regard of the sector in the mission area concerned. The escort officers will assist the personnel of the Monitor Mission in carrying out their functions.

4. The Monitor Mission will display the flag of the European Community on its Co-ordination Centre, its Regional Monitor Centre and other premises, vehicles, vessels and otherwise as decided by the Head of the Monitor Mission.

I. člen (mandat)

1. Ustanovi se Mednarodna opazovalna misija z naslednjimi nalogami:

a. pomagati utrditi prekinitev ognja. V ta namen daje ad hoc ocene in raziskuje domnevne kršitve naslednjih elementov prekinitve ognja, dogovorjene med stranmi gostiteljicami:

- odstranitev blokad enot JLA in objektov,

- brezpogojna vrnitev enot JLA v njihove vojašnice,

- deblokada vseh cest,

- vrnitev vseh objektov in opreme JLA in

- deaktiviranje enot TO in njihova vrnitev v prostore nastanitve;

b. spremljati odložitev uresničevanja deklaracij o neodvisnosti v trimesečnem obdobju po dogovoru med stranmi gostiteljicami na podlagi brionskih dogovorov, še posebej glede režima na mejah in varnosti meja;

c. če in kadar je potrebno, opazovati izpustitev in vrnitev ujetnikov, ki so bili priprti v zvezi s sovražnostmi po 25. juniju 1991, v sodelovanju z Mednarodnim odborom Rdečega križa.

2. V ta namen bodo strani gostiteljice priskrbele stranem pošiljateljicam vsa obvestila in zagotovile popolno sodelovanje, potrebno za izpolnitev ciljev misije.

II. člen (trajanje)

1. Opazovalna misija bo začela delovati, kot je opisano v I. členu, takoj ko bo to mogoče po podpisu tega memoranduma o soglasju s strani vseh udeleženk.

2. Opazovalna misija bo s svojimi dejavnostmi končala tri mesece po podpisu memoranduma o soglasju s strani vseh udeleženk. Strani udeleženke se lahko odločijo, da podaljšajo mandat opazovalni misiji.

III. člen (delovanje)

1. Opazovalna misija bo osredotočila svoje delovanje na Slovenijo in, če bo to potrebno, na Hrvaško, razen če se strani udeleženke dogovorijo, da so za izpolnitev mandata potrebne dejavnosti tudi zunaj navedenih območij.

2. Opazovalna misija bo ustanovila koordinacijski center, ki bo iz praktičnih razlogov v Zagrebu, in področni opazovalni center v Ljubljani. Misija bo imela zvezo z organi v Beogradu.

IV. člen (status)

1. S strani gostiteljice bodo odgovorne za celovito zaščito opazovalne misije in njenih članov.

2. Opazovalna misija in njeni člani bodo pri opravljanju svoje dejavnosti uživali neomejeno svobodo gibanja na območju misije, kar velja tudi za njihova vozila, plovila, letala in opremo.

3. Člane opazovalne misije bo pri opravljanju njihove dejavnosti na njihovo zahtevo spremljal najmanj en spremljevalec, ki ga določijo strani gostiteljice, pri čemer je treba upoštevati področje, na katero se obisk nanaša. Spremljevalci bodo pomagali članom opazovalne misije pri izpolnjevanju njihovih nalog.

4. Opazovalna misija bo izobesila zastavo Evropske skupnosti na svojem koordinacijskem centru, svojem področnem opazovalnem centru in drugih poslopih, vozilih, plovilih itd., kot določi vodja opazovalne misije.

5. Vehicles, vessels and aircraft of the Monitor Mission will carry a distinctive Monitor Mission identification, which will be notified to the relevant authorities.

Article V (composition)

1. The Monitor Mission will be composed of personnel appointed by the Sending Parties. Personnel belonging to the Monitor Mission will be called hereinafter monitors.

2. Monitors will be appointed by the Governments of their Sending States.

3. The number of monitors will initially be between 30 and 50. The number of personnel required can be changed as agreed between the Participating Parties.

4. The monitors will refrain from any action or activity incompatible with the impartial nature of their duties.

5. The Monitor Mission may avail itself of the assistance of administrative and technical staff from the Sending Parties as it requires. The members of the Mission's administrative and technical staff will enjoy a status similar to that of administrative and technical staff from Sending States employed in Embassies.

6. The Monitor Mission may recruit locally such auxiliary personnel as it requires. Upon the request of the Head of the Monitor Mission, the Host Parties, as local staff by the Monitor Mission and to accelerate the process of such recruitment. The Mission's auxiliary personnel will enjoy a status similar to that of locally engaged staff in Embassies.

Article VI (arms and dress)

1. Monitors will not carry arms.

2. Monitors will wear civilian dress.

Article VII (chain of responsibilities)

1. The Monitor Mission will operate under the responsibility of the Head of the Mission, who will be a national of the Member State of the European Community currently holding the EC Council Presidency, hereinafter called the EC Council Presidency.

2. The Head of the Monitor Mission will report regularly, through the EC Council Presidency, to all the Participating Parties on the activities and findings of the Monitor Mission.

3. The EC Council Presidency will inform the Committee of Senior Officials of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at the earliest opportunity on the activities and findings of the Monitor Mission.

Article VIII (travel and transport)

1. Vehicles, vessels and aircraft of the Monitor Mission will not be subject to compulsory registration or licensing in the mission area, provided that all such vehicles shall carry third party insurance.

2. The Monitor Mission may use roads, bridges, canals and other waters, port facilities and airfields without the payment of dues, tolls and charges, including wharfage charges.

3. Upon request, the Monitor Mission will be provided by the Host Parties with such vehicles as may be required to perform its tasks in case the Monitor Mission is unable to operate its own vehicles. The Host Parties will facilitate the Monitor Mission operating its own vehicles, vessels and aircraft.

Article IX (communications)

1. The personnel of the Monitor Mission will have access to appropriate telecommunications equipment of the Host Parties for the purpose of its activities, including for communicating with Diplomatic and Consular Representations of the Sending Parties.

appropriate, will facilitate the recruitment of qualified

5. Vozila, plovila in letala opazovalne misije bodo imela različne razpoznavne znake, ki bodo prijavljeni ustreznim organom.

V. člen (sestava)

1. Opazovalno misijo bodo sestavljali člani, ki jih imenujejo strani pošiljateljice. Člani, ki sestavljajo opazovalno misijo, se v nadaljnjem besedilu imenujejo opazovalci.

2. Opazovalce bodo imenovalе vlade držav pošiljateljic.

3. Število opazovalcev bo v začetku med 30 in 50. Njihovo število se lahko spremeni po dogovoru med stranmi udeleženkami.

4. Opazovalci se bodo vzdržali kakršnega koli dejanja, ki ni združljivo z nepristransko naravo njihovih dolžnosti.

5. Opazovalna misija lahko uporablja pomoč administrativnega in tehničnega osebja strani gostiteljic, če to potrebuje. Administrativno in tehnično osebje misije bo uživalo status, podoben tistemu, ki velja za administrativno in tehnično osebje držav pošiljateljic, zaposleno v veleposlanštvu.

6. Opazovalna misija lahko na kraju samem zaposli pomožno osebje, ki ga potrebuje. Na zahtevo vodje opazovalne misije bodo strani gostiteljic ustrezno osebje za opazovalno misijo in pospešile postopek za njegovo zaposlitev. Pomožno osebje misije bo uživalo status, podoben tistemu, ki ga ima domače osebje, zaposleno v veleposlanštvih.

VI. člen (orožje in obleka)

1. Opazovalci ne bodo oboroženi.

2. Opazovalci bodo oblečeni v civilne obleke.

VII. člen (zaporedje odgovornosti)

1. Vodja misije bo odgovoren za delovanje opazovalne misije in bo državljan predsedujoče članice Evropske skupnosti v Svetu Evrope (v nadaljnjem besedilu predsedstvo Sveta ES).

2. Vodja opazovalne misije bo redno poročal preko predsedstva Sveta ES vsem državam udeleženkam o dejavnostih in ugotovitvah opazovalne misije.

3. Predsedstvo Sveta ES bo nemudoma obvestilo odbor visokih uradnikov Konference o varnosti in sodelovanju v Evropi o dejavnostih in ugotovitvah opazovalne misije.

VIII. člen (prevoz)

1. Za vozila, plovila in letala opazovalne misije ne velja obvezna registracija, zanje ni treba izdati dovolilnic na območju delovanja misije pod pogojem, da so vsa ta prevozna sredstva zavarovana za morebitno povzročitev škode tretjim osebam.

2. Opazovalna misija lahko uporablja ceste, mostove, kanale in druge vodne poti, pristanišča in letališča, ne da bi morala plačevati dajatve, cestnine ali takse in pristaniške pristojbine.

3. Na zahtevo bodo gostiteljice opazovalni misiji zagotavljale takšna vozila, kot bi jih ta potrebovala pri opravljanju svojih nalog, kadar opazovalna misija ne bo mogla uporabiti lastnih vozil. Strani gostiteljice bodo omogočale opazovalni misiji uporabo njenih lastnih vozil, plovil in letal.

IX. člen (zveze)

1. Člani opazovalne misije bodo imeli za opravljanje svojih nalog dostop do ustrezne telekomunikacijske opreme strani gostiteljic, vključno s komuniciranjem z diplomatskimi in konzularnimi predstavniki strani pošiljateljic.

2. Personnel of the Monitor Mission will enjoy the right to unrestricted communication by its own radio (including satellite, mobile and hand-held radio), telephone, telegraph, facsimile or any other means. The Host Parties will provide within 24 hours after signature of the Memorandum of Understanding the frequencies on which radios can operate.

Article X (privileges and immunities)

1. Monitors will be granted during their mission the privileges and immunities of Diplomatic Agents, in accordance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

2. The Co-ordination Centre, the Regional Monitor Centre and other facilities, and the vehicles, vessels and aircraft of the Monitor Mission will be inviolable.

3. The privileges and immunities provided for in this Article will be granted to monitors:

- a. during their mission, and
- b. thereafter, with respect to acts previously performed during their mission.

4. The Host Parties undertake to facilitate the entry into and departure from the mission area of the Head of the Monitor Mission and of members of the Mission's personnel. The EC Council Presidency will provide the Host Parties with a list of members of the Mission and inform the Host Parties about the arrival and departure of personnel belonging to the Monitor Mission. Personnel belonging to the Monitor Mission will carry their national identification cards (passports) as well as a document which proves that they are personnel of the Monitor Mission.

5. The Host Parties recognize the right of the Sending Parties to import, free of duty or other restrictions, any equipment, provisions, supplies and other goods which are for the exclusive and official use of the Monitor Mission, as well as to re-export or otherwise dispose of such equipment, as far as it is still usable, all unconsumed provisions, supplies and other goods so imported.

Article XI

1. The Participating Parties will decide on other provisions concerning privileges and immunities as well as on practical arrangements, such as the provision of food and lodging, travel and mission subsistence allowances.

2. The Host Parties will fully compensate Sending Parties in respect of any damage, loss or injury suffered by any monitor in connection with the Mission, and will indemnify the Sending Parties in respect of any claims arising from or in any way connected with the activities of the Monitor Mission or its personnel.

Article XII

1. Repatriation of costs of the Monitor Mission is to be decided on.

Done at Belgrade on July 13, 1991, in the English language in four copies.

For the European Community and its Member States:

Christiaan M. J. Kröner
Netherlands Ambassador at Large

For the Federal Authorities of Yugoslavia:

Živojin Jazić
Ambassador

2. Člani opazovalne misije bodo imeli pravico do neomejenih komunikacij z lastno radijsko zvezo (vključno satelitsko, prenosno ali ročno radijsko postajo), telefonom, telegrafom, telefaksom ali s katerikoli drugim sredstvom. Strani gostiteljice bodo v 24. urah po podpisu Memoranduma o soglasju poskrbele za frekvence, na katerih lahko delujejo radijske zveze.

X. člen (privilegiji in imunitete)

1. Opazovalci uživajo med svojo misijo diplomatske privilegije in imunitete v skladu z Dunajsko konvencijo o diplomatskih odnosih.

2. Koordinacijski center, področni opazovalni center in drugi objekti in vozila, plovila ter letala opazovalne misije bodo nedotakljivi.

3. Privilegiji in imunitete, ki jih predvideva ta člen, bodo opazovalcem zagotovljeni:

- a. med njihovo misijo
- b. in tudi pozneje glede na dejanja, ki so bila opravljena že med njihovo misijo.

4. Strani gostiteljice se obvežejo olajšati prihod in odhod z območja misije vodji opazovalne misije in članom misije. Predsedstvo sveta ES bo poskrbelo stranem gostiteljicam seznam članov misije in jih obvestilo o njihovem prihodu in odhodu. Člani opazovalne misije bodo nosili nacionalne legitimacije (potne liste) hkrati s potrdilom, da so člani opazovalne misije.

5. Strani gostiteljice priznajo stranem pošiljateljicam pravico uvoziti brez carine ali drugih dajatev opremo, potrebščine, živež in drugo blago, ki je namenjeno izključno za uradne potrebe opazovalne misije, kakor tudi ponovno izvoziti ali drugače razpolagati s takšno opremo, če je še uporabna, z vsemi neuporabljenimi potrebščinami, živežem in drugim blagom, ki je bilo uvoženo na opisani način.

XI. člen

1. Strani udeleženke se bodo kasneje odločile glede drugih določil, ki se nanašajo na privilegije in imuniteto kakor tudi na praktične aranžmaje, kot so zagotovitev hrane, nastanitev, potovanja in dnevnice misije.

2. Strani gostiteljice bodo v celoti nadomestile stranem pošiljateljicam vsako škodo, izgubo ali poškodbo, ki bi jo utrpel katerikoli opazovalec misije, in bodo povrnile škodo stranem pošiljateljicam glede vseh zahtevkov, ki bi izhajali ali bili kakorkoli povezani z dejavnostmi opazovalne misije ali njenih članov.

XII. člen

1. O porazdelitvi stroškov opazovalne misije se bo treba še odločiti.

Sestavljeno v Beogradu 13. julija 1991 v angleškem jeziku v štirih izvodih.

Za Evropsko skupnost in njene države članice:

Christiaan M. J. Kröner
Potujoči veleposlanik Nizozemske

Za zvezne jugoslovanske organe:

Živojin Jazić
Veleposlanik

Stran 4

MEĐNARODNE PUGOUBE

St. 1 - 16. VIII. 1991

For the Republic of Croatia:

Davorin Rudolf
Minister of Foreign Affairs

For the Republic of Slovenia:

Marko Kosin
Counsellor to the
Government of Slovenia

Za Republiko Hrvatsko:

Davorin Rudolf
Minister za zunanje zadeve

Za Republiko Slovenijo:

Marko Kosin
Svetovalec vlade
Republike Slovenije

3. člen

Za uresničevanje Memoranduma skrbi Ministrstvo za
zunanje zadeve.

Št. 900-01/91-10/1-8

Ljubljana, dne 1. avgusta 1991.

Izvršni svet
Skupščine Republike Slovenije

Predsednik
Lojze Peterle l. r.

BRIONI DECLARATION - cont.

Acceptance of the Brioni Declaration by Slovenian Parliament

(Official acceptance in Slovenian language can be found in Appendix G;
Translated document received from Ljubljana has been re-edited for this
publication)

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE Republic of Slovenia

No 5 Ljubljana, Friday 12 July, 1991 Price 30 Din Year 1

163.

At the joint session of all the chambers on 10th July, 1991, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia discussed the Joint Declaration reached by the European Community troika and the representatives of all the sides involved in the Yugoslav crisis at the Brioni on 7th July, 1991, and arrived at the following

CONCLUSION

1. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia in its entirety adopts the Joint Declaration together with Annexes I and II.
2. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will inform the European Community troika of its conclusion.
3. Regarding its consent to the regulations defined in the Joint Declaration, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia issues the following

STATEMENT

-The right to self-determination of the Republic of Slovenia has never been debatable for any Yugoslav republic or Federal body, and is explicitly defined in the Constitution of the SFRY. The debatable question is the way in which this right is asserted. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia finds confirmation of this view in the conclusions of the Joint Declaration, where it is stated that "Yugoslav nations alone should decide on their future".

-The decision of the 88.5% of the citizens of the Republic of Slovenia reached at the plebiscite on 23rd December, 1990, incontestably proved that the citizens of Slovenia wish to live in an independent and sovereign state.

-With a special resolution, the Assembly of the republic of Slovenia suggested to all the republics in Yugoslavia that negotiations about a consensual disassociation of Yugoslavia and about the future inter-republican relations in any institutionalized form - confederation or economic community - should start. Since it has not received a reply to its proposal, it, in accordance with the Law on plebiscite and the results of the plebiscite carried out on 23rd December 1990, had to declare independence and adopt the measures for its implementation.

-Even after this act the Federal authorities were unwilling to negotiate over the independence of Slovenia, although the Republic of Slovenia on 25th June repeated its proposal for negotiations; they rose against Slovenia with military force instead. The main goals of the operations of the YNA were the following: change the extant regime at border crossings, which was in compliance with the laws of SFRY and the laws of the Republic of Slovenia; close the borders between Slovenia and other countries and thus cut Slovenia's communications with the world, so that the YNA could later impose its condition on it, with an obvious political aim of preventing the implementation of the independence of the Republic of Slovenia. The YNA was defeated and it consented to a cease-fire, but it has been unwilling to nominate its representatives in the Commission in charge of supervising the observation of the cease-fire, and it is again threatening with a mass attack involving all destructive means aimed at numerous targets, including civilian premises.

-Since it wishes to prevent further bloodshed and insists on the proposals previously put forth, namely that the question of Slovenia's gaining independence be solved with negotiations in a democratic way, the Republic of Slovenia has accepted the favours of the European Community troika and paused further implementation of its constitutional acts on independence for 90 days.

-The Assembly of the republic of Slovenia wishes to express its esteem to the European Community for their efforts for a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis, and expects that the European Community will do everything it can in order to put a stop to the violence of the YNA us against Slovenia.

-The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia views the cease-fire and the cessation of all hostile activities of the armed forces against the Republic of Slovenia as an obligation for all the parties, and will therefore consider any further completion of military garrison and transfer of new units from other parts of Yugoslavia to the territory of Slovenia as flagrant violation of the cease-fire agreements and all the obligations ensuing from the Brioni Joint Declaration.

-The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia expects that the European Community will pay special attention to the following open questions:

- 1. accelerated mobilization of the reserve staff of the YNA, especially in the Republic of Serbia;*
- 2. safety of the YNA officers and soldiers who left the YNA units during the war;*
- 3. release of the YNA soldiers, citizens of the Republic of Slovenia, without any sanctions and*
- 4. compensation of damage caused to the Republic of Slovenia and its citizens during the intervention of the YNA.*

-The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopts the Brioni Declaration without reserve and unconditionally, and thus expresses its full trust in the good intentions of the European Community.

No: 000-01/90-5/43
Ljubljana, 10th July, 1991

The Assembly of Slovenia

Dr. France Bucar
President

Two Days after the Attack of the
Yugoslav Army on Slovenia
Slovenian Territorial Defence
Controls All Northern Border and
One Border Post with Italy

World Media Does Not Report That
because the Reports Coming
Strictly from Belgrade
Don't Tell the Truth

REPORT CONCERNING THE CONTROL OVER SLOVENIAN BORDERS

(Official report in Slovenian language can be found in Appendix H;
translated by Sherril O'Connor-Sraj and re-edited by the authors)

Republic of Slovenia
Ministry of Interior
Ljubljana, Kidriceva 2

No: 0213
Date: 8.6.1991*

Dr. Janez Dular
Member of Cabinet
Parliament of Republic of Slovenia

BASIC INFORMATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BORDERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

Within the Republic of Slovenia there are 1,218 km of international borders comprising land, sea and river borders with the Republic of Italy, Austria, Hungary and Croatia. Within the area comprising international borders with neighbouring countries there are altogether 115 border crossings, of which there are 38 international border crossings, 64 border crossings for special local traffic** and 13 border crossings or crossing points under special agreement.

The Republic of Slovenia has a common border on the West with the Republic of Italy, of which 226 km is on land and 16 nautical miles (29 km) in sea. On this border we have 17 international border crossings (by road, sea, train and air), 23 border crossings for local traffic, 17 farm crossings and 2 Alpine crossings by special agreement.

On the North the Republic of Slovenia has a common border with the Republic of Austria 315 km in length. On this border we have 19 international border crossings, 20 border crossings for local traffic and 11 Alpine crossings by special agreement.

On the North-east there is a common border with the Republic of Hungary of 102 km in length. On this border we have 2 international border crossings.

