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“V ZAŽELJENI DEŽELI”

SLOVENSKA  
IZKUŠNJA S  
KRALJEVINO SHS/  
JUGOSLAVIJO  
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## Povzetek

Prva izkušnja novega zgodovinskega položaja, v katerem so bili Slovenci po odhodu iz Avstrije, je bila povezana z oblikovanjem Države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov, ki so jo habsburški Jugoslovani ustanovili 29. oktobra 1918. Država SHS je z izjemo Prekmurja, Medjimurja, Bačke, Baranje in Banata obsegala vse jugoslovansko ozemlje nekdanje avstro-ogrske monarhije, obstajala pa je do 1. decembra 1918, ko se je s Kraljevino Srbijo združila v Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. V Državi SHS so Slovenci prvič v 20. stoletju jasno izrazili svojo državotvorno sposobnost, saj so se organizirali kot narodna skupnost, ki svobodno odloča o vseh vidikih svojega narodnega, političnega, državnopravnega, kulturnega, socialnega in gospodarskega razvoja. Oblikovali so prvo slovensko nacionalno vlado, Narodno vlado Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov v Ljubljani (Narodna vlada), ki je v Sloveniji izvrševala vso oblast, vključno z zadevami na vojaškem področju, posegala pa je tudi na področje mednarodnih odnosov, saj so njen obstoj upoštevale celo nekatere evropske vlade (poljska, avstrijska) pri razvijanju svojih diplomatskih povezav. Samostojnost Narodne vlade je državnopravno potrdila posebna Naredba o prehodni upravi v ozemlju Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani, ki jo je v sporazumu z zagrebškim Narodnim Vijećem, vrhovnim organom oblasti v Državi SHS, 21. novembra 1918 izdala Narodna vlada. Po tej naredbi je Narodno Vijeće Narodni vladi prepustilo, da upravlja slovensko ozemlje "kot del narodne, svobodne, neodvisne, na demokratičnih načelih urejene države SHS". S tem je bila na slovenskem ozemlju Narodna vlada tudi formalno edina, popolna in pravno najvišja oblast in nosilka slovenske samostojnosti v konfederalno oblikovani Državi SHS. Ena od pomembnih značilnosti politične osamosvojitve, ki so jo dosegli Slovenci v Državi SHS, je bil tudi sklep, sprejet na skupni seji Narodne vlade in Narodnega sveta (vrhovnega slovenskega političnega predstavniškega telesa, ustanovljenega 16. in 17. avgusta 1918, ki je vodilo boj za samoodločbo in združitev Slovencev v jugoslovansko državo), 9. novembra 1918, da Narodna vlada Narodnemu svetu poroča o svojih odločitvah in naredbah v pretres. S tem je novembra 1918 na Slovenskem obstajalo politično telo, ki so mu formalno priznali pristojnosti, kakršne ima v parlamentarnem sistemu njegov nosilec – parlament.

Na Slovenskem sta med procesom jugoslovanske državne združitve tedanja državoupravna oblast in politika posebej obravnavali tudi vprašanje družbene in politične vloge ter značaja oboroženih sil. Narodna vlada in tedanje slovenske politične stranke so njihovo vloge videle v zagotavljanju stabilnih varnostih razmerter v reševanju vprašanja slovenskih narodnih mej. Že v času obstoja Države SHS so na tedanje oborožene sile gledali kot na enote jugoslovanske vojske, vendar so obenem pisali tudi o slovenski narodni vojski. Po oblikovanju Kraljevine SHS pa so oborožene sile na Slovenskem razumeli kot jugoslovanske oborožene formacije. Vsi tedanji slovenski državopolitični dejavniki so se zavzemali za uveljavitev modernega, protimilitarističnega duha nove armade. Kot družbeni in politični dejavnik, ki odločilno varuje življenjske narodnodržavne interese, naj bi nova armada temeljila na humanih, pravičnih in korektnih odnosih med častniki in vojaki.

