

10

LET SLOVENIJE
V ZDRAŽENIH NARODIH

SLOVENIA'S 10 YEARS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

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MILAN KUČAN,
PREDSEDNIK REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

MILAN KUČAN,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA



22. maja 1992 je bila Republika Slovenija sprejeta med polnopravne članice Organizacije združenih narodov. Pri osamosvajaju in prizadevanjih za mednarodno priznanje samostojne Slovenije je bil to zgodovinski trenutek. Z vstopom v OZN smo postali enakopraven dejavnik mednarodne skupnosti in dokončali svoja naporna dokazovanja pravice do popolne mednarodne legitimite samostojne in suverene države. Slovenskemu narodu se je tako izpolnila zgodovinska težnja, da postane polnopravni član mednarodne skupnosti in da z ustvarjalnostjo in odgovornostjo skupaj z drugimi članicami OZN nadaljuje poslanstvo in plemenita prizadevanja demokratičnih držav in narodov za boljšo, srečnejšo in mirnejšo ureditev našega planeta.

Članice OZN so z vključitvijo Slovenije v organizacijo zavestno sprejele novo politično realnost na tleh nekdanje socialistične Jugoslavije. To je bilo politično dejanje, ki pa žal iz številnih razlogov ni preprečilo brutalnega nasilja, do katerega je prišlo v tem delu Jugo-vzhodne Evrope. Sprožila ga je agresivna nacionalistična politika, ki je bila v popolnem nasprotju s temeljnimi načeli demokratične družbe in je za svoje cilje zlorabila institucije večnacionalne federalivno urejene države.

V desetih letih članstva v OZN je Slovenija močno utrdila svoj mednarodni položaj. Ob sprejetju v OZN sem v New Yorku zagotovil,

On 22 May 1992, Slovenia was admitted to full membership of the United Nations. This was a historical moment in Slovenia's gaining independence and in the efforts towards international recognition of an independent Slovenia. By joining the United Nations, Slovenia became an equal actor in the international community and concluded the vigorous demonstrations of its right to the full international legitimacy of an independent and sovereign state. In becoming a member of the United Nations, the Slovenian nation has fulfilled its aspiration to join the international community on an equal footing. Together with the other United Nations member states, Slovenia is thus creatively and responsibly continuing the mission and noble endeavours of democratic states and nations for a better, happier and a more peaceful world.

By admitting Slovenia, the United Nations member states knowingly accepted the new political realities on the territory of the former socialist Yugoslavia. This was a political act, which unfortunately for many reasons did not prevent the brutal violence that occurred in this part of South-Eastern Europe. The violence resulted from aggressive nationalistic policies that were completely contrary to the basic principles of a democratic society and that abused the institutions of a multinational federal state to their own purposes.

During a decade of UN membership, Slovenia has firmly consolidated its international position. On our admission to the United Nations, I made assurances in New York that Slovenia would be a responsible member of the Organisation, fulfilling its obligations conscientiously and striving for peace, cooperation and good relations between all countries, particularly with its immediate neighbours. After ten years, I am pleased to state that Slovenia has fulfilled this commitment to the best of its ability. The international community has acknowledged this on several occasions. This was also confirmed by the election of Slovenia as a non-permanent member of the Security Council and the approval for Slovenia's active role during and after that mandate.

Slovenia has further demonstrated its responsibility and maturity with its active response to the Balkan crisis. As early as April 1993, Slovenia presented to the UN Security Council its initiative to stop the bloody war against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The initiative met with a positive response from the international community

da bo Slovenija odgovorna članica te organizacije, da bo odgovorno izvajala svoje obveznosti, da se bo zavzemala za mir, sodelovanje in dobre odnose med vsemi državami, še posebej s svojimi neposrednimi sosedji. Po desetih letih lahko z zadovoljstvom ugotovim, da smo to zavezo izpolnjevali po najboljših močeh. To nam je mednarodna skupnost že večkrat priznala. Tudi z izvolitvijo za nestalno članico Varnostnega sveta in z odobravanjem naše dejavne vloge med našim mandatom in tudi po njem.

Odgovornost in zrelost smo pokazali tudi z dejavnim odnosom do krize na Balkanu. Že v aprilu 1993 smo v Varnostnem svetu OZN predstavili svojo pobudo o tem, kako ustaviti krvavo vojno proti Republiki Bosni in Hercegovini. Pobuda je v mednarodni skupnosti naletela na odobravanje in bila sprejeta kot ena izmed realnih poti, kako ukrepati v krizi na tleh nekdanje Jugoslavije.

Prepričan sem, da bo Slovenija s svojimi dosedanjimi izkušnjami tudi v prihodnje ustvarjalno prispevala k iskanju skupnih rešitev in odgovorov na zahtevne izzive, s katerimi se danes srečujeta svetovna organizacija in svet v celoti. Toliko bolj, ker je Slovenija izrazila aktivno stališče do opredeljevanja in tudi reševanja temeljnih izzivov, s katerimi se srečuje sodobni svet in ki jim je bilo posvečeno posebno zasedanje Generalne skupščine OZN – »Vrh tisočletja«. Ti izzivi niso majhni, saj svet bolj kot kdaj potrebuje skupno svetovno instanco, ki bo sposobna s polno avtoritetom, naslonjeno na globalno odgovornost držav, ukrepati v korist dinamičnega razvojnega ravnovesja globaliziranega sveta. Vsaka družba potrebuje upravljanje, da bi se življenje podrejalo pravilom in vrednotam in ne vladavini sile. Globalna družba potrebuje globalno upravljanje. Tak prostor je lahko samo bistveno prenovljena OZN, ki bi z avtoritetom, naslonjeno na globalno odgovornost držav, s svojim sistemom ustanov in v skladu z univerzalnimi vrednotami človeštva imela legitimnost, da predpisuje skupna pravila in ustvari trajno koalicijo skupne odgovornosti vseh držav za svet miru, varnosti, svobode za vsakega posameznika in za vse narode, svet z več solidarnosti in socialne pravičnosti za vse. Za tako OZN in njeno vlogo v svetu si je prizadevala in si prizadeva Republika Slovenija.

and was received as a realistic approach to the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

I firmly believe that Slovenia will continue, given the experience it has gained so far, to creatively contribute to the search for common answers and solutions to the demanding challenges that today face the international organisation and the world as a whole. All the more so, since Slovenia assumed an active position towards the definition and resolution of the central challenges facing the modern world that were addressed at a special session of the UN General Assembly – the Millennium Summit. These challenges are not insignificant, since the world requires a common global authority more than ever – one that would be capable, with full authority based on the global responsibility of states, to take action in favour of the dynamic developmental balance of the globalised world. Every society requires management, so that life conforms to rules and values and not to the dictatorship of force. A global society requires global management. That role could only be played by the United Nations – a transformed United Nations with an authority based on the global responsibility of states, that would, through a system of institutions and in compliance with the universal human values, have the legitimacy to make common rules and to create a lasting coalition of common responsibility between all countries. This would bring us closer to a world of peace, security, and freedom for every individual and for all nations, a world with more solidarity and social justice for all. This is the kind of United Nations that Slovenia has been working towards and that it will continue to work towards.

DR. JANEZ DRNOVŠEK,
PREDSEDNIK VLADE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA



Pred desetimi leti je Slovenija postala članica svetovne organizacije, ki si je v svoji Ustanovni listini zadala za cilj zagotavljanje mednarodnega miru in varnosti, spoštovanje temeljnih pravic in sproščin ter vladavine prava kot splošno sprejetih načel ter izboljšanje socialnih in ekonomskih življenjskih razmer. S članstvom v OZN je Slovenija splošna načela prevzela za svoja in jih v desetletju, ki je sledilo, skušala uresničevati v družbi in prispevati k njihovi uveljavitvi v svetu.

Slovenija, ki je s sprejetjem v OZN zaokrožila svoja osamosvojitvena prizadevanja in vstopila v svetovno politično prizorišče, je v prvih desetih letih članstva uspešno izkoriščala možnosti za delovanje v tej svetovni organizaciji. Z dejavnim udejstvovanjem na različnih področjih in s prenosom svojih pozitivnih dosežkov ustvarjalno prispeva k delovanju organizacije ter se oblikuje kot država z visoko stopnjo zavedanja o pomembnosti spoštovanja človekovih pravic, zagotavljanja mednarodne varnosti in trdnosti ter trajnostnega razvoja. Tako usmeritev je še dodatno potrdilo članstvo v Varnostnem svetu, med katerim se je Slovenija izkazala kot odgovorna in ustvarjalna članica mednarodne skupnosti.

Zaradi vse večje globalizacije se krepi potreba po dejavnem sodelovanju držav v večstranskih ustanovah in po učinkovitem delo-

Ten years ago Slovenia became a member of the global United Nations Organisation. In its Charter the UN set itself the objectives of maintaining international peace and security, respect for fundamental rights and freedoms and the rule of law as universally accepted principles, as well as the improvement of the social and economic conditions of life for all people. Through membership of the UN, Slovenia has adopted these universal principles as its own and has endeavoured, in the ensuing decade, to implement them within its own society and to contribute to their application in the international context.

Slovenia's admission to the UN was the culmination of its independence efforts. Since entering the global political arena, it has successfully made use of the opportunities the UN offers its members during its first decade in the organisation. Through active participation in different spheres and through the sharing of its own positive achievements, Slovenia has constructively contributed to the UN's operation and presented itself as a country with a high degree of awareness of the importance of respect for human rights, maintenance of international security and peace and sustainable development. Its profile has been further confirmed by membership of the Security Council during which Slovenia proved to be a responsible and constructive member of the international community.

The ever increasing globalisation process has strengthened the need for active participation of countries in multilateral institutions and the need for an effectively functioning UN system that brings together almost every country and that has a well developed network of cooperation with non-governmental organisations. In an ever more interconnected world, economic, inter-ethnic and religious tensions and tensions arising from the violation of human rights are no longer limited to countries or regions but have a potentially global impact, as drastically demonstrated by the terrorist attacks against the USA and as also signalled by the current Middle East crisis. It is therefore necessary to strengthen efforts, in parallel with the globalisation of the economy, towards the globalisation of mechanisms for the respect of human rights and the rule of law, solidarity in maintaining international peace and security, the reduction of differences between rich and poor and the responsible treatment of the environment. Only through a parallel globalisation process of the moral foundation,

vanju sistema OZN, ki združuje praktično vse države in ima dobro razvito mrežo sodelovanja z nevladnimi organizacijami. V vse bolj soodvisnem svetu gospodarske, medetnične in verske napetosti ter napetosti, ki izvirajo iz kršenja človekovih pravic, niso več omejene na države ali regije, ampak lahko imajo globalni učinek, na kar je brez-objektivno opozoril teroristični napad na ZDA in na kar opozarja tudi sedanja bližnjevzhodna kriza. Zato je treba hkrati z globalizacijo gospodarstva okrepiti prizadevanja za globalizacijo mehanizmov za spoštovanje človekovih pravic in vladavine prava, solidarno zagotavljanje mednarodnega miru in varnosti, zmanjševanje razlik med revnimi in bogatimi ter za odgovorno ravnanje z naravo. Le ob sočasni globalizaciji take moralne podlage, zasluga za razvoj katere pripada predvsem sistemu Združenih narodov, lahko pričakujemo, da bodo dolgoročno prevladali pozitivni učinki globalizacijskih procesov.

Nedavna izpolnitve pogojev za ustanovitev stalnega Mednarodnega kazenskega sodišča je pomemben korak v tej smeri, saj se s sodiščem vzpostavlja izredno pomemben mehanizem za sankcioniranje najhujših kršitev človekovih pravic. Ustanovitev sodišča pomeni uresničevanje moralnih načel, ki jih dejavno podpira tudi Slovenija, kar je med drugim dokazala z zgodnjo ratifikacijo Statuta sodišča.

Ob vse večji soodvisnosti sveta je večstransko sodelovanje med državami pragmatična nujnost, sistem OZN pa ostaja pomemben okvir za progresivno kodifikacijo človeške izkušnje in medsebojni prenos ter spodbujanje pozitivnih dosežkov. Za majhne države je tak večstranski okvir še toliko pomembnejši, saj jim načelo suverene enakosti članic omogoča, da se lahko ne glede na svojo velikost uveljavljajo na podlagi svojih odlik, konkretnih zamisli in dejanj.

V prvem desetletju članstva v OZN je Slovenija uspešno prispevala k uresničevanju ciljev organizacije. Za to imajo zaslugo tisti, ki so bili dejavnici v slovenski diplomaciji, in tudi tisti, ki so se za uveljavljanje ciljev varnosti in trdnosti, spoštovanja človekovih pravic in vladavine prava trudili doma. Ker taki cilji že po svoji naravi niso nikoli povsem doseženi in se je zanje treba vedno znova boriti, mora ostati njihovo uresničevanje tudi v prihodnje pomembna smernica našega delovanja.

credit for the development of which goes largely to the United Nations, can we expect the positive effects of globalisation to prevail in the long-term.

All the criteria required for the establishment of the permanent International Criminal Court have now been fulfilled. This is an important step in the right direction as this Court could prove to be an extremely important mechanism for the sanctioning of grave violations of human rights. The establishment of the Court will mean that moral principles will now be put into practice. Slovenia also actively upholds these principles as its early ratification of the Rome Statute has demonstrated.

In an ever more interdependent world, multilateral cooperation between countries is a pragmatic necessity; the UN system continues to be an important framework for the progressive codification of human experience and the reciprocal transfer and promotion of positive achievements. For small countries, a multilateral framework of this type is all the more important as the principle of the UN members' sovereign equality enables them to assert themselves regardless of size, on the basis of quality, specific ideas and actions.

Over the first decade of Slovenia's membership in the UN, Slovenia has successfully contributed to enacting the organisation's objectives. The credit for this goes to those, who have been actively involved in Slovenian diplomacy as well as to those who have worked towards realising the objectives of security and stability, respect for human rights and the rule of law at home. As these kinds of objectives are never fully achieved and must be fought for time and time again, their realisation must remain an important focus of our activities in the future.

DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL,
MINISTER ZA ZUNANJE ZADEVE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SLOVENIA



Sprejetje Slovenije v Združene narode 22. maja 1992 je nedvomno eden najpomembnejših mejnikov v slovenski zgodovini. Potem ko smo se Slovenci 25. junija 1991 uspešno osamosvojili in ubranili svojo neodvisnost pred agresijo Jugoslovanske armade, nam je v relativno kratkem času uspelo doseči tudi mednarodno priznanje. Svoje prve korake v mednarodno skupnost smo naredili ob podpori prijateljev iz Nemčije, Avstrije in Evropske unije, ki nas je mednarodno priznala 15. januarja 1992.

V naslednjih mesecih je slovenska država usmerila vse svoje moči v iskanje podpore za vključitev v največjo mednarodno organizacijo – Združene narode. Pri tem smo naleteli kar na nekaj ovir, povezanih z dejstvom, da je nekdanja Jugoslavija uživala v mednarodni skupnosti relativno visok ugled (še posebno v skupini neuvrščenih držav), republike, ki so se osamosvojile, pa so veljale v očeh marsikaterega vplivnega državnika kot »separatistične«. Treba je bilo veliko prepričevanja, pojasnjevanja in predstavljanja argumentov, da je SFRJ razpadla in da je krivce za balkansko morijo, ki se je začela po njenem razpadu, treba iskati v Beogradu oziroma v Jugoslovanski armadi. Prav tako smo morali vztrajno braniti stališče, da preostanek Jugoslavije, kjer je vladal diktatorski režim Slobodana Miloševića, ni upravičen do samodejnega nasledstva sedeža nekdanje SFRJ v Združenih narodih.

Slovenia's admission to the United Nations on 22 May 1992 undoubtedly represents one of the major milestones in Slovenia's history. After Slovenes successfully gained their independence on 25 June 1991 and defended their independence from the aggression of the Yugoslav Army, they managed to gain international recognition within a relatively short time. Slovenia made its first steps towards the international community with the support of friends from Germany, Austria and the European Union, which granted Slovenia international recognition on 15 January 1992.

During the following months, Slovenia directed all its efforts to garnering support for membership in the very largest international organisation - the United Nations. This involved some obstacles related to the fact that the former Yugoslavia was held in relatively high esteem by the international community (particularly within the group of non-aligned states) and the republics that gained their independence were considered by many an influential statesman as »separatists«. It was necessary to use a great deal of persuasion, explanation and careful presentation of our arguments to the effect that the SFRY had effectively dissolved and that the culprits for the Balkan bloodbath that resulted from that disintegration had to be sought in Belgrade or in the Yugoslav Army. Likewise, we had to persistently defend the position that the rest of Yugoslavia under the dictatorship of Slobodan Milošević was not automatically entitled to succeed to the seat of the former SFRY within the UN.

During this period, the attention of Slovenia's leading figures was directed particularly towards the permanent members of the UN Security Council: France, China, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. We were successful, since diplomatic relations and a high level of dialogue were established with all of these countries. The long-expected admission of Slovenia to the global family of nations took place on 22 May 1992. As I wrote once before, this was a »high point of Slovenia's foreign policy«. With admission to the UN, Slovenia's independence story was closed and Slovenia was finally placed on the world map.

Immediately after joining the UN, Slovenia was actively involved in its bodies and specialised agencies. As early as 1992, Slovenia opened permanent missions to the UN Headquarters in New York and to the UN Office in Geneva, and accredited Slovenia's Ambas-

V tem obdobju smo vodilni predstavniki slovenske države posebno pozornost posvečali zlasti prepričevanju stalnih članic Varnostnega sveta Združenih narodov: Francije, Kitajske, Rusije, Velike Britanije in Združenih držav Amerike. Bili smo uspešni, saj smo z vsemi vzpostavili diplomatske odnose in visoko raven dialoga. Težko pričakovano sprejetje Slovenije v svetovno družino načij se je zgodilo 22. maja 1992. Kot sem nekoč že zapisal, je bil to »visoki dan slovenske zunanje politike«. Sprejetje v ZN je sklenil slovensko osamosvojitveno zgodbo in nas dokončno umestil na svetovni zemljevid.

Slovenija se je takoj po včlanitvi v ZN dejavno vključila v njihove organe in specializirane agencije. Že leta 1992 je odprla stalni misiji na sedežu ZN v New Yorku in pri Uradu ZN v Ženevi ter akreditirala tedanjo slovensko veleposlanico v Republiki Avstriji tudi za stalno predstavnico Republike Slovenije pri Uradu ZN na Dunaju.

V desetletju delovanja v ZN je Slovenija največjo pozornost posvečala zaščiti človekovih pravic, zagotavljanju boljših življenjskih razmer otrok, odpravljanju socialnih stisk v nerazvitem svetu, varovanju okolja in zdravja ter mednarodnemu sodelovanju na področju kulture in znanosti. Še posebej smo lahko ponosni na intenzivne dejavnosti Slovenije v UNICEFU, ko poskušamo po svojih močeh kar najbolje pomagati najmlajšim prebivalcem našega planeta. Prav tako pa je treba poudariti, da je Slovenija vedno tudi med prvimi poravnava na finančne obveznosti, ki izhajajo iz članstva.

Slovenija je od vsega začetka podpirala prizadevanja ZN za ohranjanje miru. Naši vojaki in policisti so bili člani mirovnih misij ZN na ozemlju nekdanje Jugoslavije, Cipra, Vzhodnega Timorja in na drugih kriznih območjih po svetu. Še zlasti pri ohranjanju miru na Balkanu je Slovenija dokazala, da želi prispevati k ustalitvi razmer v tem delu Evrope in s tem zavrnila nekatere očitke o domnevni »sebičnosti« slovenske zunanje politike.

Konstruktivno delovanje slovenske države v pobudah ZN je naletelo na zelo ugoden odmev pri drugih članicah. Slovenska kandidatura za mesto nestalne članice v Varnostnem svetu ZN je dobila široko podporo. 14. oktobra 1997 je bila Slovenija na 52. zasedanju Generalne skupščine izvoljena za nestalno članico Varnostnega sveta za obdobje 1998–1999. Delovanje v Varnostnem svetu je še dodatno dvignilo ugled naše države v mednarodni skupnosti.

sador to the Republic of Austria at that time as Permanent Representative of the Republic of Slovenia to the UN Office in Vienna.

Over the past decade of participation within the UN, Slovenia has focused primarily on the protection of human rights, guaranteeing better living conditions for children, removing social problems in the third world, protection of the environment and health and international cooperation in the fields of culture and science. We take particular pride in Slovenia's intensive activities within UNICEF, where we are trying to assist the youngest inhabitants of the planet to the best of our ability. It must also be mentioned that Slovenia has always been among the first to meet financial obligations deriving from the membership.

From the very beginning, Slovenia supported the endeavours of the UN towards the preservation of peace. Our soldiers and police officers have been members of UN peacekeeping missions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Cyprus, East Timor and other crisis areas worldwide. Particularly in the preservation of peace in the Balkans, Slovenia has proved its willingness to contribute its share to the stabilisation of the situation in this part of Europe and thus refuted some reproaches of the alleged »selfishness« of Slovenia's foreign policy.

The Republic of Slovenia's constructive work within the UN initiatives has met with a very positive response from other members. Slovenia's candidacy for non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council was widely supported. On 14 October 1997, at the 57th session of the General Assembly, Slovenia was elected non-permanent member of the Security Council for the period 1998-1999. Slovenia's participation in the Security Council additionally enhanced its reputation in the international community.

The UN is an organisation, which united mankind under a common flag after the horrors of World War II. During the Cold War period, the UN played a very important role in decreasing tensions in a polarised world. After the fall of the Berlin Wall the UN managed to retain its authority, although the global order underwent major changes that brought stern tests to the UN. The fact remains that a world undergoing rapid globalisation requires an international organisation that is capable of operating at the global level to efficiently stop and resolve conflicts worldwide. All countries, big and small, rich and

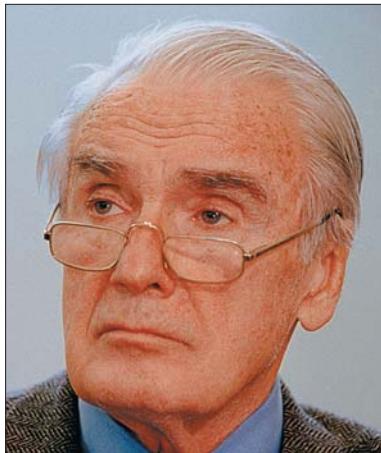
Združeni narodi so organizacija, ki je po strahotah druge svetovne vojne združila človeštvo pod skupno zastavo. V obdobju hladne vojne so odigrali zelo pomembno vlogo pri zmanjševanju napetosti v polariziranem svetu. Tudi po padcu berlinskega zidu so ohranili svojo avtoriteto, čeprav je prišlo do velikih sprememb v svetovni ureditvi, ki so tudi Združene narode postavile pred težke preizkušnje. Dejstvo je, da svet, ki se pospešeno globalizira, potrebuje mednarodno organizacijo, ki je sposobna delovati globalno ter učinkovito ustavljaliti in reševati spopade po svetu. Pri tem plemenitem poslanstvu pa morajo Združene narode podpirati vse države, velike in majhne, bogate in revne. Na tem planetu namreč živimo skupaj in vsak nosi svoj del odgovornosti za ohranitev miru.

poor, must support the UN in this noble mission. We all live together on this planet and every one of us shares the responsibility for the preservation of peace.

Deset let pozneje

IGNAC GOLOB,
DRŽAVNI SEKRETAR V MINISTRSTVU ZA ZUNANJE ZADEVE
REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

IGNAC GOLOB,
STATE SECRETARY AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA



Pomladni dnevi v New Yorku so po navadi prava paša za oči in priložnost za popolno uživanje. In tak je bil 22. maj 1992. Predsednik Kučan, minister dr. Rupel in drugi smo se zbrali v restavraciji Tavern on the Green v Centralnem parku, da bi praznovali. Le nekaj ur prej je bila naša mlada država sprejeta v Organizacijo združenih narodov. Nazdravljeni smo pomembnemu dogodku, ki je potrdil naša vztrajna prizadevanja za mednarodno priznanje Slovenije. Le nekaj ur pred tem smo postali polnopravni člani mednarodne skupnosti, uspelo nam je.

Pogosto se zgodi, da po tem, ko dobiš težko pričakovano nagrado, občutiš praznino. Tako za našo mizo pod češnjevimi cvetovi na vrtu restavracije Tavern on the Green ni bilo čutiti razposajene veselosti. Zavedali smo se dolge in težavne poti, ki smo jo prehodili od 25. junija prejšnjega leta. Potrebovali smo enajst mesecev, da smo si izborili vstop v Združene narode. Tisti, ki smo sedeli za mizo, smo imeli prijetne in tudi manj prijetne spomine na čase in težave na poti do mednarodnega priznanja.

V New York sem prišel septembra prejšnjega leta in se akreditiral kot dopisnik za slovenski časopis Dnevnik. Sama akreditacija pri Združenih narodih je bila dokaj preprosta. Koristilo mi je, da sem pozanal ljudi v Sekretariatu Združenih narodov. Dobil sem prost vstop v

Ten Years Later

Spring days in New York City are more often than not a feast for the eyes and an occasion for sheer enjoyment. And such was 22 May 1992. President Kučan, Minister Rupel and the rest of us gathered at the Tavern on the Green in Central Park to celebrate. Just hours earlier our young republic had been admitted to membership of the United Nations Organisation. In a way we were toasting an important seal of approval in our relentless quest for the international recognition of Slovenia. Just hours earlier we qualified to become a full-fledged member of the international community, we had made the grade.

It often happens that after one gets hold of a long coveted prize, there comes a feeling of emptiness and void. So there was no obvious merriment at the table under the cherry blossoms in the yard of the Tavern. We were all aware of the long and tortuous trail we had walked since 25 June of the previous year. It took us eleven months to earn admission to the United Nations. Those around the table had pleasant and not so pleasant memories of times and tribulations on the road to international recognition.

I myself had arrived in New York City the previous September and accredited myself as a correspondent of the Slovenian daily Dnevnik. Accreditation to the United Nations itself was relatively simple. It was of some help that I knew the people at the United Nations Secretariat. I gained free access to the Delegates Lounge, the focus of activity and contacts. The Delegates Lounge is something akin to the home of Isaac Dinesen in »Out of Africa«. She writes that her large living room sometimes looked like a slow and lazy stream. She describes how the stream brought the pieces of wood or branches that would float around for a while and then travel on or simply sink and disappear. In the same manner visitors to the Delegates Lounge would hang around for a shorter or a longer time and then disappeared.

And such was the place where I was lobbying for international recognition of Slovenia and for its place in the United Nations. The Yugoslavs did not like it. Their international standing was still quite firm and they were rather well connected. They managed to arrange for the UN Protocol and the UN Police to attempt to throw me out of the UN premises. Yugoslav diplomats, including their ambassador, got

Dvorano delegatov, središče dogajanja in stikov. Dvorana delegatov je podobna domu Isaac Dinesen v romanu Moja Afrika. Piše, da se ji njena velika dnevna soba včasih zdi kot počasna in lena reka. Opisuje, kako vodni tok prinaša koščke lesa ali veje, ki nekaj časa plovejo naokrog in nato odpotujejo dalje ali pa potonejo in izginejo. Enako so se obiskovalci v Dvorani delegatov krajši ali daljši čas zadrževali v dvorani, nato pa izginili.

In tak je bil kraj, kjer sem si prizadeval za mednarodno priznanje Slovenije in njeno mesto v Združenih narodih. Jugoslovanom to ni bilo všeč. Še vedno so imeli precej trden mednarodni položaj in razmeroma dobre zveze. Uspelo jim je prepričati Protokol OZN in Policijo OZN, naj me poskusijo odstraniti iz prostorov Združenih narodov. Jugoslovanski diplomati so se z veleposlanikom vred posedli v prvo vrsto, da bi opazovali dogajanje. Ni jim uspelo. Uradnik Protokola OZN je bil razočaran, toda postavna policista sta spoštovala mojo novinarsko izkaznico.

Na splošno mi pri delu ni bilo postlano z rožicami. Generalni sekretar Perez de Cuellar, s katerim sem imel prej precej tesne stike, me nenadoma ni več poznal. Decembra 1991 je javno pozval države članice OZN, naj ne priznajo nobene države nekdanje Jugoslavije. Vatikan, Nemčija in drugi se pozivu niso odzvali, kar je bistveno vplivalo na razvoj dogodkov.

Perez de Cuellar je najbrž ravnal po navodilih Washingtona in stališču takratnega ministra za zunanje zadeve Jamesa Bakerja, ki je o razpadu Jugoslavije izjavil, da Združene države »nimajo psa v tem pretepu«. Namestnik ministra za zunanje zadeve Lawrence Eagleburger je bil precej odkrit, pripravljen odgovarjati na moje telefonske klice in voljan pokazati precejšnjo mero razumevanja za neprijeten položaj Slovenije, pokončne in odločne sirote mednarodne skupnosti. Spominjam se prijaznega in hkrati odločnega glasu gospoda Eagleburgerja. Tudi naš veleposlanik Ernest Petrič, ki je imel status tujega agenta v Washingtonu, nam je bil včasih v oporo.

Moji nekdanji prijatelji iz neuvrščenega dela sveta so bili večinoma zbegani in predvsem napačno obveščeni, kot so mi vedno znova zatrjevali, neracionalno so si želeli ohraniti Jugoslavijo kot celoto, kmalu se je njihov odnos temeljito spremenil. Islamske države so nenadoma spoznale, da njihove brate po veri na Balkanu muči in pobija ista politika, ki je Sloveniji poskušala preprečiti osamosvojitev. Od tedaj je Slo-

themselves a front row seat to observe the action. It did not work. The UN Protocol official was disappointed but the two burly policemen respected my press pass.

Generally speaking my work was not a bed of roses. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, with whom I had earlier developed a pretty close rapport, suddenly did not know me anymore. Sometime in December 1991 he went public with an appeal to Member States not to recognize any ex-Yugoslav state. It made a world of difference that the Vatican, Germany and others did not heed the call.

Perez de Cuellar was probably prompted by Washington and the maxim of the then Secretary of State James Baker whose comment on the dissolution of Yugoslavia was that the United States did »not have a dog in that fight«. However, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger was quite open, ready to answer my telephone calls and willing to show an important degree of understanding for the plight of Slovenia, an upright and unbending orphan of the international community. I do remember the kind and at the same time tough voice of Eagleburger. Our Ambassador Ernest Petrič, still registered as a foreign agent in Washington D.C., was also a person to lean on occasionally.

My former friends from the non-aligned part of the world community were mostly confused and above all misinformed. They irrationally wished to keep Yugoslavia together, as they kept telling me. And then again, there was a sea of change in their attitude. Islamic countries suddenly realized that their brethren in Islam were being victimized and slaughtered in the Balkans by the same politics that was trying to prevent the independence of Slovenia. From then on, Slovenia miraculously became something worthy of their recognition and even of their support. Slowly but surely most of my former friends stopped refusing to meet my eyes and even produced a random smile here and there. My New York winter of 1991-1992 stopped being a winter of discontent. I was gaining access to a wide range of ambassadors as well as high officials in the Secretariat.

With my colleague and trusted friend Igor Kerstein and his wife Manja we developed a successful lobby. Comfort was not our primary concern. After a day's fieldwork we wrote and worked, rather humiliatingly, in the corridors and other available spaces of the premises of LBS, a Slovenian bank situated in New York City. It surely was not the

venija postala vredna njihovega priznanja in celo podpore. Večina mojih nekdanjih prijateljev se je počasi, a zagotovo prenehala izogibati mojemu pogledu in se mi tu in tam celo nasmehnila. Moja zima v New Yorku 1991/92 ni bila več zima nezadovoljstva. Odpirala so se mi vrata do mnogih veleposlanikov in visokih uradnikov Sekretariata.

Skupaj s kolegom in dobriim prijateljem Igorjem Kersteinom in njegovo ženo Manjo smo razvili uspešen lobi. Udobje ni bilo naša največja skrb. Po dnevu dela na terenu smo pisali in delali, malce ponujajoče, na hodnikih in drugih razpoložljivih mestih v prostorih LBS, slovenske banke v New Yorku. Ni nam bilo lahko, toda bili smo dobro delujoče kolesce v slovenskem diplomatskem mehanizmu. Trdno smo bili odločeni, da nas morajo mednarodno priznati.

Glede na svoj položaj si nisem mogel privoščiti izbirčnosti. POMEMBNI Ijudje so mi dajali nasvete, včasih tehtne, včasih pa se je v njih zrcalilo pomanjkanje znanja. Molče sem moral sprejemati nasvete pomembnih ljudi, ki so bili zelo pogosto pokroviteljski in vzvišeni. Med bolj upornimi svetovalci je bil Britanec – sir David Hannay. Vse do zadnjega se ni mogel otresti svoje neprijetne vzvišenosti. Vendar je bilo njegovim nasvetom vredno prisluhniti.

Maja leta 1992 je Varnostnemu svetu OZN predsedovala Avstrija. Zunanjemu ministru dr. Mocku je uspelo sklicati sestanek Varnostnega sveta, da bi priporočil Slovenijo in druge države za članstvo v Združenih narodih.

In tako se je zgodilo. 22. maja dopoldne smo se odpravili v dvorano Generalne skupščine. V nekaj minutah, ki so še preostale do slovesnosti, sem predsedniku Kučanu razkazal Varnostni svet, stari Skrbniški svet in sejne dvorane ECOSOC-a.

Protokol OZN je sedežni red v dvorani Generalne skupščine urebil z očitno brezbrinjnostjo. Za delegacije novih držav članic niso imeli razumevanja oziroma jim niso izkazali potrebnega spoštovanja. Za Protokol OZN je bil to rutinski dogodek. Toliko in toliko novih članov in stvar je bila opravljena. Nam pa je to pomenilo več, veliko več.

land of milk and honey, but we were doing well as a small wheel of the Slovenian diplomatic machinery and we were hell-bent on getting international recognition.

In my position one could not very well be a chooser, in a way I was a beggar. Important people were imparting advice, at times worthwhile, sometimes displaying a lack of knowledge. I had to willingly suffer advice imparted by people of importance that was quite often paternalistic and condescending. Among the more outspoken advisors was a Brit - Sir David Hannay. Until the very end he could not shed his painful attitude of condescension. Still his advice was something worth listening to.

It so happened that in May 1992 Austria presided over the United Nations Security Council. Foreign Minister Dr Mock pushed for a meeting of the Council to recommend Slovenia and other countries for membership in the United Nations.

And so it happened. On the morning of 22 May we headed for the General Assembly hall. In the few minutes we had until the ceremony I took President Kučan on a guided tour of the Security Council, of the old Trusteeship Council and of the ECOSOC meeting rooms. United Nations Protocol was handling the seating arrangements in the General Assembly hall with clearly a benign neglect. They surely did not show the understanding or proper respect for the delegations of the new member states. For the United Nations Protocol this was a routine event. So and so many new members and that was it. For us it was much, much more.

Združeni narodi danes

Dr. DANILO TÜRK,
POMOČNIK GENERALNEGA SEKRETARJA OZN

DR DANILO TÜRK,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE UNITED NATIONS



Pogajalci, ki so v Dumbarton Oaksu leta 1944 usklajevali besedilo Ustanovne listine OZN, so bili pred vprašanjem, ali naj bo varnost prihodnosti pretežno stvar regionalnega ali svetovnega urejanja. Odgovora na to vprašanje je bila odvisna vloga prihodnjih regionalnih organizacij in OZN. Odgovor, ki ga najdemo v Ustanovni listini, priznava vlogo obeh in predvideva uskladitev regionalnih načinov z ureditvijo v OZN kot svetovne organizacije, ki ima »prednostno odgovornost« za ohranjanje mednarodnega miru in varnosti. Prednostna odgovornost seveda ni izključna odgovornost. V konkretnih primerih je treba vedno najti najboljše možno ravnotežje med regionalnimi in svetovnimi načini za učinkovito in legitimno obravnavanje mednarodnih varnostnih vprašanj.