The border between the Republic of Slovenia and the republic of Croatia is 546 km long. Of this border, 240 km are river borders (the rivers Dragonja, Kolpa, Sotla and others) and 306 km is a land border. On this border with the republic of Croatia, on 25th June, 1991, there were 8 border check points established, ie: Secovlje, Dragonja, Jelsane, Metlika, Obrezje, Dobovec, Gruskovje and Sredisce ob Dravi.

At all border crossings and border check points in the Republic of Slovenia, the Republic of Slovenia through the Ministry of the Interior exercises effective and sovereign control over all border traffic.

Branko Celar
Officer in Charge
Chief Inspector

* 8 July 1991 is more likely

** Travel permitted by identity card in specified areas

Slovenia Is Not Achieving Only
Cultural Independence but Is Also
Developing Strong Western-Style
Economy Independently of the Rest
of Yugoslavia

BRIEFLY ABOUT THE ECONOMY OF SLOVENIA*

Some of the information on the economy has already been presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Summarized statistics are already in Chapter 1. Now we shall have a look at some of the larger industries and firms of Slovenia.

Slovenia has a very strong metal industry, including primary, refining and finished metal products.

Slovenia has brown coal and lignite mines and smaller mines of black coal. There is a uranium mine under Mt. Peca.

Agriculture has been suppressed for a long time, as is typical with communist and socialist countries. Agriculture could probably be developed to sustain the nation, but Slovenia can never become a major force in that area because of her size and geographical characteristics.

Slovenia has a very strong electronic industry with ISKRA being one of the biggest electronic and telecommunication firms in former Yugoslavia (about 30,000 employees).

Slovenia is trying to penetrate the world market by developing high technology and knowledge based industries. Slovenians are becoming one of the most educated people in the world (similar to Norway which has the highest rate of tertiary education in the world). With their good work habits and discipline Slovenians produce high standard products. Recently (during the process of democratization) Slovenia established a Stock-Exchange.

Tourism has always been important in Slovenia and this has contributed much revenue to the country. Slovenia has some very interesting natural phenomena. Let us mention just a few of them.

1. The Caves of Postojna are very beautiful in themselves. But their great attraction is a cute little animal living only in those caves. Its Latin name is Proteus, but in Slovenian language it is called Human Fish. It has a shape and a size of a small lizard (such as a skink) but it lives in cave's waters and it has gills like fish. The name "human" comes from its colour which is a pale pink like a white human being.

Another very beautiful group of caves are the Caves of Skocjan, which are less commercialized. Those who have seen them claim they are even more beautiful than the Caves of Postojna.

2. The Lake of Cerknica is phenomenal. Its water disappears and appears at intervals that seem to run to a schedule of the lake's making. It is a great place for fishing when there is plenty water in it and it is a great place for farmers, who collect hay from it when the water disappears. The reasons for its strange behaviour are not quite explained to these days.

Slovenia has many historic points well worthwhile seeing and is famous as a country where you will find a church on every hill.

One of the most important tourist attractions are the Spas. There are many Spas in Slovenia with different thermal and mineral waters. The spas' mineral waters are sold in many countries and are renowned by their quality and pleasant taste. Some of them are used for medicinal purposes and each of the Spas is a medical centre by itself. Some of the Spas are for rheumatical

* For trade between Slovenia and Australia see Chapter 1

diseases, others are for cardio-vascular diseases and some are for skin diseases* etc...Let me mention just a few of them. *Radenci* for heart diseases with a renowned mineral water called *Radenska* (or *Radenska Three Hearts* - because it has a label of three hearts), *Rogaska Slatina* with its water called *Rogaska* which is particularly helpful in the case of colic and stomach troubles, *Atomske Toplice* for rheumatological diseases, and others such as *Dolenjske Toplice*, *Catez*, etc...

In winter is a great time for winter sport activities such as skiing and skating. Slovenians dominate many of the world's winter sports. Slovenians have been world and Olympic champions several times in slaloms, veleslaloms and ski jumping. These champions include Bojan Krizaj, Mateja Svet, Bogdan Norcic and others. Some of them have already finished their careers, but there is a new generation of champions on the way.

A few of the more important firms of Slovenia include :

Gorenje Velenje - Velenje is a town in north-east Slovenia and it has a lignite mine. But its main income earner is Gorenje, a firm producing white equipment, such as washing machines, refrigerators, etc... In Australia they are marketed through Gorenje Pacific. Gorenje have representatives all over the World and in Europe is one of the bigger manufacturers and marketers of white equipment.

ISKRA - A big telecommunication and electronic firm producing ferrits (magnets), various parts of electronic equipment such as microchips etc... It is building telecommunications stations all over the world. It has over a hundred subsidiaries and representatives all over the world. A large part of the production comprises electronic apparatus, telephones, and transmitting technology. They received 1st prize for the design of the telephone a few years ago in USA. ISKRA is not represented in Australia.

Yulon - This firm specialises in the production of poliamid filaments which are used in womens pantihoses and the like. Nearly all of the products are exported (85%) to EEC and EFTA countries. With 600 employees they create an export income of US\$27 million annually.

IMV - A car production firm. 80% of their production are cars by licence of French company Renault. Two thirds of those are built for export, but production for domestic purposes is rising. The rest of the output are caravans, other vans and specialist vehicles.

Autocommerce - A trading firm that is now being licensed as a representative for Porsche in Slovenia.

Elan - Ski producer. Elan is a competitor with Rossignol in the production of high quality skis. Slovenian and other countries' top sportsmen and women have won many gold medals using Elan skis. Other activities of Elan include the production of glider planes and boats.

Slovenijales - A furniture manufacturer with a very strong subsidiary in USA. They produce all sorts of high quality furniture from lounges to kitchens. They have a subsidiary in Africa as well from where they import a lot of their timber.

Lesnina, Meblo - furniture manufacturers.

Sava Kranj - car and truck tyre manufacturer.

Litostroj - producer of turbines for hydro electric power stations and the like.

Zelezarna Jesenice, Zelezarna Store and Zelezarna Ravne - steel factories

LEK, KRKA - pharmaceutical firms

Droga Portoroz - Coffee and tea firm. It is exporting to Australia as well.

* See Appendix J for a story of a Swede being cured in Atomic Spas (Atomske Toplice).

12

The Case of Slovenia Presented to
Senator Evans from the Legal Point
of View
with Notes and Comments

LEGAL CASE PRESENTED TO SENATOR EVANS WITH NOTES AND COMMENTS

(Prepared by: Sherrill O'Connor-Sraj - solicitor and
Garry Moore - barrister;

Re-edited with notes and comments by Gerard and Nevenka Clarke)

1. The criteria for sovereign statehood in international law are said in Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of Status (1933) to be:

"(a) a permanent population

(b) a defined territory

(c) government

(d) capacity to enter into relations with other States"

(165 League of Nations Treaty Series, p 19)

ad a) Slovenia has a permanent and homogenous population:

- total population of 1, 712,445 (1981 Census). 43% are urbanized. Capital of Ljubljana has a population of 305,000. Other important towns include Maribor, Celje, Kranj and Novo Mesto.
- Slovenians form 90.6% of the population, with the following minorities: Croatian 2.9%, Serbian 2.2%, Hungarians 0.5%, Italians 0.1%, and unclassified 3.7%
- the Slovenian language is a Slavic tongue. As such, it is related to but distinct from Czech, Slovak and the neighbouring Serbo-Croat language.
- the Slovenes settled what is now Slovenia in the 6th and 7th Centuries A.D. and have lived there ever since.

ad b) Slovenia has a defined territory:

- the Republic of Slovenia has an area of 20,256 square kilometres. It occupies 7.9% of the former territory of Yugoslavia.
- Slovenia is bordered by Italy and the Adriatic Sea on the west, Austria in the north, Hungary in the north-east and Croatia in the south-east and east.
- the borders of Slovenia have been well-defined and accepted by all since the Second World War.

ad c) Slovenia has an effective and authoritative government:

- the government is republican in form and headed by the President, Mr Milan Kucan, and the Prime Minister, Mr Lojze Peterle.
- the government reflects the principles of parliamentary democracy. It is formed by members elected from the tri-cameral legislature. The members of the legislature were, in turn, elected in free and fair elections held 8, 11 and 23 April, 1990.

ad d) Slovenia has both the capacity to enter in to relations with other States and a strong wish to do so:

- the government has established a Foreign Ministry under the Foreign Minister, Mr Dimitrij Rupel.
- Slovenia is ready and willing to exchange diplomats with other countries.
- Slovenia is prepared to shoulder its responsibilities as a successor State to the old Yugoslavia and as a member of the international community of nations.

"Every State has the right to its own independence in the sense that it is free to provide for its own well-being and to develop materially and spiritually without being subjected to the domination of other States, provided always, that in doing so, it shall not impair or violate the legitimate rights of other States".

(Draft Declaration on the Rights and Duties of States, drawn up by the Secretary General of the United Nations pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly of 21 November, 1947)

2. The present government of the Republic of Slovenia governing from Ljubljana meets the pre-conditions for de jure recognition.*

"...it is international law which defines the conditions under which a government should be recognized de jure or de facto, and it is a matter of judgement in each particular case whether a regime fulfills the conditions. The conditions under international law for the recognition of a new regime as the defacto government of a state are that the new regime has in fact effective control over most of the state's territory and that this control is likely to continue. The conditions for the recognition of a new regime as dejure government of a state are that the new regime should not merely have effective control over most of the state's territory, but it should, in fact, be firmly established. His Majesty's Government consider that recognition should not be given when these conditions are not fulfilled. The recognition of a government dejure or defacto should not depend on whether the character of the regime is such as to command His Majesty's Government approval".

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the House of Commons on 21 March, 1951 (Hansard, Vo.. 485, co 2410: cited in Carl Zeiss Stiftung v. Rayner & Keeler Ltd & Ors., 1967; A.C. 853, 906 per Lord Reid)

- (i) The Slovenian government has, in fact, effective control and administering authority over all of the territory of Slovenia bar Yugoslav Army bases**.
- all bureaucratic offices and functions in Slovenia are directed by the government in Ljubljana. Officials report to the relevant minister in that government.

* This legal case was based on the requirement of both recognition of the Slovenian Government and the Slovenian State but the rest of the case presented in this book seeks the recognition by Australian Government of the independence and sovereignty of the State of Slovenia. This is in accordance with the current Australian policy of recognizing states instead of the old policy of recognizing governments.

** By the agreement between the Yugoslav Government and Slovenian Government on 20 July 1991, it has been achieved that the Yugoslav Army will move out of Slovenia in the next three (two) months. In fact, a lot of the Army barracks are already empty up to this time, which means that the Army bases are or will be soon in the possession of Slovenia.

- the courts, police and militia forces accept the authority of the Slovenian government.
 - the Slovenian government has at its disposal some 35,000 militia* troops and a further 8,000 armed police. All are well trained, well armed and committed to Slovenian independence. In contrast, some 20,000 Yugoslav Federal Army troops (of total of 130,000) are presently stationed in Slovenia. Most are poorly trained and poorly motivated conscripts. Since the outbreak of hostilities, a large number of federal troops in Slovenia (not exclusively of Slovenian origin) have deserted. A further 55,000 federal troops face 40,000 Croatian militia troops and 30,000 Croatian armed police within the Republic of Croatia.
 - Slovenian government authorities control all of Slovenia's border crossings: a total of 115, of which 38 are international crossings, 64 local crossings and 13 others.
 - the Slovenian government has the backing of the Slovenian people.
- (ii) The effective control exercised by the government of Slovenia not only is likely to continue but is also already firmly established.
- nothing less than a massive land and air campaign by Yugoslav forces would be likely to break the control of the present government over Slovenia. Such a campaign would result in protracted guerilla warfare by the Slovenian forces (an ideal hilly and woody country), probable Croat involvement, possible Macedonian and/or Kosovo involvement, significant dissesion in Serbia, a rapid logistical run-down by Yugoslav forces, economic chaos throughout Yugoslavia and almost certain European peacekeeping involvement. Despite the intemperate remarks of some Serbian generals, such a Yugoslav military campaign is unlikely to be initiated and, if initiated, would almost certainly fail to negate Slovenian sovereignty**.
 - Yugoslav leaders appear to have moved a long way towards accepting a sovereign, independent Slovenia. The Brioni agreement was a significant step in that direction***. An AP, Reuter report published in "The Age" on Saturday 13 July 1991 (p 9) asserts that the European Community is prepared to send 40-50 truce observers to monitor the Brioni agreement in Slovenia with the approval of the Republic's government. Approval has also subsequently obtained from the federal collective presidency. The report went on to assert that the Yugoslavian Vice-President, Mr Branko Kostic, had, on the previous Friday, stated that he believed that Slovenia "has been written off for Yugoslavia", and had added that he supported the withdrawal of federal forces from the republic. Mr. Kostic is a Montenegrin. The focus in Yugoslavia has in a real sense moved from the independence of Slovenia to the disentanglement of Serbia and Croatia.

* More correct Territorial Defence. Slovenian Territorial Defence counts about 44,000 men according to Mr. Bebler - Chief Military Adviser to Slovenian Army.

** Mr. Bebler, Chief Military Adviser of the Slovenian Army said on Four Corners program that Slovenia would have the capacity to destroy about a third of the tanks on the way to Ljubljana (about 1,200 tanks were on the way to Slovenia from Serbia just before the Brioni Declaration was accepted). The rest would break through the barricades and the Slovenian Territorial Defence, and would "sit" on the main streets of Ljubljana, but the Slovenian Government would still operate. To destroy the government they would have to step out of the tanks and down from the planes (air attacks), in which case they would be faced with the men of the Slovenian Territorial Defence supported by 1,700,000 Slovenians.

*** See Chapter 9 - Brioni Declaration and Appendix F - Speech of Mr Milan Kucan at the acceptance of Brioni Declaration for more about Brioni Declaration

- There is no suggestion that the Slovenians are having, or are likely to have, second thoughts about independence.

3. Australia should exercise its discretion and recognise the present government in Ljubljana as de jure government of the Republic of Slovenia.

(i) The Slovenian government is a government which has achieved power by constitutional means.

- The President and Members of Parliament were elected under the terms of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia 1974 and the March 1990 Electoral Law.
- Presidential and parliamentary elections were conducted on 8, 11 and 23 April 1990.

(ii) The Slovenian declaration of independence was adopted and effected constitutionally.

- A referendum was conducted pursuant to s. 379 of the Constitution of Slovenia on 23 December, 1990. The referendum was initiated by Presidency Decree No. 0100-290/9 and the Independence Referendum Law (6 Decembber 1990). The question put was:

"Should the Republic of Slovenia become an independent and a sovereign State:
YES or NO".

88.5% of adult Slovenians voted: YES; and
4.0% of adult Slovenians voted: NO.
7.5% informal or not voting.

Parliament declared independence on 25 June 1991.

(iii) The Slovenian government has shown a preparedness to meet its internbational obligations and behave responsibly towards foreign countries.

- The government has publically indicated its preparedness to assume responsibility for 20% of the Yugoslav National Debt*.

(iv) Early recognition would win a place for Australia in the hearts and minds of Slovenians.

- Slovenia has the most advanced economy in South-Eastern Europe. Early recognition would enable Australia to foster trade links with Slovenia and, through it, with the entire Balkan region.
- The longer recognition is delayed, the greater the potential for difficulties to emerge in non-public legal fields with the development of Slovenia laws to meet changed circumstances. Areas of likely difficulty include those of marriage and divorce, inheritance, private legal status and nationality and enforcemnet of contracts.

4. Possible arguments against immediate de jure recognition are far from compelling.

(i) It might be argued that Slovenia is a "mini-State" and thus too small to merit recognition.

- Slovenia is bigger in terms of area, population and/or economic output than a significant number of current members of the United Nations.
- With an area of about 20,000 km² and a population approaching 2 million persons, Slovenia is a state with half the area of Denmark (43,000 km²), the Netherland (41,000 km²) and Switzerland (41,000 km²). It has two-thirds the area of Belgium

* Needs to be ratified because of the war damage

(30,000 km²). It is almost as large in area and population as Albania (28,000 km² and 2.6 million persons). It is almost ten times bigger than Luxembourg (2,500 km² and 360,000 persons); and has an area 60 times, and a population 6 times larger, than those of Malta (300 km² and 300,000 people). It is, of course, many times larger than Andorra, Liechtenstein, San Marino and Monaco. Slovenia is 40,000 times bigger in area, and 2,000 times bigger in population, than Europe's smallest State, the Vatican City (0.4 km² and 1,000 persons). Although, perhaps, something of a special case, the Vatican is, of course, recognized by Australia.

(ii) It might also be argued that Australian recognition should await a complete settlement of affairs in Yugoslavia. Put slightly differently, it might be asserted that recognition would tend to destabilise the Balkans*.

- Affairs in the remainder of Yugoslavia and the Balkans may take many years or decades to settle**.
- The present position of Slovenia as a sovereign nation conducting its affairs independently is most unlikely to change as matters are sorted out further south and east.
- Recognition of Slovenia would contribute to regional stability. It would assist in deterring any extremist military adventure from the south.

(iii) It might next be argued that recognition of Slovenia cannot be effected without simultaneous recognition of Croatia.

- Each State's claim to recognition should be judged on its own merits and in the light of its own circumstances.
- Without in any way wishing to argue against Croatia's claims to recognition, its position is clearly different from that to Slovenia. Unlike the latter, Croatia shares a longer border with Serbia and Bosna-Herzegovina. The present boundaries of Croatia would appear to enclose some 600,000 disaffected Serbs. Negotiations between Croatia and Serbia for the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina along ethnic or national lines have reportedly commenced***. In all, Croatia's situation is a lot less clear than that of Slovenia.

(iv) It might be argued that Slovenia should not be recognized until the financial and other consequences of its succession from Yugoslavia are finalised. The resolutions of these matters may take months to effect.

- They are the matters which can be negotiated between fully-recognised States (see negotiations between Pakistan and Bangladesh).

* The recognition cannot destabilise Balkan. Balkan has been destabilised by centralistic, totalitarian views of the "Yugoslav-Serbian" government.

** Slovenia geographically does not belong to Balkan peninsula.

*** Although many Croats and Serbs live in Bosna and Hercegovina, the main division in Bosna is rather by religion than by nationality. There are catholic, orthodox and muslim Bosniaks. It is unfair to claim by either Croatians or Serbians that the catholic Bosniaks are Croats and the orthodox Bosniaks are Serbs respectively. Bosniaks are a nation which has been living on its territory for as long as Serbs in Serbia or Croats in Croatia. They have their own history and culture. The division of Bosna would be of occupational nature by both Serbs and Croats.

- They are also matters which will be worked out whether or not Australia recognises Slovenia.
 - The Slovenian government has given a commitment to honour its obligations as a constituent republic in the old Yugoslavia.
- (v) It might be argued that it is premature to recognize Slovenia when it may yet retain some links with the remainder of Yugoslavia.
- The Slovenian government has made it clear that any such link will not derogate from Slovenia's sovereign independence, and will be forged on a State-to-State basis. Arrangements will almost certainly be looser than those which regulate the European Community (They may parallel the old Benelux accord).
 - In the same way as it would make no sense to withdraw recognition by Australia of the European members of the European Community pending the conclusion of economic integration arrangements, so it makes no sense to withhold Australian recognition of Slovenia whilst it establishes new ties with its neighbours.
- (vi) It might next be argued that Australia should not recognise Slovenia until recognition is afforded by other European countries and/or the United States.
- Recognition of new States is rarely co-ordinated by other States. If each State waited for someone else to recognise the new State, the latter might never be recognised.
 - Recognition must depend on each State's own assessment of the situation, tempered by its own national self-interest.
 - There is no reason in policy or logic why Australia should not be the first to recognise Slovenia.
 - Prompt and early recognition would earn Australia significant respect and influence in Slovenia without antagonising governments in what remains of Yugoslavia to any appreciable extent.
- (vii) It might also be argued that Australian recognition of Slovenia might also tend to destabilise Europe in general and U.S.S.R. in particular.
- Nationalist sentiment is clearly on the rise in many other countries in Europe (eg. the Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the Hungarians in Rumania and the various nationalities in the Soviet Union).
 - The internal conditions (especially economic conditions) and immediate circumstances of each area are almost certainly far more relevant to the future of separatist tendencies in such area than the recognition of states such as Slovenia.
 - The merits of each claim to national independence or autonomy are unique. The claims of the Basques, the Celtic nationalities and the Slovaks are clearly different to those of the Baltic nations. The claims of Moldovians are clearly different to those of the Georgians (and a very different to those of the South Ossetians and Abkhazians).
- (viii) Finally it might be argued that Australian recognition of Slovenia would engender ill-will among Yugoslav migrants in Australia.
- It might be said as against this that a significant percentage of such migrants would welcome such recognition; not just those of Slovene extraction but also Croats and Macedonians.