Po oblikovanju Kraljevine SHS se državoupravna samostojnost, ki so jo Slovenci dosegli v Državi SHS, ni ohranila. Namesto Narodne vlade je regent Aleksander Karađorđević januarja 1919 imenoval novo Deželno vlado za Slovenijo. Deželna vlada ni bila neodvisna in suverena nacionalna vlada, kot je bila prejšnja narodna vlada. Obseg njenih upravnih pristojnosti ni dosegel prejšnje slovenske nacionalne državne organiziranosti v Državi SHS, očitna je bila tudi podrejenost Deželne vlade osrednji vladi v Beogradu. Tako je z oblikovanjem Deželne vlade za Slovenijo komaj dobra dva meseca po jugoslovanski združitvi zamrla samostojna slovenska oblast. Hkrati je osrednja vlada v Beogradu v začetku marca 1919 še zadržala prizadevanja katoliške Slovenske ljudske stranke in Jugoslovanske socialnodemokratske stranke, da bi v Sloveniji oblikovali poseben deželni zbor, to je slovensko predstavniško in zakonodajno telo, ki bi mu Deželna vlada odgovarjala za svoje delo do sprejetja ustave. S tem se je uveljavila politika jugoslovanskega centralizma, ki jo je kasneje ustavno uzakonila Vidovdanska ustava, sprejeta 28. junija 1921. Deželna vlada za Slovenijo je bila na podlagi določil Vidovdanske ustave ukinjena 12. julija 1921, Slovenija pa je bila vpeta v centralistični jugoslovanski državni sistem, ki ga je nadgradilo še ustavno uzakonjeno načelo jugoslovanskega nacionalnega unitarizma, po katerem naj bi Slovenci, Hrvati in Srbi (drugih narodnih imen ustava ni niti omenjala) ne bili narodi zase, pač pa le "plemena" namišljenega enotnega jugoslovanskega naroda.

V času, ko so slovensko ozemlje vklepali v centralistični jugoslovanski sistem, pa so se lahko slovenska državotvorna prizadevanja odrazila na zunanjepolitičnem področju. Slovenski člani delegacije Kraljevine SHS na mirovni konferenci v Parizu so namreč v letih 1919–1920 opazno sodelovali v prizadevanjih za ugodno rešitev jugoslovanskih (slovenskih) mej z Italijo, Avstrijo in Madžarsko. Med njimi je kot specialist za Koroško izstopal dr. Lambert Ehrlich, avtor oziroma soavtor vrste pomembnih dokumentov in spomenic o koroškem vprašanju, ki jih je jugoslovanska delegacija naslovila na merodajne udeležence mirovne konference. Posebej pomembno je bilo njegovo poročilo o delovanju znane Milesove komisije na Koroškem konec januarja in v začetku februarja 1919, ki ga je pripravil 20. marca 1919. Bilo je podlaga za ukrepe jugoslovanske delegacije, ki so bili uspešni vsaj v toliko, da je bil za Koroško določen plebiscit. Ehrlich je tvorno sodeloval tudi v diplomatskem boju za jugoslovansko (slovensko) severno mejona Štajerskem in v Prekmurju. Po podpisu senžermenske mirovne pogodbe z Avstrijo 10. septembra 1919 pa si je zavzeto prizadeval za uspešen izid koroškega plebiscita 10. oktobra 1920.

Edini slovenski oziroma jugoslovanski vojaško diplomatski uspeh v reševanju mejnih vprašanj na slovenskem ozemlju po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske in oblikovanju jugoslovanske države leta 1918 je bila poleg Maistrove zagotovitve meje proti Avstriji na Štajerskem priključitev Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS. Za vključitev Prekmurja v jugoslovansko državo so se izrekle vse tedanje slovenske politične stranke – SLS, liberalna Jugoslovanska demokratska stranka in marksistična JSDS –, težnje po vključitvi v jugoslovansko državo pa so večkrat množično izrazili tudi Prekmurci. V diplomatskem boju jugoslovanske delegacije na pariški mirovni konferenci za priključitev Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS so izstopali njeni slovenski člani – posebej Matija Slavič – poleg njega pa še dr. Ivan Žolger, Lambert Ehrlich in dr. Milko Brezigar. Slavič je na osnovi svojega velikega poznavanja narodnostnih, jezikovnih, zemljepisnih, gospodarskih, političnih in zgodovinskih razmer v Prekmurju pomembno pripomogel k odločitvi vrhovnega sveta konference, 9. julija 1919, da Prekmurje pripade Kraljevini SHS. S privolitvijo vrhovnega sveta je 12. avgusta 1919 Prekmurje zasedlo jugoslovansko vojaštvo. Združitev Prekmurcev z narodno matico je bila dejanje najvišjega nacionalnega pomena in je eden od zgodovinskih temeljev ozemeljske celovitosti Republike Slovenije, ki je bil postavljen že v času neposredno po koncu prve svetovne vojne.