Zamisli iz Ustanovne listine pa niso bile nemudoma preizkušene v praksi. Največji del obdobja od Ustanovne listine OZN leta 1945 do danes so bila vprašanja mednarodne varnosti ujeta v dvopolnost hladne vojne. Uporaba mednarodnih institucij – OZN in regionalnih organizacij – je bila v tistem času omejena. Ta podoba se je močno spremenila po koncu hladne vojne. V preteklem desetletju, ki je bilo tudi prvo desetletje članstva Slovenije v OZN, je na ravni razmerij med regionalnimi organizacijami in OZN nastala zanimiva dinamika, ki je odprla novo poglavje v zgodovini urejanja mednarodnih varnos-

United Nations Today

The drafters of the United Nations Charter were faced, in Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, with the question of whether future security issues should be dealt with at the regional or at the global level. The answer to this question was crucial to the future role of regional organisations and of the UN. The answer given in the UN Charter recognises the role of both and that regional approaches be consistent within the UN. As the global organisation, the UN has »primary responsibility« for the maintenance of international peace and security. Primary responsibility is not, however, exclusive responsibility. The best possible balance between regional and global means must always be found in actual cases to address world security issues efficiently and legitimately.

The ideas contained in the UN Charter were not immediately tested in practice. World security issues were caught up in the bipolarity of the Cold War for most of the UN's history from 1945 to the present day. The use of international institutions - the UN and regional organisations - was limited during that time. This has significantly changed since the end of the Cold War. Over the last decade - which was also the first decade of Slovenia's membership in the UN - an interesting new dynamic has developed in relations between the UN and regional organisations. This dynamic has opened a new chapter in the international efforts to settle security issues. The UN has become much more active and regional organisations have intervened in numerous security issues.

This dynamic also includes unknowns; the most important of which is the question of how the US - indisputably the strongest power of our time - will manage its dilemma between unilateral impulses and the realistic awareness that multilateral co-ordination is necessary. It appears at first sight that priority is currently being given to the unilateral approach. However, a more detailed reflection of developments in large-scale crises such as Afghanistan and the Middle East shows that multilateral co-ordination is not only necessary but also useful for the national interests of the present world's primary superpower. Furthermore, the »war against terrorism« can only be won through multilateral cooperation, within which there will be less rhetoric and use of military force, but rather a growing reliance on new forms of cooperation between states. We can assume that the multilateral approach to

tnih vprašanj. OZN je postala mnogo dejavnejša. Regionalne organizacije so posegle v številna varnostna vprašanja.

Ta dinamika vsebuje tudi neznanke, med katerimi je najpomembnejše vprašanje, kako bodo ZDA kot nesporno najmočnejša država našega časa upravljale svojo lastno razpetost med unilateralističnimi impulzi in realistično spoznanimi potrebami po multilateralnem usklajevanju. Na prvi pogled se zdi, da ima unilateralni način izrazito prednost. Podrobnejše spremljanje dogajanja ob velikih kriznih vprašanjih, kot sta Afganistan ali Bližnji vzhod, pa pokaže, da je multilateralno usklajevanje ne le nujno, ampak tudi koristno s stališča nacionalnih interesov prve velesile današnjega sveta. Tudi »vojno proti terorizmu« bo mogoče dobiti z multilateralnim sodelovanjem, v katerem bo vse manj retorike in vojaških sredstev in vse več novih oblik sodelovanja med državami. Domnevamo lahko, da bo multilateralni pristop k mednarodnim vprašanjem še naprej vsaj enako bistven kot v prvem desetletju po koncu hladne vojne in da bo vzpostavljanje ravnotežij med svetovnimi in regionalnimi prvinami še naprej stvar iskanj, novih rešitev in novih partnerstev.

Pri vprašanjih, kot sta Afganistan in Bližnji vzhod, bo vloga OZN še naprej kritičnega pomena. Prihodnja trdnost Afganistana in zmaga nad silami, ki ustvarjajo nevarnost v tem delu sveta, bosta bistveno odvisni od uspeha misije OZN v tej državi (UNAMA) in od učinkovitosti svetovno organizirane podpore, ki je nujna za njen uspeh. Na Bližnjem vzhodu bo odločilnega pomena sodelovanje ZDA, Rusije, Evropske unije in OZN kot skupine, ki združuje vse potrebne potenciale za rešitev krize. Samo skrbno usklajeno delovanje vseh omenjenih dejavnikov in njihov skupen diplomatski nastop lahko ustvarita razmere za premik k trajni in stabilni rešitvi.

Na Bližnjem vzhodu je vloga OZN – zlasti Varnostnega sveta in generalnega sekretarja – nezamenljiva. Vzpostavitev palestinske države je kot cilj potrjena z resolucijo Varnostnega sveta. Diplomatske pobude generalnega sekretarja so nezamenljiva sestavina prizadevanja za mir.

Na omenjenih dveh kriznih območjih so svetovni dejavniki, vključno z OZN, največjega pomena.

Na mnogih kriznih žariščih pa so v ospredju regionalne organizacije. Tak je položaj na Balkanu, ki se vse bolj »evropeizira«, in v Afriki, kjer gredo vse poti do rešitev skozi različne regionalne ali pod-

international issues will remain as vital as it was in the first decade after the Cold War and that the search for balance between global and regional elements will remain essential. New arrangements and new partnerships are expected to develop in this context.

The United Nations will continue to play a crucial role in places such as Afghanistan and the Middle East. The future stability of Afghanistan and victory over the forces creating a threat in that part of the world will crucially depend on the success of the UN mission (UNAMA) and on the effectiveness of the globally organised support required for its success. The participation of the US, Russia, the European Union and the UN as a group combining all the potentials required to resolve the crisis will be decisive in the Middle East. Only carefully co-ordinated action by all these actors and their joint diplomatic activities can create conditions for a shift towards a durable and stable solution.

The role of the UN - particularly the Security Council and the Secretary-General - in the Middle East is irreplaceable. The objective of establishing a Palestinian state has been confirmed by a Security Council resolution. The diplomatic initiatives of the Secretary-General are an essential component of the endeavours towards achieving peace.

Global actors including the UN are of primary importance in these two crisis regions.

In many other crisis areas, however, it is regional organisations that play a crucial role. This is the case in the Balkans, which is becoming increasingly »Europeanised«, and in Africa, where the path to any solution leads through various regional or sub-regional mechanisms. Although the role of the UN is important in these crisis, it is always carefully coordinated with the region concerned.

The modern dynamic of multilateralism in the domain of international peace and security includes the search for new roles of international organisations. The UN is engaged in a process of strengthening peace operations, increasing the diversity of diplomatic actions and linking development activities with efforts to prevent armed conflicts. The European Union has been setting up mechanisms for crisis management. NATO is searching for a new role in the changed international situation.

What should Slovenia's role be in this dynamic situation? Does Slovenia regard international organisations as a refuge from presumed danger or as an arena for active participation? Can the expe-

regionalne mehanizme. Vloga OZN v teh krizah je pomembna, vendar vedno skrbno usklajena s potrebami regije.

Sodobna dinamika prizadevanj za mednarodni mir in varnost vsebuje tudi iskanje novih vlog. OZN krepi mirovne operacije, povečuje raznovrstna diplomatska posredovanja in povezuje razvojne dejavnosti s prizadevanji za preprečevanje oboroženih spopadov. Evropska unija vzpostavlja ukrepe za krizno upravljanje. NATO išče novo vlogo v spremenjenih mednarodnih razmerah.

Kakšno vlogo naj v teh dinamičnih razmerah igra Slovenija? So za Slovenijo mednarodne organizacije zatočišče pred domnevнимi nevarnostmi ali prizorišče za dejavno nastopanje? Ali bo Sloveniji pri iskanju odgovora na to vprašanje njena izkušnja prvega desetletja članstva v OZN lahko v pomoč?

Po mojem mnenju je Slovenija v OZN, zlasti med svojim uspešnim članstvom v Varnostnem svetu (1998–1999), dokazala, da je sposobna politično zrelega in diplomatsko domiselnega ravnanja in da zna nastopati samozavestno. Zdaj mora te kakovosti pokazati tudi v drugih multilateralnih okoljih. Izkušnja iz OZN je pokazala pomen zunanjje politike in diplomacije kot sredstva uveljavljanja individualnosti slovenske države in njenega odgovornega nastopanja na mednarodni ravni. To bo ostalo aktualno tudi v prihodnje. Domnevamo lahko, da ima Slovenija možnosti, da se tudi v drugih mednarodnih organizacijah izkaže, kot se je izkazala v OZN. Njen uspeh seveda ne bo odvisen samo od mednarodnih okoliščin, ampak tudi od njenega političnega poguma, znanja in diplomatske domiselnosti in spretnosti.

Besedilo izraža osebno mnenje avtorja



PREDSEDUJOČI VARNOSTNEGA SVETA DR. DANILO TÜRK IN GENERALNI SEKRETAR ZDruženih narodov KOFI ANNAN NA ZASEDANJU VARNOSTNEGA SVETA V NEW YORKU, 5. NOVEMBRA 1999

THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, DR DANILO TÜRK, AND UN SECRETARY-GENERAL KOFI ANNAN AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, NEW YORK, 5 NOVEMBER 1999

rience gained in the first decade of Slovenia's UN membership be of assistance in finding an answer to these questions?

I believe that Slovenia has proven within the United Nations Organisation, particularly during its active membership of the Security Council (1998-1999), that it is capable of politically mature and diplomatically inventive action and that it can operate with confidence. Now Slovenia has to demonstrate these qualities in other multilateral environments. Its experience in the UN has shown the significance of foreign policy and diplomacy as means of asserting the individuality of the Slovene state and of taking responsible action at the international level. This will remain relevant in the future. Slovenia will have opportunities to gain equal recognition in other international organisations, just as has happened in the UN. Its success will, of course, not only depend on the international circumstances but also on its own political courage and knowledge and its diplomatic inventiveness and skills.

The text reflects the author's personal opinion

Združeni narodi in Slovenija

DR. ERNEST PETRIČ,
VELEPOSLANIK REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE
PRI ZDRUŽENIH NARODIH

DR ERNEST PETRIČ,
AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS



Čas, ko je Slovenija kot neodvisna država vstopila v OZN, ni bil le izziv za novo, mlado državo, kako se uveljaviti v najpomembnejši mednarodni organizaciji, kako sebi in drugim dokazati, da tudi slovenski narod hoče in zmore biti upoštevan dejavnik pri urejanju problemov sodobnega sveta. Bil je to tudi čas, ko je po padcu berlinskega zidu, po koncu blokovske delitve sveta, po koncu bipolarnega sistema mednarodnih odnosov kazalo, da bo OZN dejansko postala središče urejanja mednarodnih zadev. Odpadle so ovire, ki so v obdobju blokovske delitve sveta onemogočale, da bi OZN polno zaživila in delovala v skladu z zamislico njenih snovalcev in v skladu s pričakovanji človeštva po uničujoči 2. svetovni vojni. Popolnoma nasprotni interesi obeh blokovskih skupin so preprečevali, da bi bila zagotovljena temeljna izhodišča za učinkovito delovanje OZN – soglasje in približevanje interesov najpomembnejših članic organizacije, stalnih članic Varnostnega sveta. Ustanovna listina jim nalaga posebne odgovornosti in daje posebna pooblastila. Kazalo je, da se bo po koncu blokovske delitve sveta soglasje zmagovitih sil antifašistične koalicije, kot so upali snovalci OZN med 2. svetovno vojno, končno uresničilo. Videti je bilo, da bo v novem mednarodnem ravnotežju, v novi postblokovski mednarodni ureditvi OZN postala pomembnejša, da ji bo uspelo biti dejansko središče urejanja temeljnih vprašanj sodobnega sveta, zagotavljanja

The United Nations and Slovenia

The period when Slovenia entered the United Nations as an independent state was not just a time of challenge to the new, young country to establish itself in this most important international organisation, and to prove to itself and others that the Slovenian nation wished and was able to be a significant actor in dealing with the problems of the modern world. This was also a time when after the fall of the Berlin Wall, with the end of the bloc division of the world, with the end of the bi-polar system of international relations, it appeared that the UN would truly become a central point for managing international affairs. There was an end to the barriers which during the bloc division of the world had prevented the UN from reaching its full potential, and functioning in line with the vision of its founders and in line with the expectations of mankind following the devastation of World War II. The diametrically opposed interests of both blocs managed to prevent the establishing of the fundamental assumption for effective functioning of the UN - consensus and convergence of interests among the major members of the organisation, the permanent members of the Security Council. The UN Charter entrusts these members with special obligations and gives them special powers. It appeared that, with the end of the bloc division of the world, this assumption of consensus among the victorious antifascist coalition forces, this aspiration of the UN's creators during World War II, would finally come true. There was evidence that in the new international context, in the new, post-bloc world order, the UN would become more relevant, it would succeed in being the actual central forum for resolving the fundamental problems of the modern world, guaranteeing peace and security, as well as international cooperation in realising the common values of mankind and eliminating contradictions and inequalities. There were also expectations of an ambitious expansion of the UN's scope of activities, along with its internal overhaul and reform, including the adjustment of its primary bodies, especially the Security Council, to the new world situation. In short, there was evidence of it being possible to carry out precisely what had been blocked and non-viable during the bloc division of the world, which had prevented the UN from reaching its full potential.

miru in varnosti ter mednarodnega sodelovanja pri uresničevanju skupnih vrednot človeštva in odpravljanju protislovij in neenakosti. Pričakovati je bilo tudi ambiciozno širitev področja dejavnosti OZN ter njeno notranjo prenovo skupaj s prilagoditvijo njenih temeljnih organov, zlasti Varnostnega sveta, novim razmeram v svetu. Skratka, videti je bilo, da bo moč uresničiti tisto, kar je bilo blokirano in neuresničljivo med blokovsko delitvijo sveta, ki je preprečevala, da bi OZN polno zaživel.

Pri tem pa je treba poudariti, da je bila OZN tudi med blokovsko delitvijo sveta najpomembnejši forum mednarodnega in tudi medblokovskega dialoga in izjemno pomemben dejavnik pri ohranjanju mednarodnega miru v desetletjih, ko je nad človeštvo visel Damoklejev meč jedrske apokalipse. Bila je tudi središče in usmerjevalka verjetno največjega osvobodilnega hotenja v zgodovini človeštva, kar je nedvomno bil proces dekolonizacije v širnih območjih neevropskega sveta, zlasti v Aziji in Afriki. Bila je središče internacionalizacije ideje temeljnih in neodtujljivih človekovih pravic in svobočin ter boja zoper rasno in druge oblike diskriminacije. Ob teh, zanesljivo za človeštvo pomembnih zgodovinskih premikih, ki so tudi uspehi OZN, je kazalo, da bosta po koncu blokovske delitve nastopila »zlatu obdobje« OZN in njena dejanska umestitev v središče urejanja vprašanj sodobnega sveta.

Dobro desetletje po koncu blokovske delitve sveta, ki je hkrati približno tudi desetletje članstva Slovenije v OZN, si je treba zastaviti nekaj temeljnih vprašanj: ali se je OZN v novih mednarodnih razmerah dejansko uspelo uveljaviti kot središče pri urejanju vprašanj sodobnega sveta? Ali je postala učinkovitejša po tem, ko je ne bremenijo več stalne medblokovske primerjave in blokade? Ali je raven skupne politične volje držav članic prerasla stanje tako rekoč stalnega nesoglasja, ki je bilo posledica blokovskih in ideoloških nasprotij? Ali je OZN zmogla udejanjiti svojo lastno prilagoditev novim razmeram v mednarodni skupnosti, vključno z reformo in racionalizacijo lastnega delovanja? Ali je skratka res nastopilo »zlatu obdobje« za OZN? Hkrati pa si je treba zastaviti tudi vprašanja o tem, kako je Sloveniji uspelo desetletno članstvo v OZN uveljaviti za utrditev lastnega priznanja v mednarodni skupnosti in oblikovanje lastnih predlogov in idej ter uresničevanje lastnih interesov?

OZN je v zadnjem desetletju nedvomno uspešno razširila svoje področje delovanja. Kot potrdilo naj navedem npr. samo v l. 2002

Here it should be stressed that even during the bloc division of the world, the UN was the main forum for international and also inter-bloc dialogue, and was an exceptionally important factor in preserving international peace through the decades when the sword of Damocles in the form of nuclear apocalypse hung over mankind. It also served as a focus and guide to probably the greatest aspiration to liberation in human history, this being without doubt the process of decolonisation in the broad expanses of the non-European world, especially in Asia and Africa. The UN was the central point for internationalising the concept of fundamental and inalienable human rights and freedoms, and for the struggle against racial and other forms of discrimination. Alongside these historic shifts that were certainly groundbreaking for mankind, and were successes for the UN, it appeared that with the end of the bloc division we would enter into a 'golden age' of the UN and its actual placement at the heart of dealing with the problems of the modern world.

Now with more than a decade passed since the end of the bloc division of the world, a decade that also coincided more or less with Slovenia's membership of the UN, it would be worth asking some fundamental questions: in the new international situation, has the UN truly succeeded in establishing itself as the central point in dealing with the issues of the modern world? Has it become more effective, now that it is no longer hampered by the permanent presence of inter-bloc confrontation and impasses? Has the level of common political will among the member states outgrown the situation of in effect permanent disagreement, which was the consequence of bloc and ideological differences? Has the UN been able to effect its own adjustment to the new circumstances in the international community, including reform and rationalisation of its own functioning? Have we, in short, really witnessed the onset of a 'golden age' for the UN? At the same time, it would be worth asking ourselves how far has Slovenia succeeded in capitalising on its ten-year membership of the UN for a consolidation of its own affirmation in the international community and for the formulation of its own proposals and ideas, as well as for the fulfilment of its own interests?

Over the last decade the UN has without doubt successfully expanded its sphere of activities. In confirmation of this may I cite as examples just the meetings scheduled for 2002, including the high-level



SLOVENSKI ZUNANI MINISTER DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL V POGOVORU S POSEBNIM PREDSTAVNIKOM GENERALNEGA SEKRETARJA ZDRAVJENIH NARODOV ZA OTROKE V OBOROŽENIH SPOPADIH OLAROM OTUNNUJEM V NEW YORKU, 12. NOVEMBRA 2001

THE SLOVENIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL, TALKING TO OLARA OTUNNU, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR CHILDREN IN ARMED CONFLICTS, NEW YORK, 12 NOVEMBER 2001

razčlenjena oziroma načrtovana posebna srečanja na najvišji ravni o financiranju razvoja (marca v Monterreyu, Mehika), vrhunsko srečanje o problematiki staranja (aprila v Madridu), vrh o otrocih (maja v New Yorku), vrh o celostnem razvoju (avgusta v Johannesburgu, Južna Afrika), posebno konferenco na visoki ravni o informacijski tehnologiji za razvoj (New York, junij 2002).

Splošni okvir delovanja OZN v prihodnjih letih, v dobi globalizacije, je jasno začrtan v Deklaraciji tisočletja, sprejeti na do zdaj vsaj po udeležbi najpomembnejšem mednarodnem srečanju, ki se ga je udeležilo (New York, september 2000) 135 voditeljev držav in vlad poleg številnih ministrov in drugih z visokim družbenim položajem. Deklaracija je bila sprejeta soglasno, kar naj bi ji dajalo posebno politično moč, tudi če ni formalnopravno obvezujoča. Deklaracija tisočletja opredeljuje te naloge OZN in njenih članic in s tem posredno celotne mednarodne skupnosti: zagotovitev celostnega razvoja

meeting on financing for development (March, Monterrey, Mexico), the world assembly on ageing (April in Madrid), the UN General Assembly special session on children (May in New York), the world summit on sustainable development (August in Johannesburg, South Africa), and the special high-level conference on information technology for development (New York, June 2002).

The general framework of UN operations in the coming years, in the era of globalisation, is explicitly set out in the Millennium Declaration adopted at what has been to date, at least in terms of participation, the most important international meeting attended (in September 2000 in New York) by 135 heads of state and government, along with numerous ministers and other dignitaries. The Declaration was adopted by consensus, and this should lend it special political power, even if it is not formally legally binding. The Millennium Declaration defines the following tasks for the UN and its members, and in this way indirectly the entire international community: ensuring sustainable development in such a way that people in developing countries will also be able to share in the prosperity afforded by rampant technological development and globalisation; ensuring the prospect for younger generations, including specific targets that by 2015 children all over the world will receive at least primary education; more effective efforts to guarantee health, with the specific goal of reducing the number of young people infected with HIV by 25 per cent by 2010; carrying out the »Cities Without Slums« action plan, which should by 2020 afford a better life to at least 100 million people living in slums; economic development, particularly agriculture and food production in Africa, which along with the eradication of poverty should be a priority for African governments; ensuring access to information technology also to developing countries and their inhabitants, for only in this way will it be possible to reduce the ominous and increasing differences in levels of education; ensuring greater openness of markets for products from developing countries, along with the elimination or reduction of their debt as well as eradicating or reducing extreme poverty, where it is present.

Alongside these 'developmental' issues and plans, the Millennium Declaration sets out the area of the UN's functioning and aims in guaranteeing »security«, i.e.: prevention of international conflicts and conflicts within countries, including the elimination of causes of conflicts such as violations of human and minority rights and the de-

tako, da bodo tudi ljudje v državah v razvoju deležni blaginje silovitega tehnološkega razvoja in globalizacije; zagotoviti možnosti mladim generacijam, vključno s konkretnim ciljem, da bodo do leta 2015 otroci povsod po svetu deležni vsaj osnovnega izobraževanja; učinkovitejše prizadevanje za zagotovitev zdravja s konkretnim ciljem zmanjšati do leta 2010 število okuženih s HIV med mladimi za 25 odstotkov; uresničiti načrt »mesta brez slumov«, ki naj bi do leta 2020 zagotovil boljše življenje najmanj 100 milijonom ljudi, ki živijo v slumih; razvoj gospodarstva, zlasti poljedelstva in pridobivanja hrane v Afriki, kar naj bi bila skupaj z odpravo revščine prednostna naloga afriških vlad; zagotoviti dostopnost informacijskih tehnologij tudi državam v razvoju in njihovim prebivalcem, saj bodo le tako lahko zmanjšane preteče in vse večje razlike v izobraženosti; zagotoviti večjo odprtost trgov za izdelke držav v razvoju, vključno z odpravo ali zmanjšanjem zadolženosti, in zagotoviti odpravo ali vsaj zmanjšanje skrajne revščine.

Poleg teh razvojnih vprašanj in načrtov so v Deklaraciji tisočletja začrtani delovanje in cilji OZN pri zagotavljanju »varnosti«, in sicer: preprečevanje mednarodnih spopadov in spopadov v državah skupaj z odpravljanjem vzrokov, kot so kršitve človekovih in manjšinskih pravic ter zanikanje demokracije in svobode osebnosti; preprečevanje nezakonite trgovine z orožjem; preprečevanje množičnih kršitev človekovih pravic, genocida in množičnih pobojev, če je treba tudi z oboroženim posegom mednarodne skupnosti; krepitev in večja učinkovitost mirovnih operacij; zagotavljanje učinkovitejših mednarodnih sankcij zoper kršitelje sklepov organov OZN in določil Ustanovne listine; zagotovitev nadzora nad trgovino tudi s t. i. majhnim in osebnim orožjem; preprečevanje širjenja jedrskega orožja ter omejitev in postopna odprava vsega orožja za množično uničevanje.

Kot naloge OZN, ki naj bi zagotovile »skupno prihodnost« človeštву, so v Deklaraciji tisočletja navedene: preprečitev ali zmanjšanje podnebnih sprememb z izvajanjem kjotskega sporazuma iz leta 1997; spopadanje s krizo oskrbe z vodo, ki postopoma postaja svetovni problem; ohranitev plodnih zemljišč za pridobivanje hrane; ohranitev gozdov, ohranitev virov morja (ribištvo) in raznovrstnosti živalskega in rastlinskega sveta. Dodatno k tem ciljem in področjem delovanja OZN so v Deklaraciji tisočletja določeni tudi cilji in naloge za prenovo same OZN.

nial of democracy and personal freedom; preventing the illegal arms trade; preventing the mass violation of human rights, genocide and mass killings, even if this requires armed intervention by the international community; the reinforcing and greater effectiveness of peace-keeping operations; ensuring smarter international sanctions against the violators of UN resolutions and Charter provisions; overseeing the trade in small arms and light weapons; preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons; and restricting and gradually eliminating all weapons of mass destruction.

The Millennium Declaration sets out the following UN tasks which are intended to ensure the »common future« of mankind: preventing and reducing climate change, including implementation of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol; tackling the crisis of water supply, which is gradually becoming a global problem; preserving fertile land for food production; and preserving forests, marine resources (fisheries) and biological diversity of plant and animal species. In addition to these aims and areas of UN operation, the Millennium Declaration also sets out the aims and tasks involved in overhauling the UN itself.

It is evident from the aims of the organisation as set out in the Millennium Declaration, and from the highest-level meetings already held or planned for 2002, that today the UN's scope of activities touches upon all the salient issues that mankind is facing in the era of globalisation. But when we ask whether this also means that the UN is tackling these problems effectively, we have no simple affirmative answer. Like many other documents, UN resolutions and declarations, we cannot rule out the possibility of the Millennium Declaration also fading into oblivion and remaining simply words on paper. There will of course be a follow-up - an annual review of its implementation in the General Assembly, but we should not forget that the Millennium Declaration is only a recommendation to countries. Ultimately the fact remains that the power of the UN does not lie in binding resolutions or even in means of coercion, which the UN itself does not possess, but rather in the common values and common political will, of course if common values actually exist and if a political will is ensured. Only in this way can the adopted UN recommendations, resolutions and declarations be implemented.

Sadly in this regard, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and despite quite different expectations in the international community and within

Skratka, iz ciljev organizacije, ki so navedeni v Deklaraciji tisočletja, in iz samo v letu 2002 že izvedenih ali načrtovanih vrhunskih sestankov je razvidno, da danes področje dejavnosti OZN sega na vsa pomembnejša vprašanja, s katerimi se človeštvo srečuje v dobi globalizacije. Toda na vprašanje, ali to pomeni tudi učinkovito spopadanje OZN s temi vprašanji, ni mogoče enostavno pritrdirilno odgovoriti. Podobno kot številni drugi dokumenti, resolucije in deklaracije OZN ni izključeno, da utegne tudi Deklaracija tisočletja utoniti v pozabo in ostati le črka na papirju. Zagotovljen je sicer vsakoletni pregled njenega uresničevanja v Generalni skupščini, vendar ne smemo pozabiti, da je tudi Deklaracija tisočletja le priporočilo državam. Ostaja dejstvo, da »moč« OZN ni v zavezujočih sklepih ali celo v sredstvih prisile, ki jih OZN sama nima, temveč v skupnih vrednotah in skupni politični volji, seveda če skupne vrednote so in če je zagotovljena politična volja. Le tako je sprejeta priporočila in sklepe, resolucije in deklaracije OZN moč uresničiti, izpolniti.

Žal se glede tega tudi po padcu berlinskega zidu kljub nasprotnim pričakovanjem v mednarodni skupnosti in v organih OZN ni veliko spremenilo. Ravnanje držav slej ko prej vodijo njihovi interesi, zvezde vodnice njihovih ravnanj so njihovi interesi, ki so in bodo še dolgo v svoji biti egoistični. Povedano ne pomeni, da je prizadevanje za uresničevanje razglašenih ciljev OZN Sizifovo delo. Pomeni le, da je v mednarodni organizaciji, kakršna je OZN, zagotavljanje skupne politične volje za dejansko uresničitev sprejetih deklaracij in resolucij zapleteno in pogosto neuspešno.

OZN sestavlja 190 držav, med njimi so zelo velike ter ena, ki ima zaradi svoje tehnološke, gospodarske, finančne, vojaške, politične, pa tudi ideološke premoči tudi v OZN izjemen vpliv in vlogo, pa manjše in tudi zelo majhne, ki so tudi v OZN po vplivu in vlogi neznatne. Med članicami so razvite in nerazvite, bogate in revne, vse pa so suverene, vsaka s svojimi interesi, in imajo le v VS vsaka en in načeloma enako pomemben glas. Zato je sprejemanje in še zlasti uresničevanje sprejetih dokumentov, resolucij in deklaracij, tudi Deklaracije tisočletja, zapleten, pogosto naporen in protisloven proces. Z drugimi besedami – učinkovitost OZN tudi v poblokovski mednarodni skupnosti ostaja problem politične volje njenih članic, njihove dejanske, ne le verbalne pripravljenosti razglašene cilje uresničiti.

UN bodies, little has changed. The behaviour of individual countries is ultimately determined by their own interests, and their guiding lights are national interests, which are and will still for a long time in essence be egoistic. This does not mean that the efforts to fulfil the declared aims of the UN will be some Sisyphean task. It means simply that in an international organisation such as the UN, the process of ensuring common political will for effective implementation of the adopted declarations and resolutions is complicated and often unsuccessful.

The UN is made up of 190 countries, including some that are very big, and one in particular which owing to its technological, economic, financial, military, political and ideological might, bears an exceptional influence and role in the UN; there are also smaller and even very small countries, which in real terms of their influence and role are insignificant in the UN. The membership includes developed and developing, rich and poor countries - yet all are sovereign, each with their own interests, and excluding in the Security Council, each has a single and in principle equally important vote. For this reason the adoption and especially the implementation of the adopted documents, resolutions and declarations, including the Millennium Declaration, is a complicated, and frequently harrowing and contradictory process. In other words, the problem of the UN's effectiveness in the post-bloc international community remains a problem of the political will of its members, a problem of their actual and not just verbal willingness to fulfil the declared goals.

The end of the bloc division of the world should in the UN bodies, including in the work of the Security Council, facilitate the reaching of consensus. Yet it has soon become apparent that also in the new international community, which can be labelled as multipolar, with the highlighted role of the one remaining superpower, there is essentially nothing easier now about ensuring actual common political will. Aside from the often unilateral actions of the USA (including the issues of such importance for mankind as setting up an international criminal court, to which the USA is not prepared to accede, or the non-accession to the Kyoto Protocol and the problem of unilateral revision of agreements which guaranteed the nuclear balance), other countries, particularly the »major« ones, all too often persist in uncompromising positions, or simply do not implement adopted resolutions and dec-

Prenehanje blokovske delitve sveta naj bi v organih OZN, tudi pri delu VS, omogočalo lažje oblikovanje soglasja. Toda hitro se je pokazalo, da tudi v novi mednarodni skupnosti, ki jo je moč označiti za multipolarno s poudarjeno vlogo edine preostale supersile, ni nič bistveno lažje zagotoviti dejanske skupne politične volje. Poleg postega enostranskega ravnjanja ZDA (tudi o vprašanjih, zelo pomembnih za človeštvo, kot so na primer vzpostavitev mednarodnega kazenskega sodišča, h kateremu ZDA niso pripravljene pristopiti, ali nepristop h kjotskemu sporazumu ali enostranska revizija sporazumov, ki so zagotavljali jedrsko ravnotežje) tudi druge države, zlasti »pomembnejše«, prepogosto vztrajajo pri nekompromisnih stališčih oziroma sprejete resolucije in deklaracije ne izvajajo. Še vedno je v organih OZN preveč prazne ali obtožujoče retorike in premalo pripravljenosti spopasti se resno in samokritično s skupnimi in lastnimi problemi. Brezupno je npr. poslušati govornike, ki še vedno vzroke za tragične težave vrste afriških držav vidijo le v dediščini kolonializma, prezrejo pa najbolj obremenjujoče težave teh držav, kot so korumpiranost, neodgovorno in slabo vladanje, nepotizem. Pogosto tovrstna retorika, kot je npr. bilo na vrhunski konferenci zoper rasizem v Durbanu lani, uspeh konference onemogočijo ali jo vsaj obremenijo npr. z razpravo o nadomestilih za suženjstvo, z razpravo o cionizmu ipd. Skratka, še vedno se način dela vrste držav in njihov odnos do OZN ni kaj prida spremenil od blokovskih časov. Vsekakor manj, kot je bilo pričakovati, in vsekakor tudi manj, kot bi bilo potrebno za dejansko večjo učinkovitost in uveljavitev OZN kot središča pri urejanju temeljnih vprašanj sodobnega sveta.

Povedano in s tem težave, s katerimi se še vedno srečuje OZN, lahko ponazorimo z nekaj primeri. Najprej z do zdaj neuspešnimi prizadevanji za prenovo same organizacije in še posebej Varnostnega sveta. Nihče sicer ne oporeka, da njegova sestava, ki se od leta 1945 ni spremenila, razen povečanja števila nestalnih članic pred desetletji, ne ustrez stvarnim odnosom v mednarodni skupnosti. Sestava tega najpomembnejšega organa predvsem pri zagotavljanju miru in varnosti očitno ni ustrezna, kar še zlasti velja, ko gre za stalne članice, tiste, ki imajo pravico veta. Ta sestava je bila določena ob koncu 2. svetovne vojne, ko je bil svet seveda drugačen od sedanjega, ko je bilo le 44 članic v OZN in ne 190 kot zdaj in ko je bila moč v mednarodni skupnosti porazdeljena bistveno drugače, kot je danes. Anahronizem

larations. UN bodies still suffer from an excess of empty or accusatory rhetoric, and from a lack of willingness to face up truly and self-critically to their own and common problems. It is hopeless, for example, listening to speakers who still see the causes of the tragic problems afflicting a host of African countries only in the legacy of colonialism, while they ignore the gravest problems in these countries, such as corruption, irresponsible and poor government, and nepotism. Often such rhetoric, the kind we heard at the high-level conference against racism in Durban last year, blocks the success of conferences, or at least incapacitates them with discussions on compensation for slavery, and with discussions on Zionism and so forth. In short, the approach of many countries, and their relationship towards the UN, have not advanced much since the time of the bloc division. In any event, they have advanced less than could be expected, and of course less than would be necessary for truly greater effectiveness and enhancement of the UN as the central forum in dealing with the fundamental issues of the modern world.

The difficulties the UN still faces can be illustrated by several examples. Firstly there are the as yet unsuccessful efforts to reform the organisation itself, and especially the Security Council. No one denies that the composition of the Security Council, which has not changed since 1945, apart from an increase in the number of non-permanent members decades ago, does not correspond to actual relations in the international community. The composition of the Security Council, this most important body, particularly in guaranteeing peace and security, is clearly not appropriate. This is especially true of the permanent members, those holding the power of veto. The Council's composition was determined at the end of World War II, when the world was of course different from today, when there were only 44 members of the UN and not 190 as there are now, and when the distribution of power in the international community was quite different from today. It is not just that the Security Council's composition is anachronistic, a serious reconsideration is also needed of the use of the veto. The composition of the Council's non-permanent membership is also inappropriate, in terms of both the number and regional distribution. And even the demarcation of regional groups, at least for Europe, is anachronistic, since it still maintains the division into the »western« and »eastern« European groups.

ni le sestava, potreben je tudi resen razmislek o uporabi pravice veta. Neustrezna je tudi sestava po številu in razporeditvi njegovih nestalnih članic po regijah. Pa tudi že sama opredelitev regionalnih skupin, vsaj za Evropo to velja, je anahronistična, saj je še vedno ohranjena delitev na »zahodno« in »vzhodno« evropsko skupino.