- Most Serbian Australians would probably accept recognition as at least inevitable and, possibly, as a factor contributing to regional peace and justice* .

5. Australian recognition of Slovenia at this time would be both right and proper.

The United States, in recognising the new Staet of Israel in 1948, justified its action as:

" a practical step in recognition of realities".

(U.N. Security Council Official Records, No 68, 3rd Year, p 16)

Australian recognition of the Republic of Slovenia and its government in Ljubljana would also be a practical (and timely) step in recognition of realities.

* Many Serbs support democratic movements in Yugoslavia. There is no deep-rooted hate between Slovenes and Serbs. This is not the war between the people of Slovenia and the people of Serbia. This is the war to preserve the totalitarian Communist regime against the newly formed democratic societies in the country. We believe that many Serbs in Australia are not supporting the Communist regime in Serbia, although some of them may be blind under the pressure of the strong Yugoslav-Serbian propaganda machinery which is doing nothing but deliberately implanting hatred into the nations against other nations.

Is Australia Doing the Right Thing
to Delay the Recognition of
Slovenia?

COMMENTS ON AUSTRALIA'S STAND ON SLOVENIAN RECOGNITION

On 27th June 1991, Senator Evans made the following statement on Australia's position as a result of the conflict that erupted in Yugoslavia:

"The proclamation of independence by Croatia and Slovenia on 25 June should be seen as the commencement of a process rather than its culmination." - Senator Evans

Obviously Senator Evans was not acquainted about the happenings in Yugoslavia before the proclamation of independence by Slovenia and Croatia. These papers have been prepared in order to reveal the situation to Australians and to convince the Australian Government that the process for independence started long time ago indeed, and that the Declaration of Independence was in fact a culmination of that process. More, it was a necessary action of both Republics to protect the interests of their own nations.

Because of the Brioni Declaration Senator Evans maintains Australia must wait with the recognition of Slovenia. He also expressed the concern that people of Slovenia may change their minds during the interim period.

The Brioni Declaration was signed in good faith that the independence for Slovenia would be achieved in a peaceful way rather than by war. It does not mean that Slovenia has changed its mind. The Brioni Declaration does not mean revoking the Declaration of Independence. The right for selfdetermination and freedom has not been disputed by any of the sides involved. Slovenia obliged herself to only postpone further implementation of the functions of independence. This postponement is conditional on both sides respecting the agreement.

The only outside party involved in the Brioni Declaration is the European Community. No other countries are bound by the Brioni Declaration. The Australian Government and others can act on their own**.

Senator Evans maintains Australia cannot recognise Slovenia because of doubts over who actually controls the borders and the airspace.

Papers from the Ministry of the Interior of Slovenia have been presented to Senator Evans about the effective control of all the border posts between Slovenia and other countries by the Slovenian Territorial Defence*. During the war between Slovenia and the Yugoslavia, the Slovenian Territorial Defence was so effectively blocking the Yugoslav Army, that the Army, after a few days, started to "order" Slovenia to give the Army the right to continue their operations (of killing and occupying) in Slovenia. Naturally, Slovenia refused to accept these "orders" from the Army.

Nevertheless, since the Brioni Declaration, an agreement has been achieved between the Yugoslav-Serbian Government, the Army and the Slovenian Government that in the two months left of the Brioni Declaration, all Yugoslav troops will move out of Slovenian territory "where", in the words of Borisav Jovic, the Serbian representative in the Yugoslav Presidency "they are an occupational force".

** for more information about Brioni Declaration see Chapter 9 and Appendix F - the Speech of the president Milan Kucan to the Slovenian Parliament

* See Chapter 10 for a full report on the border posts

Controlling the air space is a very tricky issue. Which country in the world really controls its air space? You will probably agree that maybe only the USA and Soviet Union have full control over their air space. And even here we need to remember a young German boy who landed unobstructed outside the Kremlin a few years ago. Slovenia is very small in area. Stretched 200 by 300 km it is possible to be overflown in less than an hour. It is not probable that Slovenia will ever have a vast air-force. Slovenia has fairly well equipped anti air-force units and is able to defend its air space from the ground.

The domestic Slovenian airline, Adria Airways, has been flying now for some years on European and international routes. They are up and flying to some European destinations already since the war.

Senator Evans says Australia should halt recognition of Slovenia because Australia may be forced into a recognition of Croatia as well.

This argument has been dealt with very well already in the previous Chapter (Legal Case presented to Senator Evans). Let us just emphasize again that Slovenia and Croatia are two separate independent countries. Each of them needs to be regarded by itself. Of course, we do not dispute the right of Croatian nation for their independence either.

Senator Evans was reluctant to act as he feared it may increase inter-ethnic tension in Australia.

This presupposes that violence may erupt in Australia from recognition of an independent Slovenia (and maybe Croatia). It does not take into account that violence may erupt if recognition is NOT given by Australia and other countries and Yugoslavia-Serbia is then given the green light to re-invade Slovenia and Croatia, killing thousands of people in their war to subjugate these nations. It is far better for Australia, and the other nations of the world, to recognise the legitimate aspirations and reality of independence for Slovenia now, because such recognition will stop Yugoslavia-Serbia undertaking a war against Slovenia and Croatia.

Although the war in Yugoslavia has been brought forward as the war between the nations, this war is fundamentally the war between the old communist regime - centralized in the power of the Army and the Serbian Government - and the democratic movements happening elsewhere in Yugoslavia. We must remember that in Slovenian Territorial Defence were fighting also Serbians - Slovenian citizens - who voluntarily accepted to live in a free and democratic society instead of going back to their native country which is oppressed by the dictatorship. We also must remember that many Serbians living in Croatia are supporting the independent Croatia. These Serbians have been most abused by the occupational and dictatorship desires of Milosevic's Government.

We would like the Australian Government to think about how many times they had to deal with Ethnic violence between Slovenians and Serbians in Australia. We think you will find it is very rare for violence to occur between Serbians and Slovenians in Australia. It is not likely that any other Yugoslav ethnic group, apart from maybe some Serbians, may oppose Australian recognition of Slovenia.

We believe most Serbians who are in Australia, left Yugoslavia because of their hatred of the communist system. These are not likely the sort of people who will turn around and be violent to Slovenians because they democratically have sought their freedom in an independent state. If you followed the events in Yugoslavia you would have noticed that soon after Milosevic was elected in Serbia there were huge demonstrations in Serbia demanding media freedom. At that time the same Army, which today acts against Slovenians and Croatians, defended the communistic Serbian regime, and, of course, its own position, which would certainly deteriorate with the fall of Yugoslavia. The indication that the Serbian people don't hate Slovenians was also shown when Serbian mothers went to Slovenia to demand their sons to desert from the Army rather than fight and kill Slovenians. One Serbian father said: "I had never thought that my son would be fighting anywhere else but defending the frontiers of his own country."

Ethnic tensions in Australia will certainly not be increased by Slovenians living here. Slovenians are extremely peaceful people. If we are attacked by Serbian extremists we would

expect the Australian Government to protect us as any other citizens of Australia against criminals.

Senator Evans expressed an unwillingness for Australia to be the first to recognise Slovenia, but indicated Australia would be one of the first to recognise Slovenia when the time comes.

We feel that Australia should be taking a leading role rather than a waiting stand in recognition of the democratic movements happening now in Europe and elsewhere in the world. Australia cannot expect to play an important role in world diplomacy if it doesn't take actions before others have led the way, especially in the situation like this where they can take a leading action without prejudicing any other interest of Australia.

We also feel that Australia should be taking a leading role in this matter because it can express much more unbiased view than maybe countries which are closer to the battle fields and might even get fully involved if the war continues. We understand that in order to be unbiased and to do the right decision Australian Government must be well informed. We prepared these papers to give to the Australian Government more details to be weighed. But there should not be a dispute over the right of any nation to be independent. And that right must be recognized.

One factor that may be weighing in Senator Evans mind is the amount of trade Australia has with Slovenia.

This does comprise about half of the trade between former Yugoslavia and Australia*. Naturally this trade will continue and improve after the recognition. However, Germany is Slovenia's biggest trading partner, and she has been most vocal in supporting Slovenian independence. If Australia recognises Slovenia this will have a very good reception in Germany and may well assist us in increasing Australian trade with Germany.

* See Chapter 1 - Slovenia in Numbers for statistics about the trade between Slovenia and Australia

At the end, you must remember that despite many betrayals and hardships Slovenians have gone through for centuries

WE HAVE SURVIVED

and if no country in the current arrangement of the world society recognizes us as a state

WE STILL WILL EXIST

and although not recognized we will be

INDEPENDENT

unless a complete genocide is performed upon us.

APPENDIX A

Are Slovenians descendants of
Venetis?



Dr. Joško Šavli, rojen ^{22. 5.} 29. 2. 1943 v Tolminu, je po zaključeni Srednji trgovski šoli v Ajdovščini nadaljeval študij na Ekonomski fakulteti v Ljubljani, kjer je leta 1967 diplomiral. Po nekajletnem poučevanju v Kopru je kot član visokošolskega doma Korotan nadaljeval študij na Gospodarski univerzi na Dunaju, in tam leta 1975 doktoriral iz socialnih in gospodarskih ved. Z Dunaja se je preselil v Gorico, kjer poučuje v Državnem trgovskem zavodu s slovenskim jezikom.

MOJI „ALMA MATER“
GOSPODARSKI UNIVERZI
NA DUNAJU

Dr Jozko Savli was born in Tolmin (town in north-west Slovenia), 29th February 1943. He attended High School for Trade and Marketing in Ajdovscina. After finishing the High School, he continued studies on the Faculty of Economy in Ljubljana where he graduated in 1967. For a few years he had been teaching in Koper (South - west coastal town). As a member of Korotan he was granted to study in Vienna on the University for Economic Sciences. He obtained Ph.D. in social and economical sciences in 1975. From Vienna he returned to Gorica where he is teaching.

VENETI
our ancestors?

VENETI
naši davni predniki?

MIT DEUTSCHER ZUSAMMENFASSUNG
WITH ENGLISH SUMMARY

Joško Šavli

Gorica, 28.4.1986

siert und christianisiert sein. Daraus der simple Schluß: die heidnischen Karantaner folgten den romanisierten (keltischen) Norikern in die Ostalpen.

Jedenfalls fehlen uns alle Belege von der Romanisierung und Christianisierung der Noriker. Dasselbe gilt vom vermeintlichen Einbruch der Slawen in die Ostalpen. Mehr noch, die Slowenen (Karantaner) gehören nicht zu den Südslawen, sondern zu den Westslawen, also zu den Venetern oder Wenden. Sie werden anfangs auch „Sclavi coinomento Vinedi“ (Fredegarii Chronicon) genannt.

Die Karantaner, d. h. Wenden, Windische oder Slowenen können daher nur das autochthone Volk der Veneter sein. Dies bestätigen auch die besagten Namen in Tirol und in der Ostschweiz, in Begleitung weiterer slowenischer Namen, in die Gebiete, die der vermeintliche Einbruch der (südlichen) Slawen nie erfaßte.

Contents

THE VENETI

There still exist in Europe today certain locations such as Vannes in Brittany, Ventnor on the Isle of Wight as well as others in Middle Europe which remind us of the presence of a pre-Celtic people called the Veneti.

It has been proven that the origins of the Veneti can be traced back to the Bronze Age when after the 2nd millennium BC the Balto-Slavs who descended from the Aryan community divided themselves into the eastern group of Balts and the western group of Protoslavs. The latter formation shaped the Lusatian civilization along the Upper Oder from which a current of migration promoted the spreading of the so-called Urnfield culture in the 13th century. According to certain known philologists, as G. Devoto, the bearers of the Urnfield culture were the Protoslavic people called the Veneti. They were brilliant conquerors whose power consisted in the use of horses and heavy slashing swords equipped with hilts.

A continuous Venetic ethnic area extending from the Baltic towards the Alps and stretching across the Padana to the Adriatic was established in Middle Europe after the Urnfield migration. During the Iron Age, after the 9th century BC, new cultures sprang up in this territory among which the most noteworthy were the Hallstatt located in the Eastern Alps and the Este from the Venetian plain.

All these cultures were considered to belong to the Illyrians especially by German experts until the period after World War II. In the sixties they were finally acknowledged as belonging to the Veneti (H. Krahe). German historians, however, still deny the possibility that the Lusatian civilization, the Urnfield culture as well as the Veneti, could have had origin in the Protoslav formation. This view was subject to controversy between German and Polish scholars (Lehr-Spawński) who later, after World War I, declined to accept the theory that the Protoslavs could have originated somewhere in the swamps of the Pripjat behind the Carpathian Mountains which had been so strongly defended by German historians and philologists. In fact throughout the area between the Baltic and the Adriatic there are Venetic locations whose names are of (Proto) Slavic origin.

After the 5th century BC the Celtic invasion broke through the Alps but never occupied the entire region (R. Pittioni). The Celts simply surrounded the southern and northern plains around the Alps. To prove this is the fact that no findings had been discovered to prove the presence of the Celtic La

Tène civilization (Later Iron Age) within the Alps. The Hallstatt culture continued to dominate especially in the Eastern Alps until the Roman occupation in the 1st century BC. In addition to this various locations can be found whose names are of Slavic, i. e. Venetic origin, in the Eastern and Middle Alps towards the heart of Switzerland.

Therefore the pre-Roman „regnum Noricum“ which arose from the late Hallstatt culture in the Eastern Alps can be only considered as a Venetic Kingdom and not of Celtic origin. These Venetic or Proto-Slavic people called the Noricans were first named in historical records written by Plinius Secundus, Taurisci and Carni. It has been proven that the Noricans were allies of the Romans and voluntarily submitted to their supremacy.

Consequently the Noricum area was considered to be in a particular position in comparison with other provinces of the Roman Empire. Latin colonists did not settle the area and Roman troops were not stationed there. However, what has just been mentioned did occur at the end of the 3rd century during the rule of emperor Diocletian in the „Noricum ripense“, i. e. throughout a large part of land alongside the Danube. Since the 6th century this area comprising what is now actually Upper Austria and Salzburg has been occupied by the Bavarians.

The „Noricum mediterraneum“ or Inner Noricum, i. e. the central part of the Eastern Alps where the actual regions of Carinthia and Styria, remained attached to the Ostrigothic Kingdom in Italy at the end of the Roman Empire until after the year 488 AD. Later on it passed over to the Byzantines along with the Italian territories for a brief period of time.

The establishment of the Langobard Kingdom in Italy after 568 AD and the events relating the period which succeeded broke all connections between the Inner Noricum and the Italian territories.

Precisely during this period in the second half of the 6th century the Slovenian state called Carantania emerged in the Eastern Alps or more so in the Inner Noricum. This is why historians usually associate the settlement of the supposed South Slavic ancestors of the Slovenes to the same period of time and location. Nevertheless they do so without historical documentation.

Historians have come to this conclusion by simply adopting the presumption that the inhabitants of the Inner Noricum were Romanized and Christianized by the end of the Roman Empire. In this case the Slovene medieval state named Carantania could only have appeared in the 6th century as a consequence of the supposed settling of the Slavs from the South Slavic area to the Balkans.

At all events the process of Romanizing and Christianizing the Noricans with the exception of certain large towns which were made Roman on a cultural basis has never been proven. Roman historical records strictly make reference to Romanized large towns whereas nothing is mentioned concerning the Norican rural stratum to which the great majority of people of that region belonged. When the administration of Italy ceased to reign over

the Noricum with the invasion of the Langobards, the majority of the Noricans, i. e. the peasantry, proclaimed their own independent state called Carantania. This sequence of events can also be proven by the fact that the name of Carantania itself is a mere derivation from the Roman denomination Carnia or more precisely of its people, the Carni, as Plinius Secundus still names the Noricans. The names Carnia, Carantania, Carniola, Carinthia derive from the ancient word „car“ which means a pointed summit of a mountain. This word still has the same meaning in Slovene alpine terminology.

To justify these previous affirmations is the fact that the Slovene language does not pertain to the South Slavic group of languages but more so to the West Slavic group because it has preserved ancient Proto-Slavic grammatical forms such as the dual, the supine, the genitive case in negative sentences, 45 distinct dialects and so on. Certain modern linguists consider the Western Slavs to have stemmed directly from the Proto-Slavs (C. Verdiani).

Because of the influence of various ideologies such as the Great Germanic, the pan-Slavic or the South Slavic unitarianism idea, the possibility of a Proto-Slavic origin of the Carantanians, i. e. the Slovenes, deriving from the ancient Veneti has never been adequately taken into consideration by historical researches in their publications.

APPENDIX B

American Declaration of
Independence,
Thomas Jefferson,
Installation of Carinthian Dukes
and
Frank Lausche

OHIO'S LINCOLN FRANK J. LAUSCHE

A Tribute and Festschrift for His 90th Birthday

EDITED BY

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SLOVENIAN RESEARCH CENTER OF AMERICA, INC.
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Slovenia, the northernmost republic of Yugoslavia, measures only 20,251 square kilometers or slightly less than 8,000 square miles, which is approximately the size of Massachusetts or half of the size of Switzerland. In 1981, the population of the Republic of Slovenia was 1,891,864, of which 1,712,446 (or 90.52 percent) were Slovenians and the remainder were mostly Croatian and Serbian migrants from the southern Yugoslav republics. Although the territory of Slovenia measures only 7.9 percent of that of Yugoslavia and her population represents only 8.3 percent of the total Yugoslav population, the Slovenians account for 16.5 percent of Yugoslavia's gross national product and more than 20 percent of Yugoslavia's foreign trade. Because of their small size and century-long political subjugation, the Slovenians have been relatively little known in America and other countries and ignorance and prejudice against them have often been rampant. By contrast, when better known, they have often enjoyed a solid reputation. While some authors, such as G.H. Duncan (having consistently misrepresented all statistics of literacy as those of illiteracy), described them as "illiterate, without a written language of their own, ignorant and superstitious" (*Immigration and Assimilation*, Boston: Heath, 1933, pp. 309-310), the better informed, more careful, and more open-minded writers have presented a completely different picture. Bernard Newman, the noted British author, for instance, wrote: "Slovenia's masters ranged from Charlemagne to Napoleon, but the people clung to their own culture and language. . . . It was a miracle of survival, almost without parallel. . . . The Slovenes used to share with the Scandinavians the reputation of being the best-read people in the world — the number of books read per head of the population was four times the British figure. . . . In almost every village cottage I found a little library of high literary value" (*Unknown Yugoslavia*, London: Jenkins, 1960, pp. 198-199). The American writer, R.H. Markham, called the Slovenians (or Slovenes) "one of the most advanced nationality groups or nations in the world" whose "coffee houses . . . were as reading rooms in American public libraries" and who "moved forward to a distinguished place among the most advanced nations" (*Tito's Imperial Communism*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. 10-11). And the noted English scholar, R.G.A. De Bray, points out that "literacy in Slovenia reaches almost 100 percent of the population; and the general level of urban, rural, and domestic culture is high even by West European standards" (*Guide to the Slavonic Languages*, London: Dent, 1951, p. 363). For more information, see Edward Gobetz (ed.), *Slovenian Heritage*, Vol. I, 1981.

Lausche's Tribute to His Slovenian Heritage

Sorrow has always been with me in the knowledge that the Slovenes are so little known to the people of the United States and the world in face of the richness of their individual and national character.

In the whole world they number about two million. Their history of twelve hundred years as Christians is culturally and spiritually enriching, and is adorned with a perseverance to survive in the face of seemingly insurmountable opposition. Slovenes are not warring people: their history shows an absence of military leaders, but an abundance of writers, artists and humanitarians. They have been law-abiding, honest, selflessly devoted to mutual help, self-sustaining, grateful even for the meagerness of their worldly possessions, and above all else, for their little native Slovenia.

They are a people who in the face of opposition succeeded in preserving themselves and their culture by their richness of character and a "will to work." Slovenia is a land of high Alpine mountains with green cultivated valleys and pasture lands. Houses are stout, roomy, clean and neat, reflecting the sturdy character of the people. Their capital, Ljubljana, is full of statues, and not one of them of a soldier; only poets and thinkers have been so honored. Slovenian townships are warmly impressive, and what makes them so is the intense culture of their inhabitants. Whenever one penetrates shops, restaurants, private dwellings, one comes upon the trace of books and the mellow unhurried discussion of what is written in them.

Slovenes have an ancient and unique tradition of democratic autonomy. In the Middle Ages, the rulers of Slovenes in Carinthia were chosen by the people in a ritual in which the people were acknowledged as the supreme rulers. Only by the consent of the people was their sovereignty transferred to the person whom they chose as their ruler. It has been claimed that the records of the installation of the Dukes of Carinthia inspired, in part, the principles on which Thomas Jefferson based the Declaration of Independence. Thus, even in their smallness, the Slovenes can claim to have a fundamentally important part in American life and culture.