Med vprašanji, ki so temeljno označila življenje Slovencev v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji, je posebej izstopal nacionalni problem. Ustavno in politično ga je z uzakonitvijo unitarizma in centralizma v dvajsetih letih utemeljila Vidovdanska ustava, v tridesetih letih pa Oktroirana ustava, izdana 3. septembra 1931, ki je prav tako ponovno ustavno in politično uveljavila načelo jugoslovanskega državnega centralizma in narodnega unitarizma. Slovenci in njihova politika so bili v nacionalnem vprašanju postavljeni pred dilemo, ali sprejeti utopitev v t. i. jugoslovanskem narodu ali pa se taki nacionalni usodi upreti ter se na osnovi zavesti o posebni slovenski narodni individualnosti boriti za pravico do svojega jezika, kulture in lastne nacionalne državnosti, ki bi jo zagotovila avtonomistično ali federativno preurejena jugoslovanska državna zveza. Večinski del slovenskega naroda in njegove politike se je odločil za slovensko avtonomistično-federalistično stališče, medtem ko so jugoslovanski državni centralizem in narodni unitarizem zagovarjali v liberalnem taboru. Po letu 1923, ko je KPJ oblikovala svoj federativni nacionalni program, so ga v okviru marksističnega tabora podpirali še komunisti.

Avtonomistično-federalistično stališče, ki so ga bolj ali manj zagovarjali v vseh tedanjih idejnopolitičnih taborih na Slovenskem, je najbolj odmevno poudarjala vodilna slovenska politična sila v prvi Jugoslaviji – Slovenska ljudska stranka; le-ta je že leta 1923 oblikovala dovršen avtonomistično-federalističen državnopravni program, v katerem je zahtevala zakonodajno avtonomijo Slovenije z lastnim parlamentom in vlado. Pri tej zahtevi, ki jo je zaradi taktičnih razlogov enkrat bolj, drugič manj poudarjala, je ostala vse do konca obstoja prve jugoslovanske skupnosti.

Slovenske avtonomistično-federalistične zahteve v prvi Jugoslaviji niso bile uresničene, saj za to v dvajsetih letih ni bilo ustreznih ustavno-političnih pogojev, medtem ko je priprave na oblikovanje posebne slovenske državnopravne enote, Banovine Slovenije, ki so stekle konec tridesetih let, v začetku leta 1941 zaustavila vojna nevarnost. Kljub temu pa je SLS v letih 1927–1929 kot najmočnejši slovenski stranki uspelo, da je skozi ustavno zagotovljeno samoupravno odločanje na gospodarsko-socialnem in kulturno-prosvetnem področju v okviru t. i. oblasti (tedanjih upravno-ozemeljskih enot; Slovenija je bila razdeljena na ljubljansko in mariborsko oblast), vsaj deloma uresničila svoj avtonomistični program. Podobno je bilo tudi v drugi polovici tridesetih let, ko je

SLS imela večino v banskem svetu Dravske banovine (Slovenije); banski svet je leta 1935 skladno s svojimi pristojnostmi imenoval tedanji notranji minister in strankin načelnik dr. Anton Korošec. Banski svet je postajal vedno bolj tehten dejavnik pri reševanju zadev, pomembnih za socialnogospodarski in kulturnoprosvetni napredek Slovenije. Življenje na Slovenskem je v tem času dejansko potekalo samostojno, po slovensko, čeprav za to formalnopravno ni bilo nobene zakonske podlage. Slovenci so tako dokazali, da so sposobni sami, po avtonomni poti urejati in voditi svoje nacionalno, kulturno, gospodarsko in tudi politično življenje, če so le za to ustvarjeni ustrezni pogoji.