Različni, v bistvu egoistični interesi in razna vprašanja ugleda, in to ne le velikih sil, sedanjih stalnih članic VS, so preprečili vsakršen resen napredek prizadevanj za njegovo prenovo, ki naj bi zlasti sestavo prilagodila dejanskim razmeram v sedanji mednarodni skupnosti. Dokaj logični predlogi za razširitev stalnih članic s 5 na 10, kar naj bi mogočilo, da bi Nemčija in Japonska glede na svojo vlogo v sedanjih mednarodnih odnosih, pa tudi glede na njun prispevek v proračun OZN, postali njegovi stalni članici in da bi poleg njiju postala stalna članica npr. Indija, država z milijardo prebivalcev, pa vsaj po ena država iz Afrike in Latinske Amerike, da bi se omejila pravica veta stalnih članic, da bi se razširilo tudi število nestalnih članic vsaj za pet, tj. z 10 na 15, nimajo možnosti za uspeh. Povedano ne pomeni, da vendarle ni bil tudi s prizadevanji Slovenije dosežen skromen, a pomemben napredek pri zagotavljanju večje preglednosti pri njegovem delu, večje možnosti nečlanicam VS za sodelovanje pri njegovem delu, zlasti tistim, ki prispevajo osebje za mirovne operacije, in pri vpogledu nečlanic v njegovo delo.

Drug primer je problem t. i. humanitarnega posredovanja. V poročilu o delu organizacije za leto 1999 je generalni sekretar Kofi Annan opozoril, da mednarodna skupnost ne more dovoliti, da bi se ponovili množični poboji, kot so bili genocid v Ruandi, pokol v Srebrenici, etnično čiščenje na Kosovu in druge množične in grobe kršitve človekovih pravic. Ni se težko strinjati, da je danes v sodobnem svetu ne le pravica, temveč dolžnost mednarodne skupnosti, konkretno OZN, da poseže v taka dogajanja in jih prepreči. Ruanda in Srebrenica se preprosto ne smeta ponoviti. In prav OZN je tista, ki je poklicana in naj bi bila sposobna v takih primerih ukrepati, če naj se prepreči, da se taki pokoli ne bodo ponovili ali pa da ne bo enostranskih posredovanj posameznih držav v skladu s pretežno njihovimi interesimi. Prav presenetljivo je, koliko kritik je na račun te svoje pobude doživel Kofi Annan, predvsem kritik s stališča zaščite »suverenosti držav«, ki naj bi bile, ker so suverene, varne pred posegi iz tujine, tudi pred oboroženimi posredovanji mednarodne skupnosti, konkretno

Differing, and in essence egoistic interests and a range of issues concerning prestige - and not just relating to the major powers that are the current permanent Security Council members - have for now prevented any real progress in the efforts to reform the Council, a reform, which should in particular adjust the Council's composition to the realities of today's international community. There is for the moment little prospect of success for the quite logical proposals that the permanent membership be increased from 5 to 10, which would enable Germany and Japan - given their role in today's international relations and their contribution to the UN budget - to acquire the status of permanent Security Council members; in addition, permanent membership should be gained for example by India, a country with a billion inhabitants, and at least one country each from Africa and Latin America, and to limit the right of veto held by the permanent members; the number of non-permanent members should be increased by at least five, from 10 to 15. This does not detract from the fact that a modest but nevertheless important advance has been secured - with Slovenia, too, contributing to the effort - in ensuring greater transparency of the Security Council's work, greater scope for non-members of the Council to participate in its work, especially for those countries that provide personnel for peacekeeping operations, and in non-members being able to scrutinise the Council's work.

Another example is the problem of what has been termed humanitarian intervention. In the 1999 report on the organisation's work, Secretary-General Kofi Annan cautioned that the international community simply could not allow a repeat of the kind of mass killings witnessed in the genocide of Rwanda, the massacre at Srebrenica, the cases of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and other mass and blatant violations of human rights. It is not hard to agree that today, in the modern globalised world, it is not merely a right, but a duty of the international community, and specifically the UN, to intervene and prevent such events. Rwanda and Srebrenica simply cannot be allowed to happen again. And the UN is the one appointed and supposedly capable organisation that can act in such cases, if we are to prevent either such massacres being repeated or situations emerging where individual countries would intervene unilaterally in line primarily with their own interests. It is indeed surprising how much criticism Kofi Annan received as a result of this initiative. This was criticism chiefly

OZN, ne glede na to, kaj na območju lastne suverenosti počnejo. Skratka, suverenost, v bistvu pojmovana tako kot v 19. stol., naj bi bila tista najzveličavnejša vrednota mednarodnega življenja, ki prevlada nad vsemi drugimi, in ne npr. spoštovanje človekovih pravic, varnost ljudi, njihova življenja, tudi ko gre, kot je bilo v Ruandi, za poboj stotisočev. V OZN je tako trenutno razprava o t. i. »humanitarni intervenciji« v bistvu blokirana kljub prizadevanju vrste držav, tudi Slovenije. Razpravljam pa o tem v raznih strokovnih in akademskih združenjih. Oblikuje se zasnova t. i. »dolžnosti« držav, da zaščitijo lastne državljane (torej ne »the right to intervene«, temveč »the duty to protect«) pred množičnimi krštvami človekovih pravic, genocidom, poboji, etničnim čiščenjem. Če pri tem neka država odpove, nastane stanje, ko naj ukrepa OZN. Upati je, da bodo ta prizadevanja uspešna in nazadnje uveljavljena v OZN, saj mora biti prav OZN tisti dejavnik, ki naj bi odločal o posegih mednarodne skupnosti pri genocidu, množičnih pobojih, etničnih čiščenjih, skratka pri grobih, množičnih krštvah človekovih pravic.

Povedano je treba uravnotežiti z opozorilom, da se je po zločinu 11. 9. 2001, ko je nastalo široko mednarodno soglasje o boju zoper terorizem, ko je torej bila politična volja delovati zoper to zlo, OZN uspelo uveljaviti kot središče za sprejemanje ukrepov zoper terorizem. Na temelju resolucije 1373 je VS OZN dejansko postavljen kot nadzorni in usmerjevalni organ za protiteroristične ukrepe držav.

OZN je torej le delno, manj kot so pričakovali optimisti, uspelo po koncu blokovske delitve sveta dobiti nov zagon in nove možnosti. Njeno delovanje in njena učinkovitost je slej ko prej odvisna od volje držav članic. Toda uspelo ji je – čeprav nekoč, med 2. svetovno vojno, zasnovana predvsem z nalogo zagotavljati mir in varnost – postati najpomembnejši dejavnik, partner, pogosto tudi središče pri spopadanju z najpomembnejšimi vprašanji človeštva.

In vloga Slovenije v OZN v desetih letih njenega članstva? O tem bo več zapisano v poročilih, ki so del te jubilejne publikacije. Na najbolj splošni ravni lahko ugotovimo, da je v bistvu šlo – in tako bo tudi še naprej – za dvoje ravni delovanja. Za prispevek in vlogo pri dejavnostih OZN in za vlogo in delovanje o tistih vprašanjih, ki so neposredno bila, so ali bodo v interesu naše države.

Najprej je treba poudariti, da se tudi Slovenija pri delu v OZN srečuje z enakimi težavami kot večina njej primerljivih držav. Krog

from the aspect of protecting »state sovereignty« - owing to their sovereignty, states should be safe from outside intervention, including armed intervention by the international community, including the UN, irrespective of what these states are doing in their own territory. In short, sovereignty - essentially the same concept as that coined back in the 19th century - is supposedly that most exalted value of international life, prevailing over all others, and not respect for human rights, the security of people and their lives, even when it involves, as in Rwanda, the massacre of hundreds of thousands. So for the moment the discussion in the UN about what has been termed »humanitarian intervention« is in fact blocked, despite the efforts of a number of countries including Slovenia. The discussion is alive, however, in a variety of expert and academic associations. The concept is being reformulated of what is now called the »duty« of countries to protect their own citizens (so therefore not the »right to intervene«, but the »duty to protect«) from mass violations of human rights, genocide, killings and ethnic cleansing. If an individual country fails in this, the UN should act. We may hope that such efforts will be successful and ultimately accepted in the UN, for the UN must be the actor that decides on intervention by the international community in cases of genocide, mass killings and ethnic cleansing, in short in cases of blatant and mass violations of human rights.

The above should be balanced by the point that following the crime of 11 September 2001, when there was a broad international consensus on the fight against terrorism, and the political will to act against this evil, the UN succeeded in establishing itself as a focal point for adopting measures against terrorism. On the basis of Resolution 1373, the UN Security Council was indeed established as the monitoring and steering body for anti-terrorist measures taken by individual states.

We can thus conclude that after the end of the bloc division of the world, the UN has only partly, less than the optimists expected, succeeded in acquiring new impetus and new possibilities. Its functioning and effectiveness ultimately depend on the will of its member states. Nevertheless it has succeeded - even though originally, during World War II it was conceived primarily with the task of ensuring peace and security - in becoming the main factor, partner, and often also central point in tackling the most significant problems of mankind.



VRHUNSKO SREČANJE PREDSEDNIKOV RUSIJE IN ZDA NA BRDU PRI KRANJU 16. JUNIJA 2001:
PREDSEDNIK ZDRAVJENIH DRŽAV AMERIKE GEORGE BUSH IN PREDSEDNIK RUSKE FEDERACIJE
VLADIMIR PUTIN V DRUŽBI S PREDSEDNIKOM REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE MILANOM KUČANOM IN
PREDSEDNIKOM VLADE DR. JANEZOM DRNOVŠKOM

THE SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENTS OF RUSSIA AND THE US AT BRDO PRI KRANJU, 16 JUNE 2001: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, GEORGE BUSH, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, VLADIMIR PUTIN, ACCCOMPANIED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, MILAN KUČAN, AND PRIME MINISTER DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK

problematike, s katero se ukvarja OZN, je izjemno širok in sega od razvojnih do finančnih vprašanj, okoljskih, pravnih vprašanj, razročitve in mirovnih operacij, terorizma, človekovih pravic itd. do obravnavne mednarodnih kriz, zapletov na Bližnjem vzhodu, v Afganistanu, na Kosovu, v BiH, na raznih območjih Afrike itd. K temu je treba dodati, da Generalna skupščina in Varnostni svet, pa tudi drugi organi (ECOSOC, šest glavnih odborov GS) vsako leto sprejmejo nekaj sto resolucij in poročil, da potekajo razprave in pogajanja v treh organih in številnih odborih ad hoc, komisijah, pripravljalnih sestankih tako rekoč vsak dan. S petimi diplomati (velike, pa tudi srednje velike države, jih imajo po nekaj deset, na primer ZDA več kot sto s petimi na stopnji veleposlanika, Ruska federacija 75, Nemčija več kot 50, Avstrija 15, Švica, ki še ni članica, 10, npr. Slovaška in Hrvaška vsaka dvakrat toliko diplomatov kot Slovenija (po deset) in celo npr. Monako 4) je težko ustvarjalno prispevati pri vseh vprašanjih, ki jih OZN obravnava med letom.

And the role of Slovenia in the UN during its ten years of membership? More will be written on this in the reports that are part of this celebratory publication. In general it is pertinent to state that in essence two levels of operations have been involved - and this will continue to be the case; the contribution to and role in UN activities; and the role and operations concerning the issues that were, are or will be directly in the interest of our country.

It should be stressed first of all that in its work in the UN, Slovenia encounters the same problems and difficulties as the majority of comparable countries. The scope of issues with which the UN is concerned is very broad, ranging from developmental and financial issues, environmental issues, legal questions, disarmament and peacekeeping operations, terrorism, human rights and so forth to dealing with international crises, complications in the Middle East, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, various parts of Africa and elsewhere. To this we should add that each year the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as other bodies (ECOSOC, the six main committees of the General Assembly) adopt several hundred resolutions and reports. Within these bodies and in numerous ad-hoc committees, commissions and preparatory meetings discussions and negotiations are conducted almost on a daily basis. With five diplomats (the large and even medium-sized countries have tens of diplomats, for example the US has over a hundred, with five at ambassadorial rank, the Russian Federation has 75, Germany more than 50, Austria 15, Switzerland, which is still not even a member, has 10, both Slovakia and Croatia have twice as many diplomats as Slovenia (10 each) and even Monaco has 4) it is difficult to make creative contribution to all the issues dealt with by the UN over the course of a year.

Nevertheless more important than the size and capability of the mission in New York are the support from the home country, its substantive guidelines and the assistance in individual problems being addressed in the UN.

This involves primarily the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its multilateral department, and in effect all the other ministries. There is not enough of this substantive support, views, proposals or assessments, in short feed-back, to enable Slovenia to give a more creative contribution in addressing and deciding on the majority of problems

Pomembnejši kot velikost in usposobljenost misije v New Yorku so opora, vsebinska navodila in pomoč iz domovine ob posameznih vprašanjih, ki jih obravnava OZN.

Pri tem so pomembni seveda Ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve, njegov sektor za multilateralno, pa tudi tako rekoč vsa preostala ministrstva. Vsebinske opore, stališč, predlogov in ocen je premalo za to, da bi Slovenija lahko ustvarjalno prispevala k obravnavanju in odločanju o večini vprašanj sodobnega sveta, s katerimi se ukvarjajo organi OZN. Razlog je seveda tudi v tem primeru v skromni zasedbi naših ministrstev, ki so in bodo vedno majhna in si ne morejo privoščiti strokovnjakov za najrazličnejša področja, s katerimi se ukvarjajo številni organi OZN. Za Slovenijo so bile v zadnjih letih dejansko pomembnejše druge zunanjepolitične naloge, razen obdobja dveh let, ko je bila članica Varnostnega sveta, kot so vstop v EU, članstvo v Natu, urejanje odnosov s sosedji, kriza na Balkanu idr.

To ne pomeni, da naša država v OZN ni dejavna in da ne skuša delovati ustvarjalno pri vrsti izbranih vprašanj. Med tiste, h katerim sta naša država in njena diplomacija skušali ustvarjalno prispevati in je bila njuna naloga opazna, vsekakor spadajo težave jugovzhodne Evrope (zlasti BiH, Kosovo, Makedonija), nezakonite trgovine z malim in osebnim orožjem, t. i. človekove varnosti, težave, povezane z Ottawsko konvencijo o odpravi protipehotnih min, problematika otrok, mirovnih operacij, oblikovanje Statuta mednarodnega kazenskega sodišča, delovanje sodišča za zločine na območju nekdanje SFRJ, problematika človekovih pravic in humanitarne intervencije, prenova OZN in še posebej Varnostnega sveta ter metode dela v Generalni skupščini in seveda vprašanja, pri katerih je šlo za naše neposredne konkretne interese, o čemer bo govor kasneje.

Poleg tako rekoč stalne prisotnosti pri delu GS in VS v šestih glavnih odborih GS in na številnih pripravljalnih sestankih, na katerih potekajo navadno naporna pogajanja o sklepnih dokumentih načrtovanih mednarodnih konferenc (in teh je, kot smo že zapisali, vsako leto nekaj), je bila naša država prisotna pri pogajanjih o Statutu mednarodnega kazenskega sodišča, je članica t. i. G-10, ki si dejavno prizadeva za prenovo OZN in še posebej VS, je dejavno delovala v t. i. »open-ended group« za prenovo OZN in metod dela GS, je v skupini »priateljev Kosova« idr. Izbira je ob izjemno širokem krogu problematike, ki jo obravnava OZN, preprosto nujna.

of the modern world that are dealt with by the UN bodies. One of the reasons for this lies in the modest staffing of our ministries, which is and always will be, in case of a country like Slovenia, small in number. Slovenia cannot afford to engage experts in all the activities dealt with by numerous UN bodies. It is also true that in recent years other foreign policy priorities have been more relevant and important for Slovenia (such as EU accession, membership of NATO, the permanent presence of problems in relations with neighbours, the crisis in the Balkans and so forth) with the exception of the two-year period when Slovenia was a member of the Security Council.

This does not mean that our country is not active in the UN and is not trying to function creatively regarding the range of selected issues. The areas where Slovenia and its diplomats have endeavoured to make a creative contribution and where its activities were significant include of course the problems in South-Eastern Europe (particularly Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia), the problem of illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, issues concerning human security, the issues deriving from the Ottawa convention on the elimination of anti-personnel mines, child issues, peacekeeping operations, formulating the Statute of the International Criminal Court, the operations of the war crimes tribunal for the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the issue of human rights and humanitarian intervention, reform of the UN and particularly the Security Council, as well as methods of work of the General Assembly, and of course issues that involved our direct and specific interests, which will be dealt with later.

Apart from what is in effect a permanent presence in the work of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in the six main committees of the General Assembly and at numerous preparatory meetings, where there are usually painstaking negotiations on the final documents of scheduled international conferences (and as we noted earlier, there are quite a few of these every year), Slovenia was noticeably present in the negotiations on the Statute of the International Criminal Court, it is a member of the G - 10 group, which is actively striving for reform of the UN and particularly reform of the Security Council. It played an active part in the open-ended group for reform of the UN and methods of work of the General Assembly, it is a member of the "friends of Kosovo" group and so on. However, with regard

Enostaven in improviziran, nikakor ne znanstven poskus empirično ugotoviti, kako delujejo, bolje rečeno, koliko države članice sodelujejo pri delu v Generalni skupščini, v organu torej, v katerem je na formalni ravni dosledno izvedeno načelo enakopravnosti držav, pokaže, da tudi pri vlogi in delu držav članic v Generalni skupščini obstajajo velike, prevelike razlike. Spremljanje glasovanja, udeležbe v razpravah, predlaganja resolucij, sponzoriranja resolucij in udeležbe na sejah za posamezno državo dajo zanimivo sliko. Pokaže se, da je vsega kakih 20 do 30 držav, za katere je moč trditi, da imajo pomembno ali vsaj zaznavno vlogo pri veliki večini, če že ne pri vseh vprašanjih, ki jih obravnava Generalna skupščina oziroma njeni odbori. To so stalne članice Varnostnega sveta, velike in pomembne države, kot so Nemčija, Japonska, Indija, Kanada, Mehika, Italija, Indonezija, Egipt, Južna Afrika, Avstralija, ali tiste, ki v danem obdobju vodijo neko regionalno skupino. Sledi skupina kakih 60–80 držav, ki sicer bolj ali manj zavzeto spremljajo vso pestro problematiko, s katero se ukvarjajo Generalna skupščina in njeni odbori, imajo pa dejanski vpliv ali pomembno vlogo le pri nekaterih vprašanjih, nikakor ne pri vseh. Take so npr. Švedska, Finska, Ukrajina, Norveška, Nizozemska, Belgija, Španija, Portugalska, Avstrija, Poljska, Danska, Turčija, Grčija, nekaj najpomembnejših držav Latinske Amerike, Maroko, Alžirija, Pakistan, Iran, Madžarska, Češka, Romunija, Singapur, Malezija, Nova Zelandija idr. V to skupino spadajo npr. tudi baltiške države, Bolgarija, Ciper, nekaj večjih afriških držav, Šrilanka, Nepal, Tajska, vrsta arabskih držav, npr. Sirija, Jordan, Kuvajt, Združeni arabski emirati, vrsta držav Latinske Amerike, kot so Kuba, Venezuela, Kolumbija, Jamajka idr. Sledi zadnja skupina, vsekakor največja, iz pretežno najmanjših, najrevnejših držav in tistih, ki so tudi sicer nerazpoznavne ali v stalni krizi in niso sposobne niti spremljati dogajanj v OZN, kaj šele igrati dejavno vlogo. Slovenija bi, upoštevajoč svoje mesto in vlogo v OZN, potem ko je prenehala biti članica Varnostnega sveta, spadala v drugo navedeno skupino.

Seveda gre pri povedanem za zelo približno razvrstitev, ki pa je v grobih obrisih vendarle dejstvo in bi morala povzročiti resne razmisleke tudi o načinu dela OZN, zlasti v Generalni skupščini in njenih odborih. Nesprejemljivo je in dolgoročno bo to povzročilo krizo v OZN, da tudi delo Generalne skupščine oziroma celotne OZN v bistvu usmerja ožji krog pomembnejših držav, da je tudi Generalna skupščina

to the extremely wide range of issues dealt with by the UN it is essential to be selective.

A simple and improvised, yet in no way scientific attempt to determine empirically how the member states function, or rather, how far they are involved in the work of the General Assembly, in the body, where at least formally the principle of equality of states should be applied, has shown that also in the role and work, and therefore in the very position of member states even in the General Assembly, there remain large differences. Monitoring voting, participation in debates, proposing resolutions, sponsoring resolutions and participation in sessions provides an interesting picture for each country. It has been observed that there are in all some 20 to 30 countries for which it may be asserted that they play an important or at least notable role in the great majority, if not in all, matters dealt with by the General Assembly and its committees. Among them are the permanent members of the Security Council, the large and important countries such as Germany, Japan, India, Canada, Mexico, Italy, Indonesia, Egypt, South Africa and Australia, or those that are heading some regional grouping in a given period of time. There is another group of countries, some 60 to 80, which more or less actively keep abreast of the whole range of diverse issues dealt with by the General Assembly and its committees, but they exert any real influence or play an important part only in some issues, and certainly not in all of them. This group includes countries such as Sweden, Finland, Ukraine, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Poland, Denmark, Turkey, Greece, a number of larger Latin American countries, Morocco, Algeria, Pakistan, Iran, Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania, Singapore, Malaysia and New Zealand. This group also includes the Baltic states and Bulgaria, Cyprus, several larger African states, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Thailand, a number of Arab countries such as Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, a number of Latin American countries such as Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Jamaica etc. Then there is the last group composed chiefly of the smallest and poorest countries, and those that are otherwise insignificant or in some permanent crisis, which are not even able to participate in UN developments, let alone play any kind of active part. Taking into account its place and role in the UN, once its membership of the Security Council expired, Slovenia clearly belongs to the second of these groups.

vse manj organ vseh enakopravnih članic, ki naj bi imele možnost ustvarjalno prispevati k urejanju problemov človeštva, s katerim se OZN ukvarja.

Seveda je treba posebej omeniti obdobje, ko je bila Slovenija v letih 1998–2000 članica VS. O tem utegne več pisati kdo drug. Vsekakor pa velja, da je to izjemno pomembno in uspešno poglavje v naši zunanjji politiki in mednarodni uveljavitvi. To sta bili leti, ko je Slovenija sodelovala pri urejanju vseh pomembnih mednarodnih kriz in varnostnih vprašanj. In delovala je uspešno. Potrdila se je po komaj dobrih sedmih letih obstoja kot resna država, sposobna ustvarjalno delovati pri urejanju najtežjih mednarodnih vprašanj. To ji je uspelo z dobro postavljivjo posebne skupine (»task force«) v MZZ, ki je bila sposobna dokaj neodvisno sprejemati tekoče, vsakodnevne odločitve, ki jih narekuje delo VS. In s tako zasedbo misije v New Yorku, ki je bila ne le sposobna se učinkovito in s primerno odločitvijo, sprejeti v »task force«, uvajati v delo in skele VS, pač pa tudi dajati pobude, vključno s pobudami za učinkovitejše in preglednejše delo samega VS. Verjetno Slovenija nikoli več ne bo tako potrebovala članstva v VS, kot ga je komaj sedem let po svojem rojstvu, ko je še bila v položaju, ko se je morala potrjevati kot resna, demokratična, trdna država, ki ni »del nekdanje Jugoslavije«, torej kriznega območja. In verjetno bo zelo težko kdaj v prihodnje bolje opravila vlogo nestalne članice v VS OZN.

Slovenija je bila v desetletju članstva v OZN nekajkrat v položaju, ko je morala uveljavljati ali braniti z več ali manj uspeha svoje konkretnе interese. Vsa leta do sklenitve daytonskega sporazuma in konca vojne v BiH jo je bremenil embargo za orožje, ki se ji ga ni uspelo otresti in jo je postavljalo v isti krog z balkanskimi bojeviteži. Ni ji uspelo uveljaviti svoje uvrstitev v »zahodnoevropsko« regionalno skupino in se je temu prizadevanju morala odreči, če je hotela kandidirati za nestalno članico VS. Uspelo pa ji je zmagati v dolgotrajnem pravnem in političnem spopadu z Miloševićevim Zvezno republiko Jugoslavijo in preprečiti, da bi si zagotovila kontinuiteto članstva v OZN po nekdanji SFRJ. To nam je uspelo kljub poskusom Miloševićeve ZRJ, da bi vplivala na države članice gibanja neuvrščenih, kljub jasni podpori, ki jo je ZRJ imela v Ruski federaciji in Kitajski, kljub razdvojenim mnenjem v EU in kljub dvomljivim, celo zavajajočim pravnim mnenjem same OZN. Ta zmaga je okronana s simboličnim dejstvom,

This is of course a very approximate and provisional categorisation, which is nevertheless in its rough outline the fact of the matter. It should generate serious consideration of the methods of work of the UN, and particularly of the General Assembly and its committees. It is unacceptable for the work of the General Assembly and the whole UN to be directed by a small circle of major countries; it is equally unacceptable for the General Assembly to be less and less a body of equal members which should have the opportunity to make a creative contribution in resolving the problems of mankind addressed by the UN. In the long run, it might create serious difficulties.

It is of course worth highlighting the period from 1998 to 2000, when Slovenia was a member of the Security Council. In any event, that was an extremely important and successful chapter in our foreign policy and our international affirmation. This was a period when Slovenia was involved in resolving all the major international crises and security issues. And Slovenia acted, by in effect unanimous assessment, successfully. It confirmed itself after only seven years of existence as a serious state, capable of working creatively towards resolving the most difficult international issues. It succeeded in this through the well-considered setting up of a special task force at the foreign ministry that was able with relative independence to make current, daily decisions as demanded by the work in the Security Council; and equally through Slovenia's mission to the UN in New York that was capable not only of effectively and tactfully introducing into the work and resolutions of the Security Council the decisions made by the task force, but also of giving initiatives, including initiatives for more effective and transparent work of the Security Council itself. For Slovenia it will probably never again be so important to be a member of the Security Council as it was barely seven years after its birth, when it was still in the position where it had to establish and confirm itself as a viable, democratic and stable country which was not a »part of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia«. And it would probably find it very hard at any time in the future to do any better in performing its role as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Several times in the ten years of its membership in the UN, Slovenia had to assert or defend - with greater or lesser success - its specific interests. Throughout the years leading up to the Dayton Agreement and the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia

da je Slovenija članica OZN od 22. 5. 1992, ZRJ (ali kakor se bo že imenovala v prihodnje) pa šele od 1. 11. 2000.

Trenutno ostaja še nerešeno vprašanje dolga OZN po nekdanji SFRJ oziroma ZRJ do 1. 11. 2000. Nejasnosti v zvezi s tem je ustvarila sama OZN oziroma njene službe v vzdrževanjem pravne fikcije, da je »Jugoslavija« tudi po razpadu leta 1991 vendarle še bila nekakšna članica OZN. Tokrat vseh pet naslednic nekdanje SFRJ deluje složno in predlaga odpis tega dolga. Slovenija, ki plačuje svoje prispevke OZN po zanjo določeni skali od dne, ko je v OZN vstopila, seveda v nobenem primeru ne bo pristala, da bi sodelovala pri plačilu neplačanih prispevkov kogar koli drugega.

Kaj bi torej bilo moč skleniti po dobrem desetletju delovanja OZN v novih svetovnih razmerah, ko mednarodna skupnost ni več dvopolna, blokovsko razklana in po desetletju članstva Slovenije v OZN. Očitno ni nastopil »zlati vek« OZN; očitno v mednarodni skupnosti, ki jo sestavljajo suverene države (in v organih OZN), slej ko prej ostaja bistveni problem, kako zagotavljati politično voljo, soglasje zlasti najpomembnejših držav, za skupno delovanje pri urejanju vprašanj sodobnega človeštva. Vendar: Eppur si muove! OZN se vendarle težavno in postopno uveljavlja kot središče dogovarjanja in spopadanja s težavami globalizirajočega se sveta, širi si krog svojega delovanja na vse več področij življenja in dela. Pada ovira t. i. »izključujoče notranje pristojnosti držav«, v katero naj mednarodna skupnost, torej tudi OZN, ne bi posegala. Skratka, OZN postaja v poblokovskem obdobju vendarle vse pomembnejša in ne vse manj pomembna.

In vloga Slovenije v OZN? Spominjam se trenutkov 22. 5. 1992, ko smo predsednik Milan Kučan, minister dr. Dimitrij Rupel, takratni naš še neformalni predstavnik pri OZN Ignac Golob in jaz, veleposlanik pri ZDA, s posebnimi, enkratnimi občutki prisostvovali sprejetju Slovenije v OZN in izobešanju naše zastave pred tem središčem svetovne diplomacije, kot mnogi imenujejo palačo OZN. Tistega dne je bila Republika Slovenija, naša domovina, dokončno in nepreklicno potrjena kot suverena država in enakopravna članica mednarodne skupnosti. Tudi slovenski narod je tega dne dobil priložnost neposredno sodelovati pri urejanju najpomembnejših zadev sodobnega sveta v splošni, najpomembnejši mednarodni organizaciji, v OZN. Ne vem, ali to pove veliko ali malo, vendar naj zapišem: v dob-

was affected by the arms embargo, which it could not shake off and which placed it in the same circle as the Balkan belligerents. It did not succeed in securing its placement in the »Western European» regional group, and had to relinquish this endeavour if it wished to stand for non-permanent membership of the Security Council. But it did succeed and claim victory in the lengthy legal and political clash with Milošević's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, preventing it from securing »continuity« of membership in the UN from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We succeeded in this despite the attempts by Milošević's FRY to manipulate the states, members of the non-aligned movement, and the support that the FRY had in the Russian Federation and China, and in spite of the divided opinions in the EU and the dubious legal opinion of the UN itself. This victory was crowned by the symbolic fact that Slovenia has been a member of the UN since 22 May 1992, while the FRY (or however it will be called in the future) has been a member only since 1 November 2000.

Currently there remains the unresolved question of the UN debt of the former SFRY and the FRY up until 1 November 2000. Confusion in this regard was created by the UN itself and its offices through persistence in the legal fiction that even after its dissolution in 1991 »Yugoslavia« was still some kind of UN member. At this time all five successors to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are working in harmony, and have proposed a write-off of the debt. Slovenia, which has paid its UN contributions according to a scale devised for it from its day of entry into the UN, will of course in no event agree to participate in the payment of any additional contributions.

What therefore could be concluded after more than ten years of the UN's operations in the new world situation, when the international community was no longer bipolar and split into blocs, and after a decade of Slovenia's membership in the organisation? Clearly no 'golden age' has begun for the UN; clearly in the international community composed of sovereign states ultimately there remains the essential problem of how to ensure political will and consensus among at least the major countries, for common action in dealing with the issues of modern mankind. Nevertheless, eppur si muove! The UN is after all painstakingly and gradually becoming established as the central forum for forging dialogue and understanding and for facing the problems of the globalising world, and its scope of operations

rem desetletju dela na pomembnih mestih v slovenski diplomaciji v širnem svetu nisem srečal prav nikogar, ki ne bi s pohvalo ocenjeval dela in vloge Slovenije v OZN.



NEW YORK, 22. MAJ 1992 (OD LEVE PROTI DESNI): DR. ERNEST PETRIČ, DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL, MILAN KUČAN, PREVAJALKA, IGNAC GOLOB, IGOR KERSTEIN

NEW YORK, 22 MAY 1992 (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT): DR ERNEST PETRIČ, DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL, MILAN KUČAN, INTERPRETER, IGNAC GOLOB, IGOR KERSTEIN

is expanding to all areas of human life and work. We are also seeing the demise of the reservation over »exclusively domestic jurisdiction of countries«, in which the international community, and therefore the UN, was not supposed to interfere. In short, in the post-bloc era the UN is gaining in importance and not losing it.

And Slovenia's role in the UN? I remember 22 May 1992, when President Kučan, Minister Dr Rupel, our then still informal representative to the UN Mr Golob, and myself, at that time Slovenia's representative to the US, attended with special, unique feelings the admission of Slovenia to the UN and the unfurling of our flag in front of that centre of world diplomacy, as many call the UN building. On that day the Republic of Slovenia, our homeland, was finally and irreversibly confirmed as a sovereign state and an equal member of the international community. On that day the Slovenian nation gained the opportunity to participate directly in managing the most important matters of the modern world in this universal and supreme international organisation, the United Nations. I do not know whether this says much or little, but let me note this: in just over a decade of work in major locations for Slovenia's foreign service across the globe, I have yet to meet a single person who would not praise Slovenia's work and role in the UN.

Obdobje med osamosvajanjem in sprejetjem v Združene narode

IGOR KERSTEIN,
DRŽAVNI PODSEKRETAR V MINISTRSTVU ZA ZUNANJE ZADEVE
REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

IGOR KERSTEIN,
STATE UNDERSECRETARY AT THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA



Sprejetje Republike Slovenije v Organizacijo združenih narodov 22. maja 1992 je zaokrožilo proces osamosvajanja Slovenije kot suverene in neodvisne države. S tem se je politični prostor slovenske zunanje politike razširil na vso mednarodno skupnost. Načelo suverene enakosti držav članic je načelo, na katerem temelji Organizacija združenih narodov in je tudi temelj dejavnosti Slovenije v OZN.

Seveda pa pot od osamosvojitve do članstva v OZN ni bila lahka, čeprav je bila precej hitra. Ne nazadnje na samem začetku mednarodna skupnost ni kazala prevelikega razumevanja za osamosvojitvena prizadevanja Slovenije. Slovenska intenzivna politična akcija, da prepričamo Evropo, ZDA ter preostali svet o upravičenosti in nujnosti osamosvojitve kot edine možnosti za razvoj slovenskega naroda in naše vključevanje v evropske in širše povezovalne procese, je v začetku naletela na mnoge ovire. Razpadanje umetnih večnacionalnih državnih struktur, kot sta bili Sovjetska zveza in Jugoslavija, so marsikje v svetu spremljali z nelagodjem. Združeni narodi so bili v tem pogledu sredi leta 1991 prav gotovo zadržani oziroma konservativni.

Napad JLA na Slovenijo takoj po razglasitvi samostojnosti ter naš uspešen in učinkovit odpor sta mnogim v svetu odprla oči. Ti dogodki so pokazali, da je Jugoslavija, kot smo jo poznali, dokončno pokopa-

The Period between Independence and Admission to United Nations

The entry of the Republic of Slovenia into the United Nations on 22 May 1992 signified the conclusion of Slovenia's process of emancipation as a sovereign and independent state. It also marked the expansion of Slovenia's foreign policy arena across the entire international community. The principle of sovereign equality of the member states is a fundamental principle on which the United Nations is built, and this principle also represents the cornerstone of Slovenia's activities in the UN.

Even though rapid, the path from independence to membership of the UN was not easy. After all, right at the beginning there was no great understanding and sympathy on the part of the international community for Slovenia's independence efforts. Slovenia's intensive political campaign to convince Europe, the USA and the rest of the world of the justification and urgency of independence as the only alternative to secure the prosperity of the Slovenian nation and our incorporation into the European and broader integration processes ran into many obstacles in the beginning. The disintegration of artificial, multinational state structures such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was viewed in many parts of the world with unease. And, in the middle of 1991, the United Nations was most certainly reserved and conservative on this issue.

The aggression by the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) on Slovenia immediately after our declaration of independence, and our successful and effective resistance opened many people's eyes around the world. These events showed that the Yugoslavia we all knew had been finally buried. Slovenia gained widespread favour and solidarity in world public opinion, with people being able to follow the ten-year independence conflict in all the world's media. International political circles also became significantly better disposed to the independence cause and the affirmation of Slovenia as an independent state.