Senator Lausche, reading his speech on the installation of Dukes of Carinthia in Tony Petkovsek's broadcasting studio, at 971 East 185th Street, Cleveland, with Joseph Zelle serving as radio engineer. (Photo courtesy of Joseph Zelle)

Frank J. Lausche, quoted in Cyril J. Mejac and Vladimir N. Pregelj (eds.), *Slovenian Chapel Dedication*, Washington, D.C.: Slovenian Chapel Dedication committee, 1971, p. 19.

* * *

Mr. Lausche: Mr. President, recently a book entitled "The Genesis of the Contractual Theory and the Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia," was published by Prof. Joseph Felicijan, a member of the teaching staff of St. John's College, Cleveland. In this work Dr. Felicijan explores the impact of [Jean] Bodin's famous "Republic" [published in France in 1576] upon the formulation of the contractual theory of government in general and, in particular, its impact upon Thomas Jefferson and the drafting of the Declaration of Independence.

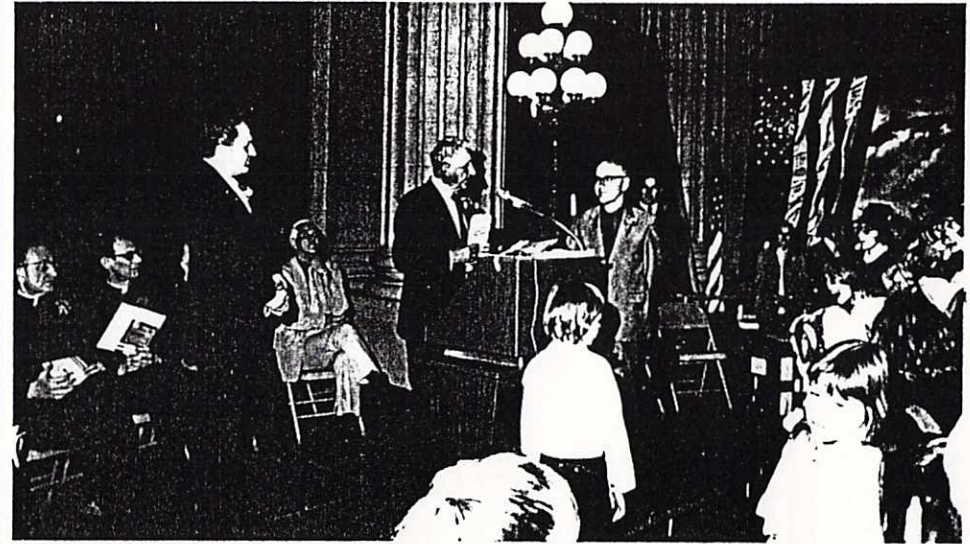
In Jefferson's copy of Bodin's work Professor Felicijan discovered that Jefferson had initialed two pages. On one page was Bodin's definition and characterization of a tyrant, which was quite similar in concept to phrases used in the Declaration of Independence. On the other initialed page was a description of the installation of the dukes of Carinthia, a Slovenian ritual which may have contributed greatly to the founding of our own great country. According to Dr. Felicijan:

Jefferson evidently considered the ancient ritual of the Installation of the dukes of Carinthia a common law precedent and the confirmation of the Contractual Theory upon which he based his claim for the American Independence.

These remarkable conclusions of Dr. Felicijan, based upon his extensive study in the area, are worthy of note both because of their historical importance and the practical lessons which we can learn from them.

Now the contractual theory of government has been used by many philosophers as a conceptual tool by which they could explain the relation between the governing and those governed. The theory begins with several assumptions, one being that all men are equal in a political sense, and from this the conclusion that no one person has a natural right to rule another. But we all know that a society has to have some form of government.

Based upon these counterpoised assumptions — the denial of the natural right to govern and the need for government — there developed the theory that there is a contract between those who are to rule and those who are to be ruled, and each party has rights and obligations under this contract. This, Mr. Pres-



As an excellent jurist and as a Slovenian and American patriot, Senator Lausche has been fascinated with Prof. Joseph Felicijan's book, *The Genesis of the Contractual Theory and the Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia*. He spoke on the influential ancient Slovenian democratic ritual on numerous occasions, including sessions of the U.S. Senate and Tony Petkovsek's radio program. Here he pays tribute to Prof. Felicijan (standing, with glasses) at the SAHF Slovenian Evening at Cleveland State University, in 1978, as Edmund Turk, former Slovenian American Cleveland councilman, president of the Cleveland City Council, chairman of the Ohio Public Utilities Commission, and current judge of Cleveland Municipal Court, looks on. Msgr. Louis Baznik and Fr. Edward Pevec are seated just behind Turk.

ident, is the contractual theory stated in its most basic terms. It is a useful concept in that one can describe governmental problems and powers by describing the terms of the contract.

Many objected to the theory, including those who lived during the time of the American Revolution. They claimed that while the theory was interesting it was, nevertheless, a part of the philosophers' dream world. No society ever made such a contract with those who ruled it, they contended. Indeed, Jefferson may have felt that way himself at one time. But he found historical evidence to the contrary.

When Jefferson read Bodin's "Republic," he learned of the ancient Slovenian ritual known as the installation of the Duke of Carinthia. This custom was living proof that the social contract did, in fact, exist, at least among the Slovenians.

Mr. President, I shall read from Dr. Felicijan's book where he quotes Bodin's description of this unique Slovenian custom:

There is nothing to compare with this custom observed in Carinthia, where even today in the vicinity of the town of Saint Vitus one can see a stone or marble in a meadow. Surrounded by the people and holding a black cow with his right hand and an emaciated mare with his left, a peasant mounted this stone. This duty belonged to him by right of succession. He who was to be duke, came forward accompanied by numerous nobles, all garbed in red, with banners carried in front of the duke. All were proper in dress except the duke who walked dressed as a poor shepherd with a shepherd's crook in his hand. The peasant sitting on the stone cried out in Slovenian: "Who comes forward so boldly?" the people answered that this was the prince. Then the peasant asked again; "Can he be a judge? Is he concerned with the well-being of the country? Was he born a free man? Does he observe the true religion?" They answered: "He is and he will be." Then the peasant slapped the duke gently. After having promised the peasant he would be exempt from public burdens, the duke mounted the stone and brandishing the sword he promised the people to be a righteous judge. He attended the mass still clad in the same vestments. Then he donned the ducal vestments and returned to the stone, where homage and the oath of fealty were rendered him.

Notice the strong elements of democracy and the American attitude toward government reflected in this custom of the Slovenian people living in Carinthia. The duke-to-be did not wear fancy clothes; he was dressed as a man of the people. The peasant on the stone assumed an indifferent attitude toward his future leader until the agreement between the parties had been reached.

Also notice, if you will, the questions asked of the duke. "Can he be a judge: Is he concerned with the well-being of the country?" He was not asked whether he was a nobleman, whether he was wealthy or famous, nor was he asked whether any interest group would receive special consideration. Notice also, Mr. President, who promised first. It was the duke. He had to promise to be a righteous judge before the people swore allegiance.

The Slovenians believed that the power to govern rested with the people who were to be governed, not those who were governing. They believed that their rulers should be men of the people, of all the people. They believed that the true qualities of those in government should be competency and concern. They believed that their leaders had a solemn duty to the people to be righteous. And we Americans believe in these same principles today. So did Thomas Jefferson during the time of the Revolution.

Perhaps Jefferson's convictions were confirmed when he read Bodin's description of this beautiful Slovenian custom.

Senator Frank J. Lausche, quoted in *Congressional Record—Senate*, November 28, 1967, p. 33918.



Lausche, with his good friend Anton Schubel (1899-1965), Slovenian singer and musical pedagogue and talent scout for Carnegie Hall who discovered and brought to Carnegie Hall Van Cliburn and many other prominent musical stars of contemporary America.

It is said that the Slovenians conquered not by the sword, but with a musical instrument. Song, friendship, pride in ancestry and devotion to the cause of the United States without doubt, without hesitation, are the characteristics of my nationality.

Besides churches and schools, they wanted cultural centers. . . Primarily, this award ought to go to my mother. She learned just a little English, but she made sure I learned Slovenian. She was the one who worked hard. She denied herself to make sure her six children had education. I am glad to accept this award in her memory, in her behalf.

Quoted in "Slovenians Hail Lausche as Their Man of the Year." *The Plain Dealer*, March 18, 1968.

APPENDIX C

Official Referendum Results in Slovenian Language

(See Chapter 6 for translations)



URADNI LIST

REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

Številka 44

Ljubljana, četrtek 6. decembra 1990

Cena 20 dinarjev

Leto XLVII

2102.

Na podlagi 3. točke 379. člena ustave Republike Slovenije izdaja Predsedstvo Republike Slovenije

UKAZ

o razglasitvi zakona o plebiscitu o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije

Razglasa se zakon o plebiscitu o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije, ki ga je sprejela Skupščina Republike Slovenije na skupni seji Družbenopolitičnega zbora. Zbora občin in Zbora združenega dela dne 6. decembra 1990.

Št. 0100-290/90

Ljubljana, dne 6. decembra 1990.

Predsednik
Milan Kučan L. r.

ZAKON

o plebiscitu o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije

1. člen

Na temelju trajne in neodtujljive pravice slovenskega naroda do samoodločbe se v Republiki Sloveniji izvede splošni ljudski referendum (v nadaljevanju: plebiscit) za odločitev, ali naj Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država.

2. člen

Na plebiscitu glasovalni upravičenci z »da« ali »ne« odgovorijo na vprašanje: »Ali naj Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država?«

Vsebinski del glasovnice se glasi:

»Vprašanje: ALI NAJ REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA POSTANE SAMOSTOJNA IN NEODVISNA DRŽAVA?«

Odgovor: DA NE
(obkrožite odgovor, ki ustreza vaši volji)«.

3. člen

Odločitev, da Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država, je sprejeta, če se je zanjo izrekla večina vseh glasovalnih upravičencev.

4. člen

Na plebiscitu sprejeta odločitev, da Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država, zavezuje Skupščino Republike Slovenije, da sprejme v šestih mesecih od dneva razglasitve odločitve ustavne in druge akte ter ukrepe, ki so potrebni, da Republika Slovenija prevzame izvrševanje suverenih pravic, ki jih je prenesla na organe SFRJ, ter začne pogajanja z drugimi republikami

v SFRJ o pravnem nasledstvu SFRJ in o bodoči ureditvi medsebojnih odnosov po načelih mednarodnega prava, vključno s ponudbo konfederalne pogodbe.

5. člen

Plebiscit se izvede na nedeljo, dne 23. decembra 1990.

6. člen

Pravico glasovanja na plebiscitu imajo osebe, ki imajo v Republiki Sloveniji splošno-volilno pravico po zakonu o volitvah v skupščine.

7. člen

Izvedbo plebiscita vodijo volilni organi, določeni z zakonom o volitvah v skupščine, po pravilih, ki veljajo za te volitve.

Pristojna volilna komisija najpozneje 10 dni pred dnem izvedbe plebiscita pripravi organe, ki vodi evidenco volilne pravice, katere glasovalna mesta bodo na njegovem območju, in območja glasovalnih mest.

Pristojni organ sestavi in razporeji splošne volilne imenike za glasovalna mesta na svojem območju najpozneje 6 dni pred dnem izvedbe plebiscita.

Izid glasovanja ugotovi in objavi Republiška volilna komisija.

8. člen

Pri ugotavljanju izida glasovanja se upoštevajo osebe, ki so vpisane v splošni volilni imenik na dan izvedbe plebiscita, razen oseb, za katere organ za izvedbo plebiscita na posameznem glasovalnem mestu ugotovi, da se zaradi dela v tujini ali zaradi služenja vojaškega roka ali vojaških vaj niso mogle udeležiti glasovanja.

9. člen

Zaradi nepravilnosti pri delu organa za izvedbo plebiscita na glasovalnem mestu ima glasovalni upravičenec pravico vložiti ugovor pri Republiški volilni komisiji v roku 24 ur po zaprtju glasovalnega mesta.

Za odločanje Republiške volilne komisije o ugovoru in za pritožbo zoper odločbo Republiške volilne komisije veljajo določbe zakona o volitvah v skupščine.

10. člen

Če je na plebiscitu sprejeta odločitev, da Republika Slovenija postane samostojna država, Skupščina Republike Slovenije slovesno razglasi to odločitev na skupni seji vseh zborov in bkrati sprejme program dela za uresničevanje te odločitve.

11. člen

Plebiscitarno opredeljevanje in odločanje na podlagi tega zakona v ničemer ne izčrpa trajne in neodtujljive pravice slovenskega naroda do samoodločbe in se posebej ne posebej ne pravice do državne samostojnosti in neodvisnosti.



12. člen

Ta zakon začne veljati naslednji dan po objavi v uradnem listu Republike Slovenije.

Št. 005-02/00-1

Ljubljana, dne 6. decembra 1990.

Skupščina
Republike Slovenije

Predsednik
dr. France Bučar I. r.

2105.

RAZGLAS
DRŽAVLJANOM REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

VSEM VOLILCEM V REPUBLIKI SLOVENIJI

Udeležite se glasovanja na plebiscitu v nedeljo, dne 23. decembra 1990.

Glasovali bomo o vprašanju:

ALI NAJ REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA POSTANE SAMOSTOJNA IN NEODVISNA DRŽAVA?

DA NE

Odločitev za samostojno in neodvisno državo Republike Slovenije bo sprejeta, če bo zanjo glasovala večina vseh volilcev.

Odločitev za samostojno in neodvisno državo Republike Slovenije bo sprejeta, če bo zanjo glasovala večina vseh volilcev.

1. Republika Slovenija kot samostojna in neodvisna država ne bo več združena v zvezno državo - Socialistično federativno republiko Jugoslavijo.

2. Postopna uresničitev statusa Republike Slovenije kot samostojne in neodvisne države se uredi z ustavnim aktom za izvedbo odločitve, sprejete na plebiscitu, z novo ustavo Republike Slovenije in ustavnim zakonom za izvedbo ustave.

3. Republika Slovenija kot samostojna in neodvisna država bo lahko sklepala meddržavne pogodbe, vključno s konfederalno pogodbo z državami drugih jugoslovanskih narodov.

Na plebiscitu sprejeta, odločitev za samostojno in neodvisno državo Republika Slovenije bo zavezovala Skupščino Republike Slovenije, da v šestih mesecih sprejme ustavne in druge akte ter ukrepe, ki so potrebni, da Republika Slovenija prevzame izvrševanje suverenih pravic, ki jih je prenesla na organe SFRJ. Hkrati zagotovi pogajanja z drugimi republikami v SFRJ o pravnem nasledstvu SFRJ in o bodoči ureditvi medsebojnih odnosov po načelih mednarodnega prava, vključno s ponudbo konfederalne pogodbe.

Smrto za samostojno in neodvisno državo Republika Slovenije.

Št. 005-02/89-1

Ljubljana, dne 6. decembra 1990.

Skupščina
Republike Slovenije

Predsednik
dr. France Bučar I. r.



2104.

Ob razpisu plebiscita, ki naj na temelju volje in neodtujljive pravice slovenskega naroda do samoodločbe in v skladu z določbami mednarodnega pakta o državljanskih in političnih pravicah ugotovi ljudsko voljo, ali naj Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država, z vsem pravnim nasledstvom in s svojimi obveznostmi, želi Skupščina Republike Slovenije izraziti svoje dobre namene:

1. S plebiscitno izraženo voljo slovenskega naroda, italijanske in madžarske narodnosti ter vseh drugih volilcev v Republiki Sloveniji naj Slovenija končno in dejansko postane suverena, demokratična, pravna in socialna država. Temeljila bo na človekovih svoboščinah, delu in podjetništvu, na socialni pravičnosti in varnosti za vse, na ekološki odgovornosti ter na najboljših demokratičnih slovenskih in evropskih tradicijah. V tem smislu bo razvijala politično parlamentarno demokracijo in na ravni sodobnih spoznanj varovala državljanske pravice, ustvarjala lasten gospodarski sistem, vodila svojo ekonomsko politiko in samostojno razpolagala z ustvarjenim dohodkom. To bo pomagalo k boljšemu in učinkovitejšemu reševanju nakopičenih problemov ter doseganju nove blaginje.

Slovenska država zagotavlja italijanski in madžarski narodnosti tudi v samostojni Republiki Sloveniji vse pravice, kakor so določene z ustavo in zakoni ter mednarodnimi akti, ki jih je sklenila in jih priznava SFRJ. Prav tako zagotavlja vsem pripadnikom drugih narodov in narodnosti pravico do vsestranskega kulturnega in jezikovnega razvoja, vsem s stalnim bivališčem v Sloveniji pa, da lahko pridobijo državljanstvo Slovenije, če to želijo.

Republika Slovenija bo na osnovi mednarodnih listin in svoje naravne pravice še naprej skrbelja in se zavzemala za Slovence v zamejstvu in v tujini.

2. Vzpostavitev samostojne slovenske države na osnovi pravice do samoodločanja ni usmerjena zoper nikogar v Jugoslaviji niti zunaj nje. Enako pravico priznava Slovenija tudi drugim narodom v SFRJ. S plebiscitom izražena volja za osamosvajitev Slovenije naj da Republiki Sloveniji možnost, da ponudi vsem narodom Jugoslavije demokratske uslove za medleten medsebojnih odnosov v morebitni jugoslovanski konfederativni ali gospodarski skupnosti ali kakšni drugi ustreznih povezavi. S tem sprejema Republika Slovenija svoj delež odgovornosti za demokratizacijo na celotnem področju sedanje Jugoslavije, tudi pred mednarodno javnostjo. Republika Slovenija bo predlagala vsem republikam sprejetje sporazuma o pravnem nasledstvu, to je o razdelitvi pravic in obveznosti SFRJ.

3. Slovenska država bo v primeru, da se glasovalci izjavijo za neodvisno in samostojno Slovenijo, storiла vse potrebno, da bo nova država Republika Slovenija dejansko izvrševala oblast na celotnem ozemlju Republike Slovenije. Prav tako bo spoštovala vsa načela mednarodnega prava in v smislu pravnega nasledstva določbe vseh mednarodnih pogodb, ki jih je sklenila SFRJ. Prizadevala si bo čimprej postati članica OZN in drugih mednarodnih organizacij. Zaprošila bo za polnopravno članstvo v Svetu Evrope in OECD ter za ustrežno povezavo z Evropsko skupnostjo in za sklenitev sporazuma z EFTO.

Slovenija se bo zavzemala za nenasilno reševanje konfliktov v svetu. Vključila se bo v evropski sistem kolektivne varnosti in sodelovanja ter v procese razoroževanja ob ustreznih mednarodnih garancijah. Kot samostojna država želi prispevati svoj delež k ustvarjanju nove

Zap. št.	Elementi za ugotovitev zneska sredstev za izplačilo OD	AOP	Znesek v din brez par
10.	Ze izplačana sredstva za regres za letni dopust		
11.	Ostane za izplačilo regresa za letni dopust (rap. št. 7 minus rap. št. 10)		
12.	Kontrolni seštevek od zap. št. 1 do 11		

Sestavil obračun _____
 Vodja _____ Odtis Stampiljke
 Datum _____

V skladu z 8. členom zakona o izplačevanju obolnih dohodkov in nekaterih drugih prejemkov delavcev za 1991. leto objavlja Zavod Republike Slovenije za statistiko

POROČILO

o rasti cen življenjskih potrebščin na območju Republike Slovenije v obdobju od julija do decembra 1990

Mesečna povznanja oziroma znižanja cen življenjskih potrebščin v Republiki Sloveniji v obdobju od julija do decembra 1990 so bila:

- julij 1990	0,8%
- avgust 1990	-1,2%
- september 1990	7,7%
- oktober 1990	6,9%
- november 1990	3,7%
- december 1990	2,5%

Direktor
Tomaz Banovec l. r.