Razen v narodnem vprašanju so v slovenski politiki oblikovali svoje poglede tudi na druge ključne probleme tedanjega časa. Pri tem so bila zlasti zanimiva stališča meščanske politike, saj je tedaj le-ta predstavljala edini realni politični dejavnik, ki je obvladoval slovenski prostor in sooblikoval politične razmere ter razvoj v jugoslovanski državi. Svoje poglede na tedanje bistvene idejnopolitične in socialnogospodarske probleme je meščanska politika oblikovala zelo zgodaj. Liberalci že leta 1918, ko so poudarili vsa ključna načelna stališča takratnega slovenskega liberalizma. Nasprotovali so vsakemu strankarskemu zlorabljanju vere, v socialnem pogledu pa podprli enakomerni socialni dvig vseh stanov, zlasti socialno šibkih, ob opozorilu, da je nedemokratično, če imajo enostransko družbeno premoč gospodarsko šibkejši sloji. Na gospodarskem področju so podpirali poddržavljenje velikih obratov (železnice, premogovniki, izraba vodnih sil) in združno združevanje zasebnega gospodarstva, če za to obstaja ustrezen interes. Na kmetijskem področju so se zavzeli za odpravo fidejkomisov in preprečevanje drobitve kmetij. Slovenska meščanska liberalna politika je pri svojih ključnih stališčih vztrajala vse obdobje v letih 1918–1941. Pri tem je še ostro odklanjala ruski boljševizem, pa tudi italijanski fašizem in nemški nacizem. Enako dosledno je zavračala tudi politični katolicizem.

Liberalna politika je svoje, leta 1918 oblikovane socialnogospodarske poglede v tridesetih letih vsebinsko še razširila. Pri tem je poudarjala načelo skladnosti in solidarnosti vseh slojev. Ob priznavanju zasebne lastnine kot temeljnega pogoja za uspešen gospodarski razvoj pa je – tako kot katoliški pol – zagovarjala dirigirano gospodarstvo in koncept stanovske oziroma korporativne države.

Katoliški tabor je svoje idejne, politične in socialnogospodarske nazore kompleksno predstavil leta 1920. Takrat je poudaril svoj krščansko socialni

družbeno gospodarski program, ki je zagovarjal rešitev socialnega vprašanja v industrijski družbi z odstranitvijo napak in nepravilnosti kapitalističnega gospodarjenja na demokratični in krščansko etični podlagi. V katoliškem taboru so obenem poudarili odločno nasprotovanje komunizmu in liberalizmu, kasneje pa so jasno zavrnilo tudi fašizem in nacizem. Toda kljub temu, da sta bila za katoliško politiko fašizem in nacizem njena prepoznavna sovražnika, pa je menila, da sta brezbožni komunizem in boljševizem vendarle večje zlo, ker sta nepomirljiva sovražnika krščanske kulture in katolištva in s tem tudi slovenskega naroda. Zato velja brezkompromisni boj predvsem njima.

Ob bolj ali manj ostrem odklanjanju vsega obstoječega je za slovenski politični katolicizem edino in pravo idejnopolitično pot predstavljal le koncept katoliške obnove in z njim povezanega t. i. totalnega krščanstva. Tak koncept je poudaril že V. katoliški shod 25.–28. avgusta 1923 v Ljubljani. Shod je zahteval, naj smernice vsemu idejnemu, kulturnemu, izobraževalnemu, družbenemu, gospodarskemu in političnemu življenju določa edinole krščanski svetovni nazor. Katoliška politika je nato pri teh zahtevah vztrajala ves čas obstoja prve jugoslovanske države. Ključni nazori slovenske meščanske politike v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji so si bili tako na liberalni kot na katoliški strani bolj podobni kakor pa ne. Podobni so si bili v zavračanju komunizma, fašizma in nacizma, v protisemitskem stališču, v zavzemanju za stanovsko korporativni sistem in za disciplinirano oziroma avtoritativno demokracijo. Razhajali pa so se v okviru trajnega katoliško-liberalnega kulturnega boja in v pogledih na nacionalni problem. Pri tem je imel v oblikovanju temeljnih načel, ki so vodila katoliško politiko, skoraj do konca obstoja prve Jugoslavije eno od najpomembnejših vlog vodilni slovenski politik v obdobju med svetovnima vojnama Anton Korošec. Njegova politična dejavnost je pomembno vplivala na družbene in politične razmere v državi in življenje Slovencev v njej.

