

**SLOVENIA AT THE CROSSROADS OF THE NINETIES:
FROM THE FIRST MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS AND
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE**

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1. Overview*

Until 1918 the Slovenes were subject to the Habsburg monarchy. They lived on territories divided into six historic lands: Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Gorizia, Trieste, Istria, and the counties of Zala and Vas (Prekmurje). They did not constitute an ethnic majority in any of these administrative units, with the exception of Carniola. After World War I the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was established and Slovenia became one of its administrative units. Slovenia was a federated republic of socialist Yugoslavia from the end of World War II until 1991.

In 1848 the Slovenes formulated a program for the unification of all Slovene ethnic territories, where Slovene would be the language of education and government, and where Slovenes would have their own parliament. This was the so-called program of "United Slovenia" (*Zedinjena Slovenija*) which would still be a part of the Habsburg monarchy.¹

Editor's note: On behalf of the Editorial Board, I welcome the circumstances which encourage Slovenes in Slovenia to express their personal views on contemporary political matters, as the author of this article (the first of its kind in *Slovene Studies*) from time to time does. At the same time, the Board wishes to remind the readership that "the views expressed in articles ... should in no way be construed as reflecting the views of the Society for Slovene Studies." It is hoped that the opinions expressed in this article, if and to the extent that they are controversial, will encourage further scholarly discussion, which we look forward to publishing in these pages.

* Sources for this article are from observations by the author himself and from information and comments obtained from several principal Slovene newspapers. One of these is the independent newspaper *Delo*, "independent newspaper for Independent Slovenia." Despite its label as an "independent newspaper," the majority of its reporters are former communists. Its ideological opposition is the newspaper *Slovenec*, "a newspaper for politics, economy, culture, and religion," which aims to be neutral, but strikes a clerical note. It has been supported by special funding from the Slovene state intended for the pluralization of the media. *Republika* is a newspaper distributed simultaneously in Ljubljana, Trieste/Trst and Klagenfurt/Celovec.

Slovenes had two major problems in mind when they were thinking about their national destiny in the period from 1918 to 1991. First was the destiny of Slovenia within Yugoslavia. The situation was such that Slovenes wanted to have as much autonomy as possible within Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was considered to have rescued the Slovene nation from the pressures of Germanization and Romanization that went on for centuries before and during the Hapsburg era.² There are numerous accounts of Slovene fights for survival in the twentieth century, the most noted one being the national liberation struggle during World War II.³ The second problem had to do with the struggle for survival of Slovene minorities outside of Yugoslavia in Austria, Italy, and Hungary.⁴

There are a number of reasons why the Slovenes wanted to separate from Yugoslavia. Their survival was endangered by the actions of the centralized Yugoslav state during the interwar period, as well as during the communist era. Slovene minorities in areas adjacent to Slovenia in Austria and Italy were decreasing in numbers. The Slovene economy after World War II had to adjust to the interests of the less prosperous parts of what was then Yugoslavia. The 1980s saw an attempt to centralize the Yugoslav economy even more, and to also equalize the school system and cultural and scholarly institutions. In the 1980s Serbian leaders in Yugoslavia wanted all Serbs to live in one state, not only formally but also in reality, and that is why they wanted to make it possible for the above areas of life to be centralized. Serbian leaders also wanted to change the constitutional arrangements of 1974, which

It covers the whole Slovene ethnic territory, in content also. *Republika* has attracted the best Slovene journalists with very high salaries.

- ¹ Vodopivec, Peter. "Slovenes in the Habsburg Empire or Monarchy," *Nationalities Papers* 21,1 [= Special Issue: *Voices from the Slovene Nation, 1990-1992*] (1993) 159-172.
- ² Pirjevec, Jože. "Slovenes and Yugoslavia 1918-1991," *Nationalities Papers* 21, 1 (1993) 109-118.
- ³ The first account of the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia was by Louis Adamic: *My Native Land* (New York: Harper, 1943). The most detailed account was by Metod Mikuž: *Pregled zgodovine narodno-osvobodilnega boja* 1-5 (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1960).
- ⁴ Klemenčič, Vladimir and Klemenčič, Matjaž, "Položaj slovenske manjšine na avstrijskem Koroškem v luči historičnih in soialnogeografskih procesov," *Koroški Slovenci v Avstriji včeraj in danes* (Celovec, Ljubljana: ČZDO Komunist, TOZD Komunist Ljubljana ter Založniška in tiskarska družba Drava Celovec, 1984) 95-111. Zorn, Tone, Ferenc, Tone, and Kacin-Wohinz, Milica. *Slovenci v zamejstvu* (Ljubljana: Borec, 1974).

allowed for a veto power by the republics before laws were implemented.⁵

On 23 December 1990 the citizens of Slovenia voted for an independent state by a vast majority. Slovene politicians negotiated with the federal government for the peaceful separation of Slovenia from the rest of the Yugoslav republics, but without success. Six months later, on 25 June 1991, Slovenia declared its independence. This act was followed by an attack of the (then still) Yugoslav People's Army on Slovenia with the goal of occupying the border crossings in Slovenia. The Army was trapped at barricades which the Slovene Territorial Defense constructed out of buses and trucks. With the help of mediators from European Community the so-called "Brioni Declaration," also known as the "three months' moratorium," was signed on 8 July 1991. This was an agreement between the Slovene authorities and the Yugoslav government on freezing the implementation of Slovenia's independence.⁶ The army lost the war on Slovene soil. This was confirmed by the fact that the attack on Slovenia was immediately followed by the desertion of non-Serbian and non-Montenegrin soldiers, that is soldiers of Muslim, Kosovo Albanian, Croatian, and Macedonian nationality, who did not want to fight against the Slovenes.⁷ The Brioni Declaration, which was sponsored by the European Community, prevented further air raids on Slovenia as well as any kind of larger military activity by the army on Slovene territory. Mediators from the European Community quickly negotiated the agreement between Slovenia and the army because the European community did not want war on its borders, and they still hoped that war in what used to be Yugoslavia could be prevented. They also still hoped that Slovenia might act as a democratizing force in Yugoslavia, but they soon realized that this was not possible. Thus Slovenia has these circumstances to thank that it emerged victorious out of the short war for its independence, and, economically speaking, it was fortunately not a completely ruined state as is the case with Croatia and Bosnia.⁸ After its defeat the Yugoslav army decided to retreat with all its equipment and machinery from Slovenia.

Why did the Yugoslav army and the Serbian-Montenegrin politicians decide to pull out of Slovenia? Controlling or absorbing Slovenia was only a Serb goal if it could be done with

⁵ Nečak, Dušan, "A Chronology," *Nationalities Papers* 21,1 (1993) 173-189.

⁶ *Vojna v Sloveniji od napadov na JLA do zmage nad JA*. Ljubljana: Mednarodno tiskovno središče, 1991.

⁷ Janša, Janez. *Premiki, Nastajanje in obramba Slovenske države 1988-1992*. (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1992) 160-274.

⁸ Rupel, Dimitrij. *Skrivnost države. Spomini na domače in zunanje zadeve 1989-1992*. (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1992) 158-182.