POROČILO

Republiške volilne komisije o izidu glasovanja na plebiscitu, dne 23. 12. 1990

Republiška volilna komisija je dne 26. 12. 1990 na podlagi določb 7. člena zakona o plebiscitu o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije (Uradni list RS, št. 44/90) v zvezi z določbami 27. člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine (Uradni list SRS, št. 42/89 in 5/90 ter Uradni list RS, št. 10/90 in 45/90)

agotovila

naslednji izid glasovanja na plebiscitu za odločitev, ali naj Republika Slovenije postane samostojna in neodvisna država, ki je bil v nedeljo, dne 23. decembra 1990:

I	
1. a) Na podlagi evidence volilne pravice, je bilo v splošne volilne imenike vpisano	1.496.860
b) ker pomotoma niso bili vpisani v volilni imenik, je po 77. členu zakona o volitvah v skupščine s potrdili glasovalo	2.434
c) skupno število volilnih upravičencev	1.499.294
2. Glasovalo je:	
a) na podlagi 74. člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine 19. 12. 1990,	
20. 12. 1990 in 21. 12. 1990 (predčasno glasovanje)	19.233

b) na voliščih	1.329.523
c) na volišču, kjer je na podlagi določb 85. a člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine 23. 12. 1990 potekalo glasovanje oseb, ki so bile na dan plebiscita odsotne iz kraja stalnega bivališča, ker so bile v bolnišnici, zdravilišču, domu za ostarele občane ali v priporu,	12.982
d) na pisarnih skrinjah	1.361.738

3. a) Na podlagi 8. člena zakona o plebiscitu o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije se pri ugotavljanju izida glasovanja ne upoštevajo osebe, za katere organ za izvedbo plebiscita ugotovi, da se zaradi dela v tujini, služenja vojaškega roka ali zaradi vojaških vaj, niso mogle udeležiti glasovanja.

Republiška volilna komisija ugotavlja, da se iz navedenih razlogov glasovanja ni moglo udeležiti 42.274 oseb, zato se za ugotavljanje izida upošteva 1.457.020 volilcev (100%).

b) oddanih je bilo 1.359.581 glasovnic.
c) na vprašanje »Ali naj Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država?« je z DA odgovorilo 1.289.369 volilcev (88,5%),

na vprašanje »Ali naj Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država?« je z NE odgovorilo 57.800 volilcev (4,0%).

ker iz oddane glasovnice ni bilo moč ugotoviti volje volilcev, je bilo neveljavnih 12.412 glasovnic (0,9%).

4. Republiška volilna komisija pri ugotavljanju izida glasovanja ni ugotovila nepravilnosti, ki bi vplivale na izid glasovanja.

II

Republiška volilna komisija je na podlagi določb 3. člena zakona o plebiscitu o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije, ugotovila, da je odločitev, da Republika Slovenija postane samostojna in neodvisna država,

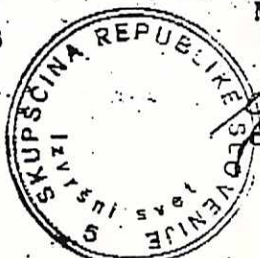
sprejeta,

ker se je zanjo izrekla večina vseh glasovalnih upravičencev.

Št. RVK-P 1-1/90
Ljubljana, dne 26. decembra 1990.

Tajnik **Marko Golobčič l. r.** Predsednica **Marija Ude-Marinček l. r.**

Člani
dr. Franci Grad l. r.
Marko Herman l. r.
Peter Pregl l. r.
Miroslav Petje l. r.
Franc Testen l. r.



APPENDIX D

Official Election Results in Slovenian Language

(See Chapter 7 for translations)

IX. EVIDENCA IN HRAMBA PEČATOV

9. člen

Izdelovalnica pečatov izroči naročniku obenem s pečatom tudi matrico pečata.

Vsak državni organ, podjetje, organizacija in skupnost ter posameznik, ki izvršuje javna pooblastila, mora voditi posebno evidenco o pečatih, ki jih uporablja ali hrani.

Evidenca pečatov se vodi v posebni knjigi. Za posamezen pečat se v evidenci vpiše: točno številka pečata, številka in datum naročila pečata, odtis pečata, začetek uporabe pečata, organizacijska enota, ki pečat uporablja, podpis delavca, ki hrani pečat, datum, ko je pečat vzet iz uporabe, ter morebitna opomba.

10. člen

Državni organ mora matrice izdelanih pečatov varno hraniti ali komisijsko uničiti. Komisijsko se uničijo tudi pečati, ki se ne bodo uporabljati. Uničenje pečata se zabeleži v evidenci pečatov.

Če se pečat izgubi, mora državni organ to objaviti v Uradnem listu Republike Slovenije in pečat razglasiti za neveljavnega.

11. člen

Ta pravilnik začne veljati naslednji dan po objavi v Uradnem listu Republike Slovenije.

Št. 033-5/90

Ljubljana, dne 6. aprila 1990.

Republiški sekretar
za pravosodje in upravo
Janez Zajc l.r.

890.

Na podlagi 11. člena zakona o prevoznih v cestnem prometu (Uradni list SRS, št. 45/87) izdaja predsednik Republiškega komiteja za promet in zveze v soglasju z republiškim sekretarjem za notranje zadeve

PRAVILNIK

o spremembi pravilnika o preventivnih pregledih motornih in priklopnih vozil

1. člen

V pravilniku o preventivnih pregledih motornih in priklopnih vozil (Uradni list SRS, št. 35/88) se besedilo 5. člena spremeni tako, da se glasi:

«Redni preventivni pregled se opravlja za vozila, starejša od petih let, vsakih šest mesecev od zadnjega preventivnega ali tehničnega pregleda, in sicer za:

1. vozilo, ki se daje v najem (rent-a-car),
2. tovorno in delovno vozilo,
3. priklopno vozilo,
4. kombinirano vozilo,
5. vlečno vozilo.

2. člen

Ta pravilnik začne veljati osmi dan po objavi v Uradnem listu Republike Slovenije.

Št. 34/D-02/87

Ljubljana, dne 6. aprila 1990.

Predsednik
Republiškega komiteja
za promet in zveze
Milan Jelenc l.r.

891.

Odbor za razvoj socialnega skrbstva Republike Slovenije je na svoji seji dne 25. aprila 1990 skladno s 13. členom zakona o določitvi nalog, ki jih od 1. 1. 1990 začasno opravljajo organi samoupravnih interesnih skupnosti in o ustanovitvi določenih republiških upravnih organov (Uradni list SRS, št. 42/89) sprejel

SKLEPI o uskladiavi preživnin

1.

Preživnine, določene s sodno odločbo in preživnine, določene z dogovorom iz 130. člena zakona o zakonski zvezi in družinskih razmerjih, ki so že bile valorizirane s 1. marcem 1990 in preživnine, določene v mesecu januarju 1990, se s 1. majem 1990 povešajo glede na gibanje življenjskih stroškov in osebnih dohodkov v januarju in februarju 1990 za 29,6%.

2.

Preživnine, določene ali dogovorjene v mesecu februarju 1990 se s 1. majem 1990 povešajo za 9,5%.

Št. 567/A-1/90

Ljubljana, dne 26. aprila 1990.

Predsednica
odбора za razvoj socialnega skrbstva
Marica Fajt l.r.

892.

POROČILO

o ugotovitvi izida volitev za predsednika Predsedstva Republike Slovenije

Republiška volilna komisija je na svoji seji dne 24. 4. 1990 ob 14. uri v Ljubljani, v prostorih Skupščine Republike Slovenije in na podlagi prvega odstavka 24. člena zakona o volitvah in odločilo predsednika in članov Predsedstva Republike Slovenije

ugotovila:

1. Pri ponovnem glasovanju 22. 4. 1990 je od 1.489.822 volilcev glasovalo 1.146.627 volilcev, oziroma 76,9%.

2. Za predsednika Predsedstva je bilo oddanih 1.144.985 glasovnic, od tega neveljavnih 23264 in veljavnih 1.121.631.

3. Posamezna kandidata za predsednika Predsedstva Republike Slovenije sta prejela naslednje število glasov:

Milan Kučan, 657.196 oziroma 58,59%.

Jože Pučnik 464.435 oziroma 41,41%.

4. Med kandidata, ki sta pri prvem glasovanju za predsednika Predsedstva Republike Slovenije dne 8. 4. 1990 dobila največ glasov volilcev, ki so oddali veljavne glasovnice, je bil pri drugem glasovanju za predsednika Predsedstva Republike Slovenije izvoljen Milan Kučan.

Št. RVK 1-1/90

Ljubljana, dne 24. aprila 1990.

Tajnik
Marko Golob l.r.

Predsednik
Emil Temc l.r.

Člani:

dr. Franc Grad l.r.
Nace Pavlin l.r.
mag. Stohodan Rakočević l.r.
dr. Lovro Šturm l.r.
Maršo Herman l.r.



893.

POROČILO

6. Izida glasovanja za izvolitev delegatov v družbenopolitični zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije 8. in 22. aprila 1990

I. Na podlagi prejetih zapisnikov volilnih komisij volilnih enot za volitve delegatov v družbenopolitični zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije in volilnih komisij za volitve delegatov narodnosti v zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije je Republiška volilna komisija na prvi, dne 21. 4. 1990 ugotovila:

1. Glasovanja za izvolitev delegatov Družbenopolitični zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije 8. 4. 1990 se je udeležilo 1.241.212 volilcev.

2. Oddanih je bilo 1.238.189 glasovnic.

3. Veljavnih je bilo 1.128.485 glasovnic, neveljavnih glasovnic je bilo 109.754.

4. Na volitvah 8. 4. 1990 so posamezne liste kandidatov prejele naslednje število glasov, izračunanih po določbah 90. člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine:

Lista	Št. glasov	%
1. Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL	58.082,30	5,37
2. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenove	186.927,60	17,23
3. ZSMS	158.843,01	14,49
4. Slovenska demokratična zveza	102.930,73	9,51
5. Slovenska obrtno podjetniška stranka	17.021,09	1,57
6. Slovenska obrtniška stranka	38.268,95	3,54
7. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	95.640,49	8,84
8. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	140.402,96	12,98
9. Slovenska kmečka zveza	135.808,32	12,55
10. Zveza za ohranitev enakopravnosti občanov	26.628,77	2,46
11. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	79.950,74	7,39
12. Zveza društev upokojencev Maribor	4.113,43	0,38
13. Demokratična zveza Kosova	3.240,01	0,30
14. Državlјanska zelena lista	21.582,82	1,99
15. Nova družbena gibanja	5.276,04	0,49
16. Lista neodvisnih	4.618,33	0,43
17. Lista posamičnih kandidatov	4.714,98	0,44
Skupaj	1.082.050,87	

5. Na podlagi poročil volilnih komisij volilnih enot za volitve delegatov v DPZ Skupščine Republike Slovenije je Republiška volilna komisija ugotovila, da so bili v posameznih volilnih enotah na podlagi določb 90. člena ZVS izvoljeni naslednji kandidati iz naslednjih list:

- Volilna enota (Ljubljana Center)
 - France Bučar, Slovenska demokratična zveza
 - Ciril Ribičič, ZKS-SDP
 - Mile Šetinc, ZSMS
- Volilna enota (Ljubljana Moste-Polje)
 - Tone Anderlič, ZSMS
 - Milan Balažič, ZKS-SDP
- Volilna enota (Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik)
 - Janez Kocjančič, ZKS-SDP
 - Janez Janša, Slovenska demokratična zveza
- Volilna enota (Novo mesto)

5. Volilna enota (Koper)

1. Peter Bekeš, ZKS-SDP

6. Volilna enota (Nova Gorica)

1. Jože Skočič, ZSMS

7. Volilna enota (Kranj)

1. Zoran Thaler, ZSMS

2. Emil Milan Pintar, ZKS-SDP

8. Volilna enota (Ravne na Koroškem)

9. Volilna enota (Maribor)

1. Andrej Verlič, ZSMS

2. Franci Pivec, ZKS-SDP

10. Volilna enota (Murska Sobota)

1. Jože Magdič, Slovenski krščanski demokrati

11. Volilna enota (Ptuj)

1. Ivan Pučnik, Slovenska kmečka zveza

12. Volilna enota (Celje)

1. Franc Potočnik, Slovenska kmečka zveza

13. Volilna enota (Velenje)

14. Volilna enota (Trbovlje)

1. Franc Pipan, ZKS-SDP

III. Republiška volilna komisija je sešela ostanke glasov istoimenskih list po razdelitvi mandatov v volilnih enotah. Ti ostanki znašajo:

1. Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL	58.091,30
2. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenove	89.327,23
3. ZSMS	87.561,75
4. Slovenska demokratična zveza	74.571,33
5. Slovenska obrtno podjetniška stranka	17.021,09
6. Slovenska obrtniška stranka	38.283,95
7. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	95.640,49
8. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	126.077,36
9. Slovenska kmečka zveza	108.455,82
10. Zveza za ohranitev enakopravnosti občanov	26.628,77
11. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	79.950,74
12. Zveza društev upokojencev Maribor	4.113,43
13. Demokratična zveza Kosova	3.240,01
14. Državlјanska zelena lista	21.582,82
15. Nova družbena gibanja	5.276,04
16. Lista neodvisnih	4.618,33
17. Lista posamičnih kandidatov	4.714,98
Skupaj	845.140,44

IV. Pri razdelitvi ostanke mandatov na republiški ravni se ne upoštevajo naslednje liste, katerih skupno število glasov v republiki ne presega 2,5% skupnega števila glasov za liste, izračunanih po 1. in 2. odstavku 90. člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine:

- Slovenska obrtno podjetniška stranka
- Zveza za ohranitev enakopravnosti občanov
- Zveza društev upokojencev Maribor
- Demokratična zveza Kosova iz Ljubljane
- Državlјanska zelena lista
- Neodvisna lista novih družbenih gibanj
- Lista neodvisnih
- Lista posamičnih kandidatov

V. Republiška volilna komisija je ugotovila, da je potrebno razdeliti na republiški ravni 61 mandatov med posamezne liste, ker je bilo 17 kandidatov izvoljenih v volilnih enotah, 2 delegata pa se voli v volilnih enotah na narodnostno mešanih območjih.

VI. Republiška volilna komisija je nato sukcesivno delila skupni ostanek glasov vseh list, ki so prejele več kot 2,5% glasov od skupnega števila izračunanih glasov za liste. Ugotovila je naslednje količnike po

naslednjem vrstnem redu (op. šifra posamezne liste je vseskozi enaka kot pri skupnem izračunu glasov za liste):

Ime stranke	Ostanki
1. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	128077.3600
2. Slovenska kmečka zveza	108455.8200
3. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	95640.4900
4. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе	89327.2300
5. ZSMS	87561.7500
6. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	79950.7400
7. Slovenska demokratična zveza	74571.3300
8. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	63038.6800
9. Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL	58091.3000
10. Slovenska kmečka zveza	54227.9100
11. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	47820.2450
12. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе	44863.6150
13. ZSMS	43780.8750
14. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	42025.7867
15. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	39975.3700
16. Slovenska obrtniška stranka	38268.9500
17. Slovenska demokratična zveza	37285.6650
18. Slovenska kmečka zveza	36151.9400
19. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	31880.1633
20. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	31519.5400
21. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе	29775.7433
22. ZSMS	29187.2500
23. Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL	29045.6500
24. Slovenska kmečka zveza	27113.9550
25. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	26650.2467
26. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	25215.4720
27. Slovenska demokratična zveza	24857.1100
28. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	23910.1225
29. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе	22331.8675
30. ZSMS	21890.4375
31. Slovenska kmečka zveza	21691.1640
32. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	21012.8933
33. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	19987.6950
34. Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL	19363.7667
35. Slovenska obrtniška stranka	19134.4750
36. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	19128.0980
37. Slovenska demokratična zveza	18642.8325
38. Slovenska kmečka zveza	18075.9700
39. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	18011.0514
40. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе	17365.4460
41. ZSMS	17512.3500
42. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	15990.1480
43. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	15940.0817
44. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	15759.6700
45. Slovenska kmečka zveza	15493.6886
46. Slovenska demokratična zveza	14914.2660
47. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе	14837.8717
48. ZSMS	14593.6250
49. Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL	14522.6250
50. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	14008.5956
51. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	13662.9271
52. Slovenska kmečka zveza	13556.9775
53. Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije	13325.1233
54. ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе	12761.0329
55. Slovenska obrtniška stranka	12756.3167
56. Slovenski krščanski demokrati	12607.7360
57. ZSMS	12508.8214
58. Slovenska demokratična zveza	12428.5550
59. Slovenska kmečka zveza	12050.6467
60. Zeleni Slovenije — Zeleni	11955.0613
61. Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL	11618.2600

VII. Republiška volilna komisija je na podlagi najvišjih št. zaporednih količinskih ugotovila da pripada posameznim listam naslednje število mandatov:

- a) Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL — šifra 1) — 5 mandatov
- b) ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе (šifra 2) — 7 mandatov
- c) ZSMS (šifra 3) — 7 mandatov
- d) Slovenska demokratična zveza (šifra 4) — 6 mandatov
- e) Slovenska obrtniška stranka (šifra 6) — 3 mandati
- f) Zeleni Slovenije (šifra 7) — 8 mandatov
- g) Slovenski krščanski demokrati (šifra 8) — 10 mandatov
- h) Slovenska kmečka zveza (šifra 9) — 9 mandatov
- i) Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije (šifra 11) — 6 mandatov.

VIII. Republiška volilna komisija je ugotovila, da so vse organizacije, razen ZKS — Stranke demokratične prenovе, predložile Republiški volilni komisiji spisek njihovih kandidatov z njihovih list v posameznih volilnih enotah z vrstnim redom, ki se upošteva pri ugotovitvi, kateri kandidati so bili izvoljeni.

Izvoljeni so bili:

- a) Socialistična zveza Slovenije — SZDL:
Jože Smole, Viktor Zakelj, Dušan Semolič, Borut Suklje, Darja Levničar-Behler
- b) ZSMS:
Metka Mencin, Gregor Golobič, Mojmir Ocvirk, Janez Kopač, Juri Franco, Zdenka Vidovič, Mirko Vavpotič
- c) Slovenska demokratična zveza:
Hubert Požarnik, Rajko Pirnat, Anton Perčič, Spomenka Hribar, Rudi Šeligo, Anton Tomažič
- d) Slovenska obrtniška stranka:
Franc Golija, Ivan Krefl, Zvone Žagar
- e) Zeleni Slovenije:
Leo Šešerko, Vane Gošnik, Božidar Volja, Aleksandra Pretnar, Boris Gerl, Ivan Tomše, Stanko Blažič, Zare Pregejč

- e) Slovenski krščanski demokrati:
Alojz Peterle, Janez Gajšek, Izidor Rejc, Nada Bolcar, Ciril Kolešnik, Andrej Capuder, Peter Rebert, Janez Lampret, Stefan Kociper, Ignac Polajnar
- f) Slovenska kmečka zveza:
Marjan Podobnik, Marija Markeš, Franc Zagožen, Mihaela Logar, Ludvik Toplak, Janko Halb, Julij Nemančič, Jože Hobič, Alojz Grabner
- g) Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije:
Andrej Magajna, Matjaž Šinkovec, Katja Boh, France Tomšič, Vitodrag Puki, Slavko Kmetič
- i) Mandati ZKS — Stranke demokratične prenovе pripadajo naslednjim kandidatom, ki so imeli največje število glasov v tistih volilnih enotah, kjer je imela lista ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenovе najvišji ostanek glasov, potreben za izvolitev:



1. VE št. 12—91% — Stefan Korošec
2. VE št. 10—79% — Božo Kuharič
3. VE št. 11—78% — Miran Potrč
4. VE št. 4—77% — Sonja Lokar
5. VE št. 1—72,02% — Lev Kreft
6. VE št. 6—66% — Borut Pahor
7. VE št. 8—64% — Drago Plešivčnik

IX. Republiška volilna komisija je na seji 16. 4. 1990 ugotovila, da je za izvolitev delegatov narodnosti v Družbenopolitični zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije potrebno 22. 4. 1990 izvesti drugi krog volitev med kandidati, ki so pri prvem glasovanju prejeli najvišje število glasov, in sicer v:

15. Volilni enoti (Koper)
Drugi krog glasovanja med kandidatom
Sandro Kravanja — Roberto Battelli

16. Volilni enoti (Lendava)
Drugi krog glasovanja med kandidatom
Maria Pozsonec — Stefan Berke

Na podlagi zapisnikov volilnih komisij volilnih enot za volitve delegatov narodnosti v zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije, je Republiška volilna komisija dne 24. 4. 1990 ugotovila, da sta bila na ponovnem glasovanju 22. 4. 1990 izvoljena:

15. Volilna enota
Roberto Battelli, roj. 1954, Ulica ob spomeniku 6, Koper

16. Volilna enota
Maria Pozsonec, roj. 1940, učitelj madžarskega jezika, Dolga vas

St. EVK 1-1/90
Ljubljana, dne 24. aprila 1990.

Tajnik
Marko Golobčič l. r.

Člani
dr. Franc Grad l. r.
Nace Pavlin l. r.
mag. Slobodan Rakočević l. r.
dr. Lovro Sturm l. r.
Marko Herman l. r.



894.

