

WOLFGANG L. GOMBOCZ

**OUTLAWED:  
THE REPUBLIC OF  
AUSTRIA'S PERMANENT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN STYRIA**

Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872): Der Weg der modernen  
Bildung geht von der Humanitaet  
durch die Nationalitaet zur Bestialitaet.

### 1. Introduction

The title of my paper includes several terms of high relevance: First of all "human rights" and their "violations"; in Austria human rights<sup>1</sup> are permanently violated, regarding Styria esp. the rights of the Gypsies (=Roma and Sinti) and Slovenes which are both autochthonous people there, in the actual Austrian province of Styria=avstrijska Štajerska=Steiermark. We will talk about this topic the next minutes; I will select some typical cases from a much larger collection

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1. In addition to the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1946, the theoretical basis of my analyses are the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations (cfr. Bibliography) and the two UN Conventions on Human Rights of 1966.- Violations of human rights of the kind defined in these UN documents are daily diet in Austria. Everybody (including Veiter 1990 & Ermacora, passim) knows that.-- On December 14th, 1987, I attended a public lecture by Prof. Helmut Konrad for the "Interfakultaere Friedenskommission" at the University of Graz, where he analyzed ethnic stereotypes regarding (also Austrian) minorities; as future therapy for Austria's "politics" he favoured "Ueberprivilegierung" (overprivileging); he thinks, that Austria should intentionally invent "Ueberprivilegierung der Minderheiten, um die Sogwirkung der Mehrheit aufzufangen."- One part of his presentation has been a threefold analysis of political anti-minority usurpation of power as (1) genocide, (2) expulsion of people and (3) their marginalisation, with his quiet understatement that (2) & (3) were not genocide proper; this is obviously false, at least it is in contradiction and conflict with the UN concept of genocide.- In 1987, over Christmas, I used this very good outline by Helmut Konrad as a starting point for further, personal research and study; it took me 2 to 3 years to realize, what is going on in Austria now and within a continuous tradition since 1945 or so. Within the last two years, I, in addition to the UN documents and the learned commentaries thereof, have studied, for example, Jaeckel 1992, Lang 1990, and I have read Dedijer 1992; suddenly, and immediately after the Lang analysis, I realized that a very massive genocide is going on in Austria today, and to some extent still under the symbol of the "Doppelrune"!- Cfr. Ermacora 1982, 37-128, in general; for Austria as such cfr. Ermacora 1977, Ermacora 1986, Gotz 1980, Hoedl 1988, Knierim 1991, Malle 1987, Moser 1989, Narr 1980, Veiter 1990, Waldschitz 1980, Wessner 1959.-- Here I add some historical notes: I am aware of the Virginia Declaration of Human Rights of June 12th, 1776 as the very first relevant document; I have inspected the French Declaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen of August 26th, 1789; Art. 2 states the rights of "la libert, la propriet...la resistance a l'oppression" without including equality at this early point. The French Constitution of 1793 will, of course, add it. Here I could mention the very first German authors but refer the reader to the bibliography.-- Regarding the 1946 Genocide Convention I quote Ermacora 1982, 31: Fuer Oesterreich wurde die Konvention durch das Bundesverfassungsgesetz OeBGBI. Nr. 59/1964 in Verfassungsrang gehoben.

of well documented violations of human and other rights as they are defined in the following articles of the 1948 Declaration: especially and first of all, violations of Articles 12 and 20, furthermore and still well documented violations of Articles 8, 19 and 26. During the development of the documents and my ideas in relation to them, I shall also start using the term "genocide", which is not included within the title, and that on purpose. Why? I am, firstly, very cautious and, secondly, I am not blind for what is actually and massively the case south of the river Sava these days. Almost everywhere in Bosnia there occur, at this very moment, genocidal killings and other ethnocidal activities; from there we receive daily instructions regarding genocide as such, for the understanding of which we do not need any further interpretation or theory. But as soon as one considers the post-war development of the theory of genocide and ethnocide etc. within the UN, genocide<sup>1</sup> is also an appropriate term, at least, for some individ

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1. Cfr. Jaeckel 1992, 25; I quote Dedijer 1992, 42: "Lemkin coined the concept of "genocide" shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War: a people or an ideological group are exterminated solely because they belong to a certain nation or religion that is different from that of the murderers. This definition was taken as a basis at the convention of the United Nations in 1948."-Somewhat more exact is Lang 1990, 4-5: "The history of the concept of genocide provides a number of important clues for the analysis of genocide, and two principal sources are relevant to that history: the first, the writings of Raphael Lemkin; the second, the legislation of the United Nations Convention on Genocide. The word "genocide" itself appears in print in 1944 in Lemkin's book /5/ Axis Rule in Occupied Europe. (n.2: (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944)...)" In that work, which he began to write in 1940, a Polish Jew whose family would perish almost in its entirety in the few years after that, reviews what was then known of the actions by the Nazis against noncombatants in countries they had conquered or occupied."- Already in 1933, as if he had known what the history would produce under the signs of the swastika and "Doppelrune" in the years to come, Lemkin, at the 5th International Conference for the Unification of Penal Law at Madrid in Spain, had introduced a resolution proposing a definition of an "new" international crime: "barbarity" - "oppressive and destructive actions against individuals as members of a national, religious, or racial group". The Madrid Conference did not adopt this resolution as also not another resolution introduced by Lemkin regarding "vandalism".- Here I have to add a note: Over the last years I have collected several instances of Austrian "high level" unwillingness to accept the UN concept of genocide, i.e. only genocide as homicide is treated that way; last example from November 23rd, 1992: Professor Max Haller from the University of Graz insists publicly, and without any change of his use of language or of his mind or of his definition even after several interventions during the discussion, that nothing else than homicide could be genocide, and, therefore, there is no genocide under way in Austria.- Cfr. Konrad 1992 in addition to note 1 on Konrad's excellent lecture, whom one should not compare with Haller or the like. I should mention, though, that in Max Haller's regular lecture series "Erste spezielle Soziologie" within the Diplomstudium of the Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Fakultät (cfr. Karl-Franzens-Universität, Verzeichnis der Lehrveranstaltungen, Wintersemester 1992/93 = Bulletin 4a/1992, p.11/54) there has been the following double lecture or duet on November 12th, 1992: Albert Reiterer (Vienna/Innsbruck) and Wolfgang Holzinger (Klagenfurt) gave two separate talks on: Das Wiedererwachen von Ethnizität und Nationalismus. Erfahrungen und Konsequenzen in Oesterreich und Europa. Zwischen Wohlstand und ethnisch-kultureller Identität. Kroaten und Slowenen in Oesterreich.- If I tell you that both speakers did not mention the Styrian Slovenes at all, or, say, the text of the State Treaty in a way, that one could see the inclusion

ual cases of the listed violations of human rights in Austria I am presenting here. Genocide in its extreme form is homicide in the very first place; this understanding of "genocide" is the first one given in the UN convention of 1948; genocide with individual killings was done in Styria during the Nazi<sup>1</sup> period 1938-1945. There is of course no homicidal strategy involved in Austria, for the moment, as it was in Nazi-Germany or in Ustashe-Croatia<sup>2</sup> or as it is done today in Bosnia. Genocide proper is just one of the five species of genocide. I shall, since I of course must, refer to the other four UN species of genocide, too; these other types are defined without the means of a direct killing of individual members of certain groups, but they coincide to a certain extent with articles of the Human Rights Declaration; some of the species of genocide without manslaughter, though, were and still are, regularly, involved in Austria's violations of human rights. One result of so-called "politics with breadth"<sup>3</sup> in Styria I am going to describe is the total assimilation of Slovenes and the radical marginalisation and outlawing of Gypsies and Slovenes, and similar violations of human rights, which definitely deserve the label "genocide" or, say, "Slovenocide", since they destroy the Slovene or Romanes ("Tziganocide") speaking peoples - willfully. They kill their language.

### 1.1. Theodor Veiter

Let me begin with a quotation from the internationally recognized, Austrian

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of the "local" ethnos or genos, then you should keep in mind, that Graz University is also the university of the Styrian Slovenes. Compare 6 of this article on Bruenner and VP-comrades; esp. Holzinger presentation regarding the Slovenes of Carinthia has been a very fine example of analysis prospect of that genos, which, according to official censuses is 8 to 10 times larger than the Styrian group of Slovenes.

1. Several hundreds of Styrian Gypsies (Roma and Sinti) and several Styrian Slovenes, as for example Mr. Koebler, vulgo Kuri, from the Leutschach/Lucane region at Dachau's KZ, have been murdered for no other reason than being Slovene or Gypsy. For the Gypsies cfr. Stefan Karner's book on the Nazi period 1938-45 in Styria; for Koebler cfr. Gombocz 1991, esp. p.12, and the documentary film by Franz Leopold Schmelzer "Die vergessene Minderheit", where Max Koebler junior, the son of the KZ victim, is interviewed. For Schmelzer cfr. Behr 1992.- For the rest of Austria cfr. Mulley 1991 und Streibel 1991 as typical examples.

2. Cf. the collection and commentary by Dedijer 1992.- Further literature may be collected from Dedijer, Jaeckel, Lang and Arno Mayer.

3. "Steirische Breite" is the general term used by Josef Krainer and his fellow members like Franz Wegart and Helmut Heidinger instead of the highly appropriate technical term "Slovenocide".- In the Verzeichnis der Lehrveranstaltungen of the Karl-Franzens-Universitaet Graz, Wintersemester 1992/93 = Bulletin 4a/1992, p.1/11, "Landeshauptmann" Dr. Krainer calls it "ein Fundament unserer regionalen Identitaet", which can also be gathered from his portrait on the same page.

law specialist, Theodor Veiter<sup>1</sup>, which is very much in accordance with the truth: "The Austrian Republic (...) with the Austrian Germans as the leading people..., but including the actual province of Burgenland, formerly belonging to Hungary (with...Magyar and Croat minorities<sup>2</sup>), considered itself as a mono-ethnic German state with tendency to be attached to Germany (Republic of Weimar), was never friendly to its ethnic minorities and did not fulfil the minority-protecting provisions of the treaty of St. Germain. (...) The ethnic and linguistic minorities did not enjoy a real minority protection, neither the Carinthian Slovenes nor the Slovenes in Styria."- Professor Veiter continues on page 75 under the special heading "The Slovenes of Styria": "Although the Slovenes of Styria are protected and recognized in Art. 7 of the State Treaty of 1955, the Austrian legislation with its ordinances does not recognize them, with the pretention, that there don't exist Slovenes in Styria (the actual Austrian province). This false pretention comes from the Austrian author Helfried Pfeifer who was a member of the Parliament in 1955 and there spoke against the existence of Slovenes in Styria. (...) in the South of Styria, Slovenes have been living for centuries on their ancestral soil in Radkersburg/Radgona, in the Soboth region and near Leibnitz. On 30, December 1988 they founded an association called "Drustvo clen 7. Organizacija stajerskih Slovencev".- And Veiter continues in a very objective manner<sup>3</sup> for several pages, for example p. 76: "Surely, violence against the Slovene minority is not more usual, as it was the case during the national-socialist domination, the methods of discrimination are finer and more cultivated. But to be a Slovene...leads to a delicate or difficult situation in many cases. This has been recently described by (A)ustrian, (G)erman-speaking authors in a very convincing way."- I cannot read all the good news and ideas in Professor Veiter's article to you, so I conclude with a few fragments from his perspective for the future on pages 78-79: "As in many other minority regions the results of the census are falsified and not valid... (o)ne can see that everywhere in Europe, where an ethnical census does exist... (...) Although in Art.7 of the State Treaty of 1955 is foreseen that in ethnic minority districts the place names should be instituted next to the official German names, this especially within the framework of the roads traffic signalization, this directive is not realized in the provinces of Burgenland, Styria and Vienna. (...) In Southern Styria such an order could be realized without difficulties in the former communes around Radkers-

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1. Veiter 1990, 74 (my italics).