Slovene acquiescence and thus without major fighting. The initial Slovene resistance made it clear this would not happen. Serbia was concerned primarily with Croatia and Bosnia, not to mention Kosovo and Vojvodina. Slovenia would have been a bonus, but it was never a primary goal. Dissipating military strength in Slovenia would have made war in Croatia and elsewhere that much harder.⁹

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As soon as the three month moratorium determined by the Brioni Declaration had passed, on October 8, 1991, Slovenia resumed the implementation of its independence by introducing its own currency. By the end of October 1991 the last soldier of the Yugoslav army—i.e. the army that was considered by Slovenes to be a Serbian Communist occupation force—had left Slovene soil. By the end of that month, therefore, Slovenia had gained control over the territory of its state, had established a new currency and had clearly defined its boundaries.¹⁰

By then it had met all demands for international recognition, including the protection of the rights of national minorities along with being prepared for the peaceful solution of the problems of the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Yet it was not until January 15, 1992 that recognition came on the part of the European Community. Soon after that Slovenia became a regular member of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe.¹¹

On April 7 it was, together with Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, recognized by the United States, and April 23 witnessed its acceptance into the United Nations together with Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹² The process of recognition was concluded with the forming of a diplomatic relationship with the U.S.A on August 27, 1992.¹³

Already in the fall of 1992 the U.S.A. opened its embassy in Ljubljana and in January 1993 it opened its general consulate also in Ljubljana.¹⁴

Until mid-1992 international politics had considered the countries of Slovenia and Croatia as siblings (together with Bosnia and Herzegovina). But since June 1992 the differences between Slovenia and the other two countries in the field of international politics have begun to show. Various documents bearing agree-

⁹ Janša, 239-264.

¹⁰ Rupel, 187.

¹¹ Rupel, 239-242.

¹² "Slovenija sprejeta v Združene narode," *Delo* (28 August 1992) 1.

¹³ It is interesting to note that at the time of recognition of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, the CIA made a very good map of the states of former Yugoslavia together with maps of their economic resources: *The Former Yugoslavia: A Map Folio* (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992).

¹⁴ "Ameriški vizumi v Ljubljani," *Delo* (8 January 1993) 1.

ments on economic and trade cooperation with the EEC [European Economic Community] have already been signed, while negotiations on Slovenia's obtaining a position in the EEC similar to that of Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and Slovakia have been also taking place. All these facts inevitably result in the position which Slovenia has established, and which differs considerably from that of the rest of the states of former Yugoslavia. They also guarantee a more normal and stable political life in Slovenia.¹⁵

In May 1993 Slovenia became a regular member of the Council of Europe.¹⁶ This was a milestone on Slovenia's path to Europe. It meant that Slovenia had become internationally recognized as a part of civilized Europe, that part which respects human rights, has a democratic multiparty parliamentary system, a democratically elected government, and a free enterprise economic system. Membership in the Council of Europe is also a precondition to apply for membership in all other European institutions, from the European Community to the Western European Union, which is an organization of European NATO states.

2. The Economic Situation in Slovenia Compared with that of the Former Yugoslav Republics

In the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia Slovenia was economically the most advanced among the republics. Productivity in Slovenia was four to five times the productivity of the most backward parts of Yugoslavia. Slovenia had been providing 30% of the convertible export of the whole Yugoslav state. The wages of people working in Slovenia were up to three times the amount of those earned by workers in Kosovo and Montenegro. The secession of Slovenia from Yugoslavia and the dissolution of the latter deeply affected the Slovene economy through the complete loss of a market, most of which had already, indeed, been virtually lost at the end of the 1980s. The Serbian authorities at that time called upon their citizens to boycott Slovene products, due to disagreements with Slovenia with respect to the Serbian handling of the Kosovo Albanian population. The trade wars in the territory of Yugoslavia, the embargo on Slovene products, and other events, represented the beginning of the end of Yugoslavia. Already at the end of the 1980s managers of Slovene firms were obliged to turn from the Yugoslav market toward others, outside the borders of Yugoslavia, thus preparing

¹⁵ "Skupna ocena tujih opazovalcev o volitvah v Sloveniji," "Brez zapletov demokratično," "Mnenje opazovalcev Sveta Evrope: Slovenija - odprta vrata v Svet Evrope," *Večer* (7 December 1992).

¹⁶ "Slovenija v Evropi pred palačo Sveta Evrope bo v petek dopoldan zavihrala Slovenska zastava," *Republika* (13 May 1993).

themselves for what was to come. The war, without doubt, hindered all forms of communication between Slovenia and the rest of former Yugoslavia, except with Croatia and Macedonia. Slovenia made agreements with Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina which defined free-market zones, enabling finished goods to circulate tariff-free. In summer 1992 it was Croatia, by imposing tariffs on Slovene goods, which first violated this agreement (and Slovenia then imposed tariffs on Croatian products), forcing Slovenia to become even more dependent on trading with other European markets. Nevertheless, the dissolution of Yugoslavia also brought some economic advantages to Slovenia. There was, for example, no further need to support the Yugoslav People's Army. Now the funds which Slovenia allots for defense purposes amount to only a part of what it had to pay for that army.

Convertible currencies also remain available in Slovenia, the consequence of which is relative stability in the exchange value of the Slovene tolar, which can be illustrated as follows. On 8 October 1991 the tolar was at par with the Yugoslav dinar. A comparison with the subsequent dinar of the Yugoslav Serbian-Montenegrin Federation is not possible, since the Yugoslav dinar is in a constant process of devaluation and the Serbian government has more than once printed new money and eliminated the zeros on their bills. When the Macedonian dinar was introduced on 9 May 1992 it was worth 0.14 tolar; by 25 June 1993 it had fallen in value to 0.0513 tolar. The Croatian dinar was introduced on 25 December 1991 at par with the Slovene tolar; in June 1992, it was worth only 0.42 Slovene tolar, and by June 1993 it had fallen to 0.041. In contrast, the Slovene tolar has fared better. On 25 June 1991, the rate was 23.13 Yugoslav dinars to the American dollar; two years later, on 25 June 1993 the rate was 119.29 Slovene tolar to the U.S. dollar, a much smaller rate of inflation.¹⁷

Matters in Slovenia in 1991 were also not exactly prosperous or what one would call flourishing. The level of inflation in Slovenia for the year ending June 1991 was 267 percent. It approximated to 90.6% for the year ending June 1992. It settled to 26.2% in the year ending June 1993. Monthly inflation rate figures were 12.4% in June 1991, 5.9% in June 1992, and 1.5% in June 1993.¹⁸

In June 1991 the average monthly salary in Slovenia was \$US 628.48, in June 1992 \$US 643.70, and in June 1993 it was \$US 610.00. In order to compare the Slovene economic situation with other Eastern European countries, we should note that at the same

¹⁷ Sources: Zavod za statistiko Republike Slovenije and Narodna banka Slovenije.

¹⁸ Ibid.

time the average salary in the Czech Republic was 70% of that in Slovenia, and in Poland it was only 35% of the Slovene salary. It is also worth mentioning that the foreign currency reserves of Slovenia exceeded \$US 1.4 billion in July 1993.¹⁹

3. Slovene Political Parties and the First Free Multiparty Parliamentary Elections in Slovenia after World War II

The first democratic elections since World War II were held in Slovenia in April 1990. They took place according to a new electoral law, which was passed by a communist-dominated parliament. This law did not change the three chamber system that had been in force in the country during the communist era. In the Slovene parliament there were thus three chambers: the Chamber of Political Affairs, the Chamber of Associated Labor, and the Chamber of Territorial Communities. The Political Chamber was the only one which dealt with political issues during the transition period. On 10 April 1990, when the first "multiparty" free parliamentary elections since World War II were held in Slovenia, the parliamentary coalition DEMOS won power in the political chamber. DEMOS is the Slovene democratic opposition representing a coalition of the newly formed democratic parties. The bases of some of the parties can be recognized from the period before World War II.