Republiška volilna komisija na podlagi 27. člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine,

objavlja

naslednje rezultate volitev delegatov v Zbor združenega dela Skupščine Republike Slovenije na splošnih volitvah aprila 1990:

I

Na podlagi prejetih zapisnikov o delu občinske volilne komisije pri ugotovitvi izida glasovanja za volitve delegatov v Zbor združenega dela Skupščine Republike Slovenije, je Republiška volilna komisija na seji dne 24. 4. 1990 ugotovila:

1. Volitve delegatov v Zbor združenega dela Skupščine Republike Slovenije so bile opravljene 12. 4. 1990 razen volitev v posameznih volilnih enotah, v katerih se volijo delegati s področja samostojnega osebnega dela na področju kmetijstva in gozdarstva,

v katerih so bile volitve opravljene 8. 4. 1990 oziroma 22. 4. 1990 (občini Skoija Loka in Jesenice).

2. Od skupnega števila 992.922 volilcev se je volitev udeležilo 737.704 volilcev oziroma 74,30%. Oddanih je bilo 737.026 glasovnic, od česar jih je bilo 45.123 neveljavnih.

3. Občinske volilne komisije na sedežih volilnih enot za volitve delegatov v Zbor združenega dela Skupščine Republike Slovenije ter volilni komisiji za volitve delegatov narodnosti v Zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije so ugotovile izid glasovanja v posameznih volilnih enotah, pri čemer so ugotovile, da pri glasovanju ni bilo takih nepravilnosti, ki bi bistveno vplivale na izid glasovanja.

III

DELEGATI, IZVOLJENI V ZBOR ZDRUŽENEGA DELA SKUPŠČINE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE NA SPLOŠNIH VOLITVAH APRILA 1990

Volilna enota: 1 — industrija in rudarstvo

Območje: Ljubljana Bežigrad, Ljubljana Center in Ljubljana Moste-Polje

Izvoljena:

Andrej Muren, roj. 8. 7. 1953, dipl. inž. str., zaposlen v širka Tela, Ljubljana, Savska cesta 3
glasov: 4397 15,63%

Predlagatelj: DEMOS

Franc Zalar, rojen 8. 8. 1951, št., zaposlen Mercator Ljubljana — Ljubljanske mlečarne, Ljubljana, Tolstojeva 83

glasov: 2658 9,49%

Predlagatelj: Mercator — Ljubljanske mlečarne

Volilna enota: 2 — industrija in rudarstvo

Območje: Ljubljana Siška, Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik

Izvoljena:

Marjan Vilfan, roj. 13. 9. 1931, vodja razvoja, Dekorativna Ljubljana, Verdnikova 10

glasov: 5488 21,98%

Predlagatelj: Slovenska demokratična zveza, Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije, Slovenski krščanski demokrati, Slovenska kmečka zveza, Zeleni Slovenije — DEMOS — združena opozicija

Viljem Mak, roj. 29. 4. 1937, ekonomist, TZ Litostroj, Ljubljana, Ljubljanska 17

glasov: 3772 19,23%

Predlagatelj: Slovenska demokratična zveza, Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije, Slovenski krščanski demokrati, Slovenska kmečka zveza, Zeleni Slovenije — DEMOS — združena opozicija

Volilna enota: 3 — industrija in rudarstvo

Območje: Domžale, Litija in Kamnik

Izvoljen:

Jože Berbec, roj. 25. 10. 1949, dipl. inž. strojništva, Titan Kamnik, Mlakarjeva 2

glasov: 5423 41,68%

Predlagatelj: Slovenska demokratična zveza, Socialdemokratska zveza Slovenije, Slovenski krščanski demokrati, Slovenska kmečka zveza, Zeleni Slovenije — DEMOS — združena opozicija

Volilna enota: 4 — industrija in rudarstvo

Območje: Cerkljica, Grosuplje, Logatec, Kočevje, Ribnica in Vrhnika

Volilna enota številka: 51 — Kmetijstvo in gozdarstvo
 Območje: Lenart, Osmoň in Ptuj
 Izvoljen:
 Peter Kraner, 25. 5. 1952, ek. na kmetiji, Malna 7, Jurovski dol
 Predlagatelj: Slovenska kmečka zveza — podružnica Lenart in Kmetijska zadruga Lenart
 glasov: 1178 30,20 %

Volilna enota številka: 52 — Kmetijstvo
 Območje: Občina Kamniksko regije
 Izvoljen:
 Anton Horvat, 1960, kmet, Žižki 67, Gomja Radgona
 Predlagatelj: Občinski odbor slovenske kmečke zveze
 glasov: 3121 42,1 %

Volilna enota številka: 53 — Samostojno delo na področju obrti
 Območje: Ljubljanska in Gorenjska regija
 Izvoljena:
 Mlako Puc, 1941, ključavničar, samostojni obrtnik, Pavšičeva 2, Logatec
 Predlagatelj: Obrtno združenje Logatec in DEMOS — združena opozicija
 glasov: 3729 32,93 %
 Janez Iskra, 1940, lesni tehnik, samostojni obrtnik, Zbilje 6B, Medvode
 Predlagatelj: DEMOS — združena opozicija
 glasov: 3333 29,61 %

Volilna enota številka: 54 — Samostojno osebno delo na področju obrti
 Območje: Nulčanska, Obelno-kraške in Severno-podravsko
 Izvoljen:
 Valentin Prelovec, 20. 11. 1934, grafik, Egra Koper, Kraljeva 9, Koper
 Predlagatelj: Obrtno združenje Koper
 glasov: 956 21,61 %

Volilna enota številka: 55 — Samostojno osebno delo
 Območje: Celjske, Posavske, Zavske in Dolanjske regije
 Izvoljen:
 Leopold Drama, 1935, strojni tehnik samostojni obrtnik, Arja vas 50/A, Petrovče
 Predlagatelj: Obrtno združenje Celje
 glasov: 1295 18,77 %

Volilna enota številka: 56 — Samostojno osebno delo
 Območje: Koroška, Podravska in Pomurska regija
 Izvoljen:
 Bogo Rogina, 29. 5. 1947, pravnik, samostojni obrtnik, Radizelj, Obrtniška 7, pošta Orehova vas
 Predlagatelj: Obrtno združenje Maribor Tezno
 glasov: 1802 30,42 %

Volilna enota številka: 57 — oborožene sile
 Območje: Republika Slovenija

Izvoljen:
 Milan Aksentijević, 1935, oficir JLA, VP 2112 Ljubljana
 Predlagatelj: VP 3553 Ljubljana, Zvezda 2, Ljubljana
 glasov: 1165 21,78 %
 Volilna enota številka: 58 — Italijanska narodnost
 Območje: Narodnostno mešano območje v občinah Izola, Koper in Piran
 Izvoljen: Marjan Damsis, raj, 1950, strojni inženir, Kidričevo nabrežje 6
 Predlagatelj: ZNS — Stranka demokratske preno-ve, Občinski komite Izola
 glasov: 7900 47,20 %

Volilna enota številka: 59 — Madžarska narodnost
 Območje: Narodnostno mešano območje v občinah Lendava in Murska Sobotna
 Izvoljen:
 Vilijem Sekereš, 1939, profesor telesne vzgoje, OŠ Drago Lugarič, Lendava, Tomšičeva 13
 Predlagatelj: Skupščina KS Lendava
 glasov: 1643 29,8 %

ŠL R/SK 1-1/86

Ljubljana, dne 24. aprila 1990.

Tajnik
Marko Golobčič L.Predsednik
Emil Tomo

Člani

dr. Franc Grad Lr.

Nace Pavlin Lr.

mag. Simončan nasolčević L.

dr. Lovro Šturm Lr.

Marko Herman Lr.

601.

Republiška volilna komisija na podlagi 27. člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine

objavlja

naslednje rezultate volitev delegatov v Zbor občin Skupščine Republike Slovenije na splošnih volitvah aprila 1990:

I

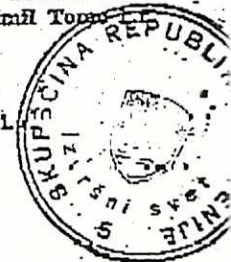
Na podlagi prejetih zapisnikov občinskih volilnih komisij je Republiška volilna komisija na seji dne 25.

1. Volitve delegatov v Zbor občin Skupščine Republike Slovenije so bile opravljene 8. 4. 1990. V 80 volilnih enotah je bilo 1.853.908 volilcev, ki so imeli pravico glasovanja, glasovalo je 1.516.469 volilcev. Oddanih je bilo 1.514.029 glasovnic, od česar je bilo 85.240 glasovnic neveljavnih.

4. 1990 ugotovila:

Na podlagi 2. odstavca 80. člena zakona o volitvah v skupščine je bilo v prvem krogu izvoljenih 15 delegatov, v 65-tih volilnih enotah pa so občinske volilne komisije razpisale drugi krog glasovanja med kandidatom, ki sta v prvem krogu dobila največje število glasov.

2. Drugi krog glasovanja je bil v 65-tih volilnih enotah opravljen dne 22. 4. 1990. Pravico glasovanja je imelo 1.514.029 volilcev, glasovalo je 1.000.000 volilcev. Oddanih je bilo 1.214.835 glasovnic, od česar je bilo 59.533 glasovnic neveljavnih.



3. Občinske volilne komisije ter volilne komisije posebnih družbenopolitičnih skupnosti in volilni komisiji za volitve delegatov narodnosti v Zbore Skupščine Republike Slovenije so ugotovile izid glasovanja v posameznih volilnih enotah, pri čemer so tudi ugotovile, da pri glasovanju ni bilo takih nepravilnosti, ki bi bistveno vplivale na izid glasovanja.

II

**IZVOLJENI DELEGATI ZA ZBOR OBČIN
SKUPŠČINE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE NA
VOLITVAH 8. IN 22. APRILA 1990**

Volilna enota: 1

Območje: Ajdovščina

Boris Jež, 1959, dipl. inž. agronomije, Lokavec
(DEMOS — združena opozicija)

Volilna enota: 2

Območje: Brežice

Niko Rainer, dipl. inž. gozdarstva, Cerklje ob
Krki
(Slovenska demokracna zveza Brezice (DEMOS)
Občinski odbor Brezice)

Volilna enota: 3

Območje: del občine Celje, Krajevni skupnosti Cen-
ter, Dečkovo naselje, Dolgo polje, K. D. Kajuh, Savi-
nja, Medlog, Lava, Ostrožno, Gaberje, Aljažev hrib in
Slavko Šlander

Ivan Černef, 1935, dipl. veterinar, Celje
(DEMOS — združena opozicija)

Volilna enota: 4

Območje: del občine Celje, ki obsega KS Teharje,
Store, Svetina, Pod gradom, Ljubečna, Skofja vas, Voj-
nik Strmec, Dohrna, Frankolovo, Šmartno v Rožni
dolini, Trnovlje, Nova vas in Hudiinja

Anton Kojec, 1931, dipl. pravnik, Celje
(DEMOS — združena opozicija)

Volilna enota: 5

Območje: Cerknica

Leopold Frelih, 1945, agronom
(Slovenska zveza Slovenije, OK ZKS — SZS Cer-
nica)

Volilna enota: 6

Območje: Črnomelj

Zvonko Ivanušič, 1959, dipl. ekonomist, Čr-
nomelj
(DEMOS — združena opozicija)

Volilna enota: 7

Območje: Domžale

Ervin-Anton Schwarzbartl, 1940, magister
ekonomije, Domžale
(DEMOS — združena opozicija)

Volilna enota: 8

Območje: Dravograd

Jože Kramar, 1963, gostinski tehnik, Črniče
(ZSMS Dravograd)

Volilna enota: 9

Območje: Gornja Radgona

Janez Starika, 1944, inž. elektrotehnike, Gornja
Radgona
(Slovenska demokratična zveza)

Volilna enota: 10

Območje: Grosuplje

Aljož Jamnik, 1903, ekonomist, Mala Nova gora
(DEMOS — združena opozicija Grosuplje)

Volilna enota: 11

Območje: Hrastnik

Leopold Grofoltj, 1901, višji upravni delavec,
Hrastnik
(ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenove, Občinski
komite Hrastnik)

Volilna enota: 12

Območje: Idrija

Tomaž Pavšič, 1931, profesor, Idrija
(Slovenska kmečka zveza, DEMOS — združena o-
pozicija)

Volilna enota: 13

Območje: Ilirska Bistrica

Milan Vovk, 1956, dipl. pravnik, Ilirska Bistrica
(DEMOS — združena opozicija)

Volilna enota: 14

Območje: Izola

Janez Jug, 1947, mag. dipl. ekonomist, Izola
(ZSMS)

Volilna enota: 15

Območje: Jesenice

Matjaž Peskar, 1963, gimn. maturant, Jesenice
(Občinska konf. ZSMS Jesenice)

Volilna enota: 16

Območje: Kamnik

Branko Novak, 1938, dipl. inž. tekstilne tehn-
ologije, Kamnik

(Slovenska demokratična zveza, Socialdemokratska
zveza Slovenije, Slovenski krščanski demokrati, Slo-
venska kmečka zveza, Eclau Slovenije — DEMOS —
združena opozicija)

Volilna enota: 17

Območje: Kočevje

Miloš Senčur, 1957, višji upravni delavec, Ko-
čevje
(OK SZS Kočevje)

Volilna enota: 18

Območje: del občine Koper — KS Koper-Center,

Semedela, Za gradom, Žusterna in Olmo-Prisoje
Aurelio Juri, 1949, novinar, Koper
(ZKS — Stranka demokratične prenove)

Volilna enota: 19

Območje: del občine Koper, KS Ankarani, Bertoki,

Boršt, Črni kal, Dekani, Gradišče, Gradin, Hrvatini,
Marezge, Pobeži-Čezarji, Pridvor, Skocjan, Skoflje,
Smerje in Vanganel

Danijel Božič, 1959, novinar, Koper
(ZSMS)



APPENDIX E

1974 Yugoslav Constitution in
Slovenian Language
and
1945 Yugoslav Constitution in
Serbo-Croatian (Cyrillic) Language

(See Chapter 8 for translations)



URADNI LIST

SOCIALISTIČNE FEDERATIVNE REPUBLIKE JUGOSLAVIJE

URADNI LIST SFRJ izhaja v srbsko-hrvatski, oziroma hrvaško-srbski, slovenski, makedonski, albanski in madžarski izdaji — Oglasi po ceniku — Zira račun pri službi družbenega knjigovodstva 0002-000-1123

Četrtek, 21. februarja 1974.

BEOGRAD

ŠTEVILKA 9. LETO XXX.

Cena te številke je 16 dinarjev. — Načelnik za leto 1974 znaša 534 dinarjev. — Uredništvo: Beograd, ul. Jovana Ristića št. 1. Poštni prečiš 23 — Telefoni: centrala 630-153; uradništvo 651-833; obročinska služba 651-732; komercijalni sektor 651-671; telex 11756

153.

Na podlagi 3. točke ustavnega amandmaja XII in tretjega odstavka 3. točke ustavnega amandmaja XXXIII je sprejel Zbor narodov Zvezne skupščine na seji 21. februarja 1974

ODLOK

O RAZGLASITVI USTAVE SOCIALISTIČNE FEDERATIVNE REPUBLIKE JUGOSLAVIJE

Razglasi se ustava Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije, ki jo je sprejela Zvezna skupščina na seji Zbora narodov dne 22. januarja 1974, na seji Gospodarskega zbora dne 31. januarja 1974, na seji Prosvetno-kulturnega zbora dne 30. januarja 1974, na seji Socialno-zdravstvenega zbora dne 30. januarja 1974 in na seji Družbeno-političnega zbora dne 31. januarja 1974, in h kateri so dale soglasje skupščine socialističnih republik in socialističnih avtonomnih pokrajin, in sicer: Skupščina Socialistične republike Bosne in Hercegovine na seji dne 15. februarja 1974, Skupščina Socialistične republike Crne gore na seji dne 8. februarja 1974, Sabor Socialistične republike Hrvatske na seji dne 8. februarja 1974, Sbornje Socialistične republike Makedonije na seji dne 7. februarja 1974, Skupščina Socialistične republike Slovenije na seji dne 7. februarja 1974, Skupščina Socialistične republike Srbije na seji dne 13. februarja 1974, Skupščina Socialistične avtonomne pokrajine Kosovo na seji dne 13. februarja 1974 in Skupščina Socialistične avtonomne pokrajine Vojvodine na seji dne 8. februarja 1974.

Zbor narodov

AS št. 653.
Beograd, 21. februarja 1974.

Predsednik
Zbora narodov:
Mika Spiljak s. r.

Izhajajoč iz zgodovinskega dejstva, da so delavci in kmetje ter napredni ljudje vseh narodov in narodnosti Jugoslavije, združeni v Narodnoosvobodilno fronto s Komunistično partijo na čelu, s svojim bojem v narodnoosvobodilni vojni in socialistični revoluciji zrušili stari razredni red, ki je temeljil na izkoriščanju, političnem zatiranju in nacionalni neenakopravnosti, in začeli ustvarjati družbo, v kateri bosta človek in njegovo delo osvobodjena izkoriščanja in samovolje, vsak narod in vsaka narodnost posebej in svi skupaj pa našli možnost za svoboden in vsestranski razvoj;

upoštevajoč, da so z razvojem materialne osnove države in socialističnih družbenih odnosov ter z nadaljnjo graditvijo odnosov, temeljejih na samoupravljanju in nacionalni enakopravnosti, nastale bistvene spremembe v družbenih in političnih odnosih, ki zahtevajo ustrezne spremembe ustave Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije iz leta 1963, in da so bile določbe te ustave na posameznih področjih že spremenjene z ustavnimi amandmaji v letih 1967, 1968 in 1971;

v težnji, da se učvrstijo in še naprej razvijejo dosežena revolucionarna pridobitva, da se utrdita pravica in odgovornost socialističnih republik in socialističnih avtonomnih pokrajin za lasten razvoj in za razvoj jugoslovanske skupnosti kot celote in da se zagotovi nadaljnji razvoj socialističnih samoupravnih demokratskih odnosov na poti k osvoboditvi dela in zgraditvi komunistične družbe;

izhajajoč tudi iz potrebe, da se z novo ustavo Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije, ki poleg novih sprememb obsega tudi z njimi usklajena določbe ustave Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije iz leta 1963 in ustavnih amandmajev I do XLIII, utrdi ustavni sistem na enotnih socialističnih samoupravnih temeljih —

Zvezna skupščina v soglasju s skupščinami republik in skupščinama avtonomnih pokrajin

sprejema

USTAVO

SOCIALISTIČNE FEDERATIVNE REPUBLIKE

JUGOSLAVIJE

UVODNI DEL
TEMELJNA NAČELA

Izhajajoč iz pravice vsakega naroda do samoodločbe, ki vključuje tudi pravico do odcepitve, so se narodi

Jugoslavije na podlagi svobodno izražene volje v skupnem boju vseh narodov in narodnosti v narodnoosvobodilni vojni in socialistični revoluciji v skladu s svojimi zgodovinskimi težnjami, zavedajoč se, da je nadaljnja krepitev bratstva in enotnosti skupni interes, skupaj z narodnoosvobodilno, s katerimi so se združili v ustavno republiko, svobodnih in enakopravnih narodov in na-

rodnosti in ustvarili socialistično zvezno skupnost delovnih ljudi — Socialistično federativno republiko Jugoslavijo, v kateri v interesu vsakega naroda in vsake narodnosti posebej in vseh skupaj uresničujejo in zagotavljajo:

socialistične družbene odnose, ki temeljijo na samoupravljanju delovnih ljudi, in varstvo socialističnega samoupravnega sistema;

nacionalno svobodo in neodvisnost;

bratstvo in enotnost narodov in narodnosti;

enotne interese delavskega razreda in solidarnost delavcev in vseh delovnih ljudi;

svobostine in možnosti za vsestranski razvoj človekove osebnosti in za zблиževanje ljudi ter narodov in narodnosti, v skladu z njihovimi interesi in težnjami pri ustvarjanju čedalje bogatejše kulture in civilizacije socialistične družbe;

združevanje in usklajevanje prizadevanj za razvoj materialne osnove socialistične družbe in blaginje ljudi;

sistem družbenoekonomskih odnosov in enotne temelje političnega sistema, s katerimi se zagotavljajo skupni interesi delavskega razreda in vseh delovnih ljudi ter enakopravnost narodov in narodnosti;

združevanje lastnih hotenj z naprednimi težnjami človeštva.

Delovni ljudje ter narodi in narodnosti uresničujejo svoje suverene pravice v socialističnih republikah in v socialističnih avtonomnih pokrajinah v skladu z njihovimi ustavnimi pravicami in — kadar to v skupnem interesu določa ta ustava — v Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji.