At the same time, the attack by the YPA triggered the political intervention of the European Community. At the end of June the European Community's »troika« came to Yugoslavia, and also met with

na. Slovenija je pridobila široko naklonjenost in solidarnost v svetovnem javnem mnenju, ki je v vseh svetovnih medijih lahko spremljalo desetdnevno osvobodilno vojno. Tudi mednarodna politična javnost je postala bistveno bolj naklonjena osamosvojitvenim razlogom in uveljavitvi Slovenije kot neodvisne države.

Obenem je napad Jugoslovanske ljudske armade sprožil politično posredovanje Evropske skupnosti. Konec junija je prišla v Jugoslavijo »trojka« Evropske skupnosti, ki se je srečala tudi s slovenskimi predstavniki. Zahtevali so takojšnje premirje in odložitev izvajanja osamosvojitvenih aktov Slovenije za tri mesece. Slovenija je predloge sprejela, vendar JLA ni spoštovala premirja. Ob ponovnem obisku »trojke« je bil po napornih pogajanjih na Brionih 7. julija 1991 sklenjen sporazum med Evropsko skupnostjo, Republiko Slovenijo, Republiko Hrvaško in zveznimi organi SFRJ. Predstavniki slednjih so bili v pogajanjih izjemno neprožni. Brionska skupna deklaracija je z dvema dodatkoma predvidevala takojšnje premirje in umik JLA ter Teritorialne obrambe Slovenije v vojašnice ter odložitev osamosvojitvenih aktov Slovenije za tri mesece. To naj bi omogočilo mirna pogajanja o vseh vidikih prihodnosti Jugoslavije ob upoštevanju pravice do samoodločbe narodov in enakopravnosti vseh demokratičnih možnosti za razrešitev krize v skladu s Helsinško sklepno listino KVSE in Pariško listino KVSE.

Sklenitev brionskih sporazumov je bil pomemben diplomatski uspeh za Republiko Slovenijo. S tem je dobila mednarodno subjektivitet, saj je postala partnerica Evropske skupnosti; bila je obravnavana enako kot zvezni organi; vzpostavljen je bil mir z jamstvi Evropske skupnosti in zagotovljeno je bil soglasje ES za mednarodno priznanje, če bo Republika Slovenija pri tem vztrajala tudi po končanem moratoriju. Slovenija se je tako pokazala kot zrela evropska država, ki sprejema mirovne pobude in si tudi sama prizadeva za rešitev jugoslovanske krize s pogajanji ter je obenem v interesu miru pripravljena za določen čas tudi odložiti uresničevanje nadaljnjih osamosvojitvenih postopkov. Prihod opazovalcev Evropske skupnosti v skladu z brionskimi sporazumi je omogočil, da so evropske države dobine neposreden vpogled v dejanski položaj Slovenije in njena prizadevanja, hkrati pa se tudi bolje seznanile z razmerami v razpadajoči SFR Jugoslaviji. Lahko so uvidele, da je Slovenija sposobna za samostojno življenje kot suverena in neodvisna država ter za

Slovenian representatives. They demanded an immediate ceasefire and a postponement of the implementation of Slovenia's independence acts for three months. Slovenia accepted the proposal, but the YPA did not observe the ceasefire. On the next visit by the »troika«, following arduous negotiations on Brioni, an agreement was concluded on 7 July 1991 between the European Community, the Republic of Slovenia, Republic of Croatia and federal bodies of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The federal representatives were extremely inflexible in the negotiations. The Brioni Joint Declaration, with two addenda, envisaged an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of the YPA and Slovenia's Territorial Defence back to barracks, plus a moratorium on independence acts by Slovenia for three months. This was aimed at facilitating peace negotiations on all aspects of the future of Yugoslavia, taking into account the right of nations to self-determination and the equal value of all democratic possibilities in resolving the crisis, in line with the CSCE Helsinki Final Act and the CSCE Paris Charter.

The conclusion of the Brioni agreement was an important diplomatic success for the Republic of Slovenia. In this way it acquired the status of an international subject, becoming a partner to the European Community, it was treated as an equal to the federal bodies, peace was established with the guarantee of the European Community, and the EC's agreement to international recognition was secured, if Slovenia wished to persevere with this after the moratorium expired. In this way Slovenia showed itself to be a mature European country that accepted peace initiatives and was itself endeavouring to resolve the Yugoslav crisis through negotiation, while at the same time in the interest of peace it was prepared for a specific period to postpone carrying out any further independence processes. The arrival of European Community observers, in line with the Brioni agreement, made it possible for European countries to gain a direct insight into the actual position of Slovenia and its efforts, and they were able to become better familiarised with the conditions in the disintegrating SFR Yugoslavia. They could see for themselves that Slovenia was capable of independent life as a sovereign state, and capable of forging links with Europe and the World as an equal member of the international community.

Another major step for Slovenia was its decision to cooperate at the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague.

lastno povezovanje z Evropo in svetom kot enakopravna članica mednarodne skupnosti.

Prav tako je bil pomemben korak za Slovenijo odločitev, da sodeluje na haaški mednarodni konferenci o Jugoslaviji. Evropska skupnost je dala pobudo za konferenco, ki se je začela 5. septembra 1991, kot forum za pogajanja o zagotovitvi trajnega miru in prihodnjih odnosih med republikami. Glede na to, da so zvezni organi odbijali vse pobude za pogajanja o prihodnosti Jugoslavije ter da so tudi po sprejetju brionskih sporazumov izvajali pritisk in pravo gospodarsko vojno proti Sloveniji, hkrati pa se je ob naraščanju agresivnosti JLA in Srbije širila vojna na ozemlju Republike Hrvaške, je Republika Slovenija podprla konferenco in dejavno sodelovala pri njenem delu.

Čeprav cilji haaške konference ob njenem začetku niso bili popolnoma določeni, je Slovenija menila, da konferenca pomembno usmerja in kaže realno pot za mednarodno priznanje naše države in ureditev nasledstva. Ob tem smo vztrajali, da konferenca prizna vsaki republiki pravico, da se opredeli za take oblike sodelovanja z drugimi, ki ji ustrezano, da se jugoslovanska kriza razreši s pogajanjem na miren način in da se upoštevajo legitimni interesi vseh strani v nekdanji Jugoslaviji.

Slovenija je odločno zastopala mnenje, da bo s prihodnjimi državami v nekdanji Jugoslaviji sodelovala izključno kot neodvisna in suverena država na temelju vzajemnih interesov in popolne enakopravnosti. Pri tem je ves čas poudarjala jasno in nedvoumno zahtevo za mednarodno priznanje in ureditev nasledstva ter dokončanje dela konference v razumnem roku.

Nadaljnji razvoj je potrdil umestnost odločitve Slovenije za dejavno sodelovanje na haaški konferenci. Konferenca je po nekaj mesecih ugotovila, da je SFR Jugoslavija prenehala obstajati, o čemer se je izrecno opredelila arbitražna komisija Evropske skupnosti. Na podlagi te ugotovitve je bilo sprejeto mnenje o nujnosti mednarodnega priznanja tistih republik, ki to želijo. Republika Slovenija se je na konferenci uveljavila kot enakovredna pogajalska partnerica in ji je uspelo vključiti svoja mnenja in poglede v njeno delo.

Slovenija je tudi izvajala široko mednarodno dejavnost za razumevanje svojih mnenj in mednarodno priznanje. Ta dejavnost je bila usmerjena na sosednje države, članice Evropske skupnosti, članice KVSE in tudi širše. Nekatere države so bile naklonjene

The conference was a European Community initiative, and began on 5 September 1991 as a forum for negotiation on ensuring lasting peace and on the future relations between the republics. Given that the federal bodies rejected all initiatives for negotiation over the future of Yugoslavia, and that even after the adoption of the Brioni agreement they applied pressure and a veritable economic war against Slovenia, while with the increased aggression of the YPA and Serbia the war escalated in Croatia, the Republic of Slovenia supported the conference and became actively involved in its work.

Even though at the outset the aims of the Hague conference were not completely defined, Slovenia regarded the conference as an important lever and a realistic path for international recognition of our country and resolving of the succession issue. Here we maintained the demand that the conference recognise the right of each republic to opt for whatever form of cooperation with the others that suited it, that the Yugoslav crisis be resolved through negotiation in a peaceful manner, and that the legitimate interests of all parties in the former Yugoslavia be respected.

Slovenia vigorously promoted its position that it would cooperate with the future states of the former Yugoslavia exclusively as an independent and sovereign state, on the basis of mutual interests and full equality. In this it consistently stressed the clear and unequivocal demand for international recognition and for a resolution to the issue of succession, as well as for a conclusion of the conference in a reasonable period of time.

Further developments confirmed the appropriateness of Slovenia's decision to participate actively in the Hague conference. After several months the conference determined that the SFR Yugoslavia had ceased to exist, something that was explicitly pronounced by a European Community arbitration commission. On the basis of this finding, a view was adopted on the need for international recognition of those republics that desired it. In this conference the Republic of Slovenia established itself as an equal and worthy negotiation partner, and succeeded in incorporating its positions and views into the conference agenda.

At the same time Slovenia conducted broad international activities to promote understanding of its position and to gain international recognition. These activities were directed at neighbouring countries,

hitrejšemu priznanju, spet druge so menile, da bo priznanje posameznih republik mogoče šele takrat, ko bo celovito razrešena jugoslovanska kriza. Pomembno pa je, da Sloveniji sicer niso odrekali mednarodne subjektivitete in pravice do samostojnosti.

V vsakem primeru pa reševanje jugoslovanske krize poleti leta 1991 še ni prešlo pod pokroviteljstvo Organizacije združenih narodov. Od začetka je veljalo, da bo vprašanje reševala Evropska skupnost, Združeni narodi se v to ne bi vmešavali. Generalni sekretar OZN Javier Perez de Cuellar je v začetku julija 1991 sicer v dveh izjavah ocenil jugoslovansko krizo kot problem mednarodnega miru ter ob razsiritvi spopadov na Hrvaškem v začetku avgusta izrazil svojo zaskrbljenost, vendar je bil v načelu zelo previden. Odločil se je za skrbno spremljanje položaja, toda ob prepuščanju vseh pobud Evropski skupnosti. Tudi takratno stališče ZDA je bilo, da prepuščajo vodilno vlogo pri reševanju krize Evropski skupnosti.

Razumljivo je tudi, da od Organizacije združenih narodov nas-ploh v tej zgodnji fazi osamosvajanja Slovenije ne bi bilo realno pričakovati izrazite naklonjenosti našim osamosvojitvenim interesom. Ne gre pozabiti, da je bilo vsaj nekje od začetka šestdesetih let ohranjanje ozemeljske celovitosti držav članic ena poglavitnih značilnosti OZN. Tudi izkušnje z namestitvami mirovnih sil ZN so bile v preteklosti različne, z različnimi posledicami, zato poleti 1991 razmišljanja o možnem vpletanju mirovnih sil na kritnih območjih Jugoslavije v OZN še ni bilo.

Za Republiko Slovenijo je bilo glede možnega reševanja jugoslovanske krize v okviru Varnostnega sveta OZN eno od pomembnih vprašanj, v kolikšni meri bi to v bistvu okreplilo položaj zveznih institucij (le SFRJ je bila članica OZN) in s tem pravzaprav otežilo reševanje položaja.

Ob širjenju spopadov v Republiki Hrvaški poleti 1991 je postajalo vse bolj verjetno, da se bo reševanje jugoslovanske krize slej ko prej pojavilo v OZN. In res je bilo tako, čeprav je bila prva odločitev Varnostnega sveta OZN o tem vprašanju dokaj sporna. Varnostni svet OZN je 25. septembra 1991 sprejel resolucijo 713, s katero, sklicujoč se na VII. poglavje Ustanovne listine ZN, uvaja takojšen splošen in popoln embargo na vse dobave orožja in vojaške opreme v Jugoslavijo, dokler se v posvetovanju z vladno Jugoslavijo ne odloči drugače. Odločitev je sporna, ker v enak položaj postavlja agresorja in žrtve agresije,

European Community members, members of the CSCE and more. Some countries were disposed to offer rapid recognition, while others stood by the view that recognition of individual republics would only be possible when the Yugoslav crisis was resolved in its entirety. What was important, however, was that no one denied Slovenia its status of international subject or its right to independence.

In any event, in the summer of 1991 the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis had still not fallen under the aegis of the United Nations. From the outset the fact was that the problem would be solved by the European Community, and the United Nations would not interfere in this. At the beginning of July 1991, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar made two statements assessing the Yugoslav crisis as an issue of international peace, and with the spread of clashes to Croatia in the beginning of August he expressed his concern, although he was in principle very circumspect. He opted for a concerned monitoring of the situation, but leaving all initiatives to the European Community. And the position of the USA then was also to leave the major role in resolving the crisis to the European Community.

It is also understandable that in this early phase of Slovenia's independence, it would not be realistic to expect from the United Nations any explicit favour towards our independence interests. It should not be forgotten that from at least around the beginning of the 1960's, preservation of territorial integrity of the member states was one of the key features of the UN. And experiences in deploying UN peace-keeping forces were in the past diverse, with differing consequences, so in the summer of 1991 any thoughts of possible commitment of peace-keeping forces to the crisis areas of Yugoslavia had not yet circulated in the UN.

For the Republic of Slovenia, in terms of the possible resolving of the Yugoslav crisis within the UN Security Council, one important question was how far in fact this would strengthen the hand of federal institutions (only the SFRY was a member of the UN) and in this way actually impede any resolving of the situation.

With the escalation of clashes in the Republic of Croatia during the summer of 1991, it became increasingly probable that the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis would raise its head sooner or later in the UN. And such was the case, although the first decision of the Security Council on this issue was quite controversial. On 25 September



SLOVESNOST OB DVIGANJU SLOVENSKE ZASTAVE OB SPREJETJU SLOVENIJE V ZDRAUŽENE NARODE, NEW YORK, 22. MAJ 1992

CEREMONY ON THE OCCASION OF RAISING THE SLOVENIAN FLAG UPON SLOVENIA'S ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, 22 MAY 1992

predvsem pa, ker je bila očitno v interesu jugoslovanske vlade. V položaju, ko je bila zvezna vojska v odločni premoči, je embargo prizadel predvsem vse druge, posebej Slovenijo in Hrvaško.

Generalni sekretar OZN Perez de Cuellar je kot nadaljnji korak pri reševanju jugoslovanske krize 9. oktobra imenoval svojega osebnega odposlanca za Jugoslavijo, nekdanjega državnega sekretarja ZDA Cyrusa Vancea. Vance je nemudoma odpotoval na turnejo v Jugoslavijo, med katero se je 16. oktobra v Ljubljani srečal tudi s slovenskim političnim vodstvom. Slednje ga je podrobno seznanilo z našimi pogledi na reševanje krize v Jugoslaviji, prav tako pa tudi z nadaljevanji postopkov, ki naj bi pripeljali do uveljavitve popolne neodvisnosti in mednarodnega priznanja Slovenije ob poteku moratorija 7. oktobra.

O navedenih stališčih Slovenije ob poteku moratorija je v sredini oktobra predsednik republike Milan Kučan v pismu obvestil tudi generalnega sekretarja OZN. V pismu je med drugim izraženo pričako-

1991 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 713, in which, citing Chapter VII of the UN Founding Charter, it implemented an immediate, general and complete embargo on all supplies of arms and military equipment to Yugoslavia until, in consultation with the Yugoslav government, it decided otherwise. The decision was controversial because it placed in an equal position both the aggressor and the victim of aggression, and chiefly because it was so obviously in the interest of the Yugoslav government. In the situation where the federal army held a decisive superiority of force, the embargo primarily affected all the others, especially Slovenia and Croatia.

As his next step in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, on 9 October, the UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar appointed a special envoy for Yugoslavia, former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Vance immediately embarked on a tour of Yugoslavia, during which he met with the Slovenian political leadership in Ljubljana on 16 October. Slovenia's leaders familiarised him with the details of our views on resolving the Yugoslav crisis, and also with the further processes which should lead to the securing of full independence and international recognition for Slovenia on the expiry of the moratorium on 7 October.

These views held by Slovenia regarding the expiry of the moratorium in the middle of October were also conveyed in a letter from Slovenian President Milan Kučan to the UN Secretary-General. In his letter, the President expressed the expectation that the Republic of Slovenia could count on UN support in securing its independence and international recognition. It also reiterated the serious interest Slovenia had in becoming a member of the UN at the earliest opportunity, for it was ready and in fact able to fulfil all the obligations provided by the UN Charter and the resolutions of UN bodies.

Throughout the period from independence to joining the UN, Slovenia's top political leadership generally made frequent contact with the Secretary-General and other senior UN officials to explain its position. At our request, and with the help of the Permanent Mission of Austria to the UN (Austria was at that time a non-permanent member of the Security Council) some of these explanations were circulated as UN documents.

On the start of the 46th session of the UN General Assembly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to send to New York a representative who would spend the coming months working intensively in the

vanje, da Republika Slovenija lahko računa na podporo OZN pri uveljavljanju svoje samostojnosti in mednarodnega priznanja. Prav tako je ponovno izražen velik interes, da Slovenija čim prej postane članica OZN, saj je pripravljena in dejansko sposobna izpolnjevati vse obveznosti, ki ji jih nalagajo Ustanovna listina OZN in sklepi organov OZN.

Slovensko najvišje politično vodstvo je v vsem obdobju od osamosvajitve Slovenije do včlanitve v OZN nasploh pogosto seznanjalo generalnega sekretarja in druge visoke funkcionarje OZN s svojimi stališči. Nekateri od teh dokumentov so na našo prošnjo ob pomoči Stalne misije Avstrije pri OZN (Avstria je bila takrat nestalna članica VS OZN) krožili kot dokumenti OZN.

Ob začetku 46. zasedanja Generalne skupščine OZN septembra 1991 se je Ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve odločilo, da v New York pošlje predstavnika, ki si bo v naslednjih mesecih v OZN intenzivno prizadeval za širjenje resnice o Sloveniji, pridobivanje podpore in razumevanja za slovenska stališča ter za naše mednarodno priznanje in članstvo v OZN. Tako je v začetku oktobra v New York prispel Ignac Golob, dolgoletni diplomat, večkratni veleposlanik in sedanji državni sekretar na Ministrstvu za zunanje zadeve, sicer pa stari znanec najvišjih diplomatskih krogov v palači ob East Riverju. V položaju, ko Slovenija še ni bila članica OZN, je bila možna le akreditacija v funkciji vodje dopisništva, v našem primeru časnika Dnevnik, kar pa razumljivo ni bila ovira za delovanje.

V veliko zadovoljstvo in čast mi je, da mi je bilo omogočeno, da sem v prihodnjih mesecih osebno delal z njim v New Yorku, v danih okoliščinah akreditiran kot pomočnik vodje dopisništva. To sta bili go-to najboljša in najdragocenješa diplomatska šola in izkušnja, ki bi ju mogel dobiti.

Bilo je to neke vrste pionirske obdobje, na katero me kljub izjemni resnosti in zahtevnosti trenutka vežejo tudi nekoliko zabavni spomini. Nismo imeli lastnih prostorov, improvizacije so bile občasno nujne.

V naslednjih mesecih je bilo veliko pogоворov, mnogih seveda večkrat, z veleposlaniki stalnih in nestalnih članic Varnostnega sveta, vseh evropskih držav, vseh pomembnejših neevropskih držav in držav gibanja neuvrščenih ter razumljivo z visokimi predstavniki različnih oddelkov Sekretariata OZN in Uradom generalnega sekretarja.

UN to spread the truth about Slovenia, to gain support and understanding for Slovenia's position and also for our international recognition and membership of the UN. The beginning of October, therefore, saw the arrival in New York of Ignac Golob, a veteran diplomat, several times an ambassador and at that time a state secretary at the foreign ministry, as well as being an old acquaintance of the highest diplomatic circles in the building on the East River. In the situation where Slovenia was still not a UN member, the only possibility was accreditation as the chief of bureau for a newspaper, in this case for the daily Dnevnik, but understandably this posed no obstacle to his work.

I consider it a great pleasure and honour to have been able during the ensuing months to work personally with him in New York, in the given circumstances as an accredited assistant to the chief of bureau. This was certainly the best and most valuable diplomatic schooling and experience which one could acquire.

This was also in some way a pioneering period, associated with one or two amusing memories, despite the exceptional seriousness and difficulty of that time. We had no office of our own, so from time to time improvisation was needed.

In the months that followed a great number of talks were held, many of course several times, with the ambassadors of the permanent and non-permanent Security Council members, all the European countries, the leading non-European countries and the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, and of course with high-ranking representatives of various departments at the UN Secretariat and the Secretary-General's Office.

In the beginning we observed considerable reservation among many people towards Slovenia's independence efforts, but nevertheless we also heard many encouraging words. Some tried to console us with the advice not to be impatient, for we had indeed already secured international subjectivity and recognition, and now we would just have to wait. Others, still, were optimistic that Slovenian membership of the UN was very close. The UN Secretariat stuck to its tradition of being circumspect and reserved. But everyone was eager to hear what the situation was really like in Slovenia, what price Slovenia was paying for the actions of the Yugoslav authorities and also to hear why it was mature enough to become a UN member.

Pri mnogih je bilo v začetku opaziti precejšnjo zadržanost do osamosvojitenih prizadevanj Slovenije, a po drugi strani je bilo slišati tudi veliko spodbudnih besed. Nekateri so nas tolazili, češ, ne bodite nestrpni, saj ste si mednarodno subjektiviteto in priznanje dejansko že zagotovili, treba je pač še počakati. Spet drugi so bili optimistični, da je članstvo Slovenije v OZN že zelo blizu. Sekretariat OZN je bil že po tradiciji previden in zadržan. Vsi pa so z zanimanjem poslušali, kakšno je dejansko stanje v Sloveniji, kakšno ceno Slovenija plačuje zaradi ukrepov jugoslovanskih oblasti in zakaj je zrela, da postane članica OZN.

Predvsem mnogi predstavniki neevropskih držav so imeli malo informacij o dejanskih razmerah v Sloveniji, kar je bilo razumljivo. Finančne težave Slovenije zaradi ukrepov jugoslovanskih oblasti, zaprt zračni prostor, vpliv na splošni gospodarski položaj, ne glede na to, da je Slovenija najrazvitejša od nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik, vse to nas je takrat pestilo. Obenem pa mnogi tudi niso vedeli, koliko je Slovenija trdna, da od samega začetka konstruktivno rešuje položaj v Jugoslaviji, da smo pri zaščiti človekovih pravic in varstvu manjšin pred mnogimi itd.

Mnogi veleposlaniki neuvrščenih držav so začeli kazati povečano zanimanje za slovenska stališča predvsem zaradi novih vprašanj, ki so se postavila z razvojem položaja v Jugoslaviji. Kaj se bo zgodilo z gibanjem neuvrščenih, če je predsedujoči praktično razpadel, in kaj se lahko zgodi drugim večnacionalnim državam, ki imajo večje notranje etnične napetosti, kot jih je imela Jugoslavija? Do tedaj so bili glavni vir informacij o položaju predvsem jugoslovanski diplomati, za te pa vemo, kako so bile naravnane.

Jugoslovanska misija v New Yorku si je v vsem tem obdobju načrtno in neprekinitno prizadevala, da Republika Slovenija ne bi bila mednarodno priznana. Pri tem so predvsem v stikih z neuvrščenimi državami izkoriščali svoje tedanje stanje predsedujoče države gibanja neuvrščenih, umetno spodbujali njihovo zaskrbljenošč in hiteli razlagati, da je vprašanje Slovenije (in Hrvaške) notranje vprašanje, ki ga ni mogoče reševati z enostranskimi ukrepi. Ob tem so seveda naprtili krivdo za vse težave prav Sloveniji in Hrvaški in širili dezinformacije, češ da je Slovenija na haaški konferenci nekooperativna. Skratka, skrbeli so za to, da bi bila Organizacija združenih narodov za Slovenijo kar najbolj neprijazno okolje.

Many representatives of non-European countries had above all an understandable lack of information on the real situation in Slovenia: its financial problems owing to the measures taken by the Yugoslav authorities, closed airspace, and an effect on the general economic situation, regardless of the fact that Slovenia was the most developed of the former Yugoslav republics. At the same time, many were not aware just how stable Slovenia was, that from the outset it had worked constructively for a resolution to the situation in Yugoslavia, that we were in advance of many others in our protection of human and minority rights and so on.

Numerous ambassadors from the non-aligned countries started to show a greater interest in the Slovenian position, primarily as a result of new issues which emerged with the development of the situation in Yugoslavia. What would happen to the Non-Aligned Movement if the presiding country had practically disintegrated, and what could happen to other multinational states that had greater internal ethnic tensions than Yugoslavia? Until then the main source of information on the situation was for the most part Yugoslav diplomats, and we know whose side they were on.

Throughout this period the Yugoslav mission in New York worked deliberately and consistently against international recognition of the Republic of Slovenia. Here, chiefly in contacts with non-aligned countries, they exploited their then status as presiding country of the movement, artificially whipping up their concern, and were quick to explain that the question of Slovenia (and Croatia) was an internal question which could not be resolved by unilateral measures. In doing this they of course laid the blame for all the troubles on Slovenia and Croatia, and spread the misinformation that Slovenia had been uncooperative at the Hague conference. In short, they saw to it that the United Nations would be the most unfriendly environment possible for Slovenia.

Despite this, the level of understanding for Slovenia's views and position within the UN gradually but irrevocably grew.

On 26 November 1991 Slovenia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, visited New York. In talks with senior representatives of the UN Secretariat and certain other figures, he presented Slovenia's views and contribution to resolving the crisis in Yugoslavia, particularly in light of the efforts made by the UN Secretary-General's

Ne glede na navedeno pa je stopnja razumevanja za slovenske poglede in stališča v OZN postopoma, a nezadržno rasla.

26. novembra 1991 je New York obiskal minister za zunanje zadeve Republike Slovenije dr. Dimitrij Rupel. V pogovorih z visokimi predstavniki sekretariata OZN in nekaterimi drugimi osebnostmi so bili predstavljeni slovenska stališča in prispevek k reševanju krize v Jugoslaviji, še posebej z vidika prizadevanj osebnega odpostolanca generalnega sekretarja OZN. Predvsem pa je bil obisk priložnost za podrobno predstavitev prizadevanj Slovenije za mednarodno priznanje in za čimprejšnje članstvo v Svetovni organizaciji.

V decembru 1991 je bila Slovenija že zelo blizu širokemu mednarodnemu priznanju. Evropska skupnost je kljub različnim pritiskom, naj tega še ne stori, 16. decembra sprejela stališče do merit za priznavanje novih držav. Sprejela je tudi sklep, da bo po 15. januarju 1992. leta priznala tiste jugoslovanske republike, ki se bodo opredelile za samostojnost in bodo izpolnjevale opredeljena merila.

Do konca leta je Republiko Slovenijo priznalo 11 držav, od tega pet z veljavnostjo od 15. januarja 1992. Pri teh prizadevanjih je bila vodilna Nemčija.

Velika sprememba se je 31. decembra zgodila v dotedanji Sovjetski zvezi z odstopom Mihaila Gorbačova in razpadom SZ. Predsednik Ruske federacije Boris Jelcin je v pismu generalnega sekretarja obvestil, da Ruska federacija v dogovoru in ob podpori vseh članic Skupnosti neodvisnih držav nadaljuje članstvo Sovjetske zveze v OZN ter vseh njenih organih in organizacijah sistema ZN ter prevzema vse pravice in dolžnosti Sovjetske zveze, ki izhajajo iz Usstanovne listine OZN, vključno s finančnimi obveznostmi.

1. januarja 1992 je Svetovna organizacija dobila novega prvega moža. Egiptovski diplomat Boutros Boutros Ghali je na mestu generalnega sekretarja OZN nasledil Javiera Pereza de Cuellara.

Za Slovenijo pa je zgodovinski trenutek napočil 15. januarja 1992. Le šest mesecev po razglasitvi neodvisnosti in izredni diplomatski dejavnosti, s katero si je konstruktivno prizadevala za rešitev krize na Balkanu, so članice Evropske skupnosti in še nekaj drugih evropskih držav priznale Republiko Slovenijo kot samostojen mednarodni subjekt. Ta priznanja so vsekakor pozitivno vplivala na stališča tistih držav, ki nas do tedaj še niso priznale.

special envoy. Above all, the visit was an opportunity for a detailed presentation of Slovenia's efforts to secure international recognition and for the earliest possible membership of the United Nations.

In December 1991 Slovenia was already very close to widespread international recognition. Despite various pressures not to do so, on 16 December the European Community adopted a position on criteria for recognising new countries. It also adopted a resolution that after 15 January 1992 it would recognise those Yugoslav republics which had opted for independence and which could meet the defined criteria.

By the end of the year the Republic of Slovenia had been recognised by 11 states, five of them with effect from 15 January 1992. Germany played a leading part in these efforts.

A major change took place on 31 December in the then Soviet Union with the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev and the disintegration of the USSR. In a letter to the Secretary-General, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin wrote that in agreement and with the support of all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Russian Federation would continue membership of the Soviet Union in the UN and in all UN bodies and agencies, and would assume all the rights and obligations of the Soviet Union, arising from the UN Charter, including the financial obligations.

On 1 January 1992 the United Nations gained a new leader. The Egyptian diplomat Boutros Boutros-Ghali succeeded Javier Perez de Cuellar as UN Secretary-General.

For Slovenia, however, the resoundingly historic date was 15 January 1992. Just six months after its declaration of independence and through extraordinarily active diplomatic efforts, whereby it strove constructively for a resolving of the crisis in the Balkans, the member states of the European Community and certain other European countries recognised the Republic of Slovenia as an independent international subject. This recognition of course exerted a positive influence on the views of those countries that had still not recognised us.

The moment when Slovenia could also lodge a request for membership of the United Nations had now come realistically close. Following recognition by the EC member states, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement to this effect. Yet we had still not been recognised by three of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Prior to the European Community decision, and even be-

Trenutek, ko bi Slovenija lahko vložila tudi zahtevo za članstvo v OZN, se je s tem realno približal. Ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve je po tem, ko so nas priznale države ES, tudi dalo izjavo v tem smislu. Toda še vedno nas niso priznale tri od petih stalnih članic VS OZN. Pred odločitvijo Evropske skupnosti so že pred božičem 1991 generalni sekretar OZN, njegov posebni odposlanec za Jugoslavijo in tudi ZDA opozarjali, da ne gre prehitovati s priznanjem, ker bi to utegnilo ogroziti reševanje krize v Jugoslaviji in oteževati možne prihodnje mirovne operacije OZN na Balkanu. Vsi so vedeli, da odgovor na temeljno vprašanje leži na drugi strani Atlantika.

Januarja 1992 se je na ameriškem knjižnem trgu pojavila nova knjiga nekdanjega ameriškega predsednika Richarda Nixon-a z naslovom Izkoristite trenutek (Seize the Moment). Nixon sicer pogosto in zelo poglobljeno piše o političnih in strateških vprašanjih in je izdal že precej knjig. V omenjeni knjigi je za nas najbolj zanimivo, da je zahteval, naj ZDA takoj in brez zadržkov priznajo Slovenijo in Hrvaško.

Od novembra 1991 do aprila 1992 se je Varnostni svet OZN in tudi posebni odposlanec generalnega sekretarja za Jugoslavijo Cyrus Vance pospešeno in vse bolj ukvarjal z razmerami na Balkanu. Položaj na Hrvaškem se je poslabševal, razdejanja so bila vse večja, spopadi pa so se začeli že tudi v Bosni in Hercegovini. Od šestih resolucij Varnostnega sveta OZN med 27. novembrom 1991 in 7. aprilom 1992 o položaju na Balkanu se kar tri ukvarjajo z možnostjo namestitve mirovnih sil OZN na kriznih območjih.

Resolucija 721 (24. 11. 1991) prva dopušča možnost za namestitev mirovnih sil OZN na kriznih območjih v Jugoslaviji. Slovenija je z izjavo Ministrstva za zunanje zadeve podprla resolucijo in prizadevanja VS OZN, da z legalizacijo možnosti mirovne operacije pripomore k trajni ustavitev sovražnosti in prepreči nadaljnje širjenje nasilja in nove humanitarne tragedije. Resolucija 740 (6. 2. 1992) je prva, ki soglasno podpira namestitev mirovnih sil (ne govori le o možnosti), resolucija 743 (21. 2. 1992) pa ustanavlja UNPROFOR z začetnim enoletnim mandatom.

Razvoj položaja na Balkanu je vsekakor pomembno vplival na razmišljanja večjega števila držav in posebej stalnih članic Varnostnega sveta OZN o mednarodnem priznanju in članstvu nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik v OZN. Tako je Ruska federacija priznala Slovenijo 14. februarja. Sledilo je težko pričakovano priznanje Zdru-

fore Christmas of 1991 the UN Secretary-General, his special envoy for Yugoslavia and also the USA had cautioned against being too hasty with recognition, for this could jeopardise a resolution to the crisis in Yugoslavia and render more difficult the future UN peace operations in the Balkans. Everyone knew that the answer to the fundamental question lay on the other side of the Atlantic.

In January 1992 a new book appeared on the American literary market, written by former US President Richard Nixon, and titled *Seize the Moment*. Nixon has frequently written in some depth about political and strategic issues, and had already published a number of books. In this book we were particularly interested in Nixon's demand that the USA immediately and without reservation grant recognition to Slovenia and Croatia.

In the period from November 1991 to April 1992, the UN Security Council, and also the Secretary-General's special envoy for Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance, stepped up their concern and attention regarding the situation in the Balkans. The situation in Croatia had deteriorated, the destruction was increasingly great, and clashes had now begun in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of six resolutions passed by the UN Security Council between 27 November 1991 and 7 April 1992 on the situation in the Balkans, as many as three dealt with the possibility of deploying UN peacekeeping forces in the crisis areas.

Resolution 721 (24 November 91) first allowed for the possibility of deploying UN peacekeeping forces in the crisis areas of Yugoslavia. In a statement issued by the foreign ministry, Slovenia supported the resolution and the efforts of the UN Security Council through the legalisation of possible peace operations to contribute to a permanent cessation of hostilities and to prevent further escalation of violence and a new humanitarian tragedy. Resolution 740 (6 February 92) was the first to give unanimous support to the deploying of peace-keeping forces (it does not simply speak of the possibility), and Resolution 743 (21 February 92) set up UNPROFOR, with an initial one-year mandate.

The developing situation in the Balkans of course had a major effect on the thinking of a large number of states, especially the permanent members of the UN Security Council, on international recognition and membership of the former Yugoslav republics in the UN. Consequently the Russian Federation recognised Slovenia on 14

ženih držav Amerike, in sicer 7. aprila. Ljudska republika Kitajska je to storila 27. aprila 1992.

Sloveniji so se s tem dokončno odprla vrata za članstvo v Svetovni organizaciji.

Slovenija je uradno prošnjo za sprejetje v članstvo Organizacije združenih narodov vložila 5. maja 1992. Tega dne je bilo pismo predsednika Republike Slovenije Milana Kučana predano generalnemu sekretarju OZN Boutrosu Boutrosu Ghaliu v Uradu generalnega sekretarja v New Yorku.

11. maja 1992 sta prošnjo za članstvo vložili tudi Republika Hrvaška in Bosna in Hercegovina.