The Slovene Christian Democrats (*Slovenski krščanski demokrati*, SKD), the immediate successor of the Slovene People's Party (*Slovenska ljudska stranka*, SLS) from before World War I and between both World Wars, is one of them. It is mainly supported by the rural population and religious people in the cities, who over the decades after World War II had moved from the rural areas into towns in large numbers. This party won 13% of the votes at the elections. The Slovene Democratic Alliance (*Slovenska demokratska zveza*, SDZ) was first among the new parties to emerge on the Slovene scene at the end of the 1980s. Slovene intellectuals and common Slovene people formed the basis of this party, which also laid the foundations for later political life in Slovenia. At the same time it elaborated the formation of the program for the independence of Slovenia in the 57th issue of *Nova Revija*.²⁰ This party received 9.5% of the vote. The Green Party of Slovenia (*Zelena stranka Slovenije*, ZSS), like Green parties all over Europe, based its program on the preservation of the environment. The party's most enthusiastic supporters are young people and the highly educated who show deep concern for their environment. This party won 8.8% of the votes. The Slovene Farmers' Alliance (*Slovenska kmečka zveza*,

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ *Nova Revija* 57 (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba) 1986.

SKZ) which later changed its name to the Slovene People's Party (*Slovenska ljudska stranka*, SLS), found members mainly among the rural population. It was engaged in problems concerning the peasants and it gained 12.6% of the votes. The disappointed industrial workers supported the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (*Socialno demokratska stranka*, SDS) led by Jože Pučnik, one of the few political émigrés of the 1950s who returned to Slovenia with only one purpose, namely to organize his own political movement. The party gained 7.4% of the votes. The Slovene managers and owners of small companies who had survived the period of socialism in Slovenia, united in the Slovene Small Businessmen's Party (*Slovenska obrtniško podjetniška stranka*, SOPS) which is striving for the largest possible business freedom of companies. The party won 3.5 % of the votes.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN SLOVENIA
(before the 1990 election) - a selection

LDS	<i>Liberalno demokratska stranka</i> (Liberal Democratic Party)
SDP	<i>Stranka demokratične prenove</i> (Party of Democratic Renewal)
SDS	<i>Socialno demokratska stranka</i> (Social Democratic Party)
SDZ	<i>Slovenska demokratska zveza</i> (Slovene Democratic Alliance)
SKD	<i>Slovenski krščanski demokrati</i> (Slovene Christian Democrats)
SKZ	<i>Slovenska kmečka zveza</i> (Slovene Farmers' Alliance)
SOPS	<i>Slovenska obrtniško podjetniška stranka</i> (Slovene Small Businessmen's Party)
SSS	<i>Socialistična stranka Slovenije</i> (Socialist Party of Slovenia)
ZS	<i>Zeleni Slovenije</i> (Green Party of Slovenia)

DEMOS, a coalition of six parties, won altogether more than 55% of the votes. It is useful to note that this majority was not big enough to make basic changes in the system; larger majorities would be needed. It is also worth mentioning that political ideologies within DEMOS ranged from the Christian Democrats to the Socialist Democrats, so it was not easy to work out solutions for internal political problems in the country.

Apart from the above-mentioned parties, three other parties which also emerged from already-existing political structures came into being on the Slovene political scene. One should mention first the Party of Democratic Reforms (*Stranka demokratične prenove*, SDP) which grew from the old Slovene League of Communists. The party is led by Ciril Ribičič, the son of the controversial Slovene politician Mitja Ribičič, who had a leading position in post-World War II Yugoslavia. Mitja Ribičič is also held responsible for the post-war massacres of the "Domobranci" (anti-communist fighters who fought the parti-sans during World

War II). Ciril Ribičič lectures on constitutional law at the Law Faculty in Ljubljana. I believe that the party deserves the attention of Slovene voters, for it enabled, in my opinion, a peaceful transition from a one-party to a multiparty system in Slovenia. Some analysts believe that the party had no other choice but to leave power peacefully and that its leader Milan Kučan had the sense to see it, carrying the party with him. The Party of Democratic Reforms won 17.3% of the votes, cast by people from all strata of Slovene society.

The former Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia (*Socialistična zveza delovnega ljudstva Slovenije*, SZDLS) which was a front organization during the period of the communist system, was reshaped into a special party. This organization formed the Socialist Party of Slovenia (*Socialistična stranka Slovenije*, SSS), yet it gained merely 5.4% of the vote, which came mainly from former activists of the Socialist Alliance.

Special attention ought to be paid to the Liberal Democratic Party (*Liberalno demokratska stranka*, LDS) which emerged from the Slovene Youth Organization (*Zveza socialistične mladine Slovenije*, ZSMS), and in the beginning represented one of the supporters of the communist system in Slovenia. Yet already in the mid-1980s, with its revolutionary periodical *Mladina*, it became one of the cornerstones of the opposition in the country. It was this organization that suggested the election of Janez Drnovšek as a member of the presidency of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia in 1988. It is a party of the political center and its members are mainly former youth activists, liberally-oriented intellectuals, and ordinary people. The party achieved 14.5% of the vote in the elections.²¹

4. The Presidential Elections of 1990

The Communist and Socialist Parties' candidate and former president, Milan Kučan, won the presidential election. He competed with a populist candidate, Ivan Kramberger, who received 18% of the votes; Marko Demšar, the candidate of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS); and Jože Pučnik, president of the DEMOS. In the first round of the elections no candidate received a majority, so a second ballot was held, in which Milan Kučan

²¹ "Poročilo o izidu glasovanja za izvolitev delegatov v družbeno politični zbor Skupščine Republike Slovenije 8 in 22 aprila 1990," *Uradni list Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Republika Slovenija) April 30, 1990, 1000. Balkovec, Bojan, "Political parties in Slovenia," *Nationalities Papers* 21,1 (1993) 189-192.

received 54% and Jože Pučnik 46% of the vote.²² It is my view that Milan Kučan's victory was a reflection of the gratitude of Slovene voters for his recognizing fairly early that the period of a one-party system was more or less over. Even when he was still president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, he took an active part in striving for the transition of the Slovene Republic to a multiparty system. Once he realized that there was no way to democratize Yugoslavia, he, together with the other leading Slovene communists of the time, decided to leave the Yugoslav Communist Party. It was on 20 January 1990, an important date in his personal history, that the Slovene delegates walked out of the 14th Emergency Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, because all their proposals on the democratization of Yugoslavia had been blocked.²³

5. The First Freely-Elected Slovene Government

On the basis of the results of the 1990 elections, the first freely-elected Slovene government was formed from the members of the DEMOS parties. It was the Christian Democrat Lojze Peterle who led this first freely-elected government. The government consisted of specialists in various fields of government, although its members were also party leaders. There were eight university professors among the members of the new government as well as people who had held positions in previous Slovene governments. Vice-presidents of this government were: Jože Mencinger, Economy; Matija Malešič, Social Services, Education, and Health; Leo Sešerko, Ecology and Regional Development; Marko Kranjec, Finance; Janez Janša, National Defense; Igor Bavčar, Police; Rajko Pirnat, Administration of Justice; Jožica Puhar, Labor; Igor Umek, Social Planning; Stane Stanič, Information; Lojze Janko, Legislation; Dimitrij Rupelj Foreign Affairs; Miha Jazbinšek, Environmental Protection; Izidor Rejc, Industry and Construction; Miha Tomšič, Energy; Maks Bastel, Markets; Igor Paš, Tourism; Jože Osterc, Farming, Forestry, and Food; Viktor Brezar, Small Enterprises; Marjan Kranjc, Traffic and Communications; Franc Godeša, Veterans Administration; Katja Boh, Health; Peter Vencelj, Education; Andrej Capuder, Culture; Peter Tancig, Science and Technology; and Janez Dular, Slovenes Abroad and Italian and Hungarian Nationals in Slovenia.²⁴

²² "Poročilo o ugotovitvi izida glasovanja za predsednika predsedstva Republike Slovenije," *Uradni list Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Republika Slovenija) April 30, 1990: 999.