Slovinci, ki so vstopili v Kraljevino SHS/Jugoslavijo v pričakovanju, da bodo imeli v novem državnem okviru bistveno večje možnosti za odločanje o svojih temeljnih družbenopolitičnih, socialno-ekonomskih in kulturnoprosvetnih zadevah kot v razpadli avstro-ogrski monarhiji, torej široke avtonomistične oziroma federalistične pravice, so kmalu ugotovili, da se njihova pričakovanja niso uresničila. Poleg nedoseženega avtonomističnega državnopravnega cilja in vpetosti narodnojezikovnega in kulturnega razvoja v jugoslovanski unitaristični



sistem so se morali soočiti tudi z nižjo, t. i. balkansko kulturnocivilizacijsko ravnijo, ki je obvladovala jugoslovanski politični, kulturni in gospodarski prostor. Na kulturno-znanstvenem področju jih je spremljala tudi večkrat izrečena grožnja o ukinitvi šele v jugoslovanski državi ustanovljene slovenske univerze. Hkrati so bili na gospodarskem področju ujeti v trdno privit in nepovratno na jug naravnani davčni primeži. Na zunanjepolitičnem področju pa je bila porazna izguba Primorske, ki se ji je Kraljevina SHS mednarodnopravno odrekla v korist Kraljevine Italije s podpisom rapalske mirovne pogodbe 12. novembra 1920.

Omenjene slabe slovenske izkušnje z Jugoslavijo pa so ublažile ugodne značilnosti in pridobitve v razvoju Slovencev v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji. Tako so Slovenci v okviru delovanja oblastnih samouprav v letih 1927–1929 in delovanja banskega sveta Dravske banovine v drugi polovici tridesetih let dokazali, da so sposobni sami urejati svoja razvojna vprašanja. To jih je utrdilo v prepričanju, da je njihov večinski narodni avtonomistično-federalistični cilj utemeljen, kar je utrjevalo slovensko nacionalno zavest in samozavest. Slednje so krepili tudi v Jugoslaviji vsestransko razvito slovensko narodnokulturno življenje, vzpostavitev celovitega slovenskega prosvetnega sistema in izrazit gospodarski napredek slovenskega naroda. Slovenci so postali v prvi Jugoslaviji poleg gospodarskega in kulturnega tudi upoštevanja vreden politični dejavnik, ki je sooblikoval tedanjo državno politiko. Ob tem so razvijali moderno demokratično družbeno, socialnogospodarsko in politično misel. Kot viden dejavnik v jugoslovanski državi pa so bili privlačna sila in moralna opora sonarodnjakom izven jugoslovanskih meja. Glede na tak napredek je bila v prvi jugoslovanski državi oblikovana dovolj čvrsta narodnoemancipacijska podlaga, ki je Slovincem, obenem z dejanji dokazano narodnoosvobodilno voljo in vojaško sposobnostjo v drugi svetovni vojni, omogočila, da so samozavestno začeli živeti svojo naslednjo jugoslovansko izkušnjo. Leta 1991 so jo na podlagi zgodovinske dozorelosti za lastno neodvisno državno življenje sklenili z vzpostavitvijo slovenske nacionalne države – Republike Slovenije.

## Summary

The first experience with the new historical situation that Slovenians were in after they had left Austria was related to the establishment of the State of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs (hereinafter the State of SHS), founded by the Habsburg Yugoslavs on 29 October 1918. The State of SHS, with the exception of the Prekmurje, Medjimurje, Bačka, Baranja and Banat regions, encompassed all of the Yugoslav territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and existed until 1 December 1918, when it merged with the Kingdom of Serbia to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (hereinafter the Kingdom of SHS). In the State of SHS, for the first time in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Slovenians clearly expressed their statehood capabilities, since they had successfully organised themselves as a national community that freely decided about all aspects of its national, political, national legal, cultural, social and economic development. They established the first Slovenian national government – the National Government of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs in Ljubljana (hereinafter the National Government), which had the complete authority in Slovenia, including with regard to military matters. It also took part in the field of international relations, and its existence was even taken into account by certain European governments (Poland, Austria) when they developed their diplomatic relations. In the national legal sense, the independence of the National Government was affirmed with the special Decree on the Transitional Administration in the Territory of the National Government of SHS in Ljubljana, issued by the National Government on 21 November 1918 in agreement with the Zagreb National Assembly, the supreme authority in the State of SHS. According to this Decree, the National Assembly let the National Government manage the Slovenian territory as a "part of the national, free, independent State of SHS, established on democratic principles". Thus in the Slovenian territory the National Government was also formally the only, complete and legally supreme authority and institution of the Slovenian independence in the confederate State of SHS. One of the important characteristics of the attainment of political independence, achieved by Slovenians in the State of SHS, was also the decision reached at the joint session of the National Government and National Assembly (the supreme Slovenian political representative body, established on 16 and 17 August 1918, which led the

struggle for the self-determination and unification of Slovenians within the Yugoslav state) on 9 November 1918: that the National Government shall submit its decisions and decrees for review at the National Assembly. This meant that in November 1918 a political body existed in Slovenia that was formally recognised as having the competences of a parliament in a parliamentary system.