Delovni ljudje, narodi in narodnosti odločajo v federaciji po načelih sporazumevanja republik in avtonomnih pokrajin, solidarnosti in vzajemnosti, enakopravne udeležbe republik in avtonomnih pokrajin v organih federacije skladno s to ustavo ter po načelu odgovornosti republik in avtonomnih pokrajin za lasten razvoj in za razvoj socialistične skupnosti kot celote.

II

Socialistična družbena ureditev Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije temelji na oblasti delavskega razreda in vseh delovnih ljudi in na odnosih med ljudmi kot svobodnimi in enakopravnimi proizvajalci in ustvarjalci, ki jim delo služi izključno za zadovoljevanje njihovih osebni in skupnih potreb.

Temelj teh odnosov je družbenoekonomski položaj delovnega človeka, ki mu zagotavlja, da s tem, ko dela s sredstvi v družbeni lastnini ter neposredno in enakopravno z drugimi delovnimi ljudmi v združenem delu odloča o vseh zadevah družbene reprodukcije v pogojih in odnosih medsebojne odvisnosti, odgovornosti in solidarnosti, uresničuje svoj osebni materialni in moralni interes in pravico, da uživa rezultate svojega živga in minulega dela in pridobitve splošnega materialnega in družbenega napredka, da na tej podlagi kar najpopolneje zadovoljuje svoje osebne in družbene potrebe in da razvija svoje delovne in druge ustvarjalne sposobnosti.

Skladno s tem so nedotakljiva podlaga človekovega položaja in njegove vloge:

družbena lastnina produkcijskih sredstev, ki izključuje vrnitev kakršnegakoli sistema izkoriščanja človeka in ki z odpravljanjem odnjenosti delavskega razreda in delovnih ljudi od produkcijskih sredstev in drugih pogojev za delo zagotavlja samoupravljanje delovnih ljudi v proizvodnji in v delitvi proizvoda dela ter usmerjanje razvoja družbe na samoupravnih temeljih;

osvoboditev dela kot preraščanje zgodovinsko pogojenih družbenoekonomskih neenakosti in odvisnosti

ljudi pri delu, ki se zagotavlja z odpravljanjem nasprotja med delom in kapitalom in kakršnikoli oblik mezdni odnosov, z vsestranskim razvojem proizvajalnih sil, z večanjem produktivnosti dela, s skrajševanjem delovnega časa, z razvijanjem in uporabo znanosti in tehnike, z zagotavljanjem čedalje višje izobrazbe za vse in z dviganjem kulture delovnih ljudi;

pravica do samoupravljanja, na podlagi katere vsak delovni človek enakopravno z drugimi delovnimi ljudmi odloča o svojem delu, pogojih za delo in o rezultatih dela, o lastnih in skupnih interesih in o usmerjanju družbenega razvoja, uresničuje oblast in upravlja druge družbene zadeve;

pravica delovnega človeka, da uživa sadove svoje dela in materialnega napredka družbene skupnosti po načelu: »Vsak po svojih sposobnostih — vsakemu po njegovem delu«, in njegova dolžnost, da zagotavlja razvoj materialne osnove za svoje in družbeno delo in da prispeva k zadovoljevanju drugih družbenih potreb;

ekonomska, socialna in osebna varnost človeka;

solidarnost in vzajemnost vsakogar do vseh in vseh do vsakogar, ki temeljita na zavesti delovnih ljudi, da lahko svoje trjne interese uresničujejo samo po teh načelih;

svobodna pobuda pri razvijanju proizvodnje in drugih družbenih in osebnih dejavnosti v korist človeku in družbeni skupnosti;

demokratski politični odnosi, ki omogočajo človeku, da uresničuje svoje interese, pravico do samoupravljanja ter druge pravice, da razvija svojo osebnost z neposredno dejavnostjo v družbenem življenju, zlasti v organih samoupravljanja, v družbenopolitičnih organizacijah in drugih družbenih organizacijah in društvih, ki jih sam ustanavlja in po njih vpliva na razvijanje družbene zavesti in na širjenje možnosti za svojo dejavnost in za uresničevanje svojih interesov in pravic;

enakost pravic, dolžnosti in odgovornosti ljudi v skladu z ustavnostjo in zakonitostjo.

Družbenoekonomski in politični sistem izhaja iz takega položaja človeka in je namenjen človeku in njegovi vlogi v družbi.

Napredna družbenoekonomski in politični sistem, ki ga določa ta ustava, je vsaka oblika upravljanja proizvodnje in drugih družbenih dejavnosti ter vsaka oblika delitve, ki bi — kot birokratska samovolja, tehnokratska uzurpacija in privilegiji, temeljiti na monopolnem upravljanju produkcijskih sredstev, ali kot prilaščanje družbenih sredstev na skupinsko-lastninski podlagi in v drugih oblikah privatizacije teh sredstev ali kot zasebnolastniška ali partikularistična sebičnost — pačila družbene odnose, ki temeljijo na enakem človekovem položaju, kakor tudi vsaka druga oblika, ki bi delavski razred omejevala pri uresničevanju njegove zgodovinske vloge v družbenoekonomskih in političnih odnosih ter pri organiziranju oblasti zanj in za vse delovne ljudi.

III

Družbena lastnina kot izraz socialističnih družbenoekonomskih odnosov med ljudmi je osnova svobodnega združenega dela in vladajočega položaja delavskega razreda v proizvodnji in v družbeni reproduk-

СМРТ ФАШИЗМУ - СЛОБОДА НАРОДУ



СЛУЖБЕНИ ЛИСТ

ДЕМОКРАТСКЕ ФЕДЕРАТИВНЕ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ



"СЛУЖБЕНИ ЛИСТ" излази два пута недељно. — Рукописи се не враћају. — Отисци по тарифи. — Чеховни рачун број 42.334.

Четвртак, 1. Фебруар 1945

БРОЈ 1

БЕОГРАД

ГОД. 1

Цена 10 дина по табаку. — Преплата за прво полугође 1945 год. дина 1200.—
Редакција: Брањкова бр. 29. — Телефонски: 29-426 и 30-427.

1. ДЕКЛАРАЦИЈА

ДРУГОГ ЗАСЕДАЊА АНТИФАШИСТИЧКОГ ВЕЋА НАРОДНОГ ОСЛОБОЂЕЊА ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ

(29-XI-1943)

У току две и по године непрекидне народно-ослободилачке борбе против окупатора и његових помагача, народи Југославије постигли су крупне и трајне успехе. Иако унутрашњим околностима, тако и у спољно-политичком погледу. После сваког непријатељског покушаја да разбије нашу Народно-ослободилачку војску, наша се војна сила повећавала, изнутра учвршћивала и војно-стручно подизала. Што се непријатељ више трудио да угуши ослободилачки покрет наших народа, то су се чвршће народне масе још више у тим покретима око Врховног штаба и прославањеног народног вође друга Тита, око Антифашистичког већа народног ослобођења Југославије и око националних политичких претставника појединих народа Југославије. Стало се повећавала наша ослобођена територија, раста су наша материјалне резерве и повећавали извори за снабдевање за нашу Народно-ослободилачку војску и становништво.

Упоредо са тим развијала су се органи народне власти и разни привредни и управни органи у служби те власти.

Признање крупних успеха наше народно-ослободилачке борбе у иностранству с једне стране, а с друге стране потпуно разоткривање издајничке улоге нацистичке Југословенске "владе" поставило су пред руководеће органе нашег народно-ослободилачког покрета потпуно нове задатке. Настала је потреба да се сви ти успеси систематски учврста и искористе за даље успешно вођење наше народно-ослободилачке борбе.

У вези с тим чињеницама Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Југославије, на свом Другом заседању одржаном 29 новембра 1943 године

КОНСТАТУЈЕ:

1. Два и по године наше народно-ослободилачке борбе доказале су читавом свету да су народне масе Југославије одлучно и чврсто кренуле путем оружаног отпора против окупатора, путем који је нашим народима показала Комунистичка партија Југославије и којим су заједно са њом ишле све истинске родољубиве снаге и политичке групе наших народа. Огромна већина народних маса Југославије сврстала се у народно-ослободилачке редове и активно подупрла своју Народно-ослободилачку војску. Заједно са тим масама активно су учествовали у народно-ослободилачком покрету и његовим органима сви родољубиви пошteni функционери из свих политичких партија и група и родољубивих организација. Све то подједнако вреди за све народе Југославије. Својом активношћу у народно-ослободилачком покрету народне масе Југославије отворено и гласно изразиле свој протест против издајника, реакционара и шпеку-

ланата у земљи и иностранству, који су се насиљем и презиром држали на власти у старој Југославији. На сада поново покушавају — опирајући се на реакционерију и шпекулације — да се тиме још више издуже, презаре и шпекулације. Али сви ти покушаји не могу сакрити чињеницу, да је у току народно-ослободилачке борбе створен потпуно нов однос политичких снага у нашој земљи, те да мора такође и у њеној управи и државном војству тај нови однос снага бити на одговарајући начин изражен.

2. Један од најважнијих извора снага наше народно-ослободилачке борбе јесте чињеница, да су јединствене народно-ослободилачке покрете народа Југославије и његова Народно-ослободилачка војска израсли из ослободилачких покрета свих наших народа. Народима Југославије за њихову борбу против окупатора нису били потребни претходни споразуми и разграничења итд. Они су се ланци орудија, почели ослобађати своју земљу и тиме сами не само стекли, него и осигурали право на самоодређење, укључујући право на отцепљење или уједињење с другим народима. Све снаге које учествују у народно-ослободилачком покрету од првог дана признају нашим народима сва та права. И баш због тога, народи Југославије још су се тешке повезали у заједничкој борби. Кроз две и по године херојске борбе против окупатора и његових помагача у народним масама Југославије скупљени су остаци великохрпске гегаменстичке политике, разбијени су покушаји да се у наше народе убаци међусобна мржња и неслагање, а извором међу су поражени и остаци реакционарног сепаратизма. Тиме су створени не само материјални и опште-политички него и сви морални услови за стварање будуће братске, демократске, федеративне заједнице наших народа, нове Југославије, израђене на равноправности њених народа. И због тога, управо данас, када стоје пред коначним истеривањем окупатора из своје земље, народи Југославије оправдано захтевају да се успостави тако државно војство, које ће и по свом саставу и по свом програму била једноста да ће сви народи Југославије у федеративној Југославији бити и стварно осигурани истинска равноправност.

3. Успеси наше народно-ослободилачке борбе променили су славу наших народа по читавом свету, разбили су највеће претставе које су поседовали непријатељи наших народа и снажно учврстили међународне политичке позиције Југославије и њених народа. Велики удео наших народа у општој борби против фашистичких освајача данас је већ признат од свих снага антифашистичког блока. Али то није довољно. Народи Југославије с правом траже од Савезника и свих својих пријатеља да буде призната не само њихова борба против окупатора, него и њихова слободна демократска воља. Народи Југославије с правом

3. Наглаже се претседништву Антифашистичког већа народног ослобођења Југославије да, у сврху поштомтења и поновног склапања, одласко одобрења, прегледа међународног уговора и обавезе које је у иностранству у име Југославије склопила изабегличка „Југословенска влада“.

4. Међународни уговори и обавезе које би у будуће у иностранству склопили у име Југославије или њених народа изабегличка такозвана Југословенска влада, неће се признати.

5. Ова одлука ступа одмах на снагу.

Бр. 2

Дне 29 новембра 1943
у Јајцу

Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења
Југославије

Секретар, Претседник,
Родољуб Чолаковић, с. р. Д-р Иван Рибар, с. р.

4.

ОДЛУКА О ИЗГРАДЊИ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ НА ФЕДЕРАТИВНОМ ПРИНЦИПУ

На основу првог свеног народа на самостојанство, укључујући право на одлучење или на уједињење са другим народима, и у складу са истинском вољом свих народа Југославије, озвученом у току трогодишње заједничке народно-ослободилачке борбе која је сковала нераскидиво братство народа Југославије, Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Југославије доноси следећу

ОДЛУКУ:

1. Народи Југославије никада нису признали и не признају раскомадање Југославије са стране фашистичких империјалиста и доказали су у заједничкој оружаном борби своју чврсту вољу да остану и даље уједињени у Југославији.

2. Да би се остварило пријатно суверености народа Југославије, да би Југославија претстављала истинску домовину свих својих народа и да никада више не би постала доменом било које хегемонистичке клике, Југославија се изграђује и изградња се на федеративном принципу, који ће обезбедити пуно равноправност Срба, Хрвата, Словенаца, Македонаца и Црногораца, односно народа Србије, Хрватске, Словеније, Македоније, Црне Горе, и Босне и Херцеговине.

3. У складу са таквом федеративном изградњом Југославије, која се темељи на најпунијим демократским правима, јесте циљевина да већ сада у време народно-ослободилачког рата, основне органе народне власти код појединих народа Југославије, претстављају народно-ослободилачки одбори и земалска антифашистичка већа народног ослобођења (Племи народно-ослободилачки одбор Србије, Земалско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Хрватске, Словеначки народно-ослободилачки одбор, Земалско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Босне и Херцеговине, Земалско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Црне Горе и Боке, Земалско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Санике, независни органи за Земалско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Македоније) и да је Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Југославије врховно законодавно и извршно претставничко тело народа Југославије и архиван претставник суверенитета народа и државе Југославије као целине.

4. Националним мањинама у Југославији обезбедиће се сва национална права.

5. Ова одлука ступа одмах на снагу.

Бр. 3

Дне 29 новембра 1943
у Јајцу

Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења
Југославије

Секретар, Претседник,
Родољуб Чолаковић, с. р. Д-р Иван Рибар, с. р.

5.

ОДЛУКА О ПРИЗНАЊУ И ЗАХВАЛНОСТИ НАРОДНО-ОСЛОБОДИЛАЧКОЈ ВОЈСЦИ

Друго пленарно заседање Антифашистичког већа народног ослобођења Југославије изражава своје признање и народну захвалност Врховном штабу Народне-ослободилачке војске и партизанских одреда за

ИЗГРАДЊУ И ОРГАНИЗАЦИЈУ

наше народне војске и за

УСПЕШНО РУКОВОЂЕЊЕ ОПЕРАЦИЈАМА

у борби против непријатеља нашег народа. Народна-ослободилачка војска је највеличанственија тековина наше народно-ослободилачке борбе. Друго пленарно заседање Антифашистичког већа народног ослобођења Југославије изражава дубоку захвалност Врховном штабу због његовог обилног и свестраног политичког рада на окупљању свих патриотских снага наше земље, подизању угледа наше земље пред иностранством и раду око изградње истинске, демократске народне власти.

Истовремено Друго пленарно заседање Антифашистичког већа народног ослобођења Југославије изражава најдубљу захвалност и дивљење наших народа Врховном команданту Другу Титу за његов војни и политички рад у борби за ослобођење наших народа.

Друго пленарно заседање Антифашистичког већа народног ослобођења Југославије с пуним правом верује, да ће наше највише војничко руководство на челу са Врховним командантом Другом Титом и у будуће водити нашу славу Народна-ослободилачку војску из победе у победу, све до коначног истеривања окупатора из наше земље и уништења свих његових помагача.

Бр. 4

Дне 29 новембра 1943
у Јајцу

Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења
Југославије

Секретар, Претседник,
Родољуб Чолаковић, с. р. Д-р Иван Рибар, с. р.

6.

ОДЛУКА О УВОЂЕЊУ НАЗИВА МАРШАЛА ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ У НАРОДНО-ОСЛОБОДИЛАЧКОЈ ВОЈСЦИ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ

Да би се истакле особите способности у војном руковођењу и да би се наградила нарочите заслуге у руковођењу Народна-ослободилачком војском Југославије и њених операцијама, Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Југославије на свом Другом заседању од 29 новембра, с ва предлог словеначке делегације

ОДЛУЧУЈЕ:

1. У Народна-ослободилачкој војсци Југославије уводи се назив „МАРШАЛ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ“.
2. Тај назив додељује Претседништво Антифашистичког већа народног ослобођења Југославије.
3. Ова одлука ступа одмах на снагу.

Бр. 5

Дне 29 новембра 1943
у Јајцу

Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења
Југославије

Секретар, Претседник,
Родољуб Чолаковић, с. р. Д-р Иван Рибар, с. р.

APPENDIX F

Speech Delivered by the President
Milan Kucan to the Parliament of
the Republic of Slovenia Asking
Them to Accept the Brioni
Declaration

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE
PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, MR MILAN
KUCAN, IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
SLOVENIA ON 10TH JULY, 1991**

(the translated version has been received from the Secretariat of A.S.K. in
Ljubljana and has been re-edited for this issue)

Today is the 16th day of Slovene independence and the 15th day of war. These few days have fundamentally changed our seemingly small world, they have changed Yugoslavia. They have also brought significant changes to entire Europe, and the Slovene Assembly must be aware of this today, since Europe as well is gaining awareness of it.

Europe, democratic and safe, established a firm vision of its future in Helsinki and Paris. It introduced order which it imposed on itself, and to which it voluntarily consented in the interest of its safety, peace, democracy, economic and general development, and a higher quality of life of its people. It rightly demands that this order be consistently and unanimously respected by all Europeans. We, Slovenes are Europeans and undoubtedly want to remain Europeans also in the future. That is why our path towards full recognition and independence is long, since it is an European path and we ourselves want it to be European. One of the steps on this path which had to be made was the Brioni meeting with the representatives of the countries-carriers of the idea of a United Europe, which resulted in the Declaration which you are to discuss and adopt today. The Declaration is the result of the political awareness of the twelve European representatives who understand that the situation in Yugoslavia and the threats to the Slovene assertion of the right to self-determination endanger the democracy and fundamental values of modern European civilization. The Declaration is based on the agreement with the ministerial troika reached in Zagreb, which has already been discussed in the Assembly. The declaration sets to the Slovene Assembly and Yugoslav Federal bodies the conditions under which Europe is willing to fully engage in a peaceful and democratic solution of the Yugoslav crisis and the decision of sovereign will of every Yugoslav nation on its own future through dialogue.

We now have to accept these conditions and, with the help of European countries and institutions, assert the will of Slovenes, expressed at the plebiscite, to live in an independent, free, democratic and world-oriented state, or else, without this help, alone step on the unsure path towards our goals, which, unfortunately, leads only through war, as it has become absolutely clear.

At the Brioni, where we were invited by the three European Community ministers, we were deciding upon war and peace. Today, dear members of Parliament, you are deciding upon the same thing. Please take into consideration that war is not negotiated with friends but with adversaries, as the President of the Cabinet Council, Mr. Van der Broek said. Our enemy is strong. Your today's decision will significantly influence the future and the existence of the Slovene nation, and therefore you will assume full responsibility for it. I have no doubts that after the long struggle for Slovene independence you are ready for it.

By adopting the Declaration and both Annexes we will not be granted international recognition. However, we will be given an opportunity to stop political and military violence, which is uncontrolled and unfounded, and replace it with agreements and mutual respect for different interests.

The decision on a democratic path, in cooperation with and support of European countries, who therefore share the responsibility for the fate of the Slovene nation, is at the same time a decision on a faster international recognition and integration in European and international institutions.

This is the offer of the countries-members of the European Community and the Conference on European Safety and Cooperation. Under the conditions explicitly and irrevocably stated, they are willing to commit their people, knowledge, institutions and other means, understandably also in their own interest and in the interest of their peace and safety, in order to prevent war and help solve the crisis and complex relations between Yugoslav

nations in a peaceful way. We must not forget that this pointless war, which put a brutal stop to the efforts for Slovene independence, is happening in the very heart of Europe, that the missiles were dropped on people on European borders, very close to European capitals. Europe was shocked. The wave of protest pressed on European politicians who have not forgotten that Yugoslavia as well signed Helsinki Charter, by which it agreed to refrain from acts which might threaten the peace and safety of European countries. By the orders to the YNA to close the borders and use military force to prevent democratic processes, Yugoslav government flagrantly violated its oath, and thus one-sidedly transferred full responsibility for the re-establishment of peace to the European Community.

The European Community revealed an entirely different understanding of this responsibility. It immediately responded to peaceful and democratic appeals. It formulated its offer in cooperation with all the parties involved in the conflict. The European Community suggests we accept it as a whole, and thus offers its full involvement and co-responsibility. In case we refuse this offer, European countries will rightly believe that their mission is completed, and that they cannot and do not want to assume any responsibility for the denouement of events, and the fate and future of the people and nations in this part of the world. They cannot impose their help on us, and neither do they want to do it.

The Declaration and Annexes are one of the first examples of a European way of solving conflicts, defined by the Paris document. It is obvious that, from the point of view of long-lasting Slovene desires, this solution is not ideal, since it requires self-denial in the interest of common peace. However, it means a balance, a very fragile balance of peace, which was difficult to establish and involved great efforts of the Slovene delegation. We owe thanks and gratitude to the people, especially the ministerial troika, who on behalf of the European Community, strove for putting a stop for violence and senselessness. I am certain that our people will appreciate their efforts and that the adoption of the Declaration will be understood as trust in the good intentions of the European Community.