²³ Nečak, "A chronology."

²⁴ *Uradni list Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Republika Slovenija) 25 May 1990: 1042.

6. The Struggles between the Old and New Parties, Scandals, Replacement of Governmental Presidents and New Coalitions

The period from the elections and the setting up of new authority until the recognition of Slovenia as part of the European Community was a time when the Slovenes were nearly unanimous in their decisions. The opposition was not much of an obstacle to the government's political activities, for the former as well as the latter strived for the realization of the same goals, which were the independence and recognition of Slovenia. The rich political variety in the government enabled individual members of Parliament and the Prime Minister and other members of the government to make contacts at party level with a large number of parties in Europe. Thus an international political involvement of Slovenia was made possible even before its recognition. After Slovenia was recognized it began to appear that the government was not able to cope with economic problems. The DEMOS coalition itself was a broad spectrum of parties with divergent ideologies, which in a normal parliamentary atmosphere would not work together in a coalition. Therefore, they could not agree on domestic policy. At the same time, the coalition faced a strong (45%) opposition from the Liberal Democrats and ex-Communists, and moreover, powerful personality clashes occurred between individual leaders of DEMOS parties (e.g., Rupel vs. Peterle, see below) and between them and others. It had also become obvious that this government consisted of a coalition of political parties which on the one hand had overpowered the communist forces in the Slovene elections, but on the other hand encompassed the whole spectrum of traditional European parliament. Therefore, as DEMOS was deeply divided on domestic policy, changes became inevitable.²⁵

The Slovene Democratic Union (SDZ) dissolved into the left-center-orientated Democrats (*Demokratska stranka*, DS) and the right-center-orientated National Democrats (*Narodni demokrati Slovenije*, NDS). As we have seen already, the Slovene Democratic Union (SDZ) was the first party to emerge in Slovenia (with the exception of the Slovene Farmers' Alliance (SKZ)), and for that reason it was very much stretched between two extremes. Within the Democratic Party there were accelerated preparations in anticipation of the first regular congress; this took place on December 21, 1991. They temporarily defined their relationship towards the DEMOS as a position "in the space of DEMOS." It was already at this juncture that they decided to propose that Lojze Peterle be replaced by Igor Bavčar; yet Bavčar, Janez Janša, Spomenka Hribar and Dimitrij Rupel eventually agreed that the DEMOS should continue to exist even though it had already

²⁵ Rupel, 214.

exhausted and completed its historic role, that is, defeating the Communists in the spring of 1990. They also proposed that new elections to the Slovene Parliament be held in April. But there were no elections in April and thus the political intrigues continued.²⁶

One event aroused special interest, something that could emerge only in the atmosphere of naive Slovene democracy: revelation of the state's top-secret information. Every country has its intelligence service as well as organs supervising it. Yet there should have been no public discussion on matters linked to the intelligence service during the time when Slovenia was still struggling for its independence. The point at issue was as follows: a few days before the implementation of independence Slovene intelligence had tapped the telephones of some Slovene personalities of the highest ranks, including a member of the presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, and some foreign representatives in Slovenia. This became public just before the December 1992 elections.²⁷ The controversy was first aired by the publication of memoirs of some former ministers which discussed events which occurred when they were still in office. Those involved were Janez Janša, Minister of Defense; Ciril Zlobec, a member of the presidency of the Republic of Slovenia,²⁸ and Dimitrij Rupel, the Foreign Minister.²⁹

Mention must also be made of individual party leaders switching to other parties. The Minister of Defense, Janez Janša, for obvious reasons one of the most popular personalities in Slovenia, switched from the Slovene Democratic Alliance (SDZ) to the Social Democrats (SDS) and became one of the vice-chairmen and later chairman of that party. Ivan Oman, party chairman of the Slovene Farmers' Alliance (SKZ) and a member

²⁶ Rupel, 214.

²⁷ Žajdela, Ivo: "Prisluškovalna afera se izteka, Pravna podlaga za Delo Vis ostaja nedorečena," *Slovenec* (24 December 1992) 2; "Bavčar. Zapisnik o prisluškovalni aferi vnil po 22. urah, toda... Bučar zadržal objavo, Nekateri se sprašujejo, ali se bo 'dan kasneje' sploh kdaj zgodil," *Dnevnik* (24 December 1992) 3; "Se bo prisluškovalna afera razpletla, Zapisnik komisije za Vis, Naj o problematiki nadzora nad zakonitostjo dela varnostno-informativne službe razpravlja državni zbor, je včeraj predlagala posebna delovna skupina vodij poslanskih klubov. Umaknjen Bučarjev embargo," *Večer* (21 January 1993) 2; "Zapisnik seje Vis še ni dober za javnost, Iz zapisnika naj bi še pred javno objavo črtali vse podatke, ki nosijo oznako državna tajnost," *Delo* (23 December 1992) 2; "Strogo nadzorovani zapisnik je javen," *Delo* (21 January 1993) 1.

²⁸ Janša, *Premiki*, 200. Zlobec, Ciril, *Lepo je biti Slovenec, ni pa lahko*. (Ljubljana: Mihelač, 1992) 130.

²⁹ Rupel, 214.

of the presidency of the Slovene republic, the man who failed in uniting that party with the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKD), became a member of this latter party and also its vice-chairman. These are perhaps unimportant facts to an outsider, but they are necessary to understand that the Slovene political structure of the early 1990s was not as developed as it might have been in countries with a long democratic political tradition. The Slovene political scene has recently witnessed an increase in the number of candidates for the position of prime minister. The first among them was the Minister of Police, Igor Bavčar, who did not succeed in replacing Prime Minister Lojze Peterle.³⁰

It is also interesting to note that a debate of this kind within the Slovene government resulted in no advantage for the Slovene political and economic development at the time. Ministers sent letters to each other (and released them to the public), in which they criticized the government, i.e., the same government they had been representing. Of particular interest was the conflict between Prime Minister Lojze Peterle and his Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel. It should be mentioned that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took action on a number of occasions without instructions from the Prime Minister; and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself on several occasions was not informed of the whereabouts of the Prime Minister or whom he was to visit. We may also add that the nomination of special Slovene representatives abroad took place in a rather unusual manner, whereby the interests of the political parties played a very important role. An especially interesting case was the appointment of Peter Milonig, an Austrian contractor of Slovene descent who owned a company in Washington DC, who became the representative of Slovenia in the U.S.A. In my view, it should have been possible to find a better man for the job among Slovenes in the American capital. There are some Slovenes who held government positions and there are others who held positions in the U.S. Congress. If I myself were to decide who would be the best man, I would suggest Vladimir Pregelj, who works for the Congressional Research Service and who became nationally known during President Nixon's impeachment trial as head of the jury. Peterle's party interest played an important role in the appointment of Mr. Milonig as representative of Slovenia to the United States.

A similar case was the appointment of Karel Smolle as Slovene Representative to Austria. At first Smolle performed his functions flawlessly, but despite this, due to the conflict between the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, he eventually was demoted to

³⁰ Rupel, 130.

the post of Honorary Slovene Consul in Klagenfurt/Celovec³¹ and was fired after eight months.