In Slovenia, during the process of the Yugoslav state unification, the former state administration authority and politics focused individually on the issues of the social role, political role and character of the armed forces. The National Government and the Slovenian political parties of that time saw their role in ensuring a stable security situation and in solving the issues of the Slovenian national borders. Already in the time of the State of SHS they saw the armed forces of the time as Yugoslav Army units, but simultaneously they also wrote about the Slovenian National Army. After the establishment of the Kingdom SHS, in Slovenia the armed forces were deemed as Yugoslav armed formations. All of the Slovenian state and political factors at that time argued for the assertion of a modern, anti-militaristic spirit of the new army. As a social and political factor, decisively protecting the vital national interests, the new army was supposed to be based on humane, rightful and proper relations between the officers and soldiers.

After the establishment of the Kingdom of SHS, the national legal independence achieved by Slovenians in the State of SHS was not preserved. Instead of the National Government the regent Aleksander Karađorđević appointed the first Provincial Government for Slovenia on January 1919. The Provincial Government was not an independent and sovereign body like the former National Government. Its administrative competences did not entail the former level of the Slovenian national state organisation within the State of SHS, and the Provincial Government was obviously subordinate to the central government in Belgrade. With the formation of the Provincial Government for Slovenia as soon as two months after the Yugoslav unification, the independent Slovenian authority was over. At the same time, in the beginning of March 1919, the central government in Belgrade also stifled the efforts of the Catholic Slovenian People's Party and Yugoslav Social Democratic Party to establish a special provincial assembly in Slovenia – that is, a Slovenian representative and legislative body that the Provincial Government would answer to with regard to its work until the adoption

of the constitution. Thus the policy of the Yugoslav centralism, later enacted by the St. Vitus Day Constitution adopted on 28 June 1921, was put into effect. On the basis of the St. Vitus Day Constitution provisions, the Provincial Government for Slovenia was abolished on 12 July 1921, and Slovenia was integrated into the centralist Yugoslav state system, expanded by the constitutionally enacted principle of the Yugoslav national unitarianism in accordance with which Slovenians, Croatians and Serbians (other nations were not even mentioned by this Constitution) were not separate nations, but only "tribes" within the imaginary single Yugoslav nation.

In the time when the Slovenian territory was included into the centralist Yugoslav system, the Slovenian statehood efforts could manifest themselves in the foreign political field. Namely, the Slovenian members of the Kingdom of SHS delegation at the peace conference in Paris from 1919 to 1920 participated noticeably in the efforts for the advantageous solution of Yugoslav (Slovenian) borders with Italy, Austria and Hungary. Among these delegation members Dr. Lambert Ehrlich was very prominent as a specialist for Carinthia and as the author or co-author of a number of important documents and memorandums with regard to the Carinthian questions that the Yugoslav delegation submitted to the competent participants of the peace conference. His report on the activities of the well-known Miles Commission in Carinthia in the end of January and the beginning of February 1919, prepared on 20 March 1919, was especially important. This represented the grounds for the measures of the Yugoslav delegation, successful enough to ensure that a plebiscite was envisioned for Carinthia. Ehrlich also actively participated in the diplomatic struggle for the Yugoslav (Slovenian) northern border in the Styria and Prekmurje regions. After the signing of the Saint Germain Peace Treaty with Austria on 10 September 1919 he struggled for the successful outcome of the Carinthian plebiscite on 10 October 1920.