2. Veiter does not list the Burgenland Jews, the Burgenland Gypsies (Roma and Sinti), and, of course, not the very small Austrian "biotope" of Porabje Slovenes in and near Tauka/Toka north of Kuzma but on the Austrian side of the border, which belong, at least linguistically, to the St. Gotthard/Monoster group.

3. Veiter documents every single claim in his very rich footnotes.- We from the "Article-VII-Association" have provided copies of this very fine article of Veiter's for Slovene as well as Austrian political authorities, i.e. for Peterle and Rupel (on July 30, 1990 here in Maribor), for Dular, Tarrig and others afterwards. In Austria, for example, for Busek on May 31, 1991.- Cfr. A7A, s.v. Peterle, 1990-07-30; A7A, s.v. Busek, 1991-05-31.

burg/Radgona as Dedenitz/(Dedonci). But the provincial government of Styria failed such a realization. (...) /79/ The Austrian Ethnic Groups' Right is in a certain sense well developed..., a considerable deficiency of Ethnic Groups' Rights must nevertheless be noted..."

### 1. 2. *Berel Lang*

Before I go into my analyses and documentations let me give one further quote, this time from the American-Jewish "holocaust" specialist and Philosophy Professor at SUNY/Albany, B. Lang<sup>1</sup>, in order to connect the subjects of genocide I am interested here most, i.e. people and their language, from the very beginning: "Furthermore, the objects of genocide - people and language - which are denied the right to exist are closely related to each other in their group or social character. For language as for people, it is not only individual parts or functions that are violated, but language as such, a corporate identity much like the corporate object, the genos, of genocide itself."

### 2. "Modern" concept(s) of genocide

In formulating the concept of genocide, its inventor Raphael Lemkin<sup>2</sup>, refers to "national" but also to "ethnic" and "religious" groups as examples of the genos against which the act of genocide might be directed, i.e. for Lemkin and the early theory of genocide the use of the term is narrow and, in addition, pretty vague. Another related issue concerns the nature of elimination and destruction, more directly the "killing", which is indicated in the term's part "-cide". For Lemkin the following eight parts of group existence are liable to destruction: Political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious, moral. The two questions thus raised - (1) what groups can be victims of genocide, and (2) which attributes of such "sections" of people are the objects of genocidal acts - are central to any consideration of genocide in the context of violations of human rights in Austrian Styria. These questions pose some theoretical difficulties for applying the concept: Could, for example, the limited genos of a little village, say Mlaka/Laaken, or the even more limited genos of one family, say the family of Mr. Matej Pintaric from Dedonci, who has been murdered in 1919, or that of Mr. Koerbler, who has been killed in the KZ Dachau in 1945, be the occasion<sup>3</sup> of genocide? The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and

1. Lang 1990, 101 (my italics).

2. Cfr. notes 2 and 9; Lang 1990 excellently reconstructs Lemkin's thoughts.- As long as we (including Haller and Konrad) do not accept Lemkin's concept of genocide we will stay far behind the UN position of 1948 not to talk about latter day standards you can find in Lang 1990 and Jckel 1992.

3. In an interview with Branko Žunec I once said, that "a minority begins with the number one"; today I would, cynically, add, that minorities penultimately end with the number one.- The other side of the coin is again the number one: It is one woman, in each case, which is raped in the "yugoslav" KZs today; one woman and so one family suffers.

Punishment of the Crime of Genocide<sup>1</sup>, passed in the General Assembly on December 11th, 1946, constitutes the legal statement that has been formulated about genocide. After a dramatic opening which asserts that genocide, "whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law", the Convention of 1946 defines the classes of potential victims: "national, ethnical, racial, or religious group(s)". Genocide, then, is committed "with intend to destroy, in whole or in part" any such group or section of people. The very first type of destruction stated is, then, the (1) outright killing of individuals of the group; but there are in addition four other sufficient conditions for qualifying acts as genocide: (2) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (3) deliberately inflicting...conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (4) actions in order to prevent births within the group; (5) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. From these list we already may infer, that (2) to (5) underscore the basic emphasis of the Convention on the physical destruction of a group as characteristic of genocide; there are other forms of elimination recognized also. In the case of pro tempore "yugoslav" rape #2, #3 and #4 come to mind, before one, suddenly, realizes, that rape under such conditions is is genocide proper with the consequence of physical destruction of subgroups (families) in a more subtle way. From the learned literature we hear that the motion initiating the UN Convention was passed in the General Assembly over objections to its failure to include political genocide, a category that had been included in an earlier version of the resolution<sup>2</sup>. - At this point we may return to the actual discussion of human rights and their violations in Austria; this time starting with the cases themselves and providing enough historical background on the connection between "Austria today" and the pre-1945 politics here and there in Germany; some further theorizing will be added whenever needed.

### 3. European Human Rights Convention<sup>3</sup>, Article 8

"Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence. There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right." - I personally have been and regularly I am victim of violations of this right of privacy. On July 15th, 1992, I was allowed to read (part of) my file(s) the Austrian Political Police (in German "Staatspolizei" = Stapo) has been collecting and writing over the years. My inspection took place in the rooms of the Innenministerium (Dept. of the Interior) on Vienna's Minoritenplatz and was the final reaction of the authorities to my intervention of March 19th,

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1. For the English text with commentary see Robinson 1960; for the German text, cfr. Ermacora 1982, 31-37, which is identical with the text in BGBl. Nr.91/1958.

2. Cfr. Lang 1990, 7.

3. Cfr. Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations; Sonnewald 1955, 38; Ermacora 1982, 23.- Regarding the UN Genocide Convention we are dealing here with genocide of species #2 and #3, if not with genocide proper.

1990<sup>1</sup>. I was allowed to read, however, only part of my Stapo file; I could inspect one part completely, and after asking whether I may take down notes, Frau Frasl had made copies of that part for my personal use, deleting, though, the official Stapo file number, all names of people having provided information for the police officers (all "denouncers") and other informations she considered worthy of deletion. Another part I was allowed to read; but I was not allowed to take notes from or to make copies of; this part was significantly more interesting and it contained many names of people, prominent and non-prominent ones, colleagues at the University, politicians, a.s.o., which had notified the police regarding my person; still there was a third part, thicker than the other two parts together, she held in hand, telling me, that I am not entitled to read that file. This part contains, I have been told, informations regarding my "pro-Serbian activities within a Graz pro-Serbian emergency squad"<sup>2</sup>, into which I have been supposed to belong since the beginning of the year 1990. During the session with Frau Frasl and during the reading of the materials, I did not know whether I should laugh -- or cry. I don't know whether I ever have "survived" a comparable stress, or whether I ever have had similar experiences: I felt intoxicated and dizzy. (Looking at me who I became pale and perspiring, Frau Frasl turned uneasy and nervous.) Suddenly, I understood what has been going on over the last years, and I, happily, changed into a waking state for the rest of the inspection: All these different "varieties" of police controls regularly and publicly; observations at the University and controls by secret police<sup>3</sup>, even in my univer

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1. I asked for information ("Auskunft") per March 19th, 1990; the "Bundesministerium fuer Inneres" answered my "Auskunftsbegehren" (request for information) by November 23rd, 1990, under number (Reg.Nr.) 10194, providing two written pages of an abstract of my "staatspolizeiliche Vormerkungen" and offering me, that I may see the file itself, if I so wish. I wished, and by May 8th, 1992, I have been invited to inspect my Stapo file in person.- Cfr. A7A, s.v. Innenministerium, 1990-05-10; ibid., 1990-11-23; ibid., 1991-01-31; ibid., 1992-05-08; ibid., 1992-07-15.- On July 15th, 1992, I met with Frau Frasl in the Innenministerium (Vienna) around 11 o'clock and looked, in her presence, into my file for about two hours.- Cfr. Konrad 1992 for a similar action; Konrad quotes his Stapo file in written, p. 133.

2. German quote from A7A, s.v. Innenministerium, 1990-11-23, p.2: Einer Mitteilung eines Gelegenheitsinformanten...zufolge, sollen Sie "im Falle von Unruhen in Slowenien, Angehoeriger einer pro-serbischen Einsatzgruppe in Graz" sein.- Frau Frasl even used something like "Einsatzleiter" for my involvement; cfr. A7A, s.v. Gedaechtnisprotokolle, 1992-07-15.- Keep in mind, that this "information" is from January 1990, whereas the "Unruhen in Slowenien" came into existence somewhat later, esp. during the war in June 1991.- I have the impression that I am still observed publicly and telephonically for this reason.

3. I give one extraordinary example: In April 1991 a "young man" came to my house collecting stamps, so he said, but in fact he wished to know my face; he parked his red car (St 448.815), unfortunately for him, in a spot, where I could read the plates with my field-glass. Since then I have seen him from time to time but always in a non-philatelic environment, as for example at one funeral, at demonstrations, at university lectures of a certain kind. I seems as if most recently he changed his car and/or plates to St 948.151. In the night of December 4th to 5th, 1992, two friends informed me

sity office; my telephone has been listened in and they still tap it from time to time, esp. they did in October/November/December 1987, and again in June/July 1991, when Slovenia's war for independence has been fought, etc. But all these are rather small details of an unbelievable huge package of violations of human rights which now, to some extent, can be proven: In my Stapo file there are copies of at least two letters, one of them I have written for a young girl (before entering high school), by December, 27th, 1987; this one letter has been stolen; the onus probandi that it has not been stolen is with the person which hides behind the word "Gelegenheitsinformation" or with the police; I quote from my Stapo file: "A letter by Dr. Gombocz to a schoolgirl from the Radgonski kot is also interesting: The letter (attached as copy) shows the obstinacy with which he tries to recruit people for the Slovene language."- As a matter of fact, this letter has been retrieved illegally by the police or their "Gelegenheitsinformant", and if not from the sealed envelope, then I simply

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about an "uninhabited automobile" parking in the same hiding spot as above; my daughter and her boy-friend testify this fact happening, for the time they returned home around 23:30 o'clock. -Cfr. A7A, s.v. Innenministerium, 1991-04-30. - Another example of my post festum understanding is the following one: On the 10th of January 1989, at 9:40, the Rector magnificus of Graz University, Prof. Dr. Christian Bruenner, asked me by phone to come to his office. There he explained "away" a problem concerning human rights and the Slovenes of Styria I had posed in a letter of November 27th 1988 (A7A, s.v. Bruenner, 1988-11-27; *ibid.* 1989-01-19); before I left he asked me for the complete addresses of two students, i.e. of two Styrian Slovenes, he knew I know, since they had written him a letter also; I did not provide these informations; so he wrote me a letter, the only one he ever wrote me, on January 19th, 1989, asking "ich bitte Sie nochmals, mir auch die Adressen der beiden Studierenden bekanntzugeben". From my Stapo file I, finally, learned why: The Stapo needs exact addresses, to do their pretty hard job(s), esp. when students have very common names like "Mueller" or "Maier" and/or change their addresses often.