Janez Drnovšek received several invitations for membership from various political Parties, but hesitated for some time before deciding to join the Slovene Liberal Democrats (LDS). He became party chairman and at the same time one of the most serious candidates for the post of Prime Minister. Drnovšek succeeded in overthrowing Peterle's government by forming a new party coalition consisting of the Slovene Liberal Democrats (LDS), the Democratic Party (DS), the Slovene Socialist Party (SSS), the Green Party of Slovenia (ZS) and the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (SDSS). This government was also supported by most of the delegates of the Party of Democratic Reforms (SDP).³²

7. The New Constitution

After a long parliamentary debate the new Slovene constitution was adopted by the Parliament. The constitution is very short, defining Slovenia as an independent and democratic republic with a free enterprise system. It derived many of its ideas from Western European systems, particularly Austria. The State Assembly is comprised of 90 members, and the Council of State consists of 40 members. The elections to the State Assembly were organized according to a fairly complicated system (the Dhont system) which is a combination of the proportional and the majority systems.

The other chamber is the Council of State. According to the constitution, the Council of State is the representative of social, economic, professional, and local interests; its structure and functioning were adopted into the Slovene constitution following the Bavarian example. The Council of State therefore consists of four representatives each of employers and employees, two representatives each from the farmers, craftsmen, and independent professions, and six representatives from non-economic activities. The Council of State does not have law-making powers, yet it may propose to the State Assembly laws for adoption. It can express its opinion to the State Assembly on all matters within its competence; it may demand that a law passed by the State Assembly be reconsidered; it may also demand the calling of a constitutional referendum, and the investigation of matters of public importance. The Council of State can perform its duties only if the majority of its councilors are present at the session; and it adopts laws similarly to the State Assembly, by the majority of valid votes of council members in attendance. The demand for

³¹ Puc, Ivan, "Razpust in razpad Demosa, Konstruktivne nezaupnice, nova vlada, volitve...", *Slovenska politika v letu 1992*, *Slovenec* (31 December 1992) 2.

³² Puc, 2.

calling a constitutional referendum can be taken by a majority vote of all members.

A member of the Council of State cannot at the same time be a delegate to the State Assembly, and councilors will not perform their professional duties (which is also the rule for delegates) and they will have the same right to immunity as delegates.³³

8. The Presidential Elections of 1992

According to the new constitution the Presidency of Slovenia, which had consisted of six members, was abolished and the President lost most of his executive powers, becoming more or less a figurehead. Elections for the Presidency were held in December 1992. Milan Kučan, the former President, was undoubtedly the favorite in these elections. From the eight candidates he gained 64% of the vote; Ivan Bizjak, the candidate proposed by the Christian Democratic Party (SKDS), gained 21% of the vote; and Jelko Kacin gained 7.29% of the vote. The rest of the candidates received less than 2% each. It is interesting to note that Ljubo Sirc, the candidate of the party which gained the relative majority of the vote in the parliamentary election (see 9. below), that is, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), himself achieved merely 1.5% of the vote. Milan Kučan was thus undoubtedly the favorite in these elections, and the 21% of the vote gained by Ivan Bizjak belongs to those voters who, for historical reasons, could not find the will power to vote for a communist, even if it was the reformed and democratic communist Milan Kučan. This 21% of the vote also represents the electoral base of the Christian Democrats. The popularity of Jelko Kacin, the Democratic candidate, grew in the eyes of his supporters while he was the Minister of Information during the brief Slovene war. This also explains the number of votes in his favor. Ljubo Sirc is an interesting person, for he came to participate in the elections from Edinburgh in Scotland, where he worked as the head of the Centre for Research into Communist Economy. He is one of those people who, for political reasons, had not visited Slovenia since the 1950s, as he had been previously imprisoned there under communism. He escaped from prison and from Yugoslavia in 1950s. We may say that the result of the presidential election could have been predicted, and that the media had anticipated it before the beginning of the elections. It is also worth mentioning that the populist candidate Ivan

³³ *Ustava Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1991). "Državni svet: odmik od prvotne ideje? Če bodo prevladali lokalni interesi, ki jih bo zastopalo 22 državnih svetnikov, bodo predstavniki drugih interesov brez moči pri glasovanju," *Delo*, (16 December 1992). Vukelič, Majda, "Volitve v državni svet danes, II. del. Elektorji bodo volili 18 predstavnikov v državni svet," *Republika* (10 December 1992) 4.

Kramberger, who talked about “bread and butter” in his election campaign of 1990, was not alive at the time of the elections as he had been killed by an insane assassin.

9. The Parliamentary Elections of 6 December 1992

The outcome of the Slovene elections in 1992 could be compared to the congressional elections during the Reconstruction Period in United States history. There was much debate in Slovenia about this, and I have written a description of these debates.³⁴

POLITICAL PARTIES IN SLOVENIA (after the 1992 election) - a selection

DS	<i>Demokratska stranka</i> (Democratic Party)
LDS	<i>Liberalno demokratska stranka</i> (Liberal Democratic Party)
NDS	<i>Narodni demokrati Slovenije</i> (National Democrats of Slovenia)
NNS	<i>Nova nacionalna stranka</i> [New National Party]
SDS	<i>Slovenska delavska stranka</i> [Slovene Labor Party]
SDSS	<i>Socialno demokratska stranka Slovenije</i> (Social Democratic Party of Slovenia)
SKD	<i>Slovenski krščanski demokrati</i> (Slovene Christian Democrats)
SLS	<i>Slovenska ljudska stranka</i> (Slovene People's Party)
SNS	<i>Slovenska nacionalna stranka</i> (Slovene National Party)
SSU	<i>Stranka Slovenskih upokojencev</i> (Party of Slovene Pensioners)
ZESS	<i>Zeleni - ekološka socialna stranka</i> (Green Ecological Social Party of Slovenia)
ZL	<i>Združena lista</i> (United List)
ZS	<i>Zeleni Slovenije</i> (Green Party of Slovenia)

Quite a number of political parties participated in the 1992 elections for the State Assembly. We could say that the media, as well as experts in political science in Slovenia, fairly precisely anticipated the results of the elections even before the campaign started. Twenty-two parties participated in the elections for the State Assembly and eight of them received enough votes to secure representation: the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), 23.3%; the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKDS), 14.5%; the United List (comprised of a number of left-wing parties, most notably the Party of Democratic Reforms (SDP), i.e. the successor of what was once the League of Communists), 13.6%; the Slovene National Party (SNS), 10%; the Slovene People's Party (SLS), 8.8%; the

³⁴ Klemenčič, Matjaž, “To fellow Americanists: A letter from Slovenia,” *Journal of American History* (Bloomington IN) December 1993.

Democratic Party (DSS), 5%; the Green Party of Slovenia (ZSS) 3.7%; and the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (SDSS) 3.3%.³⁵

It is worth mentioning that there was a new party in the State Assembly, the Slovene National Party (SNS). This party soon split into two factions: the eponymous Slovene National Party and a right wing faction. The Slovene National Party acknowledged the national liberation struggle of the Partisans during World War II. It fights for the Slovene national interest by campaigning on behalf of Slovene minorities in Austria, Italy, and Hungary, as well as opposing the law on citizenship which provides Slovene citizenship for immigrants from the other Yugoslav republics. The Green Party of Slovenia (ZS) also split into two factions, the more left-wing Green Ecological Social Party (*Zeleni - Ekološko Socialna Stranka*, ZESS) and the Green Party (ZS). Only the former has members in the parliament and a member in the Slovene government. These are Božidar Voljč and the party's leader, Dušan Plut, who is a member of the Council of State.³⁶ The new, more right-wing Green Party's president, Vane Gošnik, is a former vice-president of the Slovene Parliament. The Green Party has legally inherited the belongings and the name of former party. It also has some members on the local level.