However, the Declaration itself is not the solution to the problem; it does not grant peace and the recognition of Slovene independence, but it is the fundamental guaranty that there will be peace and that we will be able to achieve this recognition in a peaceful and democratic way, without violence and war, just as we promised our people who at the elections put their trust in us. Could war bring us more? Every war is again followed by negotiations, but lives are lost during its course. We, Slovenes are too small nation to afford losing lives, except in extreme emergency when our freedom and survival are at stake. Our mothers give birth to sons to live in peace, not die in war.

The problem of Slovenia related to its process of gaining independence and winning international recognition has now become international. With imminent assurances that Slovenia will receive international recognition immediately, without further agreements with other republics, if military force is used against it again, Slovenia gained strong guaranties in its interests and in the interest of peace in Europe. International supervision and evaluation alone can stop the vengeful march of the Yugoslav Army, or rather of those who used it against Slovenia.

The Declaration and all the efforts needed for its realization affirmed Slovenia as an international European negotiator who is able to negotiate, is flexible and reasonable, considers the interests of others and does not issue ultimata. Ultimata are a sign of bad, non-creative and non-democratic policy. Ultimata start wars, not end them, Slovenia thus gained the first dimension of its international recognition. By adopting the declaration, we will be much closer to our independence and assertion to our right to self-determination, which is in principle not debatable in Europe or in Yugoslavia. We will achieve our goals in the way we wanted, not to the detriment of interests and rights of others, the free flow of goods, people, capital, information, and other European values, and without compromising the peace and safety of European countries. This we publicly stated a long time ago. Our decisions are legitimate and legal, and nobody can object to them.

The three months we gain are probably of decisive importance considering the events in Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia. It would be short-sighted and irresponsible to our own fate to allow Slovenia to be the last excuse for an attempt to unify the reactionary forces based on the exploded concept of Yugoslavia and the exploded ideological foundations. The process of democratization with all Yugoslav nations cannot be stopped. These processes and the values of European democracy might lead to a different attitude of these nations towards the

assertion of their right to self-determination and to different foundations of their future relations. This must be the aim and the contents of the negotiations with other republics and Federal bodies, including the question of gradual withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia.

There has never been any excuse for the war and aggression against Slovene sovereignty and freedom. When war was imposed on us, we, Slovenes for the second time in recent history proved that we are willing and know how to defend our freedom. We are not in favour of war, we are in favour of peace. However it needs to be stressed that without winning the first decisive battle in this imposed war, the present Declaration would not exist and peace would be further away than it is now. That is why we ought to express the due gratitude and thanks to all the members of The Territorial Defence and the Administration for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia. They fought bravely and fearlessly, in front of the eyes of the entire world. They did what their homeland demanded of them, and more. Now it is possible to try peace on what they snatched from the war, and to preserve the ability of Slovenia to defend its independence in these strenuous circumstances.

The accusations of the leading generals of the Yugoslav Army, who call those who did not want to participate in the war against the Slovene nation and fire at their own people traitors, are incomprehensible. We are obliged to protect these people, Slovene patriots, with the authority of the Slovene state. We are also obliged to raise the question as to who is responsible for having dug the deep precipice between the conscience and the willingness of the YA members, trained to fight external enemies, to be abused in a military intervention against their own people and the entire nation. With such conduct the national, Yugoslav and defensive character of the Yugoslav Army was abused, and so were many of its fine, skilled and honest officers. Such an army can no longer be considered ours, or Yugoslav. The demands for the release of all Slovene soldiers from the Army are therefore justified, especially since it is now renewing its formations with the people of mainly one nationality, who cannot see any sense in fighting beyond the borders of their homeland.

And finally, there was war in Slovenia, the fire merely stopped now. Military operations were carried out on the Slovene territory, people were dying here. Not only Slovene people, and not people who came here to fight of their own free will. Those who were dying were almost children, entrusted to the Army by their parents. They were most abused. We feel deep regret for them. This fact needs to be taken in consideration in future negotiations. The war has fundamentally changed many things. It caused a new situation and deep human wounds which cannot be ignored in the future.

Let us not waste our energy on discussions whether it would be possible to reach a better agreement with the twelve European representatives. Let us rather join our forces and abilities in order to exploit the possibilities and time in the negotiations in a better way than our opponents, and to prevent a new war after the negotiations are over. Let us not be impatient, regardless of the arrogance and cynicism of the offensive propaganda against the independent Slovenia. We must continue our efforts to gain international recognition of Slovenia, and this fight must also be transferred to the economic field. Part of the co-responsibility of Europe is also to open the European markets to our goods, and to ban artificial economic, trade, customs and other barriers. Europe must be aware of the fact that our aim is an economically successful and socially just independent Slovenia. Let us show this to Europe.

The Declaration grants us three months of still fragile peace. It is up to us to rationally exploit these three months, so that after this period we can say that we gained our independence on the basis of agreement with other nations and republics. In this process we never demanded more for ourselves than we were willing to grant the others. That is why we assumed the obligations and responsibility for them. In the interest of peace and a more secure path towards Slovene independence and recognition, I suggest, dear Members of Parliament, that you adopt the Declaration and the Annexes. I know you will do it burdened with a deep moral dilemma; all Slovene negotiators at the Brioni were faced with these dilemma. However, we overcame it under the weight of common European reality, in the belief that peace is more important than the unsure short-cut to freedom. Let the 15th day of war be the first day of peace.

APPENDIX G

Acceptance of the Brioni Declaration by Slovenian Parliament in Slovenian Language

(See Chapter 9 for translation)



URADNI LIST

REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

Številka 5

Ljubljana, petek 12. julija 1991

Cena 30 dinarjev

Leto 1

163.

Skupščina Republike Slovenije je na skupni seji vseh zborov dne 10. julija 1991 obravnavala Skupno deklaracijo, izhajajočo iz dogovorov med ministrsko trojko Evropske skupnosti in predstavniki vseh strani, ki so neposredno vključene v jugoslovansko krizo, na Brionih 7. julija 1991 in sprejela naslednji

SKLEP

1. Skupščina Republike Slovenije v celoti sprejema Skupno deklaracijo, vključno s prilogama I in II.
2. Skupščina Republike Slovenije bo o tem svojem sklepu obvestila ministrsko trojko Evropske skupnosti.
3. V zvezi s svojim pristankom na določbe Skupne deklaracije sprejema Skupščina Republike Slovenije naslednjo

IZJAVA

- Pravica do samoodločbe Republike Slovenije ni bila nikoli sporna za nobeno jugoslovansko republiko ali organ SFRJ in je izrecno poudarjena tudi v Ustavi SFRJ. Predmet spora je samo način uveljavitve te pravice. Potrditev tega stališča vidi Skupščina Republike Slovenije tudi v ugotovitvi Skupne deklaracije, da »le narodi Jugoslavije in zgolj oni sami lahko odločajo o svoji prihodnosti«.

- Odločitev prebivalcev Republike Slovenije, sprejeta na plebiscitu dne 23. decembra 1990, je z velikansko večino 83,5% vseh prebivalcev nesporno pokazala, da prebivalci Slovenije želijo živeti v samostojni in neodvisni državi.

- Skupščina Republike Slovenije je s posebno resolucijo ponudila vsem republikam v Jugoslaviji začetek pogajanj o sporazumni razdružitvi in o načinu urejanja prihodnjih medsebojnih odnosov v kakršnikoli institucionalizirani obliki od možne konfederacije do gospodarske skupnosti. Ker na to svojo ponudbo ni dobila odgovora, je morala v skladu z določili Zakona o plebiscitu in z izidom plebiscita dne 25. junija 1991 razglasiti svojo neodvisnost ter sprejeti ukrepe za uveljavitev neodvisnosti.

- Zvezne oblasti se tudi po tem dejanju niso bile pripravljene pogajati o osamosvojitvi Slovenije, čeprav je Republika Slovenija 25. junija ponovila svoj predlog za pogajanja, temveč so proti Sloveniji nastopile z oboroženo silo. Glavni cilji operacij JLA so bili: spreminiti obstoječi režim na mejnih prehodih, ki je bil skladen tako z zakoni SFRJ kot z zakoni Republike Slovenije; uvesti zaporo meja Slovenije z drugimi državami ter odrazati Slovenijo od komunikacij s svetom, da bi ji potem JLA lahko vsilila svoje pogoje s povsem jasnim političnim namenom preprečiti osamosvojitve Republike Slovenije. JLA je doživela

neuspeh in pristala na prekinitev ognja, ni pa bila in še vedno ni pripravljena imenovati svojih predstavnikov v komisijo za nadzor nad spoštovanjem prekinitve ognja, pač pa še grozi z novim množičnim napadom z uporabo vseh sredstev, ki jih ima na razpolago in na vse cilje; tudi civilne.

- Ker želi preprečiti nadaljnje prelivanje krvi in še vedno vztraja pri ponujenem stališču, naj se vprašanja osamosvojitve Slovenije uredijo s pogajanjem in na demokratičen način, je Republika Slovenija sprejela usluge ministrske trojke Evropske skupnosti in za devetdeset dni ustavila nadaljnjo implementacijo svojih ustavnih aktov o osamosvojitvi.

- Skupščina Republike Slovenije izraža vse dolžno priznanje Evropski skupnosti za vložene napore za miro-ljubno razrešitev jugoslovanske krize in posebej pričakuje, da bo Evropska skupnost s svoje strani storila vse, kar je v njeni moči, da se prepreči nasilje JLA nad Slovenijo.

- Prekinitev ognja in ustavev vseh sovražnih dejavnosti oboroženih sil proti Republiki Sloveniji razume Skupščina Republike Slovenije kot obveznost za vse strani in bo zato sleherno dopolnjevanje vojaških garnizij z dovajanjem novih enot iz drugih delov Jugoslavije na ozemlju Slovenije smatrala za flagrantno kršitev prekinitve ognja in obveznosti, ki izhajajo iz brionske Skupne deklaracije.

- Skupščina Republike Slovenije pričakuje, da bo Evropska skupnost posebej pozorna zlasti do naslednjih odprtih vprašanj:

- pospešena mobilizacija rezervnega sestava JLA, zlasti v Republiki Srbiji;

- zagotavljanje varnosti starešinam in vojakom JLA, ki so v času vojne zapustili enote JLA;

- vrnitev vojakov JLA, ki so državljani Republike Slovenije, brez kakršnihkoli sankcij na njihove domove in

- povračilo škode, ki je bila Republiki Sloveniji in njenim državljanom povzročena v času intervencije JLA.

- Skupščina Republike Slovenije sprejema brionsko Skupno deklaracijo brez rezerv in pogojev ter s tem izraža svoje polno zaupanje v dobronamernost Evropske skupnosti.

Št. 000-01/90-5/43

Ljubljana, dne 10. julija 1991.

Skupščina
Republike Slovenije

Predsednik
dr. France Bučar l. r.

APPENDIX H

Official Report Concerning the Control of the Slovenian Border Posts in Slovenian Language

(See Chapter 10 for translation)

Republika Slovenija
MINISTRSTVO ZA NOTRANJE ZADEVE
Ljubljana, Kidričeva 2

Številka: 0213-
Datum: 08.06.1991

Gospod
dr. DULAR Janaz
član Izvršnega sveta
Skupščine Republike Slovenije

OSNOVNI PODATKI IN ZNADILNOSTI DRŽAVNE MEJE V REPUBLIKI SLOVENIJI

Na območju Republike Slovenije poteka 1.218 km državne meje po kopnem, na morju in po rekah z Republiko Italijo, Avstrijo, Madžarsko in Hrvaško. Na območju državne meje z sosednjimi državami je skupaj 115 mejnih prehodov, od tega 38 mednarodnih, 64 mejnih prehodov za obmejni promet in 13 mejnih prehodov oz. prehodnih mest po posebnih sporazumih.

Republika Slovenija meji na zahodu z Republiko Italijo, s katero ima 226 km meje na kopnem in 16 NM (29 km) na morju. Na tej meji imamo 17 mejnih prehodov za mednarodni promet (cestni, pomorski, železniški, italijski), 23 mejnih prehodov za obmejni promet, 17 kmetijskih prehodov in 2 planinski prehodni mesti po posebnem sporazumu.


Na severu meji Republika Slovenija z Republiko Avstrijo v dolžini 318 km. Na tej meji imamo 19 mejnih prehodov za mednarodni promet, 20 mejnih prehodov za obmejni promet in 11 planinskih prehodnih mest po posebnih sporazumih.

Na severovzhodu poteka v dolžini 102 km državna meja z Republiko Madžarsko. Na tej meji imamo 2 mednarodna mejna prehoda.

Državna meja med Republiko Slovenijo in Republiko Hrvaško je dolga 546 km; od tega poteka 240 km meje po rekah (Dragonja, Kolpa, Sotla in druge) in 306 km po kopnem. Na meji z Republiko Hrvaško je bilo dne 25/6-1991 vzpostavljeno 8 mejnih kontrolnih točk in sicer: Sečovlje, Dragonja, Jelšane, Matlika, Obrežje, Dobovec, Gruškovje in

Središče ob Dravi.

Na vseh mejnih prehodih in mejnih kontrolnih točkah v Republiki Sloveniji suvereno in efikasno izvajajo kontrolo prahajanja čez državno mejo Organi za notranje zadeve Republike Slovenije.


Branka Selar
NAČELNIK ODDELKA
višji inšpektor

APPENDIX I

Official Document about the Trade
between Australia and Slovenia in
Slovenian Language

(See Chapter 1 for translation)

GOSPODARSKA ZBORNICA SLOVENIJE
Služba za ekonomske odnose s tujino
L J U B L J A N A

v 000 \$

Podatki—Zveznega
zavoda za statistiko

BLAGOVNA MENJAVA Z AVSTRALIJO

LETO	SFRJ	RS	DELEŽ	RS/SFRJ
<u>IZVOZ</u>				
1975	5.316	3.320		62,5
1976	6.467	3.501		54,1
1977	6.695	3.177		47,5
1978	8.771	6.244		67,4
1979	11.309	7.242		64,0
1980	11.398	6.305		55,3
1981	19.141	9.666		50,5
1982	19.492	13.414		68,8
1983	14.978	9.357		62,5
1984	20.280	13.095		64,6
1985	24.794	14.878		60,0
1986	23.220	6.988		30,1
1987	34.696	9.123		26,3
1988	39.886	13.311		33,4
1989	40.900	15.027		36,7
1990	64.720	18.439		28,5
I-III 91	8.589	4.986		58,1
I-V 91		8.079 *		
<u>UVOZ</u>				
1975	32.681	8.110		15,4
1976	42.591	7.325		17,2
1977	103.659	12.935		12,5
1978	95.362	8.015		8,4
1979	91.656	7.110		7,7
1980	88.249	9.351		10,6
1981	89.586	10.453		11,7
1982	86.768	11.658		13,4
1983	48.013	9.507		19,8
1984	89.899	12.071		14,3
1985	95.639	12.301		12,9
1986	94.534	13.004		14,3
1987	88.573	17.354		19,6
1988	99.256	19.239		19,4
1989	136.912	30.168		22,0
1990	97.700	24.648		25,2
I-III 91	9.418	3.186		33,8
I-V 91		1.038 *		

* podatki NBS
Ljubljana, julij 1991

APPENDIX J

Atomic Spas in Podcetrtek Have
Miraculous Power

In order therefore to rationalize their business abroad, companies very often set up joint representative offices. This has proven to be a good idea. These joint representative offices or companies were successful if each represented company had its own personnel in the office.

Speaking of the foreign trade network, of representation on the foreign market, Škoberne warns that we cannot overlook the issue of "disloyal" competition. It does occur that our companies abroad compete with each other by lowering prices. In economic circles when this issue is discussed, the Japanese are often cited as an examples: they are well aware that you can bring the prices of your neighbour down in the short run, but in the long run it means bringing down all the prices of "our" products in foreign markets.

Marjan Lekše

SECOND BIRTH FOR A SWEDE AT ATOMSKA TOPLICE

A MIRACLE THAT IS NO MIRACLE

For over 20 years, wonderful news of its curative powers has been coming from the Atomske Toplice spa in Podčetrtek. Podčetrtek residents have even published a booklet describing dozens of patients who had almost been written off, so to speak, but regained their health at Atomske Toplice. Not long ago, the news come from Podčetrtek that Ove Tönqvist, a Swede who could not find help at home, recovered at the spa with the help of its healing water and the alternative medicine practiced by Dr. Lojze Medved. With the opening of a large bathing complex, the Podčetrtek spa has become one of the most modern in Slovenia.

I have been following the development of Atomske Toplice for over 20 years. I can still remember how people in want of health used to crowd into the turbid pool under the cliffs at Harine Zlake on the other side of the Sotla River. There were quite a few seriously sick among them - some even with open wounds. In spite of the fact that for quite a while there was neither appropriate health inspection nor an organized infrastructure that would meet at least the most elementary needs, no infections or skin and other diseases spread. The enthusiastic residents of Podčetrtek used to say that their healing water was so powerful that it prevented any infection. It seems they were right.

One of those to be "blamed" that Podčetrtek became one of the most besieged places in the country almost overnight was Friderik Strnad, the vicar of Podčetrtek, who died last spring two months before he would have celebrated his 100th birthday. With the help of research institutes, he was the first to ascertain that the thermal water indeed had curative effects. In the summer months so many people from far and wide came here in search of health that they could not be accommodated. It was not rare that guests even slept in barns.

The Podčetrtek spa surely could not have boasted its almost 100% occupancy rate all year round had not the patients and other guests been satisfied with the medical care and the effects of treatment. Besides taking advantage of the effects of the thermal and healing water, the activities of the spa in recent years have spread to include other forms of alternative medicine. With the introduction of these alternative modes of

treatment, a true "acquisition" for the spa was Dr. Lojze Medved with his 32 years of medical experience; Dr. Medved has worked as a specialist in physical medicine and rehabilitation and as a specialist balneologist for 21 years. He is also one of the first in Slovenia to practice acupuncture, a field he studied not only in Western Europe but also in China.

Even before his arrival at Podčetrtek, his patients included numerous foreign statesmen and our own politicians (at the thermal baths in Portorož), mostly in those times when traditional medical practice did not recognize alternative modes of treatment and even attacked them.

His most renowned initial success from that period was undoubtedly the case of the young Mojca Erjavec from Ljubljana who, having been condemned to a wheelchair in the opinion of traditional medical practitioners, recovered completely after undergoing the alternative treatment.

Dr. Medved has achieved many similar results to a lesser or greater extent. One of the most recent is the case of Ove Tönqvist, a patient from Sweden. A few weeks ago ten patients from Sweden arrived at Atomske Toplice, and Tönqvist's case was one of the most troublesome. Dr. Medved describes what happened: "Here at the spa in Podčetrtek, I have been combining all my experience with all possible forms of treatment. Excellent results have been achieved in the field of medical treatment by the combination of the curative water and alternative medicine. Ove Tönqvist had been on a sick leave for four years, as he was immobile from neck to hips. He could not move his spine or shoulders. His shoulder joints were blocked so that he could not even bring a spoon to his mouth. He also suffered from severe psoriasis. The other patients from Sweden had similarly severe medical problems.

"Let me concentrate on Ove, the most problematic patient among them. Besides having immobile shoulders and spine, his skin from neck to knees had been completely changed due to psoriasis. This was an old ailment in his case and had been treated in vain in Sweden for over 20 years. After a three-day therapy in our spa, this patient's skin was cleared of flaking through the application of thermal water and a healing natural product called naphthalene (camphor) provided by Dr. Josip Kajfež from the nearby manor house in Miltjana. By the fourth day, we managed to achieve a minimal movement of the spine and shoulder joints by applying acupuncture against the pain, hand massage of the spine, the *Relaxon* (a special apparatus to mitigate the pain, and psychic tension), and bioenergy. On the fifth day of the same therapy, the complete relaxation of the entire spine and shoulders was reached. At this point, the patient could bend to touch the floor and could touch the back of his head with his hands. Before the treatment he could walk a distance of 400 meters only with difficulty, whereas at the conclusion of treatment, which lasted for three weeks, he could walk a distance of ten kilometers without getting tired. The patient returned home in good health and will be able to return to work. For several years, though, therapy will have to be repeated before it can be said that the patient has completely recovered."

The ailments of the other Swedish patients at the Podčetrtek spa were similar, and all of them returned home recovered. The Swedish agency that sent them here has recorded their progress on a video cassette which will be shown in their homeland. The medical success to date have surprised Dr. Medved himself; Podčetrtek will soon have more new patients from Sweden and other West European countries.

Ivo Ivačič

APPENDIX K

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