1. A&A, s.v. Stapo, 1989-02-12, p.5; the German text runs as follows: Interessant ist auch ein Brief von Dr. Wolfgang Gombocz an eine Schuelerin im sogenannten "Radkersburger Eck". Der Brief, der in Ablichtung der Information beigeschlossen ist, zeigt auf, wie hartnaeckig versucht wird, (...) Leute fr die slowenische Sprache anzuwerben. - I asked Frau Frasl where this letter is coming from; when she did not answer as if she did not hear, I asked, where it possibly could come from; she looked into the file and finally pointed to page 1 of the piece I had been reading, where we found "Quelle: Gelegenheitsinformationen".- In the second part of my Stapo file (which I could read but was not allowed to take notes down) there are several informations which the police can only have gained by either listening in my phone calls or reading my letters or by some other illegal means of retrieval. That something like that happened is clear from the following fact: In this second part of my file Dr. Kranich, the "Bezirkshauptmann" (a local government official) of Radkersburg, is referred to as requesting from the police "to control Dr. Gombocz strictly and regularly".- Cfr. A7A, s.v. Gedchnisprotokolle, 1992-07-15; even in the part of my Stapo file I could copy, there are some hints for this type of observation, for example A7A, s.v. Stapo, 1989-01-03, p.5, they say "Gombocz steht in stndiger Verbindung...", in a context, where telephone connections ("Verbindungen") are the topic of the report. For Dr. Kranich cfr. my notes taken down after a phone call on July 21st, 1992, where he admitted that he intervened with the police; A7A, s.v. Kranich, 1992-07-21; Kranich confirmed this again during a talk by phone on December 21st, 1992.



don't know from where; I regularly receive letters which have been opened before they reach my desk. (If Hungarian correspondents are correct, this happens even with my outgoing letters.) I ask what is a violation of human rights if not this kind of treatment of private letters and private phone calls? What about the police controls and observations? - After this "introductory case" I, now, shall give a list of persons by their names, which have been involved in violations of human rights in general, and in violations of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, and esp. of the Ethnic Groups' Act of 1976 (BGBl. n.396/1976) in particular. Whenever needed I shall provide historical background information and analyses of the political parties and their officials involved.

#### 4. Hofrat Dr. Konrad Kranich

He is acting "Bezirkshauptmann" of Radkersburg/Radgona; early in 1989 one<sup>1</sup> person came to see him in the office hours and told him about my so-called "Umtriebe" (agitations and/or machinations) in Poterna and Dedonci. I don't know what this denouncer had to say; Dr. Kranich does not tell me either; I know, though, what I have been doing at that time (i.e. end of December 1988, January 1989) in the Radgonski kot: I was visiting my parents and my two brothers with their families; and in addition I was asked to visit two other families in Dedonci and Poterna to talk about children considering their school choices. These families are friends of mine since the sixties; we talk about family matters regularly. This time I have been quite sick<sup>2</sup>, so my visits were rather short, and I had to use my "American" car; since, being sick, I could not walk that long a distance on feet. If these visits have not been completely private, then they were acts in accordance with the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, Art. 7, where 1 and 4 repeat what, anyway, is clear from the Human Rights Declaration: Austrian Slovenes may meet in their private homes, as other Austrians also freely do, for whatever reasons. - What happened? The denouncer saw my car (which is a somewhat rare Ford Econoline 141, which I brought with me when I returned from the United States) and, after unsuccessful interventions with the Radkersburg police itself<sup>3</sup>, he decided to inform Kranich (1) that I am here and there,

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1. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Gedaechtnisprotokolle, 1992-07-15; Dr. Kranich admits that this "only one person" intervened with him, *ibid.* 1992-07-21, again 1992-12-21; the police report stresses the fact that Kranich on the basis of one denouncer only asked the police for "strong controls of Dr. Gombocz". It looks as if the report, which I was not allowed to copy, indirectly ridicules Kranich for this order. - This can partially be explained by the further fact, that Kranich - according to my Stapo file - intervened with the local police office "against" Dr. Gombocz already in January 1988. Unfortunately, I do not remember his reason(s) of acting at that time, if they have been given in my Stapo file; there is nothing substantial in my Gedaechtnisprotokoll on this feature. - I guess that the local police became tired after all the worthless controls in November and December 1987 I am describing in the following pages of this 4.

2. Cfr. the doctor's attestation of December 29th, 1988; A7A, s.v. Kubin, 1988-12-29.

3. For this information I have to thank one of the police officers in charge that day, who very well knows that the "one person's" denunciation is without substance. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Kranich, 1989-01-31.

and wherever I am, there I am involved, of course, in "Umtriebe", and (2) that the police did not accept his notification; Kranich, immediately<sup>1</sup>, gave order to the local police to "control Dr. Gombocz strictly", although he, as a Doctor juris and a learned man, knows what the Austrian "Strafprozessordnung" is, what human rights are and what the state laws say about minority rights etc. He, on his part, could have contacted me and he could have asked me for a conversation on my activity regarding the Slovene people in the Radgonski kot, or whatever he might have thought appropriate. He never contacted me, whereas I directly offered to meet, and also indirectly via common friends - without success<sup>2</sup>. Dr. Kranich decided to use his power in order to cut and so violate my rights. I, on my part, have been visiting families in Dedonci already earlier than that, esp. in 1987 in relation to some activities concerning the Slovene language of the people there; I have been denounced to the police then, and I have been observed and controlled by the police from the very beginning in summer/fall 1987, I have even been chased and stopped in places where never regular police controls take place. I had several such experiences; I heard from the same happening to others of our association. In addition, I recall quite clearly what Leopold Gombocz, peasant in Dedonci Nr.1, said to me on December 26th, 1987<sup>3</sup>, when I entered his house for an interview which, on December 24th in the afternoon, we agreed about to write down on the "Stephanitag" (St. Stephan's Day): "Sorry, I cannot welcome you today in my house; a high official ("ein hoher Beamter") of the Bezirkshauptmannschaft has asked me to not let you in."- "Why?"- My question did not receive an answer.- So I wrote to the

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1. This I recall quite completely from the reading of that part of my Stapo file which I could not copy;- cfr. A7A, s.v. Gedaechtnisprotokolle, 1992-07-15; cfr. also A7A, s.v. Kranich, 1992-07-21. I quote from the Gedaechtnisprotokoll, which I wrote with "ich" and "mein": "Laut Bericht der Gendarmerie nach Wien: Bezirkshauptmann Dr. Kranich beauftragt die Gendarmerie, meine Taetigkeit zu berpfren, nachdem ein (Ton auf "ein!") Ortsangehriger ber die Umtriebe ihm berichtet hatte."- All these details coincide with what the police man (mentioned in note 21) told me.- On December 21st, 1992, I had a 25 minutes talk with Dr. Kranich via phone, since I try to convince him to give me an interview soon. He told me that the very first intervention of his happened after information he (or his "only one denouncer") gathered on a Sunday in December 1987 "nach der Kirche" (after church), where people leaving the church, supposedly, have been very excited about my visit of friends in Dedonci and Poterna.

2. I may add here, that Dr. Kranich has been pupil of the same (catholic) gymnasium in Graz as I have been, and as his predecessor as "Bezirkshauptmann", Dr. Harasin, has also been; Dr. Harasin always had good contacts to me, without any chicanery.- On December 21st, 1992 (cfr. the phone call mentioned in the last note) he referred to Franz Klobassa and Josef Klobassa, the "sons of burgomaster Josef Klobassa from Sieldorf" as his school-mates if not class-mates in this catholic gymnasium, telling me that these are the types of Slovenes he prefers over and against me. Kranich thinks that they don't resp. that they did not create "Kaerntner Verhaeltnisse" as I, of course, do.

3. A7A, s.v. Gombocz Leopold, 1987-12-26; on this day I have been in party, Andrea Zemljič joined us.- Mr. Leopold Gombocz died on May 30th, 1990.- R.I.P.

"Innenminister" Karl Blecha<sup>1</sup> informing him about these illegal happenings around my person and my friends. He, of course, denied that I am or have been observed or somehow chased. That Blecha's answer (from August 1988) could not be true, I knew already at that time from Dr. Christian Fleck, who was involved in the preparation of a research project in the little village Mlaka/Laaken near Soboth, 100 kilometers west of Radkersburg/Radgona, where he and other researchers of the whole project have been contacted by the Stapo as early as December 1987; the police asked him: Are you doing here what Gombocz does there in Radkersburg/Radgona?- This fact is, post festum, also documented in that part of my Stapo file I was allowed to read and to copy.<sup>2</sup> So the Styrian police reports their regular controlling and intensive observing activities<sup>3</sup> regarding my person and regarding Prof. Krizman and others between "Fall 1987" and "February 1989" to Blecha, and Blecha, in August 1988<sup>4</sup>, states that

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1. A7A, s.v. Blecha, 1988-05-31; he answered by August 17th, 1988, Zl. 95 404/2-1/4a/88, stating that "keine Dienststelle meines Ressorts eine Ueberpruefung ihrer Taetigkeit in den Grenzgemeinden angeordnet hat. Wie mir berichtet wurde, hat eine solche auch nie stattgefunden."

2. A7A, s.v. Stapo, 1989-02-21, p.3-4; the report refers to a period "seit Herbst 1987" (since fall 1987) and repeats the same at the very beginning of the written informations regarding our so-called research: "Im erwaehten Zeitraum waren im Raum Laaken, Gemeinde Soboth, Bezirk Deutschlandsberg, (Dr. Elisabeth Katschnig-Fasch und Dr. Christian Fleck und) bis zu 12 Studenten unterwegs." Then the report on them in the "west", on my "Umtriebe" together with the ones of Prof. Mirko Krizman in the "east" and others follows; the next item to be mentioned in the same Stapo report, *ibid.* p.5, is my letter to a schoolgirl of December 27th, 1987, which has been retrieved by "Gelegenheit-sinformation". This whole part of the Stapo report has been written as late as January/February 1989, dated February 21st, 1989, after Dr. Krainer's intervention of early February.- On December 1st, 1992, Dr. Christian Fleck gave me an interview in his University office, where he confirmed this Stapo date specifying it as December 10th, 1987, or earlier.

3. The "Sicherheitsdirektion fuer Steiermark" states in its report to the Innenminister of January, 3rd, 1989 (A7A, s.v. Stapo, 1989-01-03, p.5): Die Aktivitaeten...des...genannten...werden wahrgenommen und relevante Ereignisse sofort berichtet.

4. Regarding exact dates of the Mlaka/Laaken research done by Fasch and others, I can quote Dr. Fleck: "Es begann im Wintersemester 1987/88 mit der Vorbesprechung am 5.10.1987. Die ersten Besuche in Laaken fanden am 20. und 21.11.1987 statt..."; cfr. A7A, s.v. Fleck, 1992-01-12, though Fasch was not that clear on the beginning of the Mlaka research, A7A, *ibid.* 1992-07-20.- Since Krizman's research started much earlier than the Mlaka research by FFF (=Fasch, Fikfak and Fleck), and since I did some sort of research from 1987 on, the police is obviously referring to their controlings and observings already done before the Mlaka incident. Unfortunately, there is no dating of the Mlaka incident itself in my Stapo file. But there is the following fact to be noted: My cousin Othmar Wresnig died from cancer on November 30th, 1987; since August or September I knew that he had to live only a few more weeks and I visited him regularly after work (early in the evening and in the dark); he was expecting his dead in his parents' house in Lahndoerfl, a little village between Halbenrain and Goritz/Gorica, some 80 kilometers southeast from Graz, 6 km northwest from my parents' house in Poterna/Laafeld. The more regularly I went down, the more often I have been stopped and

no such controlling of any kind has been ordered or executed. There never ("nie") has been any controlling of my person or activities, Blecha bluntly writes in his personal letter to me. It seems that Austrian ministers either don't know what their subordinates do, or that they lie, whenever they may. But, of course, Dr. Kranich knew very well what he did. - On December 26th, 1987, i.e. exactly one month later, Leopold Gombocz, cancelling our interview, did what either Kranich or the "hohe Beamte" asked him to do, i.e. forced him to do. Dr. Fleck<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Fasch-Katschnig<sup>2</sup> have confirmed the police interventions and interviews in Laaken/Mlaka - approximately at the same time; there have been more "Mlaka" meetings with the police than the only one meeting mentioned in