A comparison between the electoral results according to the proportional representation of political parties shows that the Socialist Party of Slovenia (SSS), which was the successor to the Socialist Alliance of Working People (SZDLS), was excluded because it did not receive enough votes to have a seat in parliament.

On the other hand, we should note that the Slovene parliament now includes also members of the Slovene National Party (SNS). The emergence of the Slovene National Party is actually not something unusual in Western Europe. It gained the support of its voters through "populist" ideas. With respect to their level of aggressiveness, it is difficult to compare this party with others like the Republicans in Germany or the supporters of Le Pen's Party in France. It cannot be compared, either, with Jörg Haider's Carinthian Liberals (young Austrian-German nationalists who oppose the interests of the Slovene minority in Carinthia as well as those of immigrants in Austria).³⁷ The members of the Slovene

³⁵ *Uradni list Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Republika Slovenija) December 1992.

³⁶ "Vsaka družba ima robove, ki vznikajo in usihajo. Peter Tancig, predsednik Zelenih - ekološko socialne stranke. Rešili smo Drnovška, ko je šlo za biti ali ne biti. Zmagajo Jelinčič predsednik Slovenske nacionalne stranke," *Republika* (10 March 1993) 11.

³⁷ On Haider's political ideology, see Molzer, Andreas: *Jörg - der Eisbrecher, Jörg Heider und die Freiheitlichen, Perspektiven der politischen Erneuerung* (Wien: Suxsess, 1990).

National Party are people who have already during the first days in parliament proved to be much more tolerant in their demands than would have been expected of them. The Slovene National Party is a phenomenon that deserves more attention. Its founder, Zmago Jelinčič, was charged with being a collaborator of the former secret police. Jelinčič's party underwent a schism and six of its deputies founded a new party called the New National Party (*Nova Nacionalna Stranka*, NNS). They are much more aggressive than Jelinčič's party. It may also be mentioned that Jelinčič's party actually supported the government that was formed after the election, although it did not become part of it.³⁸ The electoral base for Jelinčič's party were those who voted for the late Ivan Kramberger.

The Slovene elections were thus more or less over, and only the calculations remained as to who and how many members of which party would occupy seats in the State Assembly. It is also of interest that the composition of the Assembly as a whole is not extremely varied. The majority of delegates have finished university studies; four have M.A. degrees; thirteen have Ph.Ds. There are only ten women in the Assembly. Delegates were elected to the Assembly according to a very complicated system which includes 22 delegates from the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), 15 from the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKDS), 14 from the United List (Party of Democratic Reforms (SDP), Party of Slovene Pensioners (*Stranka Slovenskih upokojencev*, SSU), the Social Democratic Union (SDZS), the Labor Party (*Slovenska delavska stranka*, SDS)), 12 from the Slovene National Party (SNS), 10 from the Slovene People's Party (SLS), 6 from the Democrats (DSS), 5 from the Green Ecological Social Party (ZESS), 4 from the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (SDSS) and two representatives from the Italian and Hungarian national minorities.

Besides the Slovene National Party, the Democratic Party (DS) is also a new name on the Slovene political scene. The Democrats emerged after the splitting of the Slovene Democratic Union (SDZ). At a meeting on 12 October 1991 the party was split into what were provisionally called the Slovene National Democrats (*Narodni Demokrati Slovenije*, NDS) and the Democratic Party (DS). At the time this was a case of splitting according to the Western-European fashion, that is, into a right and left wing of the party. The Democratic Party later managed to

³⁸ "Jelinčič, Fenomen. Skrivnost majhnih plakatov," *Delo - Sobotna priloga* (December 12, 1992) 25. "Jelinčič brez šestih poslancev," *Delo* (January 28, 1993)1. "Križa v Jelinčičevi stranki se povečuje," *Delo* (January 25, 1993) 1.

obtain seats in Parliament, while its counterpart was unable to do so.³⁹

10. Social Circumstances and the Economic Basis of Political Parties in Slovenia

The existence of parties in Slovenia officially depends on membership fees contributed by their members. Certain scandals in the summer of 1993 make us at least suspicious about the financing of the former communist Party through the gambling industries. Also one should not neglect the support that the Christian Democrats (SKD) and the Slovene Farmers' Alliance (SKZ) have received from abroad from those Slovene emigrants whom political circumstances and the war forced to migrate soon after World War II. The two parties obtained a considerable amount of financial support during the 1990 elections from post World War II émigrés.⁴⁰

11. The Formation of the Parliamentary Leadership and the Second Drnovšek Government

After the elections in December 1992, Slovenia entered 1993 without a consolidated government. First there was the question of constituting the State Assembly and its leadership. The State Assembly was constituted at its first session, which began with the election of the president of the State Assembly and the president of the Council of State. Even before the elections the Liberal Democrats (LDS) had tried to make an agreement with the Christian Democrats (SKD) on electing the Christian Democrat Lojze Peterle as the president of the State Assembly, to which the Christian Democrats initially were not prepared to agree. But when the Liberal Democrats proposed Herman Rigelnik (who had been deputy prime minister of the previous Drnovšek government) as chairman of the State Assembly, the situation developed so that Rigelnik was eventually chosen (with 48 delegate votes, as opposed to 32 for Peterle). Delegates from the State Assembly proposed three candidates, but Rigelnik was later elected chairman. Miroslav Mozetič of the Slovene Christian Democrats became vice-president, and the place of second vice-president was taken by Lev Kreft, a member of the United List.⁴¹ The third vice-

³⁹ Puc, 23.

⁴⁰ Klemenčič, Matjaž, "Izseljenci iz vrst Jugoslovanskih narodov v ZDA in njihove reakcije na človekove pravice in narodna vprašanja v Jugoslaviji v osemdesetih letih," *Pravo teorija in praksa otvoreni problemi narodnosti u Jugoslaviji. Zbornik Radova* (Novi Sad: Društvo pravnika, 1990) 204-211.

⁴¹ "Rigelnik predsednik Državnega zbora," "Kristan Sveta, Parlament že deluje," "Predsednik prisegel," "Zapleti pri kandidaturah za vodilne funkcije,"

chairman of the State Assembly was supposed to be a representative of the opposition, but none of the candidates obtained the necessary majority of votes at the second session of the Assembly.⁴² At the March session of the Slovene Parliament Vladimir Topler from the Green Ecological Social Party (ZESS) was elected as the third vice president.⁴³

Ivan Kristan was the candidate for Chairman of the Council of State. He was one of the most well-known legal experts of former Yugoslavia, who had been in favor of transforming Yugoslavia into a confederation on the basis of the 1974 constitution. It is interesting to note that although the Council of State was intended to be politically neutral and independent of any party, Ivan Kristan is a member of the Liberal Democratic Party. Besides performing the function of president at the University of Ljubljana, he was during his career also a member of the Constitutional Court of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. He was elected by a vast majority. Nevertheless, he was now elected to the Council of State as a representative of local interests. Polde Bibič, a renowned Slovene actor and a member of the United List, assumed the function of vice-president. He was elected to the Council of State as a representative of non-economic activities. The mandate of both above-mentioned representatives covers a one year period. After being elected Ivan Kristan said:

“Kot predsednik Državnega sveta si bom prizadeval, da Državni svet ne bo deloval po strankarski logiki, ki bo seveda značilna za Državni zbor. Interesne skupine se bodo morale med sabo dogovoriti ter uskladiti, le tako bo njihov vpliv lahko močan.”