Po ustaljenem postopku Varnostni svet na formalnem sestanku odstopi prošnjo za članstvo Odboru VS za sprejetje novih članov. Potem na podlagi priporočila odbora na ponovnem formalnem sestanku sprejme priporočilo Generalni skupščini, da sprejme državo prosilko v članstvo OZN.

Na našo prošnjo je sponzorstvo resolucije Generalne skupščine o sprejetju Slovenije v OZN in usklajevanje sponzorstva prevzela prijateljska Islandija, ki je bila med prvimi državami, ki so priznale Republiko Slovenijo.

Varnostni svet, ki mu je v maju 1992 predsedoval stalni predstavnik Avstrije pri OZN, veleposlanik Peter Hohenfellner, je na seji 18. maja sprejel priporočilo Generalni skupščini, da sprejme Slovenijo v članstvo. Spomnim se, kot da bi bilo včeraj, kako sva nemudoma po sprejetju priporočila Varnostnega sveta z islandskim diplomatom in prijateljem Gretarjem Marom Sigurdssonom odhitela v 27. nadstropje palače OZN, kjer je kot sponzor prijavil resolucijo Generalne skupščine o sprejetju Slovenije v OZN. Resolucija je šla v Generalno skupščino pod oznako A/46/L.71.

Generalna skupščina je sprejela Slovenijo v članstvo na plenarnem zasedanju 22. maja 1992. Kot je v svojem govoru v Generalni skupščini ob tej priložnosti poudaril predsednik republike Milan Kučan, ki je vodil slovensko delegacijo na zasedanju, se je s sprejetjem v Organizacijo združenih narodov slovenskemu narodu izpolnila zgodovinska težnja, da vstopi v mednarodno skupnost. Slovenija se ni osamosvojila zato, da bi postala otok sredi sveta, ki se vse bolj združuje, ampak zato, da bi si v procesih združevanja, v katere vstopa, zagotovila ustrezeno vlogo in pravično ravnanje.

February. This was followed by the eagerly awaited recognition from the United States on 7 April. The People's Republic of China recognised Slovenia on 27 April 1992.

This finally opened the door to Slovenia for membership of the United Nations Organisation.

Slovenia submitted its official request for admission to membership of the United Nations on 5 May 1992. On that day, the letter from Slovenian President Milan Kučan was handed over to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in the Secretary-General's Office in New York.

On 11 May 1992 the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina also submitted requests for membership.

In accordance with established procedure, in a formal meeting the Security Council forwarded the request for membership to the Security Council committee for the admission of new members. Then, on the basis of the committee's recommendation, in another formal meeting a recommendation was passed on to the General Assembly that it admit the applicant country to membership of the UN.

At our request, sponsorship of the General Assembly resolution on admission of Slovenia to the UN and co-ordination of sponsorship was assumed by the friendly state of Iceland, which had been among the first countries to recognise the Republic of Slovenia.

In a session on 18 May the Security Council, which in May 1992 was presided over by the permanent representative of Austria at the UN, Ambassador Peter Hohenfellner, passed the recommendation to the General Assembly that it accept Slovenia as a member. I remember as if it was yesterday how immediately after adoption of the Security Council recommendation I rushed off with my friend the Icelandic diplomat Gretar Mar Sigurdsson to the 27th floor of the UN building, where as sponsor he announced the resolution of the General Assembly on the admission of Slovenia to the UN. The resolution went into the General Assembly under the symbol A/46/L.71.

The General Assembly accepted Slovenia as a full member at a plenary session on 22 May 1992. As was emphasised in the speech by Slovenian President Milan Kučan, who headed the Slovenian delegation, to the General Assembly on that occasion, with its admission to the United Nations, the Slovenian nation had fulfilled its historical aspiration to enter into the international community. Slovenia had not

Slovenska zastava je v vetru tistega sončnega majskega dopoldneva ponosno zaplapolala pred palačo ob East Riverju. Slovenija je tako postala sto šestinsedemdeseta članica Združenih narodov.

gained independence in order to become an island in the middle of a world that was becoming increasingly linked, but in order to secure for itself an appropriate role and justified treatment in the processes of integration which it was entering.

That sunny May morning, the Slovenian flag flapped proudly in the breeze in front of the UN building on the East River. And Slovenia had become the one hundred seventy-sixth member of the United Nations.

Pomen Združenih narodov

Kot vsaka mednarodna organizacija se tudi OZN stalno srečuje z vprašanjem, ali njene dejavnosti in ustroj še ustrezajo razmeram, ki so posledica sprememb v mednarodnem okolju. Na predlanskem zgodovinskem vrhu tisočletja so voditelji držav in vlad s sprejetjem Deklaracije tisočletja ambiciozno začrtali glavne smeri delovanja OZN in njeno mesto in vlogo v sodobni mednarodni skupnosti. Zagotovitev uresničevanja v Deklaraciji zastavljenih ciljev in njihova vključitev v vsa področja dela OZN bosta ena najpomembnejših nalog in izzivov v prihodnosti OZN.

Brez dvoma je OZN svoji skupnosti nujno potrebna. Prav tako pa je jasno, da so v spremenjenih razmerah za njeno verodostojnost in učinkovitost nujno potrebne prenove. Prenova Varnostnega sveta kot ena najpomembnejših sestavin prenove organizacije je po osmih letih razprav še daleč od uresničitve, saj še vedno ni soglasja o širiti stalnega članstva ter vprašanju veta. Premiki v smeri racionalizacije se poskušajo doseči tudi pri načinu dela Generalne skupščine. Zlasti manjše države – in teh je dobra tretjina članic OZN – imajo pri sedanjem načinu dela tudi v Generalni skupščini (ki naj bi bila forum enakopravnosti vseh članic) vse manj možnosti vplivati na potek dogajanja in uveljavljanje stališč in interesov. Spodbuden in pozitiven znak za prihodnje delovanje OZN je dejstvo, da je po obdobju velike krize s sprejetjem novih lestvic prispevkov držav v redni proračun in v proračun za mirovne operacije vsaj do neke mere uspešno rešen finančni položaj OZN.

Pri ohranjanju miru in varnosti OZN dokazuje svojo pomembnost z mirovnimi operacijami, katerih število narašča in postajajo kompleksnejše in večdimenzionalne (npr. Kosovo, Vzhodni Timor). Da bi se presegle težave, s katerimi se je OZN srečevala pri izvajanju mirovnih operacij v preteklih letih, bo ena osrednjih tem uresničevanje priporočil Brahimijevega poročila o mirovnih operacijah OZN, ki si prizadevajo za zagotavljanje njihove večje učinkovitosti in kakovosti. Celotni sistem OZN se bo v prihodnje na podlagi prvega tovrstnega poročila generalnega sekretarja tudi bolj usklajeno ukvarjal s celovito problematiko preprečevanja oboroženih spopadov kot ene temeljnih nalog OZN, ki temelji na priznanju medsebojne

The Role of the United Nations

Just as any other international organisation, the United Nations is constantly facing the question of whether or not its activities and structures still correspond to the situation resulting from the changes in the international arena. At the historical Millennium Summit held two years ago, heads of government and state ambitiously laid down the main orientations of the UN activities as well as its place and role in the contemporary international community. One of the most important tasks and challenges to be faced by the UN in the future will be attaining the goals set out in the Declaration and their integration in all areas of the UN work.

The international community undoubtedly needs the UN. However, it is also clear that reforms are required for the UN to remain credible and efficient. After eight years of debate, the reform of the Security Council - one of the most important components of the reform of the organisation - is still far from realisation since no consensus has been reached on two basic issues - permanent membership expansion and veto. It has also been endeavoured to bring about some changes that would rationalise the General Assembly's work methods. The present method of work in the General Assembly (which should represent the forum of equality of all members) does not provide many opportunities - especially for the smaller countries that make up over one third of the UN membership - to influence the course of developments and assert their positions and interests. A very encouraging and positive sign for the future operation of the UN is the fact that a new assessment scale for contributions to the regular budget and to the peace operations budget has been adopted after a major crisis; the UN financial situation has thus, at least in part, been successfully resolved.

The UN demonstrates its relevance in maintaining peace and security through the increasing number of complex and multidimensional peace operations (e.g. in Kosovo, East Timor). In order to overcome the difficulties experienced by the UN in its peace operations in the recent years, considerable attention will be paid to carrying out the recommendations of the Brahimi report, which are aimed at improving the efficiency and quality of the UN peace operations. On the

povezanosti med razvojem, spoštovanjem človekovih pravic in demokracijo ter varnostjo in mirom. V tem okviru postaja pomembno tudi sodelovanje OZN z regionalnimi organizacijami, kot npr. EU, OVSE, Svet Evrope.

Pri razoroževanju je OZN v zadnjih letih dosegla več uspehov, vključno s sklenitvijo konvencije o prepovedi kemičnega orožja, podaljšanjem sporazuma o neširjenju jedrskega orožja, sklenitvijo sporazuma o prepovedi jedrskih poskusov ter končano prvo konferenco o nezakoniti trgovini z lahkim in osebnim orožjem. Nadaljuje se krepitev dejavnosti OZN pri varstvu človekovih pravic in vladavine prava, ki so temelj delovanja OZN. Uveljavlja se ideja mednarodnega kazenskega pravosodja in pravičnosti brez meja, ki je dobila svojo zgodovinsko potrditev s sprejetjem Statuta Mednarodnega kazenskega sodišča.

ODN v zadnjih letih zaznamujeta izrazita dejavnost in vidnejša vloga pri gospodarski in socialni problematiki z organiziranjem številnih posebnih zasedanj in mednarodnih konferenc s tega področja (socialni razvoj, položaj žensk, otroci, aids, okolje itd.). Eden temeljnih ciljev je zmanjšanje revščine po svetu za polovico do leta 2015. Tudi v OZN se kažejo prednostne naloge z vidika zahtev po zagotovitvi pozitivnih učinkov globalizacije za vse, po novem mednarodnem finančnem redu ter potrebni pomoči in izboljšanju kritičnega položaja zadolženih držav v razvoju, predvsem najrevnejjih. Prvič je bila v OZN leta 2002 organizirana Mednarodna konferenca o razvojnem finančiranju na najvišji ravni, na kateri so sodelovale tudi institucije v Bretton Woodu. OZN tudi upravlja mednarodno razvojno in humanitarno pomoč, ki presega 5 mrd. USD letno.

Pri delu celotnega sistema OZN in opredeljevanju mesta OZN je v vedno bolj razviti mreži mednarodnih mehanizmov v ospredju spoznanje, da je za učinkovitejše spopadanje s težavami, ki jih prinašata moderna družba in globalizacija, treba vzpostaviti svetovno partnerstvo, ki bo vključevalo ne samo OZN, vlade in mednarodne organizacije in institucije, ampak tudi zasebni sektor in kapital ter civilno družbo. Posebne zasluge za oblikovanje nove podobe OZN v zadnjih letih v smislu večje notranje učinkovitosti in tudi odprtosti do novih idej ter razpoznavnosti in ugleda navzven je treba brez dvoma prisati generalnemu sekretarju OZN Kofiui Annanu, ki se je osebno vzemal za reševanje kriz (Bližnji vzhod) in se tega tudi pogumno lote-

basis of the first such report by the Secretary General, the UN will improve the co-ordination of its efforts to deal with the complex issues of preventing armed conflict, which is one of the UN's basic functions, based on an awareness that development, respect for human rights and democracy and security and peace are interdependent. Cooperation between the UN and regional organisations such as the EU, OSCE and the Council of Europe is becoming increasingly significant in this field.

The UN has also attained several notable results in the area of disarmament in recent years, including the conclusion of the Chemical Weapons Convention, the prolongation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the conclusion of the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty, and the first Conference on Illicit Trafficking in Small Arms and Light Weapons. The UN continuously strengthens its activities in protecting human rights and the rule of law, which are foundations of UN operation. The idea of international criminal justice and justice without borders has been introduced and historically confirmed with the adoption of the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

The UN has been very active and has played a notable role in the economic and social spheres in the recent years, and has organised numerous special sessions and international conferences in this area (social development, situation of women, children, AIDS, environment, etc.). One of the basic goals of the UN is to cut global poverty in half by 2015. The UN is also setting priorities to enable everybody to benefit from the positive effects of globalisation, to ensure a new international financial order, and to provide assistance to and improve the critical situation in the indebted developing countries, particularly the poorest ones. An international conference on financing for development at the highest level was organised for the first time within the UN in 2002, and was also attended by the Bretton-Woods institutions. The UN also manages international development and humanitarian assistance exceeding USD 5 billion a year.

The work and definition of the whole UN system and its place within the continuously developing network of international mechanisms has been increasingly influenced by an awareness that the issues raised by modern society and globalisation can only be efficiently dealt with if a global partnership is established, comprising not only the UN, governments and international organisations and insti-

val in dajal osebne pobude pri velikokrat nasprotujočih vprašanjih (humanitarna intervencija, »Global Compact«, zmanjševanje cen zdravil za aids itd.).

tutions but also the private sector, capital and the civil society. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan undoubtedly deserves special praise for shaping the new UN image in the recent years, which has resulted in greater internal efficiency, openness to new ideas and an improved reputation for the organisation. Kofi Annan is known for his personal engagement in resolving crises (Middle East) and his courageous dealing with and personal initiative in frequently controversial issues (humanitarian intervention, Global Compact, lowering prices for AIDS medications, etc.).

Položaj Slovenije v Združenih narodih

Članstvo Slovenije v OZN je vir pomembnih odgovornosti in možnosti slovenske države in graditve njene identitete v mednarodnih odnosih. Slovenija spremlja in deluje v OZN prek misije pri sedežu organizacije v New Yorku in pri njenih uradih v Ženevi in na Dunaju. Načelo suverene enakosti držav članic, ki je eno temeljnih načel OZN, je pomembno izhodišče dejavnosti Slovenije v svetovni organizaciji. Zemljepisna majhnost Slovenije ni ovira za naše dejavno sodelovanje. Pri mnogih vprašanjih smo sposobni nastopati strokovno, zanimivo in v povezavi s podobno mislečimi državami tudi učinkovito. S članstvom v Varnostnem svetu v letih 1998–1999 smo dokazali, da lahko prevzemamo in odgovorno ter konstruktivno opravljamo tudi najodgovornejše naloge v mednarodni skupnosti.

Slovenija se v OZN že tradicionalno najbolj dejavno posveča štirim sklopom vprašanj, pri katerih je v preteklih letih dosegla ustrezno prepoznavnost in rezultate ter na teh področjih spada med dejavnješje članice OZN:

- vprašanja sistema kolektivne varnosti, kamor spadajo konkretnе razmere, ki jih obravnavata Varnostni svet in Generalna skupščina, kot tudi splošna vprašanja;
- vprašanja človekovih pravic, pri katerih se Slovenija tradicionalno uveljavlja kot dejavna država in pobudnica ukrepov za izpolnjevanje mednarodnih standardov. Slovenija tudi jasno izraža poseben interes za humanitarno posredovanje ter oblikovanje jasnih in enotnih načel, iz katerih bi bilo razvidno, da sklicevanje na suverenost nobeni državi ne daje pravice za nekaznovano množično in sistematično kršenje človekovih pravic na njenem ozemljju;
- vprašanja razvoja, zlasti z njegovih ekoloških vidikov. Slovenija je podpisnica Konvencije ZN za trajnostni razvoj;
- celoten sklop vprašanj, povezan z mirom in varnostjo v Jugovzhodni Evropi. Za Slovenijo sta ustalitev razmer ter razvoj držav v tem delu Evrope neposreden nacionalni interes.

Slovenija se je vse od sprejetja v članstvo OZN ukvarjala z vprašanji, ki so bila povezana z razpadom nekdanje SFRJ. Pri tem je bil dan poseben poudarek vprašanjem nasledstva in statusa ZRJ, še

Slovenia's Status in the United Nations

Slovenia's membership of the UN brings important obligations and also opportunities for the Slovenian state, particularly in relation to establishing its identity in international relations. Slovenia follows and participates in UN activities through the missions to the UN in New York and to UN bodies in Geneva and Vienna. The principle of sovereign equality of all Member States, which is one of the basic principles of the UN, is very important to Slovenia's activities within the UN. The small size of Slovenia is no obstacle for its active participation in the organisation. Slovenia is a competent and interested partner in many issues, and is, together with like-minded countries, very effective in solving them. During our membership of the Security Council in 1998-1999 we proved that we are capable of competently and constructively assuming and carrying out the most responsible functions within the international community.

Within the UN Slovenia has traditionally devoted most of its attention to four groups of matters, in which it has also attained good results. Slovenia is one of the most actively engaged UN members in these matters and has become well known in this regard. These matters comprise the following:

- The collective security system: this issue includes both concrete situations, which are dealt with by the Security Council and the General Assembly, and general matters;
- Human rights: Slovenia has gained recognition in this area as an active country and initiator of measures for the fulfilment of international standards of human rights. Slovenia has also clearly expressed its interest in the issues of humanitarian intervention and in formulating clear and uniform principles, which would make it evident that sovereignty does not give right to countries to commit mass and systematic violation of human rights on their territory.
- Development and its environmental implications: Slovenia is a signatory to the UN Sustainable Development Convention.
- All matters relating to peace and security in South-Eastern Europe: the stabilisation of situation and the development of the countries in South-Eastern Europe are in the national interest of the Republic of Slovenia.

zlasti z vidika tega, da so rešitve, ki jih sprejme OZN, zgled za ravnanje drugih mednarodnih organizacij in posameznih držav. V letu 2000 je prišlo do pomembnega preloma pri reševanju statusa ZRJ v OZN na način, ki potrjuje enakost vseh naslednic nekdanje SFRJ. ZRJ je bila sprejeta v OZN kot nova članica. Posledično so bila rešena tudi glavna z nasledstvom povezana vprašanja, kot je npr. status ZRJ pri mednarodnih pogodbah in v drugih mednarodnih organizacijah. Slovenija bo tudi v prihodnje posvečala posebno pozornost vprašanjem, ki bi se lahko v OZN še pojavili v povezavi z nasledstvom.

Slovenija je januarja 1996 vstopila v vzhodnoevropsko regionalno (volilno) skupino držav, kar nam omogoča izvolitev v voljene organe OZN in s tem dodatne možnosti uveljavljanja naših interesov v OZN.

Kar zadeva vsebino stališč do vprašanj na dnevnom redu OZN, pa se Slovenija povezuje in v glavnem nastopa usklajeno z državami EU in pridruženimi državami. V zadnjem letu se je močno utrdila izmenjava mnenj in usklajevanja stališč z EU pri posameznih obravnavanih vprašanjih, kar daje Sloveniji in drugim pridruženim državam možnost za dejavnejše sodelovanje in dejansko povezovanje s članicami EU v skupni interesni blok pri nastopanju v OZN.

Slovenija v OZN sodeluje s prispevanjem vojaških in policijskih predstavnikov v mirovne operacije in je članica Skupine prijateljev generalnega sekretarja OZN za Kosovo. S prostovoljnimi prispevki Slovenija podpira delo različnih programov in skladov OZN in postopoma prehaja med države donatorke. Dejavno se zavzema za uveljavljanje pravic otrok in je od 1. januarja 2002 članica IO UNICEF.

Slovenija sodeluje v naslednjih specializiranih organizacijah:

- Ekonomski komisija ZN za Evropo (ECE)
- Fundacija ZN za pomoč otrokom (UNICEF)
- Konferenca ZN za trgovino in razvoj (UNCTAD)
- Mednarodna agencija za atomsko energijo (IAEA)
- Mednarodna banka za obnovo in razvoj (IBRD)
- Mednarodna organizacija civilnega letalstva (ICAO)
- Mednarodna organizacija dela (ILO)
- Mednarodna pomorska organizacija (IMO)
- Mednarodna zveza za razvoj (IDA)
- Mednarodna zveza za telekomunikacije (ITU)

Ever since becoming a member of the UN, Slovenia has dealt with questions relating to the dissolution of the former SFRY. Special emphasis has been laid on the succession issues and on the status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). It was very important with regard to these issues that all the solutions adopted by the UN serve as a precedent for the actions of other international organisations and individual countries. An important shift in solving the FRY's status in the UN was made in 2000 in a manner that confirmed the equality of all successors to the former SFRY. The FRY was admitted to the UN as a new member. Consequently, all the major issues related to succession have been solved, including the FRY's status in international treaties and in other international organisations. Slovenia will continue to devote special attention to succession issues which could still be brought about within the UN.

In January 1996 Slovenia joined the Eastern European States Group and can thus be elected to elective UN bodies and gain further opportunities for fulfilling its interests within the UN.

Slovenia's positions and actions related to the issues on the UN agenda are generally co-ordinated with those of the EU members and associate countries. The practice of exchanging and harmonising views with the EU on individual issues under consideration considerably gained in importance in the last year. This enables Slovenia and other associate countries to play a more active role and to link themselves with the EU members in a common interest bloc in their actions within the UN.

Slovenia also takes part in the UN by contributing military and police staff to peace operations. Furthermore, it is a member of the UN Secretary-General's Group of Friends of Kosovo. Slovenia also contributes to various UN programmes and funds and is gradually turning into a donor state. It also very actively urges the exercising of children's rights and has been a member of the UNICEF Executive Board since 1 January 2002.

Slovenia participates in the following bodies:
UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)
UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)
UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

Mednarodni denarni sklad (IMF)

Mednarodni inštitut za unifikacijo zasebnega prava (UNIDROIT)

Organizacija ZN za industrijski razvoj (UNIDO)

Organizacija ZN za izobraževanje, znanost in kulturo (UNESCO)

Organizacija ZN za prehrano in kmetijstvo (FAO)

Program ZN za razvoj (UNDP)

Svetovna metereološka organizacija (WMO)

Svetovna organizacija za intelektualno lastnino (WIPO)

Svetovna zdravstvena organizacija (WHO)

Svetovna poštna zveza (UPU)

Svetovni program za prehrano (WFP)

Nekateri uradi imajo svoje nacionalne odbore, drugi pa predstavniki v Sloveniji. V nadaljevanju je opisano njihovo delovanje.

UNICEF

Slovenski odbor za Unicef je pomemben član v edinstveni mreži, ki jo je zgradil Unicef v razvitih državah za sodelovanje z zasebno javnostjo (posamezniki, združenji, podjetji ...).

Gre za podporo civilne družbe prek nacionalnih odborov, ki v svojih državah delujejo kot nevladne organizacije, vendar v okvirih, začrtanih v pogodbi z Unicefom. Danes jih je že 37 in pogodba z Unicefom jih obvezuje oziroma pooblašča, da zastopajo in podpirajo poslanstvo in cilje Unicefa v svojih državah ter zbirajo sredstva za Unicefove programe pomoći otrokom v najbolj ogroženih predelih sveta. Z zbiranjem sredstev iz zasebnih virov zagotavljajo nacionalni odbori Unicefu že več kot tretjino vseh sredstev. Medtem ko se je skupni prispevek nacionalnih odborov v zadnjih desetih letih povečal za trikrat, so se sredstva, ki jih prispevajo vlade, povečala komaj za polovico. Poleg tega nacionalni odbori s svojim delom in komuniciranjem z javnostmi pomembno prispevajo k ozaveščanju o razvojnih temah ter temah, ki zadevajo otroke na državni in svetovni ravni, ter s tem povečujejo javno podporo tej organizaciji. Sprejetje Konvencije o otrokovih pravicah leta 1989 pa je naložilo odborom še eno pomembno nalogu. S programoma Promocija in zagovorništvo otrokovih pravic ter Izobraževanje za razvoj širijo zavest oziroma izobražujejo

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
International Labour Organization (ILO)
International Maritime Organisation (IMO)
International Development Association (IDA)
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
International Monetary Fund (IMF)
International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT)
UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO)
UN Development Programme (UNDP)
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
World Health Organisation (WHO)
Universal Postal Union (UPU)
World Food Programme (WFP)

Some offices have their national committees while others have representative offices in Slovenia. Their activities are outlined below.

UNICEF

The Slovenian Committee for UNICEF is an important member of a unique network built up by UNICEF in industrialised countries with a view to cooperating with private-sector partners (individuals, associations and companies).

The aim of the national committees is to gain the support of civil society. They function as non-governmental organisations but only within the scope set out in the agreement with UNICEF. There are currently 37 committees and the agreement with UNICEF binds and authorises them to represent and provide support for UNICEF mission and aims within the countries they represent and to raise funds for UNICEF programmes to assist children in the most threatened parts of the world. By raising funds from private sector sources, national committees contribute more than a third of UNICEF's total income. While the joint contribution of national committees has increased

in obveščajo najširšo javnost, vključno z odgovornimi v državi, o mednarodnopravno priznanih pravicah otrok in pomenu svetovne solidarnosti.

V Sloveniji je bil odbor za Unicef ustanovljen decembra leta 1993. Začetki delovanja so temeljili izključno na prostovoljnem delu članstva oziroma članov prvega izvršilnega odbora. S prevzemanjem vse večjega deleža prodaje Unicefovih voščilnic in drugih izdelkov, ki jo je do takrat uspešno izvajalo Društvo RS za ZN, pa so se postopoma začele zagotavljati razmere za profesionalizacijo. Z njo pa je odbor začel svojo dejavnost širiti in je konec devetdesetih že sodeloval pri vseh programih, ki jih predvideva medsebojni sporazum o sodelovanju z Unicefom. Prav tako pa se je v relativno kratkem času svojega obstoja uvrstil v sam vrh po prispevku na prebivalca.

V absolutnih številkah slovenski prispevek Unicefu (1,3 milijona USD) morda ni pretresljiv, je pa toliko pomembnejši v relativnih številkah in tudi ob upoštevanju dejstva, da je naš odbor relativno mlad, saj deluje šele devet let. Po zbranih sredstvih na prebivalca se uvršča na tretje mesto, takoj za Nizozemsko in Švico. Še posebej pa odbor izstopa po uspešni prodaji Unicefovih voščilnic, saj je Slovenija druga po prodaji na prebivalca. Za take dosežke so predvsem zasluzni slovenski državljanji, ki darujejo svoje prispevke, pa tudi sponzorji in drugi podporniki Unicefa v Sloveniji, ki s svojimi prispevki pokrivajo stroške in s tem zagotavljajo večji izkupiček akcij zbiranja sredstev.

Zaradi tega je slovenski odbor za Unicef danes v tej mednarodni organizaciji prepoznan kot vzorčni model uspešnega in dinamičnega nacionalnega odbora ter tudi kot vzorčni model za umeščanje Unicefa v državah v prehodu.

Tako velik prispevek Unicefu je bistveno pripomogel tudi k izvolitvi države Slovenije v izvršilni odbor Unicefa za obdobje 2002–2004. Članstvo v tem organu pomeni neposredno odločanje o vodenju ter političnih in programskih usmeritvah te največje mednarodne organizacije v sistemu OZN, ki je namenjena izključno otrokom. Slovenija lahko kot članica odigra pomembno vlogo pri prizadevanjih in podpori razvoja nacionalnih odborov v vzhodni in srednji Evropi in tudi pri njihovem ustanavljanju na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije. Podobno dejavno in morda vodilno vlogo lahko država Slovenija odigra tudi pri uresničevanju sklepov posebne Generalne skupščine OZN, namen-

threefold over the last decade, funds contributed by governments have only increased by a half.

Furthermore, the work and communication of the national committees with the general public make an outstanding contribution to raising awareness about development issues and issues relating to children at both national and global levels, thus increasing public support for the organisation. With the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, national committees assumed another important responsibility. Through the programmes Rights Promotion and Child Protection and Education for Development, national committees raise awareness and inform the general public and responsible bodies of children's rights recognised under international law, and of the importance of global solidarity.

In Slovenia, the National Committee for UNICEF was established in December 1993. The beginnings of its functioning were based entirely on the voluntary work of its members and its first executive board. By taking over an increasingly large share of the sale of UNICEF greeting cards and other products, previously carried out successfully by the Association of the Republic of Slovenia for the UN, the conditions for a professional staff were gradually provided. Thus, the committee began to extend its activities, and in the late 1990s it was involved in all the programmes stipulated in the mutual agreement on cooperation with UNICEF. After only a short period of existence, the committee also figured among the top donors in contributions per capita.

In absolute terms, the Slovenian contribution to UNICEF of USD 1.3 million may not be impressive but its relative figures are of greater importance with respect to the fact that our committee is quite young - only having functioned for about nine years. In terms of funds raised per capita it ranks third after the Netherlands and Switzerland. The committee particularly stands out for its successful sales of UNICEF greeting cards with Slovenia ranking second in sales per capita. Such results were largely achieved thanks to Slovenian citizens making contributions as well as sponsors and other UNICEF donors in Slovenia whose contributions cover most of the committee's costs, thus ensuring greater profit.

The Slovenian Committee for UNICEF is recognised within the international UNICEF organisation as a model of a successful and dy-

jene otrokom letos maja v New Yorku, ter kot sklicateljica regijskih srečanj pri pripravah vmesnih poročil o uresničevanju zastavljenega. Seveda bo mogoče to storiti le s tesnim tritranskim sodelovanjem med Unicefom, nacionalnim odborom in vlado RS.

Slovenski odbor za Unicef pa je bil zaradi svojih dosežkov izbran tudi za organizatorja mednaravnega srečanja Unicefa in njegovih nacionalnih odborov. Srečanje bo v začetku septembra letos v Ljubljani. Na srečanju bodo prisotni predstavniki 37 nacionalnih odborov, vodstvo Unicefa iz New Yorka in Ženeve ter nekateri predstavniki Unicefovih uradov iz Azije, Latinske Amerike.

UNESCO

Slovenija je bila sprejeta v Organizacijo Združenih narodov za izobraževanje, znanost in kulturo 27. maja 1992 kot 167. država članica.

Leta 1982 je Izvršni svet SRS ustanovil komisijo za sodelovanje z Unescom, ki jo je 1991 Vlada RS preimenovala v Slovensko nacionalno komisijo za Unesco. Skupščina Republike Slovenije je nato v letu 1992 ratificirala Ustavo Unescga (Uradni list Republike Slovenije, Mednarodne pogodbe, št. 9/92) ter 18 mednarodno-pravnih dokumentov, ki jih je ratificirala SFRJ. V aktu o nasledstvu je potrdila tudi, da Škocjanske jame ostajajo na seznamu svetovne kulturne in naravne dediščine, sečoveljske soline pa so bile vključene na seznam Ramsarske konvencije. Slovenijo smo včlanili tudi v ICCROM ter Svetovni center serijskih publikacij, NUK pa je postal depozitarna knjižnica za Unesco. Strokovnjaki, ki so že prej sodelovali v zveznih jugoslovanskih komitejih v posebnih programih Unescga: Mednarodnem hidrološkem programu – IHP, Mednarodni oceanografski komisiji – IOC, Mednarodnem programu geološke korelacji – IGCP in v programu Človek in biosfera – MAB so se preimenovali v nacionalne komiteje in nadaljevali raziskovalne projekte, v katere so bili vključeni že vrsto let. Svoje dejavno delo je nadaljeval tudi Mednarodni center za kemijske študije, ki je že vrsto let uspešno izvajal Unescove projekte skupaj z univerzami držav v razvoju, domaćimi inštituti, industrijo in v sodelovanju z zanimimi raziskovalnimi centri v zahodnoevropskih državah. Sodelovanje v že obstoječih Unescovih mrežah v okviru znanosti je postalo še de-

namic national committee and an example of UNICEF's successful promotion in the countries in transition.

This significant contribution to UNICEF also helped Slovenia get elected to the UNICEF Executive Board for 2002-2004. Membership in this body permits direct decision-making on the governance and political and programme orientation of the largest international organisation within the UN system, which is intended exclusively for children. As a member, Slovenia can play an important role in its efforts towards and support for the development of national committees in Central and Eastern Europe and in the establishment of national committees on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Slovenia may play a similarly active or even a leading role in implementing decisions and conclusions by the General Assembly at the UN Special Session on Children in New York in May this year, and in convening regional meetings when preparing interim reports on the progress of envisaged plans. This will be possible only through close three-way cooperation between UNICEF, the National Committee and the Government of the Republic of Slovenia.

The Slovenian National Committee for UNICEF was chosen, on the basis of its results, to organise an international meeting of UNICEF and its national committees. The meeting will be held in Ljubljana at the beginning of September this year. The participants at this meeting will be: representatives of 37 national committees, top UNICEF representatives from New York and Geneva and several representatives from UNICEF offices in Asia and Latin America.

UNESCO

Slovenia was admitted to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) on 27 May 1992 as the 167th Member State.

In 1982 the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia established the Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO, which was renamed the National Commission for UNESCO by the Government of the Republic of Slovenia in 1991. In 1992 the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia ratified the UNESCO Constitution (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, International

javnejše - MIRCEN, MBCN, UNISIST. Treba je bilo pripraviti tudi sodelovanje pri zbiranju statističnih podatkov s področja pristojnosti Unesca.

Tako po včlanjenju se je začelo pospešeno vključevanje v mnoge Unescove projekte in dejavnosti, v katerih so slovenski strokovnjaki in ustanove sicer občasno sodelovale, vendar ne redno. Na področju izobraževanja je treba še posebej omeniti vključitev v Projekt pridruženih šol (ASP), pri katerem v prejšnjem obdobju slovenske šole niso sodelovale. Zagotovo je sodelovanje v ASP postalo ena najuspešnejših dejavnosti v Unescu, saj je Mednarodni tabor ASP eden Unescovih vodilnih projektov, ki je v tej veliki svetovni mreži šol zgled dobre prakse in je s finančno podporo Unesca predstavljen v posebni brošuri. Slovenska nacionalna koordinatorica je dobila posebno Unescovo priznanje kot izjemna koordinatorica. Slovenska mreža šol, ki ima že 42 članic (osnovne in srednje šole, pa tudi vrtci), je dobila za svoj nacionalni projekt v mednarodnem letu kulture miru 2000 veliko Unescovo nagrado Steber miru za svoj projekt na področju kulture miru. Uspešnemu vsebinskemu delu šol ASP je gotovo pripisati tudi velik uspeh piranske učenke, ki je zmagala na svetovnem natečaju za znamko za olimpijado 2000. Slovenski učitelji so sodelovali pri nastajanju priročnika posebnega svetovnega projekta o vzgoji in izobraževanju za kulturno dediščino. Treba je še omeniti uspešno in odmevno delovanje slovenskih strokovnjakov na področju vseživljenjskega izobraževanja, saj je Andragoški center postal osrednja stična točka za srednjo in vzhodno Evropo. Slovenija je bila med prvimi državami, ki so prevedle Delorsovo poročilo o izobraževanju za 21. stoletje, kar je gotovo treba pripisati tudi dejству, da je bila med elitnimi člani te komisije tudi slovenska strokovnjakinja.

Na področju znanosti je Mednarodni center za kemijske študije nadaljeval s svojimi projekti o ravnanju z nevarnimi odpadki, razvijanjem kemijske informatike in še posebej s projektom o sodelovanju med industrijo in univerzo. Center vsako leto organizira vrsto delavnic, seminarjev na teh področjih in usposablja mlade strokovnjake iz jugovzhodne Evrope, srednje Azije in z drugih celin. Velik del svoje dejavnosti usmerja tudi v vprašanja, ki so neposredno povezana z okoljem, vprašanja odnosa znanosti v trajnostnem razvoju, vprašanja etike in intelektualne lastnine, veliko

Treaties no. 9/92) and the remaining 18 international legal instruments that had already been ratified by the former Yugoslavia. It was also confirmed in the act on succession that the Škocjan Caves would remain on the UNESCO World Heritage List, while the Sečovlje saltpans were designated for inclusion in the Ramsar Convention List. Slovenia is also a member of the ICCROM and the World Centre for Serial Publications, and Slovenia's National University Library has been designated a UNESCO depositary library. Slovenian experts had participated in special UNESCO programmes during the time of the former Yugoslavia: the International Hydrological Programme (IHP), Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), International Geologic Correlation Programme (IGCP), and in the programme Man and the Biosphere. These experts then formed national committees and continued the research projects they had been participating in for several years. The International Centre for Chemical Studies also continued its work and has for numerous years successfully carried out UNESCO projects with universities of developing countries, Slovenian institutes, industries and with famous centres from Western European countries. Participation in existing UNESCO scientific networks has further intensified, e.g. in MIRCEN, MBCN and UNISIST. Cooperation in the field of collecting statistical data on UNESCO competencies has also been set up.