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checked by the police next to but after the "Blitzeiche" in a little marshy depression between Lahn-  
doerfl and Halbenrain. In a few cases I had passengers in my car when I drove back to Graz, for  
example Othmar's sister, and twice Andrea Zemljič from Gorica. The police somehow must have-  
known that fact before I came to the "stopping place" around 1 km from Othmar's death-bed. Why do  
I think so? From a certain date on, they stopped me when I have been in party; in these cases they  
smiled at me and (seeing them I was slowing down) they made signs that I should go on/speed on.-  
At Othmar's death-bed all kinds of friends and blood relatives, the doctor and the priest, met in the  
evening; sometimes there have been 7 or 8 cars parking in front of the house; the police, obviously,  
became nervous about these "massive conspiracy" involving my brothers and people from several  
villages nearby, especially at the peak of all that at Othmar's place, i.e. the weekend of his 27th  
birthday, November 16th - as I realize now after my talk with Dr. Fleck: These days before the 16th, a  
letter from Fasch and Fleck of November 11th informing the inhabitants about the research project  
has been causing disturbances in Mlaka/Laaken. As I learned in 1989 from him, in November /  
December 1987 Dr. Križman has been visiting families in Dedonci/Zetinci/Sicheldorf and in Zekovci /  
Zelting.- In conclusion I quote from my Gedchtnisprotokoll of keinerlei die wissenschaftliche Quali-  
fikation betreffenden Bewertungen bei mich oder Križman abgegeben, er hat aber gesagt, da er  
nicht kennt. Die Stapo hatte eine Verschwörungstheorie von einer "Zangenbewegung" (Fleck Ausd-  
ruck): Ich begann im Osten (und evtl. Križman), Fleck-Fasch-Fikfak im Westen. Er habe versucht,  
dem Stapoisten diese Konstruktion auszureden. Fikfak hat sich dann zurückgezogen; er wurde als  
"persona non grata" da er als Slowene und mit Dienstwagen angereist höchste Interventionen  
einschließlich polizeilicher Funksprache hervorrief und auch von der Bevölkerung abgelehnt wurde.-  
Fleck bestätigt, da die gesamte noch existierende Bevölkerung von Laaken zweisprachig ist (...).

1. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Fleck, 1992-12-01; A7A, s.v. Fasch, 1992-07-20; A7A, s.v. Fikfak.

2. Dr. Fasch invited me for a conversation after I informed her about the findings in Vienna on July  
15th, 1992; we met on the evening of July 20th for more than two hours; cfr. A7A, s.v. Fasch,  
1992-07-20; also A7A, s.v. Gedächtnisprotokolle, 1992-07-20.

in my Stapo file<sup>1</sup>; in addition, Dr. Fasch has been visited and interviewed by one police officer in her University office<sup>2</sup>. In conclusion I add that many other members of the "Article-7-Association", for example Andrea Zemljič and Gabriele Z., and, of course, all my Radgona blood relatives, have been victims of similar, some of them of even worse violations of human rights. OeVP-Kranich, backed up by fellow members Franz Wegart and Josef Krainer, is very much the cause of all of these illegal happenings in the Radgonski kot, even if Blecha or his successors do not support him; therefore, it is high time that Hofrat Dr. Kranich resigns from his office. This leads us to Dr. Josef Krainer, who is in charge of many "innovations" in Styria - of this kind.

### 5. OeVP-Landeshauptmann Dr. Josef Krainer and fellow members

In July 1991 the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung<sup>3</sup> published a letter to the editor, where the Styrian politician and ex-governor, Helmut Heidinger, states that there don't exist Slovenes in Styria (the actual Austrian province). This is the "old" tradition within the Styrian OeVP, as has already been documented with the quote from Veiter (1 of this paper); what is new with it is that also SPOe-Vice-Governor Dr. Peter Schachner-Blazizek is of the same opinion, as he frankly admitted on May 2nd, 1991<sup>4</sup>, when a group of Styrian Slovenes met

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1. 'A7A, s.v. Stapo, 1989-02-21, p.4: Der Buergermeister von Soboth (Peter Kutschi), hat auf Grund mehrerer Beschwerden der Dorfbewohner von Laaken ber die Arbeitsweise und Fragestellung der Interviewer mit der Projektleiterin...gesprochen. Bei diesem Gespraech, bei dem zwei weitere Gemeindefunktionre anwesend waren...- The report does not mention the presence of the secret police, which Dr. Fasch very well remembers.

2. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Fasch, 1992-07-20; Dr. Fleck has been present, cfr. *ibid.*, s.v. Fleck, 1992-12-01.

3. Keep in mind that in June/July 1991 Slovenia fought her war of independence. Immediately, the Austrian army "occupied and protected" all the villages and places mentioned in my present article as belonging to the "Article-7-Territory".- For the OeVP-letter see: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, July 11th, 1991, p.9 (Letters to the Editor/Briefe an den Herausgeber): "Ohne slowenische Minderheit", sent in by Dr. Helmut Heidinger, Landesrat a(usser) D(ienst), Leibnitz/Steiermark.-- Dr. Heidinger has been "OeVP-Landesrat" (member of the Styrian government for the People's Party) for a very long time and he has been an intimate friend of Landeshauptmann Josef Krainer senior, father of the Dr. Krainer in office now, and also of Franz Wegart, the Styrian "Robak", from Altneudoerfl next Radgona.-- Here is the main text: "In der Steiermark gibt es ueberhaupt keine slowenische Minderheit, der diesbezugliche Passus im Staatsvertrag ist wohl darauf zurueckzufuehren, da Jugoslawien seinerzeit sowohl 1919 als auch 1945 Gebietsansprueche in der Steiermark bis kurz vor Graz angemeldet und mit slowenischer Bevoelkerung begruendete, die es - wie sich jeder ueberzeugen kann - nicht gibt." (The quotation is word by word including Heidinger's "typing" error: German, obviously, is a difficult language, even for German Austrians!).-- On Fritz Robak and "Robakism" cfr. Georg Wagner: Oesterreich. Zweite Republik. Zeitgeschichte und Bundesstaatstradition...Band II, Thaur/Wien: Oesterr. Kulturverlag 1987, 1224-1226; cfr. always Veiter, *op.cit.*

4. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Schachner, 1991-05-02; read Gombocz 1991, esp. p.10.

him in the Burg of Graz. Present<sup>1</sup> in person, I told him that this pretention of his in the presence of living Slovenes, very clearly, is a violation of human rights; with a smile of contempt, Dr. Schachner shrugged his shoulders and kept smiling without saying a word. Dr. Krainer and Dr. Schachner are the sons of their fathers, and as the old ones did in the fifties and sixties, the young ones do now: they rule Styria and they permanently violate the rights of the Styrian Slovenes as also Franz Wegart, their president of the local parliament with a notorious inclination towards societies of war veterans under the symbol of the "Doppelrune", has been doing for a long, long time and still does.

Here we, firstly, reconstruct some 50 years of history of the so-called "Existenzleugnung", i.e. the principal disavowal of the Slovenes' existence in Austrian Styria<sup>2</sup>. The very first violation, i.e. the very first public acts against the Slovene (speaking) people and their cultural activities and structures in this respect are, as far as I see, the ones forcing the dissolution of the "Katoliško-slovensko izobraževalno društvo v Radgoni" per 1929<sup>3</sup>. What the Austrian pre-war fascists and what the Nazis did is documented for some cases<sup>4</sup> and needs much more work re. the Styrian Slovenes and Gypsies. What Franz Wegart (and fellow members of the OeVP) did, begins 1945 in "new" Austria. For this period I have, partly, in my personal possession, partly, available in copies, well documented

1. The following people have been present: Ilse and Christian Storm, Rupert V., Andrea Zemljič and 3 or 4 members of the Socialist Party/SPOe.- Frau Kleewein from the Styrian Roma and Sinti had to cancel her participation in the last minute; being far advanced in pregnancy she had to see the doctor.

2. Cfr. Veiter 1990; in this article he quotes his own books, where he documents this political lie very carefully.- In an interview in Graz in 1989 Veiter told me, that he has been visiting "all the Slovene" villages in Styria in the fifties; the mayors, with only one exception he did not specify, have been in favour of "Robakism", that is in favour of "peaceful assimilation"; cfr. A7A, s.v. Assimilation, 1989-12-31.

3. Cfr. Stmk. Landesarchiv, s.v. Amt der Steiermärkischen Landesregierung, Abteilung 13, Zahl 206 R 24/3/1929; the files of the so-called cancellation (the word used is "Loeschung"; it sounds much better than "Auflösung" or "Zwangsauflösung") are available only in part, since file 384 N 5/1/1929 is "unauffindbar" (impenetrable).- Cfr. Grazer Zeitung, August 22th, 1929 = Nr. 101.- If one reads AVA, 6h-32/Z.G.K./20, fol.3-4 (cfr. Kabinettsprotokoll 202 of July 13th, 1920), one realizes the change in political method; Deutsch-Oesterreich (Austria), in 1920, tries to get rid of some of the Slovene villages in Styria north of the St. Germain border, but Yugoslavia does not take them, as I have shown in Gombocz 1991; ten years later already, they (in Vienna and they) in Graz start with what the UN Convention of 1946 will call genocide, i.e. species #2 and #3 of genocide.

4. Cfr. Gombocz 1991, 10-11; cfr. note 3.- Here I must mention the census of 1939, which showed Slovene majorities for several Styrian communities, as for example Dedonci/Dedenitz and Žetinci/Sicheldorf.

"cases" for the Radgonski kot<sup>1</sup> with many original letters and other documents. Peter Zoehrer<sup>2</sup>, Wegart's successor<sup>3</sup> in Radkersburg, frankly reports the interventions of (at that time) "Landesrat" Krainer (Zoehrer 1947, p.2; p.3), of Bezirkshauptmann Max Schiestl (p.2; p.6; p.7) and of several OeVP deputies and politicians, esp. Barthold Stuerghk (p.6; p.7), in order to remove Radkersburg's Slovene -- "Slovene" is used by Zoehrer on p.3, where he quotes "handgeschriebene Flugzettel" (handwritten broadsheets) and "ingeschlagene Fensterscheiben" (broken windows), which have been "placed" in the city -- OeVP-burgomaster Dr. Felix Kodolitsch (together with some "Slovene" Gemeinderäte, as for example OeVP-Hamler "from Murgasse" and SPOe-Matko; p.3-5) and two deputies of Sieldorf's (Zetinci's) Gemeinderat, i.e. Mr. Rogan (mentioned on p.5) and the brother of the mayor Josef Klobassa, Johann Klobassa<sup>4</sup> (not

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1. That the Radkersburg/Sieldorf crisis somehow also had parallels in the western part of Styria becomes clear from remarks on Krainer's movements to Eibiswald near Deutschlandsberg and his not showing up at the important Radkersburg meeting on January 19th, 1947, all mentioned in Zoehrer 1947, p.3.- In addition to the A7A documents, I have written several protocols of interviews with Peter Zoehrer, including the last interview on March 31st, 1988; since then his sickness makes further interviews impossible; other interview partners have been: Mr. Klobassa, son of the "crisis" Klobassa Johann, on April 1st, 1988, in my parents' house; the mayors of Dedonci, Karl Jauk from n.19 and Johann Koschar from n.10; and many others.

2. Peter Zhrrer was born in Rotleiten next Frohnleiten in Styria on July 7th, 1921; he came to Radgona/Radkersburg in 1946; there he married a Slovene woman and had to care for a "Slovene" stepson. More details of his biography appear during this essay in the main text.-- Keep in mind that Wegart is only three (!) years older than Zoehrer, or to put it differently, both, Wegart and Zhrrer, have been very young when they gained their power.