Polde Bibič was convinced that the most important value of the Council of State would be in the fact that it would tackle problems from real life and not only those concerned with politics. Marija Drofelnik, who until this point had been secretary of the Chamber of Associated Labor in the Slovene Assembly, was appointed

Republika (24 December 1992). “Dobili smo nov parlament: državni zbor in državni svet,” *Republika* (24 December 1992) 1.

⁴² “Zasedanje državnega zbora, brez tretjega v vodstvu. Noben kandidat ni dobil večine glasov. Poslanci končno sprejeli Zakon o skladu kmetijskih zemljišča in gozdov o 20% znižanju plač v KVIAZ odloča drugič,” *Republika*, (28 January 1993) 14. “Državni zbor še nima treh podpredsednikov; kandidati (Tone Peršak, Vitodrag Pukl in Dr. Metka Karner-Lukač) niso dobili dovolj glasov,” *Delo* (28 January 1993) 1.

⁴³ “Popuščanje bi bilo lahko usodno,” *Slovenec* (24 March 1993) 1.

general secretary to the Council. The Council is far more leftist-oriented than the State Assembly.⁴⁴ The results of the elections to the Council of State and State Assembly have clearly shown that the strongest party was the centrist Liberal Democratic Party (LDS). For this reason president Kučan appointed Janez Drnovšek, the party leader, as a precondition for constituting the new government of the Republic. Because of the results of the elections, the Slovene Parliament became a body which represented an extremely complicated mechanism. It would be very difficult in this situation to find an acceptable solution to the question as to which parties should occupy positions in the government and which ought to remain in the opposition. At the same time, we find that the relationship between the ministers and the Prime Minister, Lojze Peterle, were somewhat strange. It was these circumstances that led Janez Drnovšek to construct the outline of a coalitional contract (*koalicijska pogodba*) in which he specifically defined the relationships between individual ministers and the prime minister, as well as those between the ministers and their parties. This document states, *inter alia*:

“2. Mandatar se obvezuje, da bo funkcijo predsednika vlade opravljal v enakem razmerju do vseh strank vladne koalicije in jih pravočasno in celovito seznanjal z načrtovano vladno politiko, ukrepi in doseženimi rezultati.

“3. Mandatar bo državnemu zboru predložil imenovanje ministrov, ki bo izhajalo iz kriterije strokovnosti in kompetentnosti ob načelnem upoštevanju proporcionalne zastopanosti strank v vladni koaliciji glede na njihovo zastopnost v državnem zboru. Pred oblikovanjem predloga za imenovanje ministrov se bo mandatar še posvetoval s predsedniki vseh koalicijskih strank.”

The Prime Minister also demands that his coalition partners renounce any public disagreement with other coalition partners and particularly with government policies and measures. This injunction is intended to shield the reputation and moral integrity of the members of the government, while the party chairman, on the other hand, expects both loyalty and impartial party appearances abroad. Coalition partners are to solve disagreements and conflicts at the level of government groups and party leaders. The same procedure will be used also in the case of those who decide to leave the coalition: coalition partners should first discuss matters among themselves and within the limits of the mandate, and only after that in public.

⁴⁴ “Dr. Ivan Kristan predsednik državnega sveta, Državni svet ni strankarski organ,” *Slovenec* (24 December 1992) 2.

Drnovšek demanded that his coalition partners set it as their task, even in the first session of the State Assembly, as quickly as possible to pass a new law on government, with the top priority being the reconsideration of the law on elections to the State Assembly and particularly those specifications on issuing undistributed mandates at the state level.

With the signing of the coalition contract the coalition partners were expected to regard the following as crucial activities of the new government: the preparation of a law on the economic system which would be compatible with systems of the most developed countries; the privatization of public property; the reorganization of companies and the reform of the banking system; supporting the policy of a stable and convertible tolar; ensuring stable macro-economic conditions; the development of business; the development of the tax system and, therefore, a taxation policy which would stimulate the economy to new investments, and citizens to saving; ensuring conditions for the flourishing of every economic activity; liberalization of economic relationships; the abolition of surplus labor in administration, preventing monopolies; the closing of markets and phenomena which resemble monopolies; participation in European integration processes; and ensuring at least the minimum of social security for all citizens.⁴⁵

Drnovšek sent this contract to all the parties in the Slovene Parliament except for the Slovene People's Party (SLS) and the Slovene National Party (SNS). Only after long-lasting complications was a government formed in which the three largest parties worked together, namely: the Slovene Liberal Democrats (LDS), the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKDS), and the parties constituting the United List (ZL). The government comprises these and some other parties, viz., the Social Democrats (SDSS) (who are represented by only four delegates in Parliament), and the Green Ecological Social Party (ZESS) (who are not officially members of the government coalition, yet do have a minister). Considering that this coalition does not contain members of the Slovene People's Party (SLS), who have a similar program to that of the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKD), or members of the Democratic Party (DSS), who have a similar program to the members of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), we may say that the formation of the government as it is now partly came about

⁴⁵ "Koalicijska delitev ministrskih mest. Mandatar se je moral pogajati s strankami do zadnjega hipa. Socialdemokrati so plačali visoko ceno za svojo 'objektivno neodločnost', Dr. Drnovšek se ni preveč preobremenjeval niti z Demokrati - isto ministrstvo je ponudil kar trem strankam hkrati - zahteve in možnosti, Sestava nove slovenske vlade," *Delo* (21 January 1993); "Kaj Drnovšek ponuja strankam," "Osnutek medstrankarskega sporazuma o delovanju vlade," *Delo* (5 January 1993) 2.

(1) as a result of personal conflicts among the leading members of the three parties, and (2) because Democratic leaders were not politically active during the previous régime, when the leaders of Liberal Democratic Party were mostly former communists.

Under such conditions Janez Drnovšek first had to make a coalition contract with the Christian Democrats and later on come to an agreement with the members of the United List. The reader should, therefore, be perfectly aware of the slight differences in meaning since the expression "coalition contract" represents a higher level of communication existing between the Liberal Democrats (LDS) and the Christian Democrats (SKDS) than is the case between the Liberal Democrats and the United List. The Christian Democrats were not prepared to make any sort of agreement with the United List. We thus find that it was only the Social Democrats (SDSS) who joined this more than unnatural amalgamation. The Social Democrats joined the coalition contract made by the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Democrats after the latter assured them a ministerial post, i.e., Minister of Defense (which was filled by Janez Janša).⁴⁶

The list of proposed ministers comprises four from each group, i.e. from the ranks of the Liberal Democrats and from the United List, and one from the Social Democrats. The Green Party of Slovenia was in favor of forming a constructive opposition, but they agreed that their candidate would take over a post in one of the ministries. As a result, the Slovene government is comprised of the president, Janez Drnovšek and members of his party: the Minister of Justice and Administration, Miha Kozinc; the Minister of Education and Physical Training, Slavko Gaber; the independent Minister of Finance, Mitja Gaspari, who had been appointed to this position under the previous government of Janez Drnovšek. In addition to these, there is the Minister of Economic Relationships and Development, Davorin Kračun, and Miha Jazbinšek, Minister of Environmental Conservation and Transportation. From the ranks of the Christian Democrats (SKDS) are the government's vice-president and Foreign Minister, Lojze Peterle;

⁴⁶ "Dogovori LDS in SKD - merilo za ponudbe," *Slovenec* (19 January 1993) 3. "Snovanje slovenske vlade, Svet SKD za koalicijo z LDS," *Slovenec* (19 January, 1993) 1. Taškar, Jana and Jakopec, Marko. "Dr. Janez Drnovšek izbran za premiera. Pred glasovanjem je kandidat za predsednika vlade poslancem predstavil temeljna izhodišča za delo vlade - Državni zbor sprejel zakon o vladi," *Delo* (13 January 1993) 1. Starič, Tanja. "Oblikovanje vladne koalicije, Drnovšek računa na možnost ločenega sporazuma s SKD in ZL," *Republika* (13 January 1993) 4. Starič, Tanja. "Mandatar Drnovšek, O tem predlogu, ki ga je Milan Kučan obrazložil na včerajšnji tiskovni konferenci, bo državni zbor odločal 12 januarja še vedno zapleti pri koalicijskih pogajanjih," *Republika* (8 January 1993) 1.