Immediately after becoming a member, Slovenia started to take part in many UNESCO projects and activities, in which Slovenian experts and institutions occasionally participated. Worthy of special mention in the educational sphere is the Associated Schools Project (ASP), which Slovenian schools have recently not participated in, yet ASP participation has nevertheless become one of the most successful activities within UNESCO, since the International ASP Network has become a leading UNESCO project. It represents an example of good practice and has been described in a special booklet, the publication of which was co-funded by UNESCO. The Slovenian national coordinator received a UNESCO award as a special coordinator. The Slovenian network of ASP schools has 42 members (elementary and secondary schools, kindergartens). In 2000, the International Year of the Culture of Peace, it received the UNESCO Peace Pillar Award for a national project on the culture of peace. The effective work of the ASP schools undoubtedly contributed to the success

pozornosti pa še zlasti posveča spodbujanju vključevanja mladih raziskovalk v svet raziskovanja in znanosti. V znanosti se je razvilo bogato sodelovanje z Unescovim centrom v Benetkah – ROSTE. V desetih letih članstva v Unescu je bilo izvedenih sedem posebnih projektov. Omeniti je treba, da je slovenska nacionalna komisija dejavno sodelovala pri pripravah na svetovno konferenco o znanosti, za katero je organizirala regionalno pripravljalno konferenco o vlogi žensk v znanosti in odigrala pomembno vlogo pri usklajevanju stališč med regijami in med samo svetovno konferenco. Že prej omenjeni štirje posebni programi za hidrologijo, oceanografijo, geološko korelacijo in Človek in biosfera razvijajo sodelovanje v precejšnjem številu mednarodnih projektov, ki so velika mednarodna mreža na posameznem področju. Iz raziskav se oblikujejo mednarodni zemljevidi za geologijo, hidrologijo (npr. za Podonavje), za Jadransko morje ali pa raziskave, ki so namenjene proučevanju raznih vprašanj pri sonaravnem bivanju in obdelovanju zemlje, varstvu avtohtonih živalskih in rastlinskih vrst ipd. Ob Unescovi podpori in pod sponzorstvom Slovenske nacionalne komisije je Inštitut za raziskavo krasa ustanovil Poletno šolo krasologije. Šola je v desetih letih obstoja prerasla vsa pričakovanja. Od dvanajstih udeležencev v prvem letu se je število prijavljencev več kot podesetilo. Ta uspeh je spodbudil organizatorje, da bodo ustanovili še Unescovo stolico na podiplomskem študiju v Kopru.

V desetletju za kulturni razvoj je bil uspešno končan projekt o secesiji, vrsto let je potekal tudi projekt Umetnost v bolnišnici, nekaj domačih publikacij je bilo uvrščenih med pomembna dela desetletja in so dobila pravico do uporabe znaka. Pri varovanju kulturne dediščine je bilo veliko prizadevanj namenjenih urejanju položaja Škocjanskih jam in oblikovanju novih predlogov za vpis v seznam svetovne dediščine. Pripravljeni so bili štirje predlogi, od katerih je pristojnemu državnemu strokovnemu organu uspelo pripraviti ustrezne dokumente le za Bolnišnico Franjo, preostali trije pa so že vrsto let samo na začasnom seznamu. V sodelovanju s Turistično zvezo Slovenije je nastalo vsakoletno posvetovanje o varovanju kulturne in naravne dediščine in odnosu turizma do teh vprašanj. Ob stoti obletnici kinematografije je bil pripravljen poseben seznam filmov, ki predstavljajo slovensko filmsko dediščino in so vključeni v svetovni seznam. Sodelovanje v posebnem projektu Spomin sveta

of a student from Piran, who won a worldwide competition to designing a postage stamp for the 2000 Olympics. Slovenian teachers participated in drawing up a handbook within a special world project on education for cultural heritage. Slovenian experts have also been very active and attained notable results in the sphere of lifelong learning and the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education has become the central contact point for Central and Eastern Europe. Slovenia was one of the first countries to translate the Delors Report on Education for the Twenty-first Century, which may also be the result of the fact that a Slovenian expert was an elite member of this commission.

In the area of science the International Centre for Chemical Studies has continued its projects on dangerous waste management, the development of chemical informatics and in particular a project on co-operation between industry and the university. The Centre organises a number of workshops and seminars in these areas every year and trains young experts from South-Eastern Europe, Central Asia and other continents. The Centre works hard on solving environmental problems, on the role of science in sustainable development, ethics and intellectual property, and particularly on encouraging the inclusion of young female researchers in the scientific community. Extensive cooperation with the Venice UNESCO Centre - ROSTE has also been developed in the area of science. The Slovenian National Commission played an active role in preparing a world conference on science, and organised a preparatory conference on the role of women in science; the Slovenian National Commission also played an important role in harmonising the positions of the regions at the world conference. The four special programmes mentioned above - hydrological, oceanographic, geological correlation and Man and the Biosphere - have allowed cooperation to develop within several international projects in major international scientific networks. International geological and hydrological charts are being drawn up as part of this research (e.g. for the Danube region, for the Adriatic Sea) and various problems are being studied in the area of ecological living and cultivating land and the protection of autochthonous animal and plant species. With the support of UNESCO and under the auspices of the Slovenian National Commission, the Institute for Karst Research set up the Summer School of Karst Studies, which has exceeded all expectations over its ten years of existence. The school had twelve par-

se bo razširilo še na druga področja (knjige, dokumenti). Od razglasitve svetovnega dneva poezije in svetovnega dneva knjige se vse bolj razširajo dejavnosti, povezane z vsebinami in cilji teh dveh dnevov. Morda bi bilo zanimivo omeniti tudi, da so se slovenske mlade oblikovalke trikrat uvrstile v ožji izbor Unescovih natečajev za mlade oblikovalce, slovenski fotograf pa se je dvakrat uvrstil v najožji izbor fotografij.

V zadnjem obdobju se uspešno razvija sodelovanje z Media Planom iz Sarajeva, s katerim so skupno organizirane delavnice, ki spodbujajo izboljševanje zakonodaje o medijih v jugovzhodni Evropi ob sodelovanju pomembnih ustanov iz zahodne Evrope. Unesco je med vojnimi spopadi na Balkanu v sodelovanju z Mednarodnim združenjem novinarjev ustanovil v Ljubljani Center za svobodo medijev v Jugovzhodni Evropi, ki je v marsičem prišlo do utrjevanju položaja teh medijev v težkih vojnih časih. V tistem obdobju je bilo v sodelovanju z Unescom organiziranih nekaj delavnic za usposabljanje knjižničarjev iz BiH.

V desetih letih članstva je Urad Slovenske nacionalne komisije sam, v sodelovanju s člani komisije ali so sami člani komisije izvedli skupno 31 projektov iz programa udeležbe, ki ima v Unescu posebno vlogo. Njegov namen je, da nacionalne komisije za Unesco neposredno sodelujejo pri izvajanju sprejetega Unescovega programa in za tako dejavnost dobijo posebej odobrena sredstva. Od teh 31 projektov je bilo šest medregionalnih, štirje regionalni, drugi pa so bili mednarodni. Z ROSTE je bilo dogovorjenih sedem projektov, eden z Unescovim uradom na Dunaju. Poleg tega pa je bila izvedena še vrsta drugih pogodbenih projektov za begunce med vojno, slovenski strokovnjaki pa so bili povabljeni, da so opravili strokovna svetovanja ali različne raziskave za Unesco (v izobraževanju, varovanju svetovne dediščine, znanosti).

WHO

Svetovna zdravstvena organizacija (SZO) je Slovenijo sprejela kot redno in enakopravno članico 7. maja 1992, še pred uradnim sprejetjem v Združene narode. Članstvo poleg pravic in ugodnosti, kot so pravica do soodločanja in sodelovanja v organih SZO, uporaba

ticipants in the first year, and the number of participants has since then increased tenfold. This success led the organisers to set up the UNESCO chair within the graduate study programme in Koper.

A decade of cultural development has included the completion of a project on secessionist art, and the Arts in Hospital project had been underway for several years as well. Some domestic publications have been listed among the important works of the decade and they obtained the right to use their logo. In the area of cultural heritage protection, a great deal of work has been invested in legislating the status of the Škocjan Caves and in drawing up new proposals for entry into the world heritage list. Four proposals have been drawn up, but the competent national authorities only managed to assemble relevant documentation for the Franja hospital, while the remaining three have been on a provisional list for several years. Annual consultations have been organised in cooperation with the Tourist Association of Slovenia on the problems of cultural and natural heritage protection and the relation of tourism to these issues. On the hundredth anniversary of cinematography a special list of films representing Slovenia's cinematic heritage was compiled; these films are also included in the world list. Participation in a special project entitled »Memory of the World« will be expanded to other areas (books, documents). Since the proclamation of World Poetry Day and the World Book Day, the number of activities relating to these two celebratory days has been constantly on the increase. It may also be worthwhile mentioning that young Slovenian designers have been on the short list for UNESCO young designer competitions three times, and a Slovenian photographer has twice reached the final round of the photography competition.

Cooperation with the Media Plan from Sarajevo has been developing successfully and workshops aimed at promoting the improvement of media-related legislation in South-Eastern Europe have been organised with this institution and in cooperation with important Western European institutions. During the war in the Balkans, UNESCO and the International Federation of Journalists set up the Centre for Media Freedom in South-Eastern Europe. This Centre largely contributed to the strengthening of the media's status during the difficult war times. Several training workshops for librarians from Bosnia and Herzegovina were also organised at that time in cooperation with UNESCO.

baz podatkov SZO, sodelovanje v programih SZO in podobno, nalaga Sloveniji tudi obveznosti. Mednje spadata redno letno plačevanje članarine (višina je določena po merilih Združenih narodov glede na države BNP) in zagotavljanje uresničevanja strategij, resolucij, deklaracij in konvencij, ki jih države članice sprejemajo na generalni in regionalni skupščini.

UNHCR

Generalna skupščina ga je ustanovila decembra 1950 zaradi zagotavljanja pomoči (zavetišča, hrane, živil) beguncem. V petdesetih letih delovanja je UNHCR pomagal pri normalizaciji življenjskih razmer več kot 50 milijonov beguncev.

Kot humanitarna in nepolitična organizacija ima UNHCR dva osnovna in med seboj povezana cilja, zaščito beguncev in njihovo umestitev v normalno življenjsko okolje. Mednarodna zaščita je okvir delovanja agencije, kar v praksi pomeni zagotavljanje spoštovanja osnovnih človekovih pravic in preprečevanje neprostovoljnega vračanja beguncev v državo pregona.

UNHCR obenem nadzira skladnost delovanja vlad z mednarodnim begunskim pravom. Delovanje organizacije se opira na Konvencijo ZN o statusu beguncev iz leta 1951 in njen protokol iz leta 1967.

Trenutno je agencija dejavna predvsem v jugovzhodni Evropi, Kolumbiji, zahodni Afriki, srednji Afriki, severnem Kavkazu, Afganistanu, Šrilanki, Timorju, na afriškem rtu ter pri reševanju palestinskega begunskega vprašanja. Delovanje UNHCR se skoraj v celoti financira s prostovoljnimi prispevkvi vlad, medvladnih organizacij in tudi posameznikov.

Visoki komisar ZN za begunce je odprl svoje predstavništvo v Sloveniji februarja 1992 kot odgovor na velik priliv beguncev iz Hrvaške in kasneje iz Bosne in Hercegovine. Urad UNHCR je edino predstavništvo sistema ZN v Sloveniji.

UNHCR v RS pomaga:

- iskalcem zatočišča, beguncem s statusom po konvenciji iz leta 1951 in ljudem z začasnim statusom begunka,
- beguncem iz BiH,
- državljanom nekdanje SFRJ brez statusa.

During the ten years of membership, 31 projects from the participation programme have been implemented by the Office of the Slovenian National Commission alone or in cooperation with Commission members, or by Commission members themselves. The participation programme has a special role within UNESCO, since it provides UNESCO national commissions with an opportunity to participate directly in the implementation of the adopted UNESCO programme and to receive specially approved funds to that end. These 31 projects included 6 interregional and 4 regional projects, while the others were international. Seven projects were agreed upon with ROSTE, and one with the UNESCO Office in Vienna. Several other contractual projects for refugees were carried out during the war, and Slovenian experts were invited as expert advisors or on UNESCO various research projects (in education, world heritage protection, science).

WHO

Slovenia was admitted to the World Health Organisation (WHO) as a fully-fledged member on 7 May 1992, before its official admission to the United Nations. Apart from the rights and benefits arising from membership, such as the right to co-decide and participate in the WHO bodies, the use of WHO databases, participation in WHO programmes and similar, Slovenia must also assume certain responsibilities. These include a regular membership fee paid annually (the amount is determined according to UN criteria related to a country's GDP) and the implementation of strategies, resolutions, declarations and conventions adopted by Member States at general and regional assemblies.

UNHCR

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established in December 1950 by the UN General Assembly with a view to providing assistance (shelter, food, and basic necessities) to refugees. Over five decades, the agency has helped more than 50 million refugees restart their lives in a normal environment.

Z zmanjševanjem števila beguncev iz BiH in Hrvaške (predvsem zaradi repatriacije) se je delovanje tega urada preusmerilo od nujne pomoči k trajnejšim rešitvam za preostale begunce. Urad je pozornost namenil tudi ustanavljanju institucij in izboljšanju zmogljivosti vladnih in nevladnih partnerjev za azil.

As a humanitarian, non-political organisation, UNHCR has two basic and closely related aims: to protect refugees and to help them restart their lives in a normal environment.

International protection is the cornerstone of the agency's work. In practice that means ensuring respect for the basic human rights of refugees and preventing the involuntarily return of refugees to a country where they have reason to fear persecution.

UNHCR also monitors government compliance with international refugee law. Its work is based on the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol.

Currently, the Agency is particularly active in South-Eastern Europe, Colombia, West Africa, Central Africa, North Caucasus, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Timor and the Horn of Africa and in solving the Palestinian refugee issue. UNHCR is funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions from governments, intergovernmental organisations and also individuals.

UNHCR opened a representative office in Slovenia in February 1992 as a response to a great flow of refugees from Croatia and later from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The UNHCR Office is the only representative office of the UN system in Slovenia.

In Slovenia, UNHCR assists the following persons:

- asylum seekers, refugees with status under the 1951 Convention, and temporary refugees
- refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina
- citizens of the former SFRY without status.

By reducing the number of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia (mostly because of repatriation), the work of the Office was reoriented from emergency relief to long-term solutions for the remaining refugees. The Office has also laid emphasis on institution building and capacity building of governmental and non-governmental partners in the field of asylum.

Članstvo Slovenije v Varnostnem svetu



PREDSEDNIK VLADE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE DR. JANEZ DRNOVŠEK IN GENERALNI SEKRETAR ZDRAUŽENIH NARODOV KOFI ANNAN NA 54. ZASEDANJU GENERALNE SKUPŠĆINE ZDRAUŽENIH NARODOV V NEW YORKU, 22. SEPTEMBERA 1999

THE SLOVENIAN PRIME MINISTER, DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK, AND UN SECRETARY-GENERAL KOFI ANNAN AT THE 54TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION, NEW YORK, 22 SEPTEMBER 1999

Izziv nestalnega članstva

14. oktobra 1997 je Slovenija postala država, v kateri so vprašanja dejavnosti v multilateralnem okviru med pomembnejšimi na področju zunanje politike. Na tajnih volitvah v Generalni skupščini OZN ji je namreč s 140 glasovi podpore od 174 navzočih članic uspelo s kandidaturo in si je zagotovila mesto nestalne članice Varnostnega sveta OZN za obdobje 1998–1999. O prepričljivosti uspeha še pose-

Membership of Slovenia in the Security Council

The challenge of non-permanent membership

By 14 October 1997, Slovenia had become a country in which multilateral issues were among the most important items on its foreign policy agenda. In a secret ballot, Slovenia received 140 votes from the 174 member states present and voting in the General Assembly, and gained a non-permanent seat on the Security Council for the period 1998-1999. The convincing nature of the ballot bears witness to the fact that prior to the elections Slovenia received promises of support of 148 countries, which means that very few countries failed to provide their announced support in the decisive moment.

Slovenia was for the first time actively present in the mechanism of collective security and participating on an equal footing in decision-making on numerous issues of a regional and global nature. As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Slovenia was not only directly responsible for maintaining international peace, tolerance and understanding at the global level, but also represented one of the key information channels for other UN members concerning the activities in the Security Council. The permanent member delegations of the Security Council are renowned for being tight-lipped about developments in the UN's most important body and the information provided in contact with other delegations is practically at the same level as official communiqués. By providing information and interpreting events in the Security Council, non-permanent members thus have more opportunity to increase their recognisability and reputation in the eyes of other UN members.

The basic elements of Slovenia's approach

From the very start of its membership, Slovenia had worked out its positions on the issues the Security Council had been tackling. Slovenia expressed its positions in general debates and in the Security Council on concrete matters from the Security Council agenda.

bej priča dejstvo, da je pred volitvami Slovenija prejela obljube 148 držav, kar pomeni, da se jih je zelo malo izneverilo napovedani podpori v odločilnem trenutku.

Slovenija je bila tako prvič dejavno prisotna pri kolektivni varnosti in enakopravno sodelovala pri odločanju o številnih regionalnih in svetovnih vprašanjih. Kot nestalna članica pa Slovenija ni bila le neposredno soodgovorna za oblikovanje mednarodnega miru in strpnega razumevanja na svetovni ravni, temveč je za druge članice OZN tudi ena ključnih informacijskih poti za dogajanje v Varnostnem svetu. Delegacije stalnih članic Varnostnega sveta so namreč znane po tem, da so bolj redkobesedne o dogajanju v tem najpomembnejšem organu OZN in da so informacije, ki jih dajejo v stikih z drugimi delegacijami, bolj ali manj na ravni uradnih komunikejev. Zato pa imajo nestalne članice tem več priložnosti, da si z obveščanjem in razlago dogajanj v Varnostnem svetu v očeh drugih članic OZN močno povečajo svojo razpoznavnost in ugled.

Temelji pristopa Slovenije

Že od samega začetka svojega članstva je Slovenija nastopala z oblikovanimi mnenji o vprašanjih, s katerimi se srečuje Varnostni svet. Ta stališča je Slovenija v OZN izražala že prej v splošnih razpravah in v razpravah o konkretnih razmerah na dnevнем redu VS.

Pri iskanju rešitev je Slovenija izhajala iz načela spoštovanja Ustanovne listine OZN in mednarodnega prava. Zavzemala se je za pravočasno preprečevalno delovanje OZN, predvsem generalnega sekretarja in njegovih posebnih odposlancev.

Pri oboroženih sponadih je Slovenija izhajala iz stališča, da morajo biti mirovne operacije usklajene z Ustanovno listino in zasnovane ter vodene tako, da prispevajo k uresničitvi zadanih ciljev. Pri tem je treba zagotoviti spoštovanje norm humanitarnega mednarodnega prava in zaščito žrtev oboroženih sponadov.

Po končanih sponadih si je Slovenija prizadevala za zagotovitev politične trdnosti, demokratičnosti, pravnega reda, gospodarsko obnovno in učinkovito varovanje človekovih pravic.

Sicer pa je ob dejanskem poznavanju interesov stalnih članic in skupin držav pri posameznih vprašanjih Slovenija upoštevala predvsem

In its search for solutions, Slovenia followed the principle of respect for the UN Charter and international law. Slovenia advocated an early UN preventive action, particularly with the involvement of the Secretary-General and his special envoys.

In the event of armed conflicts, Slovenia took a stand that peace-keeping operations must be in compliance with the UN Charter, designed and led in a way that contributed significantly to implementing the set goals. Respect for the standards of humanitarian international law and protection of the victims of armed conflicts had to be guaranteed.

Following armed conflicts, Slovenia made efforts to ensure political stability, democracy, the rule of law, economic reconstruction and effective protection of human rights. Realistically acknowledging the interests of the Council's permanent members and other groups of states on certain topics, Slovenia primarily took into account the interest of the UN as a whole as well as the interests of all of its members. This principle is an important basis for the functioning of smaller countries in the Security Council. Slovenia's approach gained additional weight and legitimacy from the fact that it was elected from a large list of candidates and with the support of an overwhelming majority of the UN members.

The importance of Slovenia's non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council

Non-permanent membership of the Security Council added a new dimension to Slovenia's foreign policy. In addition to the matters of direct concern to Slovenia and those for which Slovenia was appreciated as an active participant in resolving them (particularly its positions and assessments regarding issues related to the Balkans and security in Europe), Slovenia paid attention to numerous issues that it had not tackled before (the Security Council had to address over ten crisis points in that time in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe).

As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Slovenia acted in accordance with principled and consistent positions and put forward convincing arguments. Besides a chance to take Slovenia's priorities into account, being part of a competent decision-making

interes OZN kot celote in vseh njenih članov. To načelo je pomembna podlaga za delovanje manjših držav v VS, Sloveniji pa je pri tem pristopu dalo dodatno težo in legitimnost dejstvo, da je bila izvoljena na volitvah z več kandidati, in to s podporo velike večine članov OZN.

Pomen slovenskega nestalnega članstva v VS OZN

Nestalno članstvo v VS je prineslo v slovensko zunanjo politiko nove razsežnosti. Slovenija je tako poleg vprašanj, ki so bila v njenem neposrednjem interesu, in tistih, pri katerih je bila dejavna in cenjena kot poznavalka problematike (predvsem stališča in ocene glede vprašanj na Balkanu in varnosti v Evropi), usmerjala svojo pozornost tudi na številna vprašanja, s katerimi se do tedaj ni posebej ukvarjala (VS se je v tem času ubadal z več kriznimi žarišči, od katerih jih je bilo največ v Afriki, Aziji, Latinski Ameriki in Evropi).

Kot nestalna članica VS je Slovenija nastopala z načelnimi in trdнимi stališči ter s prepričljivimi argumenti, pri čemer ji je usposobljeno odločanje poleg upoštevanja slovenskih prednostnih nalog omogočala predvsem pripravljenost na dialog z vsemi državami o temah, za katere so bile zainteresirane. Nestalno članstvo v VS je bilo tako enkratna priložnost za uveljavljanje Slovenije v mednarodni skupnosti.

process provided Slovenia with an opportunity for dialogue with all countries on matters in which they were interested. The non-permanent seat on the Security Council was a unique opportunity to assert Slovenia's standing in the international community.

Delovanje Slovenije v Varnostnem svetu

Slovenija je 1. januarja 1998 nastopila dveletni mandat nestalne članice VS. Njeno delo v Varnostnem svetu izhaja iz izhodišč, ki jih je sprejela Vlada RS.

Augusta 1998 je Slovenija zelo uspešno predsedovala VS, ki je v tem mesecu obravnaval večino najbolj kočljivih vprašanj (Irak, Kosovo, Libija). Med predsedovanjem smo skrbeli za odprtost dela VS do drugih članic OZN in učinkovitost dela VS.

Posebno pozornost je VS namenjal obravnavi regionalnih vprašanj v jugovzhodni Evropi. Pri teh vprašanjih so druge članice VS OZN od nas pričakovale verodostojne informacije, veliko poznавanje razmer ter jasno razčlenjena stališča. Tudi sami smo menili, da lahko z dejavno obravnavo teh vprašanj dobro izkoristimo naše poznavanje in razumevanje regije ter dogajanja v njej. Tako je Slovenija posebej



SLOVENSKI ZUNANJI MINISTER DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL NA SREČANJU S PREDSTAVNIKI SLOVENSKE VOJSKE V ENOTAH SFOR V BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI, 30. JANUARJA 2002

THE SLOVENIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL, AT A MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES IN THE SFOR UNITS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, 30 JANUARY 2002

Slovenia's Activity in the Security Council

On 1 January 1998, Slovenia began its two-year term as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. Slovenia's activities in the Security Council followed the positions adopted by the Government of the Republic of Slovenia.

In August 1998, Slovenia successfully presided over the Security Council, which dealt with many difficult matters (Iraq, Kosovo and Libya). During the Presidency of the Security Council we were concerned with the openness and transparency of the work of the Security Council and with its efficient work.

The Security Council paid special attention to the regional issues of South-Eastern Europe. Other UN Security Council members expected us to provide credible information, knowledge of the situation and clearly set out positions. We believed that our knowledge and understanding of the region and developments there contributed to our active approach in solving the issues. Slovenia took an active role in the debates on Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which our proposals were welcomed and adopted in most cases. In the context of South-Eastern Europe, we actively participated in the Cyprus issue, particularly in the light of the fact that Slovenia participated in the UNFICYP peacekeeping operation (members of the Slovenian Armed Forces are also part of the UNDOF peacekeeping operation on the Golan Heights).

In dealing with Iraq issue, which was particularly tense in 1998 due to the constant pressures, it was demonstrated that Slovenia was able to act in a constructive and credible manner in addressing the most burning international issues. Our positions were always principled and oriented towards reaching a consensus. Appropriate decisions were also taken in cases when we had to react to the developments instantly.

Slovenia chaired the Security Council Libya Sanctions Committee. Its priority was to quickly and efficiently introduce humanitarian exceptions to the sanctions regime. The Secretary-General, Security Council members and Libya, too, favourably assessed our work.

Apart from these topics, we addressed other matters on the Security Council agenda. Most of the crisis points were in Africa (Angola, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia and

dejavno sodelovala pri razpravah o Kosovu, BiH in Hrvaški in naši predlogi so bili v večini primerov pozdravljeni in sprejeti. Dejavní smo bili tudi pri vprašanju Cipra, zlasti z vidika, da je tudi Slovenija sodelovala pri tamkajšnji mirovni operaciji OZN UNFICYP (poleg tega so pripadniki Slovenske vojske vključeni tudi v mirovno operacijo UNDOF na Golanski planoti).

Pri obravnavi Iraka, kjer je bilo stanje v letu 1998 zaradi ponavljajočih se zaostritev še posebej težko, se je izkazalo, da je Slovenija sposobna dejavno in verodostojno nastopati tudi pri obravnavi najbolj perečih mednarodnih vprašanj. Naša stališča so bila vedno načelna in naravnana k oblikovanju soglasja, ustrezne odločitve pa so bile oblikovane tudi v primerih, ko se je bilo na posamezne dogodke treba hitro odzivati.

Slovenija je v VS predsedovala sankcijskemu odboru za Libijo. Naša prednostna naloga je bila hitro in učinkovito reševanje humanitarne izjeme iz sankcijskega režima. Naše delo so pozitivno ocenili generalni sekretar OZN, članice VS, pa tudi Libija.

Poleg omenjenih tem smo sodelovali tudi pri obravnavi drugih tem, ki so bile na dnevнем redu VS. Med temi je bila na prvem mestu Afrika s svojimi številnimi kriznimi žarišči (Angola, Sierra Leone, DR Kongo, Etiopija in Eritreja, Gvineja Bissau, Srednjeafrška republika), poleg nje pa so bila obravnavana še vprašanja Zakavkazja, Afganistana, Kambodže in Haitija.

Posebej je treba poudariti aprilsko poročilo generalnega sekretarja o razmerah in vzrokih za spopade v Afriki kot celoti. Septembra je potekala na to temo razprava na ravni zunanjih ministrov držav članic VS, na kateri je dejavno sodelovala tudi Slovenija.

V letu 1999 je Slovenija nadaljevala drugo polovico svojega mandata v VS OZN (mandat se nam je iztekel 31. decembra 1999). Delo smo nadaljevali na podlagi izhodišč, ki jih je sprejela Vlada RS, ter skladno z načeli konsistentnosti, neodvisnosti, spoštovanja mednarodnega prava, nepristranskosti. Še naprej smo si prizadevali, da bi bilo pri večini vprašanj v VS doseženo soglasje med članicami.

Od glavnih vprašanj je VS v začetku leta 1999 najprej namenjal svojo pozornost Iraku, kamor je bilo treba vrniti mednarodne inšpektorje za nadzor nad prepovedanimi vrstami orožja (inšpektorji so se iz Iraka umaknili ob ameriško-britanski vojaški akciji decembra 1998). Razpravo so zaznamovala predvsem različna stališča stalnih

Eritrea, Guinea Bissau, Central African Republic). Issues from the Caucasus, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Haiti were also on the Security Council agenda.

The Secretary-General's April report on the situation and the causes of conflicts in Africa at large deserves special mention. The debate on these issues was held in September by the foreign ministers of the Security Council members, at which Slovenia actively participated.

In 1999 Slovenia moved into the second half of its mandate as a non-permanent member of the Security Council (the term expired on 31 December 1999). We continued our work on the basis of the positions adopted by the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and in accordance with the principles of consistency, independence, respect for international law and impartiality. We further aimed at reaching consensus among Member States on the majority of issues.

The most important matter on the Security Council agenda at the beginning of 1999 was the issue of Iraq. The international inspection team for monitoring the banned weapons had to return to Iraq (the inspectors had had to withdraw from Iraq during the US-British military action in December 1998). The debate was marked by divergent opinions among the permanent members. After a negotiation progress almost a year long a breakthrough was achieved in December 1999, thanks in part to Slovenia's proposal to temporarily suspend certain sanctions against Iraq if it started to fulfil its obligations. Slovenia thus proved to be an important factor in establishing unity within the Security Council.

Security Council debates in 1999 were also marked by the Kosovo crisis. The difference in opinion between Security Council members that was formed at the beginning of the NATO action against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was overcome in June 1999 by adopting resolution 1244 (1999) and by establishing the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

Slovenia took an active part in settling the East Timor crisis in September 1999. Slovenia made some important proposals to the Security Council debate, one of them being that the international mission in East Timor be established under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, which implies that all means, including the eventual use of force, are available for the implementation of its mission.

članic, kar je bilo na koncu (po skoraj celoletnih pogajanjih) preseženo šele decembra 1999, in sicer tudi na podlagi slovenskega predloga, da bi VS začasno razveljavil nekatere sankcije proti Iraku, če bi ta začel izpolnjevati svoje obveznosti. Pri tem se je Slovenija izkazala kot pomemben dejavnik pri vzpostavljanju enotnosti v VS.

Razpravo v VS v letu 1999 je zaznamovala tudi obravnava kosovske krize. Različna mnenja članic VS, ki so se pojavila ob začetku Natove akcije proti ZRJ, so bila presežena junija 1999 s sprejetjem resolucije 1244 (1999) ter z vzpostavitvijo civilne misije OZN na Kosovu (UNMIK).

Slovenija je bila dejavno vključena tudi v reševanje krize na Vzhodnem Timorju septembra 1999. Tudi v sami razpravi v VS je Slovenija dala nekaj pomembnih predlogov, zlasti to, da se mednarodna misija na Vzhodnem Timorju ustanavlja po VII. poglavju Ustanovne listine OZN, kar daje misiji za izpolnitve njene naloge na razpolago vsa sredstva, vključno z morebitno uporabo sile.

Slovenija je dejavno sodelovala tudi pri reševanju razmer na afriški celini, ki so bile najpogosteje na dnevnem redu VS. Predvsem je šlo za reševanje krize v Angoli (kjer je v začetku leta 1999 prenehal mandat opazovalni misiji MONUA), Sierri Leone, Srednjeafriški republik, obmejni spor med Etiopijo in Eritrejo in referendumski proces v Zahodni Sahari. Pri tem je treba opozoriti na naše konstruktivne predloge pri obravnavanju problematike DR Konga, saj je bila med novembrskim predsedovanjem RS sprejeta resolucija, s katero je bila potrjena nova mirovna misija MONUC, in Somalije, o kateri je bila na slovensko pobudo novembra 1999 sprejeta predsedniška izjava.

Novembra 1999 je Slovenija še drugič predsedovala VS. V tem času smo izvedli odprto razpravo o vlogi VS pri preprečevanju oboroženih spopadov. Na podlagi našega osnutka je bila sprejeta predsedniška izjava, ki določa, kako naj VS obravnava to vprašanje v prihodnje. Prav tako je bila na našo pobudo izvedena izjemno pomembna in z odobravanjem pozdravljena formalna seja VS s člani predsedstva BiH, ki so tako prvi skupaj nastopili pred tako pomembnim mednarodnim forumom.

Slovenia actively participated in addressing situations in Africa that regularly featured on the Security Council agenda. The main topics tackled the crisis in Angola (at the beginning of 1999, the MONUA observer mission terminated its mandate), Sierra Leone, Central African Republic, the border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea and the referendum process in Western Sahara. Slovenia's constructive proposals on the Democratic Republic of the Congo are worthy of mention, since a resolution on a new United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) was adopted during the November Presidency, and a presidential statement on Somalia was adopted at Slovenia's proposal.

In November 1999, Slovenia held the Presidency of the Security Council for the second time in its mandate. During our Presidency an open debate on the prevention of armed conflicts was held in the Security Council. On Slovenia's proposal, a presidential statement was adopted which defined how the Security Council would approach this issue in future. At our initiative, an extremely important and well received formal session of the Security Council was convened, with the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina participating. It was the first time the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina made a joint appearance at such an important international forum.

Ocena članstva Slovenije v Varnostnem svetu

Članstvo Slovenije v Varnostnem svetu je pomembna izkušnja za Slovenijo in njeno diplomacijo:

- Varnostni svet OZN je pomemben organ odločanja o vprašanjih mednarodnega miru in varnosti in njegova vloga je v mnogih pogledih nezamenljiva. Brez Varnostnega sveta OZN si ni mogoče predstavljati odločanja o ključnih vprašanjih mednarodne varnosti. Problemi, ki izvirajo iz spremenjenih razmerij sil in pomanjkanja so-glasja o ciljih in času, kraju, načinih potrebnih reforme Varnostnega sveta, ne spremnijo ocene o njegovi veliki pomembnosti.
- Za Slovenijo je bilo zelo pomembno, da ji je uspelo postati članica Varnostnega sveta OZN tako kmalu po osamosvojitvi in vstopu



PREDSEDNIK VLADE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE DR. JANEZ DRNOVŠEK NA SREČANJU Z ENOTO SLOVENSKE VOJSKE V MIROVNI OPERACIJI SIL ZDRAŽENIH NARODOV NA CIPRU UNFCYP, 28. FEBRUARJA 2000

THE SLOVENIAN PRIME MINISTER, DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK, AT A MEETING WITH THE UNIT OF THE SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES PARTICIPATING IN THE PEACEKEEPING OPERATION OF THE UN FORCES IN CYPRUS, UNFCYP, 28 FEBRUARY 2000

Assessment of Slovenia's Membership of the Security Council

Slovenia's membership of the Security Council has been an important experience for Slovenia and its diplomacy:

- The UN Security Council is an important decision-making body for issues relating to international peace and security and its role is unique in many respects. Without the UN Security Council, decision-making on key issues relating to international security could not be contemplated. The challenges arising from the new international circumstances, the different balance of power and a lack of agreement on the objectives and method for reforming the Security Council do not change the urgent necessity of such a reform.
- It was very important for Slovenia to become a member of the UN Security Council so soon after its gaining independence and admission to the UN, i.e. at a time when its foreign policy identity was still being formed. Slovenia's activity in the Security Council came to the attention of important actors in international relations that had previously been unaccustomed to thinking of Slovenia as a country ready and capable of facing demanding global policy questions.
- In our estimation, Slovenia was successful in forming positions and drafting proposals on the crisis situations that formed the main subject of discussion and decision-making of the UN Security Council over the past two years. The belief that Slovenia needed clearly set out positions, harmonised with the UN Charter, and constructive proposals that would serve in reaching a consensus, proved to be correct and realistic. It should be particularly underlined that, on the basis of this belief, Slovenia engaged actively in addressing every issue on the Security Council agenda, and that it was particularly careful not to give the impression of being selective by only showing interest in certain matters. The following experiences from discussing crisis situations in the Security Council should be highlighted:

Slovenia's assessments of the situation and proposals for Security Council operations relating to Kosovo were widely accepted. The responses from the leading countries and the headquarters of regional organisations were very positive.

med člane OZN, to je v času, ko šele oblikuje svojo zunanjopolitično identiteto. Našo dejavnost v Varnostnem svetu so opazili pomembni dejavniki mednarodnih odnosov, ki prej niso bili vajeni razmišljati o Sloveniji kot državi, ki se je pripravljena in sposobna spopadati z zahtevnimi vprašanji svetovne politike.