3. Peter Zoehrer becomes "Bauernbundbezirkssekretär" of and in Radkersburg per September 1st, 1946, as one learns from Zoehrer's autobiography written in June 1952 (cfr. A7A, s.v. Zoehrer, 1952-06-05) and as one sees from his letter to "sterreichischen Bauernbund. Landesleitung Steiermark" of August 30th, 1946 (A7A, s.v. Zoehrer, 1946-08-30). By November 8th, 1948 (A7A, s.v. Wegart, 1948-11-08) the "Landesparteisekretär" Wegart calls Zoehrer "Herrn Hauptbezirksparteisekretär" within the "Hauptbezirksparteileitung der OeVP". In contrast to this clear language, one sees from several letters in A7A, s.v. Zoehrer, that the "Bauernbund", at least in 1947, did not support Zoehrer's activity outside of the "Bauernbund", so that they protested his engagement in the Radgona community council, where he acted as OeVP-deputy: In der Zwischenzeit hat sich Ihre Taetigkeit...ausgeweitet, sodass Sie jetzt schon ausserhalb der OeVP. (sic!) als Gemeinderat...taetig sind... Š...Ć...diese Taetigkeit die Arbeit im...Bauernbund stark beeinträchtigt... These are the words of a certain "Ing.P/Z.", whose signature is unreadable, by June 17th, 1947 (A7A, s.v. Zoehrer, 1947-06-17.)- Zoehrer served as city deputy up to the elections of 1949, and as Bezirksparteisekretär up to 1973 (sic!); cfr. the interview of 1988-03-05.

4. Cfr. my interview with his son from April 1st, 1988.- In his last interview he gave me, Zhrrer considered him, the "Klobassa, father-in-law of Mr. Alt", being the head of the dissidents, which have been also supported by Mr. Troinko, obviously not a member of the community council, though a well known "figure" in Zetinci.

mentioned in Zoehrer's pamphlet). Why have these Slovenes been removed from their political offices in January 1947?

Radkersburg/Radgona and Sicheldorf/Zetinci did not sign the requested declarations ("Bekennntnis", p.2) to stay with Austria -- without conditions/under all conditions ("unbedingt", p.3); these requests have been made by the Styrian government after Tito's Yugoslavia (with Stalin's support) claimed "Slovene" territory in Styria and Carinthia<sup>1</sup>. The other communities did what they were expected to do; they "lieferten die Schriftstuecke ordnungsgemaess und anstandslos ab" (they delivered the pieces of writing orderly and unhesitatingly), since they wished to stay with Austria "unbedingt". Here is Zoehrer's list of the unhesitating - de facto eight - "seven dwarfs" villages with their burgomasters, all of them OeVP = People's Party, in brackets: Altneudoerfl/Stara Nova Vas (Josef Schroetter); Dedenitz/Dedonci (Josef Krainz); Goritz/Slovenska Gorica (Franz Kotzbeck); Hummersdorf/Ledumirje (Josef Gangl); Laafeld/Poterna (Matthias Bogen); Pfarrsdorf/Farovci (Josef Kirchengast); Pridahof/Pridova (Josef Viereck) and Zeltling/Zenkovci (Franz Samuda). Josef Klobassa from Sicheldorf/Zetinci had no "Gemeinderatsbeschluss" (p.3: "nur meine Unterschrift") and Radkersburg, the metropolis herself, only sent a "Geschreibsel" (p.2; a scribbling) saying that Radkersburg/Radgona always has been "antifaschistisch" and "antinational", and that she wishes to stay that way - signed by Dr. Felix Kodolitsch. Such a mayor had to be removed, and the "Black Peter" himself has been the executor (p.5): "Gemaess 5 des Landesgesetzes vom 4. Jaenner 1946 sind Sie ab sofort als Buergermeister der Stadt Radkersburg enthoben, bitte uebergeben Sie unverzueglich die Amtsgeschaefte an Vizebuergermeister Schrampf", uttered<sup>2</sup> the 25 years old and mighty OeVP secretary, Peter Zoehrer, on January 20th, 1947, at 9:00 a.m. entering Dr. Kodolitsch's private house. Dr. Kodolitsch, a "vornehmer Herr" according to Zoehrer's report (p.5), answered: "I have understood and I take notice of your words." OeVP-Zoehrer could not remove SPOe-Matko, so only Kodolitsch and Hamler had to leave the city council; "Bezirksschulinspektor" Schrampf, though not present in Radgona at the moment, became the new OeVP-burgomaster and Zoehrer himself (p.6) took Kodolitsch's seat, whereas Hamler's went to Gottfried Schitteg (p.6). That this new crew signed the requested piece of writing unhesitatingly and immediately, is so obvious that Zoehrer does not even mention it in his "Erinnerungen". Zoehrer had worked very hard that day; at six in the morn

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1. Cfr. for example Steirerblatt, Graz, Friday, January 17th, 1947; Zoehrer 1947, p.3.- For a fine analysis cfr. Georg Wagner: Oesterreich. Zweite Republik. Zeitgeschichte und Bundesstaatstradition...Band II, Thaur/Wien: Oesterr. Kulturverlag 1987, 876-878: Jugoslawische Ansprueche nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg.

2. = According to 5...you are removed from your office as mayor of Radgona; please, hand over your official function to vice-mayor Schrampf immediately.



ing he already left for Sieldorf<sup>1</sup> using the Dienstwagen of OeVP-Bezirkshauptmann Schiestl (p.4), in order to bring peace to the Gemeinderat there; at 7 a.m. the "old" Gemeinderat met at Josef Klobassa's house, where Zoehrer "erklaerte...den bisherigen Gemeinderat fuer aufgeloeset" (p.4). Within less than one hour "die Sieldorfer" recruited nine new community deputies and elected the old mayor Josef Klobassa as the new one and signed "orderly and unhesitatingly" the requested piece of writing. Zoehrer lists the nine new -- most of them identical with the old ones -- unhesitatingly pro-Austrian thinking deputies, all nine from the People's Party (p.5): Alois Klanfar as vice-burgomaster and Friedrich Gombotz as cashier; the rest: Johann Adanitsch, Josef Hauko, Johann Nowak, Franz Sedonja, Franz Derwaritsch and Viktor Martinetz. "Um 8 Uhr<sup>2</sup> war die Gemeinderatskrise in der Gemeinde Sieldorf behoben" (p.5). One of the removed "Slovene deputies", the peasant Rogan, had then been forced to give Zoehrer a ride with his horse sledge to Radkersburg, which is more than 3 km west of Sieldorf. Zoehrer is aware of this violation of law and/or rights, and comments (p.5): "Ob<sup>3</sup> sich Herr Rogan darueber gefreut hat, ist mir nicht bekannt!"-- Why had these two "Slovenes" in the city of Radkersburg and the two "Slovenes" in Sieldorf to be removed from the Gemeinderat? Why couldn't a majority of 7 (as opposed to 2 "dissidents") sign a majority declaration in favour of Austria? Nobody seems to know an answer -- unless one looks somewhat deeper into the matter: All these acts have been executed exclusively on the ground of orders received from Graz, i.e. from Landeshauptmann Pirchegger, from Landesrat Krainer and from Landesparteisekretar Wegart. In the very moment of the political crisis, Krainer, for example, only went as far as to the "German" place Halbenrain to collect the requested pieces of writing from the Slovene seven or eight dwarfs. He, obviously, avoided to "invade" Slovene "territory". Wegart is not mentioned at all in Zoehrer's "Erinnerungen". (It is probable that Wegart is omitted on purpose<sup>4</sup>.) Franz Wegart, who has been brought up by his grandmother in Altneudoerfl, has been very happy with Zoehrer's performance in this case of an OeVP action over and against

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1. Zoehrer remembers (interview of March 5th, 1988): "Ich hatte Angst. Gehst hin, kriegst Schlaege, gehst nicht hin, kriegst auch Schlaege!"-- He went after he had asked his "Vertrauensmann" Siegfried Adanitsch from Sieldorf, the brother of the last mayor of Sieldorf in the sixties, for advise.- I should mention in passing that Zoehrer, according to his own sight of the situation, made peace with Mr. Rogan in the year 1957, when Rogan met him on the Hauptplatz of Radgona and said: Jetzt wollen wir Frieden schliessen!

2. "At 8:00 a.m. the Sieldorf crisis was eliminated."

3. "I don't know whether Mr. Rogan liked doing it!"- Cfr. note 45.

4. My question "Was hat Wegart dazu beigetragen?", interview of March 5th, 1988, was answered by Zoehrer with: "Nichts!"-- In the years before 1987, I sometimes noticed that Zoehrer tried to "ignore" Wegart altogether - for personal reasons. Wegart, as one can infer from the letters in A7A, more and more disliked Zoehrer.- That Wegart is there, everybody can learn from: Kaufmann, Paul (Hg.): Wegart. Ein Stueck des Weges. Franz Wegart zum 65. Geburtstag, Graz: OeAAB Steiermark 1983, 192.

Slovene interests, though criticism against Zoehrer in person is already there in the background.<sup>1</sup>

Schrampf's pro-Austrian rule lasted only 5 months; on July 1st, 1947, at 5 p.m., Schrampf<sup>2</sup> resigned from the mayor's office, since he refused to act as "Standesbeamter" (registrar of births and esp. marriages). And, again, Zoehrer acted effectively, found a new mayor, though definitely not his own choice, and he gained consent from everybody: from Krainer and a certain Dr. Morocutti in Graz, from the local deputy of the parliament in Vienna, burgomaster Kummer from Dietersdorf and from the "OeVP-Vertrauensmaenner" of the city with the exception of a certain Summer; Wegart, again, is not mentioned: The new mayor was Karl Pratscher senior, whom Zoehrer could not prevent from gaining the office, though he disapproved of Pratscher's "swastika past" and pre-1945 NSKK-membership for good reasons. On March 5th, 1988, very emphatically the old and sick man, Peter Zoehrer, told me in presence of his daughter Gabi: "Erster Nazi-Nachkriegsbuergermeister einer Bezirkshauptstadt in ganz Oesterreich!" And he added: "Sein Sohn, der (sc. nachmalige) Schuldirektor, war in der Napoli gewesen!"-- On March 21st, 1988, Zoehrer remembered<sup>3</sup>, that he talked to Bezirkshauptmann Schiestl about Pratscher's Nazi past, and that Schiestl declared Pratscher to be "minderbelastet", a term used for reintroducing people into public functions. From 1950 on Alfred Merlini<sup>4</sup> has been "Vizebuergermeister" and from 1955 on Mayor, as member of the People's Party, of course; Zoehrer's short, though significant comment for Merlini on March 31st, 1988: "Wegart hat Merlini zum Buergermeister gemacht, obwohl er ein Brauner

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1. Cfr. the personal letter of Franz Wegart to Peter Zoehrer of April 14th, 1947; A7A, s.v. Wegart, 1947-04-14.- Wegart ends his letter with the words "Soweit meine Kritik...", since he does not like the somewhat "chaotic" style of Zoehrer. But what is most embarrassing in Wegart's words in this letter is the insult against the disabled soldier Zoehrer, who lost his complete left arm during the war: Mich persoendlich berhrt es mehr als abgeschmackt, wenn da einer aufsteht und immer wieder von sich erzaehlt, was er gelitten und erduldet habe. Persoentliche Dinge von Teilnehmern an Debatten haben grundsaeztlich zu unterbleiben.- Keep in mind, that Zoehrer, in April 1947, is 25 years old and a 100% cripple and "Kriegsopfer" for the "rest" of his life!

2. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Schrampf, 1947-07-01 = s.v. Zoehrer, 1947-07-01; the letter is addressed to "Nationalrat" Kummer from Dietersdorf next to St. Peter am Ottersbach, where Hofrat Kranich lives in our days. Zoehrer reports his visit with Krainer in Graz and asks for Kummer's "Zustimmung fuer die neuen Gemeinderaeete".- In the interview of March 5th, 1988, Zoehrer indicated that the catholic Schrampf was not ready to marry previously divorced persons.

3. Zoehrer's German words: Die Ruecksprache mit BH Schiestl ergibt, dass Pratscher minderbelastet war - erinnere ich mich noch gut - und daher ging es.

4. Cfr. Kleine Zeitung, Graz, September 7th, 1983. Sonderbeilage (extra issue), p.28; Zoehrer thought, it was 1951.

war." That this is true<sup>1</sup> becomes clear from such newspaper stories as the one from the Grenzwacht n.23 of June 22nd, 1941, under the heading "Radkersburg-Anerkennungsurkunden": Fuer den handstreichartigen Einsatz am 6. April bei den beiden Murbruecken in Radkersburg erhielten Anerkennungsurkunden...die Parteigenossen Bruno Uray, Josef Prassl, Hans Kraemer, Alfred Merlini, Franz Fuchs, Josef Cernensek, Fritz Skoberne, Robert Styrnek. Wir beglueckwuenschen die Tapferen zu ihrer Auszeichnung.- Fortunately, the next mayor to be listed is also the last one: Merlini's successor in the city of Radkersburg is Werner Reiter, director of the local "Hauptschule", who still is in office these days.-- The nine villages around the city of Radgona finally merged into one community; the first mayor of this "Umgebungsgemeinde" has been Karl Neuhold, a pre-1945 "Parteigenosse" as well as an OeVP-member at that time; his successor has been Franz Potzer from Hummersdorf/Ledumirje, and at present we have Heinz Cziglar from Laafeld/Poterna in this office, all of them, of course, from the People's Party, Cziglar from a family with a strong "Doppel-rune" past on his father's side.

Why did I insert this extremely long detour? A continuous tradition of violations of human and other rights is connected with these OeVP politicians and officials, esp. the violations re. the negation of the existence of Slovenes and the systematic suppression of their language ("Slovenocide"). I can only select a few typical cases; we all know, that there has been no Slovene language course in any Styrian school between 1945 and today; we all know, that the language of the Slovenes is completely marginalized if not suppressed, since it is used nowhere publicly, since there are no newspapers, no radio programs, nothing. In selecting a few cases I approach, more and more, the present and have to protect my friends and fellow countrymen which informed me about recent happenings of such violations. They have to live where they live, in the Radgonski kot or somewhere else in the Slovenska krajina! (So I do not repeat cases here which I already have published about in the last ten years, esp. the case with Kurahs and "Rechtsanwalt" Reinisch.) With the quotations regarding the post-1955 negation of the Slovenes' existence from Theodor Veiter in mind, we may start with the Austrian census of 1951: Zoehrer said on March 31st, 1988, that there has been no official parole for how answering the language questions of the 1951 census, but that "we from the OeVP" told the people in the villages: "One has to be Austrian, i.e. has to understand that being Austrian involves speaking, at least, also German." He continued: "Regarding Dedonci<sup>2</sup> we all have been surprised; maybe, Karl Jauk did it, I don't know!-- Before I left on this March 31st, 1988, i.e. towards the end of the very last interview with Peter

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1. Cfr. also Merlini's short "Prefaces" for the regular "Festschriften" of the "Hauptschule" in Radkersburg, where one can test his (as well as Krainer's and Wegart's) ideological standing regarding "Grenzland" and "Deutschtum".

2. Dedonci/Dedenitz had a high majority of Slovene speaking people.- I am working on a book "I have been Mayor of Dedonci", which will explain all this "mysteries" very nicely.

Zoehrer, I finally gained some important insights<sup>1</sup>: According to Zoehrer, there has been this sort of directed influence from the party office but not in an official manner, it happened by means of individual conversations ("gespraechsweise"): Zoehrer, Wegart (this detail has been confirmed by several people he instructed before the census) and others visited them in their private homes and told them: You must behave as Austrians, you must choose<sup>2</sup> Austria...- In conclusion I have to add, that the local OeVP (including Zoehrer) seemed to not be aware of the "Staatsvertragsverhandlungen" (re. the question of Slovenes in Styria) already under way since 1949. From 1949 on Tito's claim for the Slovene territory suddenly had disappeared; the "Staatsvertrag" came nearer; the border had been re-opened in the early fifties; but in 1957, as the contingent findings of a bunch of letters at a flea market prove, the Innenministerium is nervous about "voelkische Unterwanderung" and decides to ask the Radgona OeVP office for support, i.e. for research and exact "Auskunft" (inquiry). This request from Vienna coincides with Krainer's public declarations, that there only are "eine Handvoll Slowenen" in Styria, which in addition are not subject for any actions in accordance with the "Staatsvertrag" of 1955<sup>3</sup>.

Per October 11th, 1957, Franz Grubhofer<sup>4</sup>, the "OeVP-Staatssekretar" of the "SPOe-Innenminister" Josef Afritsch writes a letter to his friend and fellow member Barthold (Graf) Stuerghk of Halbenrain #1, requesting some pseudo-police inquiry on 155 listed persons from the Radgonski kot<sup>5</sup>: May I ask you, dear friend, to check the lists of people, and, then, to answer, whether one must speak here of a "voelkische Unterwanderung" or not.-- The OeVP deputy Stuerghk and his helper Zoehrer worked very hard, for a month; by November 16th, Graf Stuerghk answers Grubhofer with two pages of a letter and the lists marked with "black spots" in negative cases (so Zoehrer 1988), resp. with "hooks" in positive cases (so the letter); we don't possess the qualified lists,

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1. German original: Eine Schulung der Bauernbundobmaenner, jedes Dorf hat seinen eigenen, vor den Volkszaehlungen war eigentlich nicht da, auch Besuche von Funktionaeren bei den Obmaennern gab es offiziell nicht; dies ging gespraechsweise: "Ihr muesst euch oesterreichisch verhalten, ihr m t Oesterreich waehlen (sic!)." And furthermore: Die Gendarmerie war nicht neutral, sie war pro-deutsch-oesterreichisch (sic!) eingestellt. Ebenso alle Politiker...Karl Pratscher z.B. war stark national eingestellt und kirchlich...deutsch war gleich oesterreichisch!

2. With the German word "waehlen" you say, at the same time, both "choose" and "vote for"!

3. Cfr. Malle 1987, 53; Kleine Zeitung, Graz, August 2nd, 1972, p.4.

4. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Innenministerium 1957-10-11; also A7A, s.v. Blecha, 1988-08-17.

5. German original, A7A, s.v. Innenministerium, 1957-10-11: Darf ich Dich bitten, lieber Freund, das mitfolgende Verzeichnis zu ueberpruefen und mir dann unter Rueckschluss der Beilage mitzuteilen, ob...hier von einer beabsichtigten voelkischen Unterwanderung gesprochen werden kann oder nicht.

since they have been mangled according to Karl Blecha; we only have<sup>1</sup> Stuerghk's letter and an unmarked list of 155 people to be checked. Stuerghk painted his hooks and writes his letter without any hesitation, i.e. without any thought of wrongdoing: "I have worked through the lists, and I have written a hook into the margins for those persons, which are "einwandfreie Deutsche" (impeccable/incontestable Germans). In general one must say, that 90% of the persons in your lists are "voelkisch rein deutsch" and therefore belong to us, whereas the rest is of yugoslav nationality, even if they are Austrian<sup>2</sup> citizens..."<sup>3</sup> Zoerer remembers hard and long research, mostly on his part, and much discussion with the "Herrn Graf", though Stuerghk<sup>4</sup> did not have enough time to do it thoroughly. Zoerer is uncertain, whether at that time in October/November 1957 a secret police officer<sup>5</sup> with the name "Sigmund" was involved or not; Zoerer worked assiduously and he visited the mayors in the villages around Radkersburg, but also as far as Mureck/Cmurek; he also visited his "Vertrauensleute" (confidants) and many party fellow members: "What's on with this one?", he asked them reading the 155 names from the Grubhofer list. Each individual listee received his/her personal attention with the result, that most of them ended up with a positive qualification by the "Black Peter", which later turned into Stuerghk's hook, but some ten (so Zoerer) failed to be qualified as "einwandfreie Deutsche". Zoerer quite clearly remembers one case: "Franzl R. has been qualified negatively, since he has been a fanatic socialist (sic); he received a black spot. Most people have been qualified positively...in order to calm; Stuerghk and I agreed: calm down."

Violations of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, and violations of human rights since then, have been described again and again by authors like Theodor Veiter, Tone Zorn, Peter Gstettner, Mirko Križman and myself<sup>6</sup>; it is the language which is the goal of the assimilative (and in final conclusion, genocidal) acts of

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1. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Stuerghk, 1957-11-16; s.v. Innenministerium, 1957-10-11, extra sheets.

2. Stuerghk does not say, whether these atypical Austrians, being non-Germans, belong "to us" or not.

3. A7A, s.v. Zoerer, 1988-03-31, Gedaechtnisprotokoll.

4. Stuerghk declared the whole action for "streng geheim"; Zoerer's words: Es hat von den Betroffenen niemand etwas erfahren!

5. In other cases "der Sigmund", regularly, met Zoerer in his OeVP office for inquiry interviews on people being observed.

6. Cfr. the bibliography; please, don't hesitate to contact the author for further informations and materials.

Krainer, Wegart and fellow members; read the Kleine Zeitung, Graz, of May 8th, 1976, p.11. Mayor Alfred Merlini from Radgona has the first word<sup>1</sup>: "The so-called Slovene villages have produced the main contingent<sup>2</sup> of defence warriors (in 1919). Exactly these villages have refused bilingual school instruction. Today everybody speaks German!"- Merlini presents the results of genocidal Styrian politics as the very attributes of the victims themselves, as their attributes ab ovo. Since 1945 there has been no offer and, of course, no realisation of Slovene instruction in Styria at all; around 1929 the last stronghold of Slovene instruction in the Radgona "Buergerschule" was closed down; i.e. for more than 50 years there has been no public language instruction at all, and this is the only reason for all the Merlini victims -- speaking - also - German:

They had to learn it in school, and they had to learn it exclusively, without instruction in their mother tongue<sup>3</sup>. Franz Wegart, at that time "Landeshauptmannstellvertreter", finds the right words for this difficult situation of the years 1918/1919/1920 in his preface for the Mikl Festschrift<sup>4</sup>: The soldiers returning from the war, coming home to their Slovene villages around Radgona, take up arms ("griffen...zu den Waffen") in order to protect and to preserve their German tongue ("um...ihre deutsche Zunge zu verteidigen und...zu bewahren").- The

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1. German original: Noch etwas am Rande: Gerade die als slowenisch angeführten Orte haben seinerzeit das Hauptkontingent der Abwehrkämpfer gestellt. Gerade diese Doerfer haben zweisprachigen Unterricht abgelehnt.- Heute spricht alles Deutsch!

2. That this proposition is plainly false for Dedonci and Zetinci, everybody down there in Radgona knows; cfr. Kurahs 1983 and Kurahs 1985.- Dr. Hermann Kurahs has been born in Radkersburg, where he is teacher at the local gymnasium and an OeVP-activist.