Minister of Police, Ivo Bizjak; the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Jože Osterc; and Minister of Transportation and Communications, Igor Umek. Government representatives from the members of the United List include the Minister of Economic Affairs, Maks Tajnikar; Minister of Labor, Family, and Social Affairs, Jožica Puhar; Minister of Culture, Sergej Pelhan; and the Minister of Research and Technology, Rado Bohinc. Božidar Voljč, a member of the Green Ecological Social Party (ZESS), became the Minister of Health and Social Care. Janez Janša, from the Social Democratic Alliance (SDZ), was proposed for the Minister of Defense. Almost all the current Slovene ministers have at some time or another already performed the function of minister, either in the first Slovene government of 1990 or in the second, i.e., Drnovšek's first, government. Some had already been active in Marković's Yugoslav government. The only two people who have never actually been ministers are Ivo Bizjak and Sergej Pelhan. The majority of ministers have scholarly degrees, so we may thus speak of a professional government. Before confirmation in the Assembly all candidates would be obliged to undergo a confirmation hearing in the American style.⁴⁷

Also in the American style, individual candidates for ministers thanked their predecessors in the ministries for a job well done. Ivan Bizjak did just that when he thanked his predecessor Igor Bavčar in the Ministry of Police. The only problem was in the confirmation of Janez Janša as Minister of Defense, for the vote of the Commission, in front of which he was presented, remained undecided. This was followed by the decision of its president in favor of Janša. On 25 January the State Assembly elected a new government, the members of which had already been described in the lines above. Two-thirds of the delegates to the State Assembly voted in favor.

12. A Glance Ahead: The Position of Slovenia Compared with the Rest of the Countries in the Territory of Former Yugoslavia

Within the period of one year Slovenia may have achieved a position from which it will be able to apply for associate membership in the European Union [EU]. It has already become a member of the Council of Europe as well as of the International

⁴⁷"Parlament predstavitve," "Ivanka Mihelčič: Prvih pet ministrov prestalo izpit. S predstavitvami nadaljujejo danes," *Republika* (22 January 1993) 1. "Državni zbor, predstavitve ministrskih kandidatov, Ivanka Mihelčič. Bizjaku ni bilo lahko. Kandidati odgovarjajo diplomatsko - Igor Bavčar je nasledniku predal štafeto," *Republika* (22 January 1993) 4.

Monetary Fund,⁴⁸ and has even begun negotiations to become a joint member of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] and the EU. These circumstances will enable Slovenia to develop a normal free trade economy. It is also important to note that it has not experienced problems concerning the national rights of minorities, nor does it violate human rights. The Balkan Wars, the consequences of which Slovenia has felt only indirectly, will eventually have to end, especially considering the large numbers of refugees pouring in from Croatia and later mainly from Bosnia-Herzegovina. When this happens Slovene companies will play an important role in restoring those areas which were ruined during the war.

One of the signs that Slovenia had been excluded from the Yugoslav crisis was the abolishment of the requirement for French visas for Slovene citizens in February 1993.⁴⁹

We are now faced with the important question about the accomplishments of the Slovene nation at the beginning of the 1990s. It should be stressed that the country went through a long transition from a very specific Yugoslav system of communism to a parliamentary democracy, the result of which was its transformation from the most developed part of a backward Balkan country into an independent state.

Until 1989 Slovenia was a part of Yugoslavia, a territory which is today ravaged by ethnic unrest and war: part of the same country as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro. In March 1990 democratic elections were held and Slovenes elected a parliament and government. Slovenia succeeded in separating itself from the rest of Yugoslavia not only formally, but also *de facto*. By 1993 it has been recognized by almost all countries of the world. It has become a member of the United Nations and most of its subsidiary organs and institutions, as well as a member of the Council of Europe. It has also signed the first agreements with the European Economic Community. In 1992, after much discussion, the Slovene parliament passed the new constitution, a short and clear document that ensures human rights and provides basic conditions for normal economic and political development.

During this period Slovenia has faced economic problems similar to those of other former communist countries. It has had to restructure its economy. This process has been greatly hindered

⁴⁸ "Slovenija v IMF," "Naši državi se s tem odpirajo vrata mnogih bank," *Slovenec* (18 January 1993). "Včlanjevanje Slovenije v IMF. Na potezi je državni zbor," *Delo* (6 January 1993) 2.

⁴⁹ "Ljubljana, podpis sporazumov," "Slovenci ne bomo več potrebovali vizumov za vstop v Francijo," "Poglabljeno sodelovanje med državama," *Republika* (2 February 1993) 1.

by the loss of the entire former Yugoslav market. To solve the problem, it reoriented its exports to the countries of the EEC, EFTA and Eastern Europe. While its economic success is best demonstrated by the data on its low inflation rates, the data on the number of unemployed points to the difficulties with which Slovene society has to struggle in restructuring its economy. At first sight, Slovenia indeed seems to be a "success story." It is presented as such in articles published throughout the world.⁵⁰ The problem that plagues Slovenia, however, is unemployment. The unemployment figures, which were 3% of active population under the communists, rose to 15% in the summer of 1993. These figures, Slovene politicians claimed, were comparable to those of other countries within the European Community. The unemployment figures, while by no means a reason for contentment, nevertheless have to be seen in the light of the problems with which Slovenia is struggling in its transition from "self-management socialism" to a market economy.

An indicator of Slovenia's success is the fact that foreigners (Austrians, Germans, and French) have already begun to invest in the Slovene economy and to purchase shares in some Slovene companies. Naturally, this also causes some concern. Regardless of all the difficulties and problems that Slovenia has faced during the two years of its independence, however, we can conclude that it can certainly look to its future with optimism.

Univerza v Mariboru

POVZETEK

SLOVENIJA NA RAZPOTJU DEVETDESETIH LET: OD PRVIH VEČSTRANKARSKIH VOLITEV IN DEKLARACIJE NEODVISNOSTI DO ČLANSTVA V SVETU EVROPE

Avtor obravnava prelomne dogodke v slovenski zgodovini od konca osemdesetih let 20. stoletja naprej; takrat se je v Sloveniji začela demokratizacija, ki je privedla do prvih večstrankarskih volitev po drugi svetovni vojni, razglašena je bila neodvisnost in prišlo je do mednarodnega priznanja Slovenije. Članek razlaga spremembe, ki so nastale v državi po razdelitvi politične moči na drugi večstrankarskih volitvah, analizira novi ustavni sistem in se zaključuje s sprejemom Slovenije v Svet Evrope, Mednarodni monetarni sklad ter druge mednarodne ustanove. Članek je rezultat avtorjevih opazovanj dogajanj, ki so dopolnjevana s časopisnimi poročili in analizami najpombnejših slovenskih časopisov.

⁵⁰ An example: "Slovenia, and the living is easy," *Christian Science Monitor* (18 July 1993) 1.