- Menimo, da je bila Slovenija uspešna pri oblikovanju stališč in predlogov v zvezi s kriznimi razmerami, ki jih je zadnji dve leti obravnaval in o njih odločal Varnostni svet OZN. Izhodišče, da mora Slovenija imeti jasna stališča, skladna z Ustanovno listino OZN, in konstruktivne predloge, ki pomagajo pri prizadevanjih za doseganje soglasja, se je izkazalo kot pravilno in realistično. Posebej je treba poudariti, da je Slovenija na podlagi tega izhodišča dejavno sodelovala pri obravnavi vseh vprašanj na dnevнем redu Varnostnega sveta in da smo posebej pazili, da ne bi dali vtisa selektivnosti v naši zainteresiranosti za posamezna vprašanja. Med izkušnjami iz obravnav o kriznih razmerah v Varnostnem svetu je treba poudariti:

Naše ocene razmer in predlogi za delovanje Varnostnega sveta v zvezi s položajem na Kosovu so bili široko sprejeti. Odzivi, ki smo jih dobili iz vodilnih prestolnic in sedežev regionalnih organizacij, so bili izrazito pozitivni.

Glede položaja v Bosni in Hercegovini je Slovenija spodbujala dejavnosti za utrjevanje miru in krepitev skupnih institucij države. V tej zvezi je bilo najpomembnejše dejanje Varnostnega sveta v zadnjih dveh letih odprta seja z udeležbo članov predsedstva BiH, ki je dodatno zavezala člane tega najpomembnejšega organa BiH k izpolnjevanju nalog za uresničevanje daytonskega mirovnega sporazuma. Odprta seja Varnostnega sveta je potekala 15. novembra 1999 pod predsedovanjem zunanjega ministra Slovenije.

Napetosti v odnosih z Irakom so bile glavni problem pri delu Varnostnega sveta v zadnjih dveh letih. Slovenija si je ves čas dejavno prizadevala za enotnost Varnostnega sveta in je bila v nekaterih okoliščinah (predsedovanje v avgustu 1998) med pomembnimi dejavniki vzpostavljanja enotnosti. V letu 1999 je predlagala zamisel o začasni ustavitevi sankcij zoper Irak pod ustreznimi pogoji. Ta predlog so po skoraj enoletnih pogajanjih sprejeli tudi drugi člani VS, tudi stalne članice.

Stalni predstavnik Slovenije pri OZN je uspešno predsedoval sankcijskemu odboru za Libijo. Med našim predsedovanjem in de-

In regard to the Bosnia and Herzegovina situation, Slovenia promoted activities aimed at consolidating peace and strengthening common state institutions. In this context, an open session attended by the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which additionally bound members of the leading body of Bosnia and Herzegovina to implementing the Dayton Agreement, was the most important act of the Security Council over that two-year period. The open session of the Security Council was held on 15 November 1999, and was chaired by Slovenia's foreign minister.

Tensions in relations to Iraq presented a major problem in the work of the Security Council over the two-year period. Slovenia always worked towards achieving unity in the Security Council and was in certain situations (e.g. the Presidency in August 1998) one of the major factors in establishing unity. In 1999, Slovenia proposed that sanctions against Iraq be suspended under appropriate conditions. This proposal was also adopted by other members of the Security Council, including permanent members, after almost a year of negotiations.

The Permanent Representative of Slovenia to the UN successfully chaired the Libya Sanctions Committee. During Slovenia's Presidency and through its active involvement in these matters, sanctions against Libya were suspended.

The Permanent Representative of Slovenia to the UN participated in the mission of the Security Council, which visited Djakarta and Dili in September 1999 and made an essential contribution to resolving the East Timor crisis.

At an appropriate time in October and November 1999, Slovenia took over the initiative regarding Somalia and put forward certain positions with a draft presidential statement to resume the Security Council's active engagement with Somalia.

Slovenia carefully followed the development of the crisis situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and advocated an open discussion of the crisis despite reservations expressed by many countries, in particular the countries of the region. Finally, at the beginning of 1999, this approach was adopted. The development of the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will probably be one of the main issues on the Security Council agenda in the coming year.

Slovenia actively engaged in addressing topical issues and in the efforts to improve the methods of work.

javnim zavzemanjem v zvezi s to problematiko so bile sankcije zoper Libijo začasno ustavljenе.

Stalni predstavnik Slovenije pri OZN je sodeloval v misiji VS, ki je septembra 1999 obiskala Džakarto in Dili in bistveno prispevala k razrešitvi krize na Vzhodnem Timorju.

V ustremnem trenutku oktobra in novembra 1999 je Slovenija pre-vzela pobudo v zvezi s Somalijo in predlagala stališča v obliki osnutka predsedniške izjave, ki pomeni obnovitev dejavnega zavzemanja Varnostnega sveta v zvezi s Somalijo.

Slovenija je pozorno spremljala razvoj kritnih razmer v Demokratični republiki Kongo in se zavzemala za njeno odprto obravnavo kljub pridržkom, ki so jih imele številne države, zlasti države in regije. Ta pristop je bil naposled v začetku letu 1999 sprejet. Razvoj krize v Kongu bo verjetno v prihodnjem letu eden glavnih problemov za Varnostni svet OZN.

Slovenija je dejavno sodelovala pri obravnavi tematskih vprašanj in prizadevanjih za izboljšanje delovnih metod.

Predlagali smo in med našim drugim predsedovanjem (novembra 1999) izvedli odprto razpravo o vlogi VS pri preprečevanju oboroženih spopadov. Predsedniška izjava VS, ki je bila sprejeta 30. novembra 1999 na podlagi slovenskega osnutka, je opredelila pogled VS na preprečevalno diplomatsko in vojaško dejavnost v prihodnje. Ta tema-tika bo v prihodnje postala še pomembnejša (zunanji ministri skupine G-8 so tri tedne po sprejetju predsedniške izjave VS uvrstili vprašanje preprečevanja oboroženih spopadov na vrh svojih prednostnih nalog za leto 2000). Ni pretiravanje, če se poudari, da je prav Slovenija zagotovila, da je VS v pravem trenutku oblikoval svoj pogled na to.

Ves čas članstva Slovenije v VS smo si prizadevali za krepitev demokratičnih načel pri delu VS. Predlagali smo proceduralno odločitev o zagotovitvi sodelovanja vseh članov VS pri pripravi resolu-cij in predsedniških izjav, med našim drugim predsedovanjem pa smo s konkretnimi odločitvami predsednika VS precej razširili obseg uporabe delovnih metod, ki so dostopne državam nečlanicam Varnostnega sveta (odprte seje). Bili smo člani jedra skupine izvoljenih članic, ki si je s konkretnimi predlogi in dejavnostmi prizadevala izboljšati delovne metode in preglednost dela VS.

Dejavno smo sodelovali v skupini predsednikov sankcijskih odborov (osem od desetih nestalnih članov) in v jeseni 1998 pripravili

Slovenia proposed and during its second Presidency (November 1999) also carried out an open discussion on the role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts. The Security Council presidential statement, adopted on 30 November 1999 on the basis of Slovenia's draft, defined the Security Council's approach in the field of preventive diplomatic and military activity in the future. This topic was shortly to increase in importance. (Three weeks after the adoption of the presidential statement of the Security Council, the foreign ministers of the G-8 Group placed the issue of preventing armed conflicts at the top of their priorities for 2000). It is no exaggeration to say that Slovenia was responsible for ensuring that the Security Council formed its own approach at just the right time. Throughout Slovenia's membership of the Security Council, it endeavoured to strengthen democratic principles in the work of the Security Council. Slovenia proposed a procedural decision guaranteeing the cooperation of all Security Council members in the preparation of resolutions and presidential statements. During Slovenia's second Presidency, concrete decisions by the President of the Security Council significantly expanded the use of the methods of work (open sessions) allowing access to countries that are not members of the Security Council. We were included in the core of selected members that strove to improve the working methods and transparency within the Security Council by means of concrete proposals and activities.

We were actively engaged in the group of the chairpersons of the Sanctions Committees (eight out of ten non-permanent members) and in autumn 1998 drew up joint positions for the chairpersons of the Sanctions Committees regarding humanitarian exceptions and issues relating to the implementation of Security Council decisions on sanctions.

Slovenia presided over the work of the Security Council twice: in August 1998 and November 1999. We were faced with two different types of situations. In August 1998, the Security Council had to react quickly to the new crisis situations (Kosovo, Iraq, Democratic Republic of the Congo, developments in Afghanistan). The Presidency's task was to make the Security Council react to the events promptly and unanimously. In this, Slovenia was successful. November 1999 did not see any problems involving unexpected heightening of tensions or the emergence of new crisis areas. Therefore, more could be achieved in

skupna stališča predsednikov sankcijskih odborov v zvezi s humanitarnimi izjemami in vprašanji uresničevanja odločitev VS o sankcijah.

Slovenija je dvakrat predsedovala VS: avgusta 1998 in novembra 1999. Prevladovali sta dve različni vrsti razmer. Avgusta 1998 se je moral VS hitro odzvati na nove krize (Kosovo, Irak, Kongo, razvoj v Afganistanu). Naloga predsednika je bila doseči, da se je VS na dogodek odzval hitro in enotno. To nam je tudi uspelo. V novembru 1999 ni bilo obremenitve z nepričakovanimi zaostritvami ali nastankom novih križnih žarišč. Zato smo lahko dosegli več pri izboljšanju dejavnih metod VS in njegovega odpiranja članstva OZN ter pri oblikovanju izhodišč VS za preprečevanje oboroženih spopadov. Obakrat je bilo slovensko predsedovanje ocenjeno kot uspešno.

Med članstvom v VS smo začeli organizirano dopolnjevati slovensko politiko sodelovanja v mirovnih operacijah OZN. Število pripadnikov slovenske vojske na Cipru smo povečali, hkrati smo OZN ponudili sodelovanje v mirovni operaciji v Sierri Leone. Najavili smo tudi prvo sodelovanje pripadnikov slovenske policije v mirovni operaciji na Vzhodnem Timorju.

the field of developing the Security Council's methods of work and its transparency to the UN membership, and in the field of forming a platform for the Security Council on the prevention of armed conflicts. Slovenia's Presidency was assessed positively on both occasions.

During Slovenia's membership of the Security Council, we began to upgrade Slovenia's policy of cooperation in the UN peacekeeping operations in an organised manner. The number of Slovenian Armed Forces personnel in Cyprus was increased, and at the same time, Slovenia offered to participate in the UN peacekeeping operation in Sierra Leone. Furthermore, the first participation of Slovenian police officers in the peacekeeping operation in East Timor was also announced.

Odnosi Slovenije s stalnimi članicami Varnostnega sveta

Francija



SREČANJE SLOVENSKEGA PREMERA DR. JANEZA DRNOVŠKA S FRANCOSKIM PREDSEDNIKOM JACQUESOM CHIRACOM V ELIZEJSKI PALAČI V PARIZU, 23. APRILA 2001 (V OZADJU ZUNANJI MI-
NISTER DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL IN VELEPOSLANIK DR. JOŽEF KUNIČ)

MEETING BETWEEN SLOVENIAN PRIME MINISTER, DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK AND THE FRENCH PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC, ELYSEE PALACE, PARIS, 23 APRIL 2001 (IN THE BACKGROUND FOREIGN MINISTER DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL AND AMBASSADOR DR JOŽEF KUNIČ)

Slovenija in Francija sta zgodovinsko povezani na političnem in kulturnem področju. Vezi med državama segajo v čas devetnajstega stoletja. S prihodom Napoleona v slovenske dežele in z ustanovitvijo Ilirskeih provinc so v šolah in gimnazijah začeli poučevati v slovenskem jeziku, s prenovo šolskega sistema pa so bile na Slovenskem postavljene zaslove pravega univerzitetnega študija. Ustanovljenih je bilo pet

Relations between Slovenia and Permanent Members of the Security Council

France

Slovenia and France enjoy historic links, in both the political and cultural spheres. The ties between the countries go back to the 19th century. With the arrival of Napoleon in the Slovenian provinces and the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces, Slovene became the language of instruction in elementary and secondary schools. The beginnings of university studies were made possible with the reform of the educational system. Five faculties were established - faculties of arts, medicine, law, natural sciences and theology. The Slovenian national identity has its origins in this period, which culminated in the creation of the modern Slovenian state of today.

The first diplomatic contacts between the two countries were established prior to the international recognition of Slovenia when in April 1991 a delegation of the Executive Council of the Republic of Slovenia, headed by its President Alojz Peterle, visited Paris. In October 1991 Slovenia's President Milan Kučan paid a visit to France on the invitation of the President of the French Republic, François Mitterrand.

Since the international recognition of the Republic of Slovenia - when the Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations was signed on 23 April 1992 - relations between the two countries have continued to strengthen. In 1992 France opened its Embassy in Ljubljana, followed in 1993 by Slovenia's opening its Embassy in Paris. In March 1993, the President, Milan Kučan, paid an official visit to France on the invitation of the French President, François Mitterrand, and signed the Paris Charter.

France is an important strategic partner for Slovenia in European and Euro-Atlantic structures, and an important economic partner in the area of bilateral cooperation. Slovenia enjoys French support for its foreign policy priorities, i.e. membership of the EU and NATO. From 1998 to 1999 the two countries constructively worked together in the UN Security Council of which France is a permanent member.

fakultet: filozofska, medicinska, pravna, tehniška in teološka. V tem obdobju se je torej rodila slovenska narodna zavest, ki je svoj vrhunec dosegla ob nastanku današnje moderne slovenske države.

Prvi diplomatski stiki med državama so bili vzpostavljeni že pred mednarodnim priznanjem Slovenije, ko je aprila 1991 Pariz obiskala delegacija takratnega Izvršnega sveta RS pod vodstvom predsednika Alojza Peterleta. Francijo pa je oktobra 1991 na povabilo takratnega predsednika Francoske republike Françoisa Mitterranda obiskal predsednik Slovenije Milan Kučan.

Po mednarodnem priznanju RS, ko je bil podpisani Protokol o vzpostavitvi diplomatskih odnosov 23. aprila 1992, so odnosi med državama v stalnem vzponu. Francija je leta 1992 odprla veleposlaništvo v Ljubljani, Slovenija pa leta 1993 v Parizu. Marca 1993 je bil na povabilo francoskega predsednika Françoisa Mitterranda izpeljan uradni obisk predsednika RS Milana Kučana v Franciji, na katerem je podpisal Pariško listino.

Francija je za Slovenijo pomembna strateška partnerica pri evropskih in evroatlantskih povezavah, dvostranskem sodelovanju pa zelo pomembna gospodarska partnerica. Slovenija je glede obeh zunanjepolitičnih prednostnih ciljev, članstva v EU in Natu, deležna francoske podpore. Državi sta v obdobju 1998–1999 intenzivno sodelovali v Varnostnem svetu OZN, v katerem je Francija stalna članica.

Politični dialog je od mednarodnega priznanja Slovenije v stalnem vzponu, zlasti pa se je pogobil leta 1998, ko je Slovenijo prvič obiskal francoski zunanjji minister Hubert Védrine in ko se je na uradnem obisku v Franciji mudil predsednik Vlade RS dr. Janez Drnovšek.

Ob francoski podpori vključevanju Slovenije v EU in Nato ter dveletnem mandatu Slovenije v Varnostnem svetu OZN pa so dvostranski politični odnosi prerasli v višjo stopnjo sodelovanja. Ob obisku ministra za zunanje zadeve dr. Borisa Frleca v Parizu maja 1999 je bil vzpostavljen partnerski odnos med Slovenijo in Francijo.

Kljub manj intenzivnemu političnemu dialogu v letu 2000 se je sodelovanje s Francijo v letu 2001 ponovno okreplilo. Realizirani so bili pomembni obiski na visoki in najvišji ravni, med katerimi je treba posebej omeniti obisk ministra za zunanje zadeve dr. Dimitrija Rupla in uradni obisk predsednika Vlade RS dr. Janeza Drnovška v Parizu. Na ponovnem delovnem obisku v Parizu pa se je 5. aprila letos mudil minister za zunanje zadeve dr. Dimitrij Rupel.



ZUNANJI MINISTER REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL NA SREČANJU Z ZUNANJIM MIMISTROM REPUBLIKE FRANCIE HUBERTOM VÉDRINOM V PARIZU, 7. FEBRUARJA 2001

THE SLOVENIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL, AT A MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, HUBERT VÉDRINE, PARIS, 7 FEBRUARY 2001

Political dialogue has intensified ever since Slovenia gained its international recognition. It was particularly enhanced in 1998 when the French foreign minister Hubert Védrine visited Slovenia for the first time and when the Slovenian Prime Minister, Dr Janez Drnovšek, paid a visit to France.

With the French support for Slovenia's integration into the EU and NATO and Slovenia's two-year term in the UN Security Council, bilateral political relations advanced to higher levels of cooperation. Following the visit by foreign minister Dr Boris Frlec to Paris in May 1999, a partner relationship was established between Slovenia and France.

Despite a less intense political dialogue in 2000, cooperation with France strengthened once more in 2001. Important visits at the senior and high levels were realised. Visits worthy of special mention are the vis-

Gospodarsko sodelovanje se vsa leta odlično razvija in iz leta v leto poglablja. Francija je glede na obseg blagovne menjave že več let tretja gospodarska partnerica Slovenije za ZRN in Italijo. Po obsegu uvoza je na tretjem mestu za ZRN in Italijo, po obsegu izvoza pa na petem mestu, za ZRN, Italijo, Hrvaško in Avstrijo. Leta 2001 je obseg blagovne menjave znašal 1.707 milijarde USD. V primerjavi z letom 2000 je izvoz narasel za 1,4 %, uvoz pa za 3,4 %. Uspešno gospodarsko sodelovanje omogočajo številni sporazumi, ki sta jih državi sklenili v preteklem desetletju. Med njimi je najpomembnejši sporazum o zaščiti naložb, ki je začel veljati leta 2000. Francija je leta 2001 postala drugi vlagatelj v slovensko gospodarstvo, takoj za Avstrijo in pred Nemčijo. Največja francoska naložba v Sloveniji je Revoz-Renault. Dosedanje francoske naložbe so zelo uspešne.

Francoska kultura je ves čas močno navzoča v Sloveniji, za kar gre zahvala tudi Francoskemu institutu Charles Nodier v Ljubljani, ki je bil ustanovljen že v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja. V želji po nadaljnji krepitvi odnosov s frankofonskimi državami je Slovenija leta 1999 dobila status opazovalke v Mednarodni organizaciji za frankofonijo. Sodelovanje med državama je na področju kulture dobro utečeno. Temelji na krovnem sporazumu med vladama in programih sodelovanja. Leta 2001 je bil v Parizu podpisana nov program sodelovanja v kulturi za obdobje od leta 2001 do leta 2004. Med zelo uspešne oblike medsebojnega sodelovanja se uvršča znanstveno in tehnološko sodelovanje. S skupnimi dvostranskimi projektmi, katerih število v zadnjih treh letih zajema v povprečju 35 do 50 projektov, se slovensko-francosko znanstveno-tehnično sodelovanje uvršča v vrh dvostranskega sodelovanja, predvsem zahvaljujoč programu PROTEUS, ki je leta 2002 vstopil v osmo leto sodelovanja.

Kitajska

Minister za zunanje zadeve dr. Dimitrij Rupel in posebni odposlanec kitajske vlade - pomočnik ministra za zunanje zadeve Dai Bingguo, sta 12. maja 1992 v Ljubljani podpisala skupno izjavo o vzpostavitvi diplomatskih odnosov med RS in Ljudsko republiko Kitajsko. Odprta je bila pot za sodelovanje z veliko in pomembno državo, stalno članico Varnostnega sveta OZN. Za uveljavitev samostojne Slovenije je to bil velik

its by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Dimitrij Rupel, and by the Prime Minister Dr Drnovšek to Paris. Dr Dimitrij Rupel paid a working visit to Paris on 5 April this year.

Economic cooperation has developed smoothly over the past years and has been continually enhanced. In regard to volume of trade, France has been Slovenia's third ranking partner for several years after Germany and Italy. It also lies third following Germany and Italy on imports while it ranks fifth after Germany, Italy, Croatia and Austria on exports. In 2001 the volume of trade totalled USD 1.71 billion. Compared to 2000, exports increased by 1.4% and imports by 3.4%. Successful economic cooperation has been made possible by numerous agreements concluded between the two countries in the past decade. The most important among them is the agreement on the protection of investments which took effect in 2000. In 2001 France was the second investor in the Slovenian economy following Austria and ahead of Germany. The largest French investment in Slovenia is Revoz-Renault. French investments have been very successful.

The presence of French culture has been strongly felt in Slovenia in part thanks to the French Institute Charles Nodier in Ljubljana, which was established in the 1960s. In the desire to further intensify relations with the French-speaking countries, Slovenia was granted observer status in the »International Organisation of the Francophonie«. Cooperation between the two countries in the field of culture has been progressing well. It is based on an umbrella agreement between the two governments and on cooperation programmes. A new programme of cooperation in culture for the period from 2001 to 2004 was signed in Paris in 2001. Scientific and technological cooperation is also one of the most successful forms of mutual collaboration. With 35 to 50 joint bilateral projects a year on average over the past three years, Slovene-French scientific and technological cooperation stands at the very peak of bilateral cooperation, particularly thanks to the PROTEUS programme which in 2002 was in its eighth year.

China

Foreign minister Dr Dimitrij Rupel and a special envoy of the Chinese Government - the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dai Bing-



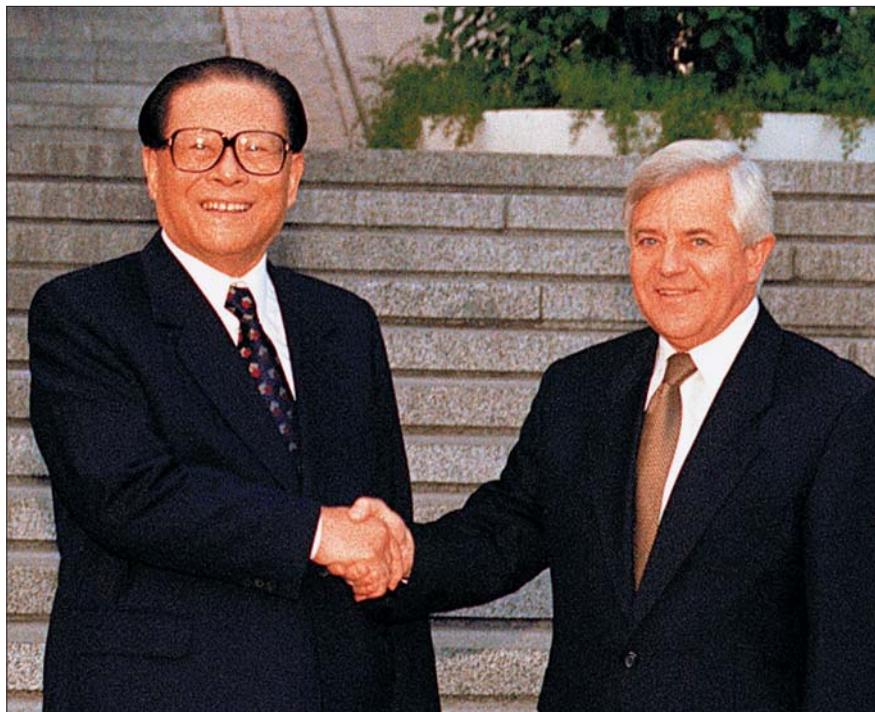
PREDSEDNIK VLADE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE DR. JANEZ DRNOVŠEK NA SREČANJU S PREDSEDNIKOM STALNEGA KOMITEJA NACIONALNEGA LJUDSKEGA KONGRESA LJUDSKE REPUBLIKE KITajske LI PENGOM V PEKINGU, 14. FEBRUARJA 1995

THE SLOVENIAN PRIME MINISTER, DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK, AT A MEETING WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, LI PENG, BEIJING, 14 FEBRUARY 1995

korak. Kitajska je podprla njeno neodvisnost, suverenost in celovitost, Slovenija pa se je zavezala, da bo spoštovala politiko ene Kitajske.

Diplomatski odnosi so bili vzpostavljeni kmalu po kitajskem priznanju Republike Slovenije 27. aprila 1992. K skrbno pretehtani odločitvi je prispeval obisk ministra dr. Rupla v Pekingu februarja istega leta. Slovenija je pridobila naklonjenost ene najpomembnejših članic mednarodne skupnosti in priložnost, da z njo razvije vsestransko sodelovanje.

Kljub zemljepisni oddaljenosti, razlikam v velikosti in političnem sistemu so bili v desetih letih zgrajeni prijateljski in dolgoročno usmerjeni odnosi med državama. Kitajska je odprla veleposlaništvo v Ljubljani avgusta 1992, Slovenija pa v Pekingu februarja 1993. K poglobitvi med-



SLOVENSKI PREDSEDNIK MILAN KUČAN NA SREČANJU S PREDSEDNIKOM LJUDSKE REPUBLIKE KITAJSKOJIANG ZEMINOM, 14. OKTOBRA 1996

THE SLOVENIAN PRESIDENT MILAN KUČAN AT A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINAJIANG ZEMIN, 14 OCTOBER 1996

guo, signed a joint statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Slovenia and the People's Republic of China in Ljubljana on 12 May 1992. This opened up opportunities to cooperate with a large and important country, a permanent member of the UN Security Council. It was a giant step towards the affirmation of the independent Slovenia. China supported Slovenia's independence, sovereignty and integrity and Slovenia pledged to respect the »one-China« policy.

The establishment of diplomatic relations followed soon after Slovenia's recognition by China on 27 April 1992. Dr Rupel's visit to Beijing in February of the same year contributed to this carefully considered decision. Slovenia thus gained the goodwill of one of the most

sebojnega poznavanja in razumevanja so pripomogli številni medsebojni obiski na vseh ravneh, med katerimi je bil najpomembnejši obisk predsednika Vlade RS dr. Janeza Drnovška leta 1995 in predsednika RS Milana Kučana leta 1996 na Kitajskem. Kitajski gostitelji so v skladu z načelno kitajsko politiko enakega obravnavanja velikih in majhnih držav izkazali veliko pozornost in spoštovanje slovenskim gostom.

Med najvidnejšimi kitajskimi predstavniki je obiskal Slovenijo podpredsednik vlade in zunanjji minister Qian Qichen leta 1993.

Državi sta sklenili vse potrebne sporazume, ki so trden temelj za razvoj sodelovanja v gospodarstvu, kulturi, izobraževanju, znanosti in tehnologiji ter zdravstvu. Sodelovanje poteka na ravni pristojnih ministrstev in ustanov ter v obliki medmestnega sodelovanja, ki ima med Ljubljano in Chengdujem že 20-letno tradicijo. Sodelovanje na področju gospodarstva še zaostaja za velikimi pričakovanji, vendar ima jo prizadevanja obeh strani dobre možnosti, da obrodijo sadove v prihodnosti. Dobro sodelovanje poteka tudi med parlamentoma obeh držav, v katerih delujejo skupini prijateljstva.

Kitajska je podprla slovensko kandidaturo za nestalno članico Varnostnega sveta OZN ter ocenila, da je kot majhna država igrala veliko vlogo. Vzpostavljeno dobro sodelovanje na področju multilateralnih odnosov se nadaljuje.

V slovenski zunanji politiki je Kitajska pomembna kot stalna članica Varnostnega sveta, kot dejavnik politične stabilnosti v svetu in kot rastoča gospodarska velesila. Kitajska z zanimanjem spremlja slovenski hiter in uspešen prehod in pozdravlja bližnje članstvo Slovenije v Evropski uniji, s katero želi čim boljše sodelovanje. V Sloveniji vidi tudi pomembno udeleženko pri ureditvi razmer v jugovzhodni Evropi.

Odnosi med Slovenijo in Kitajsko so v stalnem vzponu. Odlikuje jih ozračje zaupanja in razumevanja, ki je bilo ustvarjeno v desetih letih sodelovanja med državama in omogoča dialog tudi o vprašanjih, pri katerih pogledi niso enaki. V sodobnem svetu vse večje soodvisnosti in stikov med različnimi kulturami in civilizacijami je to vrednota, ki jo cenimo.

Ruska federacija

Zgodovino slovensko-ruskih odnosov so zaznamovali vsi najpomembnejši dogodki 20. stoletja. V Sloveniji živi spomin na tragično

important members of the international community and the opportunity to develop all-round cooperation with this country.

Despite geographical distance, vast differences in size and political systems, friendly relations based on long-term cooperation developed between the two countries. China opened an Embassy in Ljubljana in August 1992 and Slovenia in Beijing in February 1993. Numerous reciprocal visits at all levels contributed to the strengthening of mutual knowledge and understanding. The most important were the visits to China by the Prime Minister, Dr Janez Drnovšek, in 1995 and by the President Milan Kučan, in 1996. In compliance with the principled Chinese policy of equal treatment of large and small countries, the Chinese hosts extended cordial hospitality and respects to the Slovenian guests.

The most prominent Chinese representative to visit Slovenia was the Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen in 1993.

The two countries have concluded all the necessary agreements to provide a sound basis for the development of cooperation in the economy, culture, education, science and technology, and health. Cooperation has developed both at the level of relevant ministries and institutions and between cities. Links between Ljubljana and Chengdu stretch back over 20 years. Cooperation in the economic field is still behind expectations, but efforts made on both sides indicate positive opportunities for the future. Positive cooperation has also been established between the parliaments of the two countries, within which the respective groups of friendship have been functioning.

China backed Slovenia's candidature for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council and assessed that Slovenia as a small country played a major role in its activities. The good relations established at the multilateral level continue to enhance.

China occupies an important place within Slovenian foreign policy, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, as a factor of political stability in the world and as a growing economic superpower. China has been closely following Slovenia's fast and successful transition and welcomes its future membership of the European Union, with which it wishes to establish the best possible cooperation. China also regards Slovenia as an important player in the stabilisation of South-Eastern Europe.



SREČANJE SLOVENSKEGA PREDSEDNIKA MILANA KUČANA IN RUSKEGA PREDSEDNIKA VLADIMIRJA PUTINA NA BRDU PRI KRANJU, 16. JUNIJA 2001

MEETING BETWEEN THE SLOVENIAN PRESIDENT MILAN KUČAN AND THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN, BRDO PRI KRANJ, 16 JUNE 2001

usodo ruskih vojaških ujetnikov, ki so med prvo svetovno vojno gradili cesto na Vršič, zavezništvo v drugi svetovni vojni ter obisk snovalca perestrojke Mihaila Gorbačova v Ljubljani leta 1988, v zadnjem desetletju prejšnjega stoletja, ko so nastajale nove države, pa so bili, prvič v zgodovini, vzpostavljeni tudi diplomatski odnosi med Slovenijo in Rusijo.

Slovenija in Ruska federacija sta kot samostojni državi nastali v podobnih zgodovinskih okoliščinah, ob razpadu dveh zveznih držav, ki se je začel konec 80. let prejšnjega stoletja. Toda že mnogo pred vzpostavitvijo novih držav so se med Slovenci in Rusi stekale vezi, ki jih še danes obravnavamo kot dragoceno podlago za nadaljnji razvoj prijateljskih odnosov in sodelovanja med državama.

V novejši politični zgodovini dveh držav je kljub pomembnim razlikam veliko podobnosti. Državi sta se v tem obdobju skladno z vsaka

The relations between Slovenia and China are continually progressing. They are marked by an atmosphere of confidence and understanding created over the decade of cooperation between the two countries. This allows for a dialogue on issues where the views of the two countries differ. In the world of an ever growing interdependence and more and more contacts between different cultures and civilisations this is a value that should be warmly welcomed.

Russian Federation

The history of Slovene-Russian relations has been marked by all the major events of the 20th century. Slovenia still preserves the memory of the tragic fate of Russian prisoners of war, who built the road over the Vršič Pass during World War I, the alliance during World War II and the 1988 visit to Ljubljana by the initiator of »perestroika«, Mikhail Gorbachev. In the last decade of the previous century, as new states emerged, diplomatic relations were established between Slovenia and Russia for the first time in history.

Slovenia and the Russian Federation as independent states came into being in similar historical circumstances, with the dissolution of two federal states towards the end of the 1980s. However, links between Slovenes and Russians had been established long before the establishment of these new states, and these links still provide a valuable basis for the further development of friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

The modern political history of both countries shows many similarities and some significant differences. During this period, both countries, each moving along its own development path, faced issues regarding political and economic transformation. Over the past decade, the latter contributed to the development of relations based on understanding and mutual respect.

The first diplomatic contacts between the emerging countries took place as early as 1991, when Boris Yeltsin, the then President of the RSFSR, received a delegation of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, headed by the President of the Executive Council, Lojze Peterle, in Moscow in May of that year. In September of the same year, Dr Dimitrij Rupel, Slovenia's

svojimi razvojnimi posebnostmi spopadali z vprašanji politične in gospodarske preobrazbe. Slednje je v preteklem desetletju prispevalo k razvoju odnosov, ki temeljijo na razumevanju in medsebojnem spoštovanju.

Prvi diplomatski stiki med nastajajočima državama so bili vzpostavljeni že v letu 1991, ko je predsednik RSFSR, Boris Jelcin, maja v Moskvi sprejel delegacijo Izvršnega sveta Skupščine RS pod vodstvom predsednika Izvršnega sveta Lojzeta Peterleta, septembra istega leta pa so ruski sogovorniki prvemu slovenskemu zunanjemu ministru, dr. Dimitriju Ruplu, ob njegovem obisku v Moskvi že napovedovali priznanje Slovenije sočasno z Evropo. Ruska federacija je RS priznala kot samostojno državo 14. februarja 1992, neposredno po priznanju evropske dvanajsterice. Diplomatski odnosi so bili formalno vzpostavljeni s podpisom Protokola o vzpostavitvi diplomatskih odnosov med RS in Rusko federacijo ob obisku ruskega ministra za zunanje zadeve Andreja Kozirjeva v Ljubljani 25. maja 1992.