3. Cfr. the report in Kleine Zeitung, Graz, April 8th, 1977, p.4: In der Umgebung der Stadt Radkersburg gibt es einige kleine Ortschaften, in denen zahlreiche Familien leben, deren Muttersprache Slowenisch ist. Diese Personen...gaben, was vermutlich ueberwiegend der Fall war, Deutsch als Muttersprache an.- Cfr. also the beautiful police testimony in my Stapo file, A7A, s.v. Stapo, 1989-01-03, p.3: Tatsache ist, dass das sogenannte "Radkersburger Eck" mit ihren (sic!- German is indeed a difficult language!) neun Doerfern Dedenitz, Zeltling, Sichelndorf, Laafeld, Goritz bei Radkersburg, Altneudrfl, Pfarrsdorf, Hummersdorf und Pridahof, die alle zur Gemeinde Radkersburg-Umgebung gehoren, das einzige zweisprachige Gebiet in der Steiermark ist. In den Doerfern Dedenitz, Zeltling, Sichelndorf, Laafeld und Goritz bei Radkersburg ist die slowenische Minderheit existent. Dagegen wird in den uebrigen Doerfern...kaum Slowenisch gesprochen.- For the claim of uniqueness cfr. Moser 1989 and Behr 1992; Moser/Toescher show that Miaka/Laaken is 100% bilingual; Behr refers to the film by Schmelzer, where we find a beautiful collection of Slovene speaking peoples in the Lucane/Leutschach region.

4. Franz Wegart: Zum Geleit, in: Heinz Richter & Gerd Kobe: Bei den Gewehren. General Johann Mickl. Ein Soldatenschicksal, Radkersburg 1983, 7-8.- Cfr. Kurahs's excellent articles as well as his dissertation.- One wonders about the "common denominator": Why is it that still a minimum of the "Doppelrune" ideology is necessary for this Grenzland, Dr. Kurahs?

1992 protector of the "SS-Kameradschaft IV", comrade<sup>1</sup> Wegart, is quoted by the Kleine Zeitung of May 8th, 1976, p.11, immediately after Merlini: "All my schoolmates live in Radgona. None of them wishes Slovene schools or Slovene "Volkstum". In my opinion the mentioning of Styria in the State Treaty (of 1955), Article 7, is an error<sup>2</sup>." Again, the results of 40 years of Slovenocidal politics of him and his party fellow members are described as the very attributes of the victims themselves. He, Wegart, did not wish Slovene language instruction; he did not care for his "Volkstum"; and he did it, even if only "gesprachsweise". He did it in 1946/47, again in 1955/57, again in 1976/77, again and again; and again in 1990/91: The "Article-VII-Association" concentrates its activities in three areas, for three political "Bezirke": Deutschlandsberg, Leibnitz, Radkersburg. In one of these regions there is a rather well known museum<sup>3</sup> doing good cultural work; and requesting and receiving some financial support ("Subventionen") from the government in Graz, they have to visit "leading politicians" from time to time; in one such case, the museum people waiting for a meeting with Wegart have been talking with personnel in the Landhaus office; after certain questions, one official took one of the waiting people, their "natural" leader, aside and made the following "personal offer": The person<sup>4</sup> addressed, firstly, writes an article against the "Artikel-VII-Kulturverein fuer Steiermark" "proving" that there is no need for this society, since there are no existing Styrian Slovenes, and, secondly, he publishes it in certain newspapers; if so, Wegart will "add" up to 100.000 ASch to the "normal" subvention. My friend did not accept this unbelievable offer! This incident is unbelievable only in a non-epistemic sense. I had similar experiences during my talks with OeVP officials, regularly; I give one example: On September 20th, 1989<sup>5</sup>, four members of the "Article-VII-Association" met with the OeVP-Steiermark (Dr. Hirschmann, Prof. Schilcher, Abg. Ko-

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1. I take this term "comrade" (German "Kamerad") from Anonymus (I.G.): SS - Ehre und Schutz, in: Courage (Graz) 1992/n.5 (May 15th, 1992), p.12.- In this article I.G. shows that there is no (big) difference between comrades Krainer and Wegart on the one side and "SP-Genosse" Schachner on the other side.

2. German original of the last words: Meiner Meinung nach erfolgte die Aufnahme der Steiermark in den Artikel 7 des Staatsvertrages irrtuemlich.- Since this error is, after all, known then from 1976 on, one has to ask: Why does, in 1989, the secret police "lie" that there are Slovenes in these villages?- Answer: Dr. Krainer's intervention came to late - the report has been sent away to Vienna already!

3. I say "museum" with the old Greek connotation, in order not to disclose the person informing me.

4. If it comes to the crunch, I, of course, shall provide name and address of the "denouncer".

5. Here the notice from my diary: 20.9.1989: Aussprache einer vierkoeufigen Vereinsdelegation (Zemljič, Berger, Brugger) mit der OeVP-Steiermark (Dr. Hirschmann, Prof. Schilcher, Abg. Kowald, Bezirksobm. Prutsch, Bgm. Reiter u.a.); Foerderung des Slowenischunterrichtes; Errichtung eines Kulturhauses und Museums; Subvention.

wald, Bezirksobmann Prutsch<sup>1</sup>, Buergermeister Reiter u.a.) for about two hours in Graz, Karmeliterplatz; before we left after a rather long and unpleasant discussion, Kowald and Reiter took me aside, offering some financial support, if and only if we open or build our "Kulturhaus" not in Radkersburg but, say, in Graz.

Dr. Josef Krainer has not been mentioned very often - so far; he stays, it seems, in the background even more than Wegart does. My Stapo file opens the eyes here also. A7A, s.v. Stapo, 1989-02-21, says on page 3: "At the beginning of February 1989 a representative of the "Article-VII-Association" asked Landeshauptmann Dr. Josef Krainer for an appointment." The report, then, continues without naming this representative nor anybody else from our association, with the very exception of Krainer himself.- What happened? My reconstruction, which fortunately can rely also on first hand informations from Gross's office as well as from Krainer's, leads to something like the following: After receiving a letter from our president<sup>2</sup>, Dr. Krainer<sup>3</sup> informs - for burocratic measures almost immediately<sup>4</sup> - the Stapo, and he obviously must have included my name, although I did not send in the letter of February 4th, and although my name is not mentioned in this letter either. In comparison with the Stapo report from January 3rd, 1989, this file is, due to the massive interventions from OeVP side on all levels, much more hostile and significantly closer in ideology to the official OeVP view, which is, to say the least, "rechtsextrem". Dr. Krainer, first of all, intervned with the secret police, when Austrian laws, esp. the Strafprozessordnung and Article 7 of the State Treaty clearly expect from him something quite different, and, secondly, he never answered the letter of Frau Mag.phil. Zemljic; Hans Gross<sup>5</sup> on the other side reacted by March 30th, 1989, .pa

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1. OeVP-Prutsch, not to be mixed up with the SP-Prutsch from Radkersburg itself, is the successor of Franz Trummer in almost all of his positions: Mayor of Eichfeld, olim Unterrakitsch, Bezirksparteiobmann, Landtagsabgeordneter, "Podgrad warrior", etc.-That the People's Party must have a clearcut strategy becomes evident from Trummer's words in Kleine Zeitung, Graz, May 8th, 1976, p.11: The Slovenes are to be ignored, not to be taken in account, not to be taken notice of, "nicht zur Kenntnis zu nehmen". Trummer's original German: Wir kennen hier keine Minderheit. Wir kennen hier kein Problem. Es gibt hier nur Oesterreicher!

2. Andreja Zemljic wrote equivalent letters to Dr. Josef Krainer and to Hans Gross, SP-Landeshauptmannstellvertreter at that time, on February 4th, an appropriate day for writing letters on Radkersburgian or Styrian Slovene matters; cfr. A7A, s.v. Gross, 1989-02-04.

3. Krainer, of course, had Dipl.Ing. Peierl, Telephone connection 877-2371, doing the dirt work for him. That is to say, that I am aware of the transcendence of the king politicians of our modern democratic states; and though they all are omnipotent, I am very skeptic about their being all-bountiful and still all-good.

4. The Stapo report in my file in question is dated: February 21st, 1989.

5. A7A, s.v. Gross, 1989-03-30.- "Altlandeshauptmann" Hans Gross died November 19th, 1992. R.I.P.



and, to our surprise<sup>1</sup>, in an extraordinary friendly and cooperative way. I translate the most interesting part of the Gross letter: "After receiving your letter I got in contact with Landeshauptmann Dr. Josef Krainer; during a talk we agreed, that the Landeshauptmann and I together will receive your executive committee for a talk. The coordination for the time of the meeting will be done by our offices. As soon as this is done, you will be informed and invited."- We all were happy, we became very optimistic; April went by, May went by; we started phoning Hans Gross's office and Hans Gross himself, we kept phoning; we understood better every day that Hans Gross's mind has been changing step by step; he even ordered a certain Dr. Mueller to see me in my departmental office, to collect materials, to prove that I am what I have to be, somebody involved in all kinds of "Umtriebe"; by October 19th, 1989, Andreja Zemljič finally asked Hans Gross for the realisation of the meeting, in written; by November 9th, 1989, Hans Gross sent a second, quite different letter, which I, again, quote here<sup>2</sup>: Regarding your letter of October 19th I inform you, that I have asked (SPOe-)Landesparteisekretär...Franz Trampusch to contact you. I forwarded a copy of your letter to him. I kindly ask you, that you discuss all details with him.-- That was it!-- I am not going to comment on this - here! Cherchez le Krainer!

## 6. The University of Graz

This paragraph indicates where Austrian academic institutions stand, at least, where Graz does, and it will provide a missing link, a missing link also for the previous paragraph on Slovenocide. Since 1975 I am "member" of the Department of Philosophy (Institut fuer Philosophie<sup>3</sup>); 1968-1975 I have been

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1. This, of course, has been and is a twofold surprise: (1) We shall meet with the Government of Styria; we shall, finally, receive attention at home if not in Vienna. And we, of course, immediately started to prepare ourselves, we were very optimistic.- (2) Post festum: By March 30th, 1989, Gross either did - per impossibile - not know from Krainer's intervention with the Stapo, I describe in the main text, or he did not believe it, or nobody knows, what happened. As a matter of fact, Dr. Krainer from the very beginning did not consider to see and to hear us, and, of course, he did not think about supporting us financially or ideologically - and he never will do.

2. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Gross, 1989-11-09.

3. After the recent "publication" of an article of Ernst Topitsch's in the Neonazi journal Sieg. Die Stimme der deutschen Nation 21(1992), N.3/4, p.6-10, I have to confess that I am ashamed of being in the same institute with him -- but cannot help. Shame is all I can offer. As I hear from two colleagues I trust, the Sieg print is a reprint and unauthorized, i.e. a "Raubdruck". This is very little relief, though, for the following reasons: If so-called scholarly work is selected by declared Neonazis for reprint in their home-made PR outlet, then the author, at the very least, should start thinking self-critically about the quality of his product, firstly; secondly, he might inform the public about his very personal interpretation of this situation; thirdly, he definitely should act in order to avoid future follow-ups. As far as I can see, nothing of these things has happened. In addition one could ask, whether the University of Graz as an "oeffentliche Behoerde" has not the duty to start an investigation according to 84 of the Austrian "Strafprozessordnung"; or, say, academic functionaries (as Professor Bruenner) according to 86 in connection with 84.- In conclusion I quote from the Austrian State

Assistent in the Faculty of Theology; since 1981 I am Univ.-Dozent, now with the title of an "Ass.-Prof.". I am teaching and I am involved in research; some of this research is done in cooperation with colleagues from Maribor and Ljubljana. (I mention three France Veber Symposia I have been organizing in Radkersburg/Radgona and Maribor in 1986, 1988 and 1990.)-- During the rectorship ("Rektorat") of a certain Prof. Christian Bruenner, pro tempore OeVP deputy in the Vienna parliament, the University of Graz started its PR outlet Unizeit with its Numero 1 in November or October 1988; this journal of glazed paper has been and, in 1992, still is looking very much like those pamphlets I have been given by jugoslav officials, when I visited Zagreb or Dubrovnik or Ljubljana in the sixties and seventies: A "home-made" selfportrait with features of all the sunny boys and sunny sides of an bulwark university with more than 400 years of exclusively glorious and, of course, German history. Bruenner himself appears as the father of the whole glazed idea and as the sire of the journal's issue n.1 especially, so I wrote him, the Rector magnificus in charge, my letter<sup>1</sup> of protest, a protest against the anti-Slovene chauvinism in one of the

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Treaty of 1955, Article 9, in German: Oesterreich wird auch die Bemuehungen fortsetzen, aus dem...politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben alle Spuren des Nazismus zu entfernen, um zu gewaehrleisten, dass die obgenannten Organisationen nicht in irgendeiner Form wieder ins Leben gerufen werden, und um alle nazistische und militaerische Taetigkeit und Propaganda ins Oesterreich zu verhindern.

1. Here is the German original of November 26th, 1988: Sehr geehrter, lieber Herr Professor Bruenner!-- Vorvorgestern haben mich aus dem Bezirk Radkersburg gebuertige Studenten (...) auf den folgenden Umstand aufmerksam gemacht: Numero 1 der offiziellen Zeitung unserer/Ihrer Universitaet namens "UNIZEIT" druckt auf Seite 9 einen Artikel "Ein Begraebnis erster Klasse?"- Inhalt: Inventarisierung der slowenischen Sprache in Kaernten. Ich freue mich mit Professor Prunc ueber die Fortschritte und Ergebnisse der Forschung, wie sie dort beschrieben sind; ich bin aber ueber den fettgedruckten Einleitungstext in seiner fuer die steirischen Slowenen chauvinistischen weil antislo-  
wenischen Diktion entsetzt. Ich vermute Schlampigkeit und Unwissenheit seitens des Verfassers (?) Su -- hoffe aber umgehend auf Ihre Mitteilung, die ich hoefflich in schriftlicher Form erbitte, dass Absicht tatsaechlich auszuschliessen ist; anders kann ich mir nicht erklaeren, dass meine Alma Mater, die Hohe Schule auch der Artikel-VII-Steirer uns (...) in aller Weltoeffentlichkeit hinwegzitiert, und uns damit nach Felix Ermacoras Inexistenzerklaerung von 1977 neuerdings und akademisch "ausradiert". Wir sind immer noch da, auch wenn uns die Vertragsbruechigkeit der Republik den Unterricht in der Muttersprache (...) vorenthaelt usw. usf. Ich habe aus meiner Abstammung (...) nie ein Hehl gemacht, bisher allerdings auch keinen Vorteil daraus ziehen koennen; mein Elternhaus in Laafeld 77 (vormals 21) steht weder im Burgenland noch in Kaernten; solange die Kirchenbuecher zurueckreichen, sind alle meine slowenischen Vorfahren aus einem Umkreis von 10-15 km gebuertig, also autochthon; der Artikel VII des Staatsvertrages von 1955 nennt meine Eltern und mich dreimal.-- Es gibt einen Artikel-VII-Kulturverein in der Steiermark, der auch mehr Unterstuetzung durch die Universitaet verdienen wuerde, welcher ohne Erfolg bisher fuer unsere Rechte kaempft etc. etc.-- In der Zwischenzeit habe ich erfahren, wohin alles UNIZEIT verschickt wird; ich muss daher aus dem Grunde des Zusammenfallens all dieser erschwerenden Umstaende aufs schaarfste gegen die chauvinistische und mich persoendlich aufs tiefste verletzende Diktion des Einleitungstextes protestieren; ich ersuche um

articles.- No answer. I wrote again, over Christmas, from my boyhood home at Poterna in the Slovenska krajina. On January 10th, 1989, at 9:40 a.m., his secretary ordered me by phone to see Bruenner, immediately, in his office, though I told her that I was sick<sup>1</sup>, that I had fever. Bruenner was harsh, not to say hostile; he saw nothing in the article to be corrected; I left. Unizeit never corrected it. Bruenner never corrected it either. As I realized years later, after reading my Stapo file (in July 1992), and after the second Unizeit attack against the Styrian Slovenes (N.4 ex 1992, October 1992, p.3), Bruenner and his fellow members do what they do - knowingly and willingly. Read page 3 of Unizeit 4/1992, written by a certain Martin Behr: In an essay, badly and unprofessionally composed, we find the false but bold printed message, that there exist around ("rund") 1000 Slovenes in Styria, a figure which is only half of the number of "1991 census" Slovenes, for example. But now we have it officially, printed by the glazed University PR outlet: They are there! 1000 dying people, all assimilated, without culture, most of them drunkards, some idiots; that's it! In the State Treaty we read of Austria's duty to delete all vestiges ("Spuren") of Nazism: Is this the reaction of the 1988/89 "Spurensucher" Bruenner, now?-- I hear Behr and Bruenner asking: Why are you still Slovene, Gombocz? Why not assimilated? Why did you survive the KZ, Koerbler? Why?-- I said, these University people do it willingly. What do they knowingly and willingly do? They negate our existence, they minimize our number even below the official (though worthless) census figures<sup>2</sup>, they get in contact with the secret police even earlier - December 1988! - as Dr. Krainer's office (see previous : February 1989) does. Etc., etc. As I mentioned in passing earlier, before I left Bruenner that day in January 1989 he asked for the addresses of two students (I did not provide), and, in addition, he gave me an "oral list" of 4 or 5 names of local OeVP politicians with whom we should get in contact to work out some strategy for our Radkersburg project. In January 1989 I have been surprised about this suggestion, and, fortunately, I have been skeptic, very skeptic; by July 15th, 1992, finally, I could read all these names (given to me by Bruenner) in the very next report from Graz in my Stapo file, just between Dr. Kranich and Dr. Krainer = A7A, s.v. Krainer, 1989-02-21. There is much more material in my Stapo file testifying against Bruenner's and the University's problems with "Spuren": In 1988/89,

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eine oeffentliche Richtigstellung.- Keep in mind, that the Stapo report by 1989-01-03 (sic! January!) quotes directly from my personal file at the University administration already: keep in mind, that my letter reached Bruenner's desk on the 29th of November 1988, the very latest; keep in mind, that "the two students" whose addresses Bruenner has been still after by January 10th, 1989, wrote their letter by December 3rd 1988; and, again, I have been ordered to see him in his office by January 10th 1989, 9:40 o'clock.

1. Cfr. the doctor's attestation, A7A, s.v. Kubin, 1988-12-29.

2. Regarding censuses Veiter well states (on pages 78-79 of his article quoted at the beginning) the internationally accepted truth which is ignored in Styria: "As in many other minority regions the results of the census are falsified and not valid... (o)ne can see that everywhere in Europe, where an ethnical census does exist..."

dated January 3rd, 1989, the Stapo Graz wrote a curriculum of a certain Wolfgang Gombocz including information and wordings which can have only been retrieved from my personal file ("Personalakt", esp. "Habilitationssakt") in the University administration, or from somebody having access to it. There are included, for example, very detailed singular features from my University career from the years 1980 and 1981, though this report has been written seven or eight years later in 1989; these rather old "news" are/have been known to a very small group of officials and bureaucrats only; the Stapo file does not name the denouncer, in this part of it there are no names of persons mentioned at all - with the very exception of only one: Ernst Topitsch<sup>1</sup>. I wish to state clearly, that he is not the denouncer - in my opinion. (I close here my report on the University, though I should fill a book, and soon, with all the relevant materials including Nazi and non-Nazi "Spuren" I collected so far in hecatombs<sup>2</sup>.)

## 7. Concluding remarks

Peaceful assimilation is one of the most effective weapons! These words, so peaceful in themselves, are uttered everywhere we intervene. Why? The argument seems to run the following way: Since intentionally self-chosen assimilation is something we must accept as normal and legal, and something we must respect, assistance to it ("Beihilfe") cannot be a crime or a violation of rights either. To put it bluntly, suicide, dear Koerbler, is not murder, assimilation is, therefore by parity of reasoning, in no case genocide. Suicide is a completely legal form of death in Austria and, of course, elsewhere; assistance to suicide (Beihilfe zur Selbsttoetung) is exempt of punishment (straffrei) in Austria, and this is good so for several reasons I very much appreciate. But should assistance to assimilation be also treated the same way?-- As Veiter<sup>3</sup> says, the most recent methods of discrimination are finer, are more subtle (he uses the word "cultivated"! ). Yes, they are, though not cultured! It's the language they kill, peacefully or not, the language! When there no Slovene language is spoken any more, then all Slovenes have been assimilated "peacefully"; a genos disappears without any homicidal killing on Austria's part; and, in consequence, since "everybody" (including Bruenners and Hallers and the like) reduces the UN concept of genocide to the #1 variety, no genocide proper is done. There is no such crime as language killing! Read Lang, read Dedijer, read Austria's Stapo files! Killing a language is straffrei, language murder happens unpun

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1. Cfr. A7A, s.v. Topitsch, 1989-01-03, p.4.

2. More and more I understand the direct meaning of what Dr. Krainer calls "ein Fundament unserer regionalen Identitaet", whenever I open the "Vorlesungsverzeichnis" at the beginning of an academic semester.

3. Cfr. the opening quotes from him at the beginning of this paper.

ished, that is to say that Slovenicide remains exempt from punishment in all of Austria in all cases<sup>1</sup>.

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3. Archives, esp. Article-7-Archives: The abbreviation **A7A**, followed by a name or further abbreviation and a date, refers to my private collection of several hundred documents, most of which are also available in Slovenia either via Prof. Anton Vratuša and/or via Prof. Mirko Križman.- The Abbreviation **AVA** refers to the Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv in Vienna.

4. Address of the "Article-VII-Association":  
Goritz 33, A-8490 Radkersburg, Austria.

My private address: W.L. Gombocz, A-8010 Schillingsdorf 5, Austria.

### Povzetek

## IZOBČENCI: STALNE KRŠITVE ČLOVEKOVIH PRAVIC NA AVSTRIJSKEM ŠTAJERSKEM S STRANI AVSTRIJE

Na avstrijskem Štajerskem so Slovenci in Cigani (Romi in Sinti) nenehno žrtve kršenja človekovih kakor tudi vseh drugih pravic. Po uvodnih dveh poglavjih, ki obravnavata človekove pravice na splošno, asimilacijo, genocid, "logocid", "slovenocid" in podobno, avtor opiše kršitve 8. člena Evropske konvencije o človekovih pravicah (paragraf 3) s strani tajne policije in/ali drugih. 4. odstavek obravnava dejanja (in zamisli, če to sploh so) nekega dr. Konrada Kranicha, okrajnega glavarja Radgone (Radkesburg). Kranich je član Ljudske stranke (OeVP), podobno kot nekateri drugi člani štajerske vlade. V nadaljevanju so opisana njihova dejanja (5. odstavek: Deželni glavar Josef Krainer in sočlana Franz Wegart in Helmut Heidinger). Šesti odstavek obravnava podobna protizakonita dejanja in napade tiska znotraj univerzitetnega sistema, v katere so bili vpleteni uradniki kot npr. Rector magnificus dr. Christian Bruenner; podoben je primer letaka "Unizeit" službe za stike z javnostjo. Gledano v celoti, avtor podaja pregled zgodovinskih dogodkov (npr. iz let 1946/47, 1957), doda več primerov kršitev državne pogodbe iz leta 1955, avstrijskih zakonov nasploh in človekovih pravic. V zaključku lahko ugotovimo, da poteka na Štajerskem "tiha" asimilacija, ki bo v končni fazi privedla do "slovenocida" in "ciganocida".