RS in Ruska federacija sta od vzpostavitve diplomatskih odnosov do danes uspešno vzdrževali in poglabljali stalen in odkrit dialog o vseh vprašanjih dvostranskega sodelovanja ter o najpomembnejših mednarodnih zadevah (mir na Balkanu, ureditev razmer v jugovzhodni Evropi, evropska in svetovna varnost, razširitev EU in Nata itd.). Ruska stran je v preteklem desetletju Slovenijo dosledno obravnavala kot dejavnika stabilnosti v regiji in kot državo, ki ji je uspel »miren odhod« iz nekdanje SFRJ, zatem pa tudi uspešen politični ter gospodarski razvoj. Ruska federacija na slovensko vključevanje v EU gleda kot na naravno razvojno izbiro naše države, saj si tudi sama prizadeva za čim tesnejše sodelovanje z EU, vstopu Slovenije v Nato pa izrecno ne nasprotuje.

Slovenija Rusijo dojema kot enega najpomembnejših dejavnikov v evropski in svetovni zgodovini mednarodnih odnosov, ki ima tudi danes veliko vlogo pri zagotavljanju miru in stabilnosti v svetu. V tem smislu je Slovenija ves čas namenjala posebno pozornost odnosom z Rusijo. Slovenija pripisuje velik pomen russkim prizadevanjem za vzpostavitev tržnega gospodarstva, demokratičnega sistema in vladavine prava in pozdravlja zgodovinski napredek, ki ga je Rusija dosegla v preteklem obdobju. Zaradi splošne utrditve političnih in gospodarskih razmer postaja Ruska federacija v slovenskih očeh vse pomembnejša in obetavnejša gospodarska partnerica.



SLOVENSKI ZUNANJI MINISTER DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL NA SREČANJU Z RUSKIM ZUNANJIM MINISTROM IGORJEM IVANOVOM V MOSKVI, 6. JULIJA 2001

THE SLOVENIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL, AT A MEETING WITH THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, IGOR IVANOV, MOSCOW, 6 JULY 2001

first foreign minister, was assured on the occasion of his visit to Moscow that Russia would recognise Slovenia at the same time as the European Community. The Russian Federation acknowledged the Republic of Slovenia as an independent state on 14 February 1992, directly following the recognition by the European Community. Diplomatic relations between the Republic of Slovenia and the Russian Federation were established formally on the occasion of the visit by Russian foreign minister Andrej Kozirjev to Ljubljana on 25 May 1992.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, Slovenia and Russia have successfully maintained and deepened a continuous and open dialogue on all issues of bilateral cooperation as well as on major international affairs (peace in the Balkans, the stabilisation of the situation in South-Eastern Europe, European and global security issues, EU and NATO enlargement etc.). During the past decade, Russia has treated Slovenia at all times as a stabilising factor in the region and as a country that managed to »leave the former Yugoslav



PREDSEDNIK VLADE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE DR. JANEZ DRNOVŠEK NA SREČANJU S PREDSEDNIKOM RUSKE FEDERACIJE VLADIMIRJEM PUTINOM V MOSKVI, 24. MARCA 2001

THE SLOVENIAN PRIME MINISTER, DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK, AT A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, VLADIMIR PUTIN, MOSCOW, 24 MARCH 2001

Raven in intenziteta političnih stikov med Republiko Slovenijo in Rusko federacijo sta v preteklem desetletju nekoliko zaostajali za odličnimi rezultati, ki sta jih imeli v sodelovanju na gospodarskem področju. Uspešno gospodarsko sodelovanje omogočajo številni meddržavni sporazumi, med katerimi sta najpomembnejša sporazuma o izogibanju dvojnemu obdavčenju in o zaščiti naložb. Ruska federacija je v letu 2001 zavzemala sedmo mesto med izvoznimi partnericami Slovenije ter osmo mesto med uvoznimi partnericami Slovenije. V letu 2001 se je glede na leto 2000 slovenski izvoz v Rusko federacijo povečal za 47 % in je znašal 281 milijonov USD, uvoz iz Ruske federacije pa za 21,8 % in je znašal 281,2 milijona USD. Obseg menjave je v letu 2001 znašal 562,2 milijona USD. Strokovnjaki menijo, da so dane vse možnosti za povečanje obsega menjave na 1 milijardo USD v naslednjih dveh ali treh letih.

Med prednostna področja za nadaljnjo krepitev gospodarskega sodelovanja spadajo: energetika, farmacija, telefonija, kemična indus-

via peacefully», and afterwards accomplish a successful political and economic development. The Russian Federation considers Slovenia's integration into the EU as the natural development for our state, since Russia itself is working towards a closer cooperation with the European Union. Moreover it does not explicitly oppose Slovenia's entry into NATO.

Slovenia considers Russia to be a key player in the European and global history of international relations, one that still has an important role in guaranteeing peace and stability worldwide. In this light, Slovenia has always devoted special attention to relations with Russia. Slovenia attaches great importance to Russia's endeavours towards the establishment of a market economy, a democratic system and the rule of law, and welcomes the historic progress achieved by Russia in recent times. Due to general stabilisation of political and economic situation, Slovenia sees the Russian Federation as an ever more important economic partner with good prospects.

The level and intensity of political contacts between the Republic of Slovenia and the Russian Federation over the past decade lag somewhat behind the excellent results achieved by the two countries in the economic sphere. This successful economic cooperation is based on numerous bilateral agreements, with the agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and on the protection of investments being the most significant. In 2001, the Russian Federation was Slovenia's seventh ranked export partner and eighth ranked import partner. In that year, Slovenia's exports to the Russian Federation increased by 47 per cent in comparison with 2000, amounting to USD 281 million, while imports from the Russian Federation increased by 21.8 per cent and amounted to USD 281.2 million. The volume of trade in 2001 thus totalled USD 562.2 million. Experts estimate that all conditions are in place for total trade to reach USD 1 billion in the next two or three years.

The priorities for further enhancement of economic cooperation include the fields of energy, pharmacy, telephony, chemical industry, construction, automobile industry, wood-processing industry and banking. Investment in joint production is of great importance in all these fields, since the experiences of the most successful Slovenian companies on the Russian market indicate that it will be difficult to conduct business without such investment. The Russian side is interested

trija, gradbeništvo, avtomobilска industrija, lesnopredelovalna industrija, bančništvo. Na vseh teh področjih je velikega pomena tudi vlaganje v skupno proizvodnjo, saj izkušnje najuspešnejših slovenskih podjetij na ruskem trgu kažejo, da bo v prihodnosti brez tega težko poslovati. Rusko stran zanimajo možnosti za povečanje slovenskih naložb v Rusijo in nadaljevanje dogоворov ter začetih projektov.

Možnosti za slovenske naložbe se kažejo tudi v okviru poravnave klirinškega dolga nekdanje Sovjetske zveze do nekdanje SFRJ. RS in Ruska federacija dajeta prednost poravnavi dolga s poslovanjem pri nadaljnji krepitevi in razvoju gospodarskih odnosov. Tako obe strani preučujeta konkretne projekte, ki omogočajo nadaljnji razvoj sodelovanja na gospodarskem področju in reševanje dolžniško-upniških razmerij hkrati.

V letu 2001 se je močno okreplil tudi politični dialog med državama, ki je dosegel najvišjo raven februarja 2001, ko sta se v avstrijskem St. Antonu prvič srečala predsednik vlade RS dr. Janez Drnovšek in predsednik Ruske federacije Vladimir Putin. Marca 2001 je dr. Drnovšek obiskal Moskvo, kjer se je ponovno srečal s predsednikom Putinom in predsednikom vlade Mihailom Kasjanovom.

Posebno mesto v zgodovini meddržavnih odnosov Slovenije in Rusije ima vrhunsko srečanje predsednikov Ruske federacije in ZDA 16. junija 2001, gostiteljica katerega je bila Slovenija. Izbiro Slovenije za kraj prvega srečanja med predsednikoma Putinom in Bushem ima ruska stran za posebno priznanje Sloveniji in izraz ugleda, ki ga Republika Slovenija uživa v mednarodni skupnosti, ter odličnih odnosov Slovenije z Rusko federacijo in ZDA. Posledica odličnih medsebojnih odnosov je bil tudi obisk zunanjega ministra dr. Dimitrija Rupla v Moskvi julija 2002, ko se je minister sestal z ruskim predsednikom vlade Kasjanovom, zunanjim ministrom Igorjem Ivanovom in drugimi visokimi sogovorniki. V vseh diplomatskih stikih po vrhu so ruski predstavniki poudarjali hvaležnost Sloveniji za brezhibno organizacijo rusko-ameriškega vrha.

Stiki na visoki in najvišji ravni so se v letu 2002 nadaljevali z nezmanjšano močjo. Srečanja ruskega premiera Mihaila Kasjanova s slovenskimi voditelji januarja 2002 v Sloveniji ter srečanje dr. Drnovška s Kasjanovom v New Yorku februarja 2002 ob mednarodnem gospodarskem forumu so potrdila, da se politični in gospodarski odnosi med državama uspešno razvijajo.

in opportunities to increase Slovenia's investments in Russia and in the continuation of arrangements and projects launched.

Opportunities for Slovenian investments are also evident within the settlement of clearing debt of the former Soviet Union to the former SFRY. Both the Republic of Slovenia and the Russian Federation prioritise the settlement of debt by conducting business, in the function of further enhancement and development of economic relations. Thus, both sides are examining concrete projects facilitating further development of cooperation in the economic field and simultaneously resolving debtor-creditor relations.

In 2001, political dialogue between the two countries strengthened significantly, when the first meeting between Dr Janez Drnovšek, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia, and Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation, took place in St. Anton in Austria. In March 2001, Dr Drnovšek visited Moscow, where he again met with President Putin and Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov.

The summit meeting between the presidents of the Russian Federation and the United States of 16 June 2001 holds a special place in the history of bilateral relations between Slovenia and Russia, since Slovenia hosted the meeting. The choice of Slovenia as the venue of the first meeting between President Putin and President Bush is considered by Russia as a special recognition of Slovenia and as an expression of reputation enjoyed by Slovenia in the international community and of Slovenia's excellent relations with both the Russian Federation and the United States. Furthermore, the Foreign Minister Dr Dimitrij Rupel's visit to Moscow in July 2001 was also conducted in the light of excellent mutual relations, when Dr Rupel met the Russian Prime Minister Kasyanov, the Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov and other high ranking figures. In all diplomatic contacts after the meeting Russian representatives mentioned their gratitude to Slovenia for the flawless organisation of the Russian-American Summit.

Intense and high level contacts continued in 2002. The meeting of Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov with Slovenian top politicians in Slovenia in January 2002 and the meeting between Dr Drnovšek and Mr Kasyanov in New York in February 2002 as part of the international economic forum confirmed that political and economic relations between the two countries are developing successfully.

Združene države Amerike



PREDSEDNIK REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE MILAN KUČAN NA SPREJEMU PRI PREDSEDNIKU ZDRAŽENIH DRŽAV AMERIKE BILLU CLINTONU, 22. SEPTEMBRA 1997

THE SLOVENIAN PRESIDENT MILAN KUČAN AT THE RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE US PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON, 22 SEPTEMBER 1997

Čeprav je Slovenija postala samostojna država šele pred dobrim desetletjem, sega povezanost njene usode z ZDA več desetletij v preteklost, ko so se tja preseljevali Slovenci, ki so še danes pomembna vez med državama. Politično je vstop ZDA v evropske zadeve med prvo svetovno vojno vplival tudi na Slovenijo. Ameriški poseg v Evropi je s seboj prinesel načelo samoodločbe narodov, vsebovano v znanih Wilsonovih štirinajstih točkah, ki je usodno vplivalo tudi na zgodovino Slovenije. Slovenija v njih sicer ni bila omenjena neposredno, temveč

United States of America



PREDSEDNIK VLADE REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE DR. JANEZ DRNOVŠEK NA SREČANJU S PREDSEDNIKOM ZDRAŽENIH DRŽAV AMERIKE GEORGEM BUSHEM NA BRDU PRI KRAINU, 16. JUNIJA 2001

THE SLOVENIAN PRIME MINISTER, DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK, AT A MEETING WITH THE US PRESIDENT, GEORGE BUSH, BRDO PRI KRAINU, 16 JUNE 2001

Despite the fact that Slovenia only became an independent state a good decade ago, its destiny has been connected to the United States for many years, since Slovenes first began emigrating there. This community today represents an important link between the two countries. US engagement in European affairs during World War I also had political ramifications for Slovenia. American intervention in Europe introduced the principle of self-determination of nations, enshrined in Woodrow Wilson's famous »fourteen points«, which had a fatal effect on Slovenian history. Wilson's points cover Slovenia indirectly, in the point mentioning the nations of the Austro-Hungarian

posredno v točki, ki govorji o narodih Avstro-Ogrske in njihovi pravici do samoodločbe. Ta politika je na novo začrtala politični zemljevid Evrope in strateškovarnostna razmerja v njej. Konec druge svetovne vojne je pomenil nadaljevanje te poti, ki pa zaradi razdelitve Evrope ni bila končana.

Po dobrih sedemdesetih letih se je Evropa proti koncu 20. stoletja ponovno znašla v geopolitičnem preurejanju in vloga ZDA je bila znova ena ključnih pri odločitvah o tem, da Evropa po koncu hladne vojne postane enotna in svobodna. Slovenija je postala samostojen mednarodni politični subjekt in s tem se je spremenila tudi vsebina dvostranskih odnosov z ZDA. Slovenijo so priznale 7. aprila 1992, 11. avgusta sta državi vzpostavili diplomatske stike ter istega meseca odprli veleposlaništvi v Washingtonu in Ljubljani.

Že v prvih letih slovenske neodvisnosti so ZDA podpirale Slovenijo pri zagovarjanju stališča, da so vse nove države, nastale na ozemlju nekdanje SFRJ, njene enakopravne naslednice ter so s tem prispevale k utrjevanju njene lastne identitete. Prav tako so jo podpirale pri njenih prizadevanjih za vključitev v evropske in evroatlantske povezave. Nato je na pobudo ZDA na vrhu 14. januarja 1994 v Bruslju sprejel načrt z imenom Partnerstvo za mir. Slovenijo je zatem obiskala posebna odposlanka predsednika Clintona in veleposlanica ZDA pri OZN Madeleine Albright ter izrazila interes ZDA za sodelovanje s Slovenijo v okviru Partnerstva za mir. V naslednjih letih sta ameriška administracija in kongres sprejela vrsto odločitev, ki so podpirale in pomagale Sloveniji pri vključevanju v evroatlantske varnostne strukture.

Po koncu hladne vojne se je vloga ZDA v mednarodnih odnosih še okreplila, zato je bila za Slovenijo pri utrjevanju njene mednarodne identitete ena od prednostnih nalog razviti vsestranske odnose z ZDA na različnih ravneh. K temu je prispevala redna izmenjava obiskov. Tako je obisk predsednika vlade RS dr. Janeza Drnovška v ZDA od 3. do 5. novembra 1998 pomenil nadaljevanje poglobljenega dialoga in partnerskega odnosa. Pogovor predsednika vlade s predsednikom ZDA je izjemno pomembna stopnja v razvoju odnosov in razumevanja med državama pri uresničevanju skupnega cilja - slovenskega članstva v Natu ter pri obravnavanju tem skupnega interesa - stabilizacije akutne krize na območju nekdanje SFRJ.

Slovenija je imela priložnost v treh letih zaporedno gostiti kar dva ameriška predsednika, kar je, še posebej za manjše države, redko. Z

Monarchy and their right to self-determination. This policy drew a new political map of Europe and its strategic and security relations. The end of World War II presented the continuation of this path, which, however, remained incomplete due to the division of Europe.

More than seventy years later, at the end of the 20th century, Europe once more faced a process of geopolitical reorganisation and the United States again played a major role in ensuring that after the end of the Cold War Europe would be united and free. Slovenia became an independent international political entity, which also changed the content of its bilateral relations with the United States. The US recognised Slovenia on 7 April 1992 and on 11 August of the same year the two countries established diplomatic relations, with their respective embassies being opened in Washington DC and Ljubljana the same month.

The United States supported Slovenia in the first years of its independence, advocating the position that all the new states that emerged from the former SFRY were its equal successors, thus contributing to the consolidation of Slovenia's identity. The United States also supported Slovenia in its drawing closer to the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. On the US' initiative, NATO adopted the Partnership for Peace programme at its Summit in Brussels on 14 January 1994. Slovenia was later visited by Madeleine Albright, the special envoy of President Clinton and US Ambassador to the United Nations, who expressed US interest in cooperation with Slovenia within the Partnership for Peace. Over the next few years, the US Administration and Congress adopted a range of decisions supporting Slovenia and helping it integrate into the Euro-Atlantic security structures.

After the end of the Cold War, the role of the United States in international relations was further strengthened, so Slovenia set the development of all-round relations with the United States as a priority in the consolidation of its international identity. A regular exchange of visits further contributed to the strengthening of bilateral relations. The visit by Dr Janez Drnovšek, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia, to the United States between 3 and 5 November 1998 was therefore a continuation of the enhanced dialogue and partnership. Talks between Slovenia's Prime Minister and the US President represent a very important stage in the development of relations and understanding between the two countries in pursuit of their common objective - Slovenia's membership of NATO, and in dealing with issues



SLOVENSKI ZUNANI MINISTER DR. DIMITRIJ RUPEL NA SESTANKU Z AMERIŠKIM DRŽAVNIM SEKRETARJEM COLINOM POWELLOM V WASHINGTONU, 28. MARCA 2001

THE SLOVENIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DR DIMITRIJ RUPEL, AT A MEETING WITH THE US SECRETARY OF STATE, COLIN POWELL, WASHINGTON, 28 MARCH 2001

obiskom ameriškega predsednika Williama J. Clintonja v Sloveniji 21. in 22. junija 1999 so se odnosi dvignili na novo, najvišjo raven. Njegova sporočila so potrdila pravilnost odločitev, ki jih je Slovenija sprejela v zadnjem desetletju. Obisk predsednika ZDA je pomenil tudi potrditev verodostojnosti Slovenije kot partnerice ZDA pri vprašanjih ureditve razmer v jugovzhodni Evropi in tranzicijskih procesov v srednjeevropskih državah ter tudi pri aktualnih kriznih vprašanjih mednarodne skupnosti.

Dogodek svetovnega pomena je bilo prvo srečanje ameriškega predsednika Georgea W. Busha in ruskega predsednika Vladimirja V. Putina v Sloveniji 16. junija 2001. Slovenija za vrh ni bila izbrana naključno. Njena izbira je pomenila potrditev odličnih odnosov, ki jih je razvila z ZDA in Rusijo ter znak državam v prehodu, da povečajo prizadevanja za razvoj demokracije in prostih trgov. Vrhunsko srečanje je še okrepilo predstavo o Sloveniji kot zgodbi o uspehu.

of common interest—stabilising the severe crisis on the territory of the former SFRY.

Slovenia had the opportunity to host two successive US Presidents within three years, which is a rare occurrence, particularly for a smaller country. The visit of US President William J. Clinton to Slovenia on 21 and 22 June 1999 brought the relations to a new level, indeed the highest possible. His message confirmed that the decisions adopted by Slovenia during the past decade had been correct. The visit also confirmed Slovenia's credibility as a partner to the United States both in issues concerning the stabilisation of South-Eastern Europe and transitional processes in Central European countries as well as in current crisis issues of the international community.

The first meeting between US President George W. Bush and Russian President Vladimir V. Putin in Slovenia on 16 June 2001 was also an event of global significance. Slovenia was not chosen as the venue of the Bush-Putin Summit by accident. This choice confirmed the excellent relations developed both with the United States and with Russia and served as a signal to countries in transition to intensify their endeavours towards the development of democracy and free markets. The summit meeting also strengthened Slovenia's image as a success story.

Slovenia responded quickly and efficiently to the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001, with all its top politicians condemning the attacks. Dr Drnovšek wrote a letter to President Bush, assuring him that Slovenia would be an ally, Slovenia in fact fulfilled this pledge in the following months.

Slovenia sees integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures as an opportunity for closer and more efficient cooperation with all democratic countries in the fight against international terrorism. Slovenia highly appreciates the active role of the United States in support of NATO's open door policy, which was again confirmed by President Bush in Warsaw in June 2001. Through bilateral programmes and the Partnership for Peace, the United States has provided essential assistance to Slovenia in its preparations for membership.

Slovenia has also acquired credibility in the eyes of the United States at the multilateral level. This was particularly evident during its membership of the United Nations Security Council in 1998 and 1999. As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Slovenia distin-

Slovenija se je na teroristične napade v ZDA 11. septembra 2001 odzvala hitro in učinkovito. Napade je obsodilo njeno celotno politično vodstvo. Predsednik vlade dr. Drnovšek je v pismu predsedniku Bushu zagotovil, da bo Slovenija delovala kot zaveznica, kar je v naslednjih mesecih tudi storila.

Slovenija pri vključevanju v evroatlantske povezave vidi možnost za tesnejše in učinkovitejše sodelovanje z vsemi demokratičnimi državami v boju proti mednarodnemu terorizmu. Zelo ceni dejavno vlogo ZDA v podporo politiki odprtih vrat Nata, ki jo je junija 2001 v Varšavi ponovno potrdil predsednik Bush. ZDA so Sloveniji z dvostanskih programi in Partnerstvom za mir bistveno pomagale pri njenih pripravah za članstvo.

Slovenija si je svojo verodostojnost v očeh ZDA pridobila tudi na multilateralni ravni. To se je še posebej pokazalo med njenim članstvom v Varnostnem svetu OZN v letih 1998 in 1999. Kot njegova nestalna članica se je izkazala s svojo konstruktivnostjo, ustvarjalnostjo in delovanjem, usmerjenim k doseganju soglasja, kar so ZDA in druge članice Varnostnega sveta posebej cenile.

Utrditev Slovenije kot stabilne države z mednarodnim ugledom ter s hitro razvijajočim se tržnim gospodarstvom je omogočila povečanje njene vloge pri stabilizaciji razmer v jugovzhodni Evropi. Tudi tukaj je z ZDA našla vrsto skupnih interesov. Tako so ZDA decembra 1996 predlagale pobudo o oblikovanju SECI. Njihov namen je bil okrepliti sodelovanje v jugovzhodni Evropi ter priključevanje te regije glavnim evropskim tokovom, kar bi posledično pripeljalo do večje stabilnosti v regiji. Slovenija je marca 1997 postala sodelujoča država v SECI, dejavno pa sodeluje tudi v Paktu stabilnosti za JVE, ki dopolnjujoče deluje s SECI.

ZDA so glavni partner Slovenije pri Mednarodni ustanovi – fundaciji za razminiranje in pomoč žrtvam min, ki uspešno deluje v JVE. Ameriški kongres je že dvakrat odobril finančna sredstva, na podlagi katerih druge države to vsoto podvajajo z lastnimi sredstvi.

Dodatna potrditev, da je Slovenija v ZDA sprejeta kot varna in razvita država, je ameriška odločitev iz oktobra 1997 o vključitvi Slovenije v »Visa Waiver Pilot Program«. Slovenski državljanji s tem ne potrebujejo turističnih ali poslovnih vizumov med bivanjem v ZDA do 90 dni.

Gospodarsko sodelovanje med Slovenijo in ZDA je v vzponu, čeprav možnosti še niso povsem izkorisčene. ZDA so med trgovinskih partnerje Slovenije na sedmem mestu. Intenzivno sodelovanje

guished itself by its constructiveness, creativity and activities directed towards reaching a consensus, which was particularly appreciated by the United States and other members of the Security Council.

Slovenia's establishment as a stable country, with an international reputation and a rapidly developing market economy, facilitated the enhancement of its role in the stabilisation of the situation in South-Eastern Europe. Slovenia and the United States found many common interests in this area. Thus, in December 1996, the United States proposed an initiative on the formation of the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI). Its objective was to strengthen cooperation in South-Eastern Europe and include the region in the European mainstream, which would consequently bring greater stability to the region. In March 1997, Slovenia began to participate in SECI, and it also actively participates in the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, which complements the activities of SECI.

The United States is Slovenia's major partner in the International Trust Fund for Demining and Mine Victims Assistance, which operates successfully in South-Eastern Europe. The US Congress has twice endorsed matching funds.

The US decision of October 1997 to include Slovenia into the »Visa Waiver Pilot Program« is further evidence that Slovenia has been accepted by the United States as a safe and developed country. A visa is not required for Slovenian citizens for tourist or business trips up to 90 days.

Economic cooperation between Slovenia and the United States is on the increase, although there remain some unutilised opportunities. The United States is now Slovenia's seventh ranked trade partner. Intensive cooperation between Slovenia and the United States has also developed in other areas. There has been an exchange of several visits at the parliamentary level. Cooperation is perhaps most intensive in the military and defence spheres, particularly within the scope of an army-to-army programme and the International Military Education and Training programme.

Within ten years, a firm basis of bilateral agreements in the field of economy, science, culture and military cooperation has been established between Slovenia and the United States. The agreement on the succession to treaties concluded between the former Yugoslavia and the United States additionally extended the legal framework.

med Slovenijo in ZDA se je razvilo tudi na drugih področjih. Izmenjanih je bilo več obiskov na parlamentarni ravni. Med zelo intenzivnimi je obrambno in vojaško sodelovanje, še posebej v okviru programov Vojška vojski ter Mednarodno vojaško izobraževanje in urjenje.

V desetih letih sta Slovenija in ZDA vzpostavili trdno podlago dvostranskih sporazumov v gospodarstvu, znanosti, kulturi ter vojaškem sodelovanju. S sklenitvijo sporazuma o nasledstvu pogodb, ki so jih z nekdanjo SFRJ sklenile ZDA, se je pravni okvir še dodatno vsebinsko razširil.

Dvostranski odnosi med državama so od nastanka Slovenije v stalnem vzponu. Sodelovanje na različnih področjih se ves čas širi in poglablja. Slovenija v ZDA vidi tesnega zaveznika in strateškega partnerja. Obe strani označujeta politične odnose kot odlične. Kandidiranje RS za sprejetje v članstvo Nata v prvem krogu širitve je močno povečalo prepoznavnost RS v ameriških ustanovah. V tem času se je še dodatno povečalo zanimanje ameriške administracije za okrepitev političnega dialoga in vzpostavitev partnerskega odnosa med državama. Ameriški senat je ob deseti obletnici samostojne Slovenije sprejel resolucijo, ki je potrdila vlogo Slovenije kot ameriške zaveznice v srednji in vzhodni Evropi s trdno demokracijo in svobodnim tržnim gospodarstvom. Kot odgovorna članica mednarodne skupnosti je občutno napredovala na poti vključitve v Nato in Evropsko unijo. Članstvo Slovenije v obeh bojen partnerski odnos z ZDA trajno utrdilo.

Združeno kraljestvo Velika Britanija in Severna Irska

Vezi med dvema narodoma segajo že v preteklost. Slovenski znanstvenik 17. stoletja Janez Vajkard Valvazor je s svojim izjemnim opisom Cerkniškega jezera postal član Kraljevskega društva (Royal Society) v Londonu. Politična vez med narodoma pa se je utrdila med drugo svetovno vojno, ko sta se oba naroda skupaj bojevala za svobodo posameznika in narodov na evropskih tleh, in v času po njej, ko so britanski vojaki v okviru Zavezniške vojaške uprave v coni A Julijiske krajine sodelovali pri obnovi porušenega slovenskega ozemlja.

Britanska kultura je bila ves čas navzoča v Sloveniji predvsem po zasluzi poučevanja angleškega jezika kot prvega tujega jezika v osnovnih

Bilateral relations between the two countries have been strengthening ever since Slovenia came into existence. Cooperation in different areas is constantly diversifying and deepening. Slovenia sees the United States as an ally and a strategic partner. Both sides assess political relations as excellent. Slovenia's candidacy for NATO membership in the first round of enlargement significantly enhanced familiarity with Slovenia within US institutions. During this time the US Administration's interest in strengthening political dialogue and establishing partnership relations between the two countries has additionally increased. On the tenth anniversary of Slovenia's independence, the US Senate adopted a resolution consolidating the role of Slovenia as an ally of the United States in Central and Eastern Europe, with a sound democracy and free market economy. As a responsible member of the international community, Slovenia has made significant progress towards integration into NATO and the European Union. Slovenia's membership of both structures will permanently consolidate its partnership relation with the United States.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The ties between Slovenes and the British people stretch back to the past. In the 17th century, Slovenian scientist Janez Vajkard Valvazor became a member of the Royal Society of London thanks to his outstanding description of the phenomenon of Cerknica lake. The political bond between the two peoples was particularly obvious during World War II when both nations fought together for the freedom of each individual and nation in Europe. These ties were also evident in the post-war period when British soldiers within the Allied Military Administration in Zone A of the Venezia Giulia region participated in the reconstruction of the ravaged Slovenian territory.

British culture has been present in Slovenia throughout this period, especially thanks to the teaching of English as the first foreign language in elementary schools. That presence was further strengthened by the establishment of the British Council as a cultural institution in Ljubljana.

Throughout the past decade the two countries maintained regular political dialogue and strengthened cooperation in all areas of mutual interest. Further proof of good relations between the two countries is



PREDSEDNIK REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE MILAN KUČAN NA SESTANKU Z BRITANSKIM PREMIERJEM TONY-JEM BLAIROM V LONDONU, 10. DECEMBRA 2001

THE SLOVENIAN PRESIDENT MILAN KUČAN AT A MEETING WITH THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR, LONDON, 10 DECEMBER 2001

šolah. Navzočnost britanske kulture in književnosti pa se je še okrepila z ustanovitvijo Britanskega sveta kot kulturne ustanove v Ljubljani.

Državi sta v preteklih desetih letih vzdrževali reden politični dialog in krepili sodelovanje na vseh področjih skupnega interesa. Dobre odnose med državama potrjuje tudi intenziven političen dialog na visoki in najvišji ravni. Na uradnem obisku v Veliki Britaniji je bil decembra 2001 predsednik Republike Slovenije Milan Kučan, leta 1998 pa je obiskal Slovenijo britanski prestolonaslednik princ Charles. Že leta 1994 je Veliko Britanijo obiskal predsednik vlade dr. Janez Drnovšek. Pogosta so bila tudi srečanja na ravni zunanjih ministrov obeh držav;

the close political dialogue at the senior and highest levels. In December 2001 the President Milan Kučan paid an official visit to the United Kingdom, while in 1998 Charles, Prince of Wales, visited Slovenia. The Prime Minister, Dr Janez Drnovšek, visited the United Kingdom as early as 1994. Meetings between foreign ministers have been held frequently; the first contacts date back to summer 1992, soon after the establishment of diplomatic relations. These meetings have since taken place almost every year.

Economic cooperation has developed in parallel with political co-operation. The United Kingdom ranks among Slovenia's ten most important foreign trade partners. From 1996 to 2001 a continual increase was recorded - it totalled USD 396.8 million in 1996 and USD 519.2 million in 2001. The data on Slovenian exports to the United Kingdom are even more encouraging since they increased by almost 40% in 2001 while imports slightly decreased.

The opportunities to enhance economic relations lie primarily in an increase in direct British investments. There is a trend in the British economy to transfer production to Eastern European countries and Slovenia may function as a suitable base for covering South-Eastern Europe, both in terms of production and distribution. Financial and insurance services have provided a new incentive for enhanced economic cooperation.

Since the very beginning, the United Kingdom has advocated EU enlargement and provided support to Slovenia in its efforts towards EU membership. The United Kingdom considers Slovenia to be the best-prepared candidate for EU membership and supports it in the negotiation process.

The United Kingdom has favourably assessed Slovenia's readiness to join NATO and lends our country its unflagging support in these endeavours. The United Kingdom is an active member of the sponsor group and, through the British MAP team, has been providing assistance to Slovenia in its national preparations for membership.

The two countries have been cooperating constructively in other multilateral areas. They both participate in efforts to stabilise South-Eastern Europe and to promote democracy and reconstruction in the countries of the region. Consultations have been underway between the two countries on solving the crisis and establishing peace and security in South-Eastern Europe.

prvi stiki segajo v poletje 1992, kmalu po vzpostavitvi diplomatskih odnosov. Srečanja so se nato vrstila skoraj vsako leto.

Vzporedno s političnim sodelovanjem se je dobro razvijalo tudi sodelovanje na gospodarskem področju. Velika Britanija je med desetimi najpomembnejšimi zunanjetrgovinskimi partnerji Slovenije. V obdobju od 1996 do 2001 narašča blagovna menjava, ki je leta 1996 znašala 396,8 milijona USD, leta 2001 pa 519,2 milijona USD. Še spodbudnejši je podatek o slovenskem izvozu v Veliko Britanijo, ki se je v letu 2001 povečal za skoraj 40 %. Rahlo se je zmanjšal tudi uvoz.

Možnosti za poglabljanje gospodarskih odnosov so predvsem v povečanju neposrednih britanskih naložb. Britansko gospodarstvo ima težnje po selitvi proizvodnje v vzhodnoevropske države, kjer je lahko Slovenija primerena baza za pokrivanje območja jugovzhodne Evrope za proizvodnjo in tudi distribucijo. Novo spodbudo za poglobljeno gospodarsko sodelovanje ponujajo tudi finančne in zavarovalniške storitve.

Velika Britanija je od vsega začetka zagovornica širitev EU in je pri prizadevanjih za članstvo v EU podpirala tudi Slovenijo. Velika Britanija ocenjuje Slovenijo kot najbolje pripravljeno kandidatko za članstvo v EU in jo podpira v pogajalskem procesu.

Velika Britanija visoko ocenjuje tudi pripravljenost Slovenije za vstop v Nato in jo odločno podpira pri teh prizadevanjih. Velika Britanija je dejavna članica t. i. mentorske skupine in z britanskim timom MAP pomaga Sloveniji pri njenih pripravah za članstvo.

Državi uspešno sodelujeta tudi na drugih multilateralnih področjih. Druži ju dejavnost pri prizadevanjih za ustalitev razmer, demokratizacijo in obnovo držav na območju jugovzhodne Evrope. Med državama potekajo posvetovanja o reševanju krize in vzpostavljanju miru in varnosti v jugovzhodni Evropi.

Slovenija ceni vlogo Velike Britanije v mednarodni skupnosti, posebej njeno dejavno vlogo v protiteroristični koaliciji. Tudi Velika Britanija ceni slovensko brezpogojno podporo koaliciji in obsodbo terorizma.

Dvostransko sodelovanje v okviru sistema OZN je odlično in intenzivno. Državi se vzajemno podpirata pri kandidaturah v telesih OZN.

Slovenija si želi nadaljnega poglabljanja in intenziviranja odnosov med državama na vseh področjih skupnega interesa. Slovenija vidi možnosti za nove oblike sodelovanja in bolj poglobljen dialog v prihodnjem članstvu v EU in Nato.



SLOVENSKI PREMIER DR. JANEZ DRNOVŠEK IN BRITANSKI ZUNANJI MINISTER ROBIN COOK NA 54. ZASEDANJU GENERALNE SKUPŠČINE ZDRUŽENIH NARODOV V NEW YORKU, 22. SEPTEMBRA 1999

THE SLOVENIAN PRIME MINISTER, DR JANEZ DRNOVŠEK, AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER, ROBIN COOK, AT THE 54TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION, NEW YORK, 22 SEPTEMBER 1999

Slovenia highly values the role of the United Kingdom in the international community, particularly its active role in the Anti-Terrorist Coalition. The United Kingdom also appreciates Slovenia's unflagging support for the Coalition and its condemnation of terrorism.

Bilateral cooperation within the United Nations is excellent and intense. The two countries support each other in candidatures for UN bodies.

Slovenia wishes to further enhance and intensify relations between the two countries in all areas of mutual interest. It considers that possibilities for new forms of cooperation and a constructive dialogue will open up with its future membership of the EU and NATO.