The only Slovenian or Yugoslav military diplomatic success in solving the questions of the borders after the dissolution of Austro-Hungary and the formation of the Yugoslav state in 1918 was, besides Maister's securing of the Slovenian border with Austria in Styria, the annexation of the Prekmurje region to the Kingdom of SHS. All Slovenian political parties at that time supported the integration of Prekmurje into the Yugoslav State: Sloveniana People's Party, the

liberal Yugoslav Democratic Party and the Marxist Yugoslav Social Democratic Party. The aspirations for the inclusion into the Yugoslav state were also often voiced by the inhabitants of this region. The Slovenian members of the Yugoslav delegation were prominent in the diplomatic struggle for the annexation of the Prekmurje region to the Kingdom of SHS at the Paris peace conference – especially Dr. Matija Slavič, Dr. Ivan Žolger, Dr. Lambert Ehrlich and Dr. Milko Brezinar. On the basis of his profound knowledge of national, linguistic, geographical, economic, political and historical circumstances in Prekmurje, Slavič contributed significantly to the decision that the Supreme Council of the conference took on 9 July 1919: that Prekmurje belonged to the Kingdom of SHS. On 12 August 1919, with the consent of the Supreme Council, the Yugoslav Army secured the Prekmurje region. The unification of the Prekmurje inhabitants with their nation of origin was of the highest national importance and represents one of the historical foundations for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Slovenia, already established in the time immediately after World War I.

The national problem was especially prominent among the issues vitally influencing the life of Slovenians in the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia. Constitutionally and politically it was brought about in the 1920s with the enactment of unitarianism and centralism with the St. Vitus Day Constitution as well as, in the 1930s, with the so-called Imposed Constitution of 3 September 1931, which once again constitutionally and politically asserted the principle of Yugoslav state centralism and national unitarianism. As far as the national question was concerned, Slovenians and their politics faced a dilemma whether to accept the merging with the so-called Yugoslav nation or resist such a national fate and fight, on the basis of the conscience of the special Slovenian national individuality, for the right to the Slovenian language, culture and national statehood, which could be ensured by the Yugoslav state union reorganised in the autonomist or federal manner. The majority of the Slovenian nation and its policy decided for the Slovenian autonomist-federalist standpoint, while Yugoslav state centralism and national unitarianism was only supported by the liberal camp. After 1923, when the Communist Party of Yugoslavia established its federal national programme, it was also supported by the communists in the context of the Marxist camp.

The autonomist-federalist viewpoint, more or less argued for in all Slovenian ideological political camps in Slovenia at the time, was most evidently emphasised by the leading Slovenian political force in the First Yugoslavia: the Slovenian People's Party. As early as in 1923 it drew up a perfected autonomist-federalist national legal programme, demanding the legislative autonomy of Slovenia, its own parliament and government. The Slovenian People's Party persisted in this demand throughout the existence of the first Yugoslav community, emphasising it more or less passionately, depending on the tactical issues.

The Slovenian autonomist-federalist demands in the First Yugoslavia were not met, since suitable constitutional and political conditions did not exist in the 1920s. The preparations for the establishment of the special Slovenian national legal unit – the Banate of Slovenia, initiated in the end of the 1930s, were stopped by the imminent war in the beginning of 1941. Nevertheless, in the years from 1927 to 1929 Slovenian People's Party as the strongest Slovenian party managed to at least partly realise its autonomist programme through the constitutionally ensured self-governing decision-making in the economic, social, cultural and educational field in the context of the so-called administrative units (the administrative territorial units at the time – Slovenia was divided into the Ljubljana and Maribor Administrative Units). The situation in the second half of the 1930s, when the Slovenian People's Party had the majority in the Ban's Council of the Drava Banate (Slovenia), was similar; in 1935 the Ban's Council was, according to his competences, appointed by the contemporary Minister of the Interior and the leader of the Slovenian People's Party, Dr. Anton Korošec. The Ban's Council became an increasingly decisive factor in the solving of the matters pertinent to the socio-economic and cultural-educational progress of Slovenia. At that time life in Slovenia in fact took place independently, according to the will of the Slovenians, even though there was no formal and legal basis for this. Thus Slovenians proved they were capable of managing and steering their own national, cultural, economic and political life autonomously, provided that suitable conditions for this existed.

Except for the national question, the Slovenian politics had also established its outlook on other key issues of that time. The standpoints of the bourgeois policy were especially interesting, since back then it represented the

only real political factor governing the Slovenian space and co-establishing the political circumstances and development in the Yugoslav state. The bourgeois policy formed its attitude to essential contemporary ideological-political and socio-economic problems very early on. The liberals already emphasised all the key principles of the Slovenian liberalism of the time in 1918. They opposed any abuse of religion by the parties, and in the social context they supported the balanced social development of all social strata, especially the socially weak, emphasising that a one-sided social predominance of the economically weaker strata was non-democratic. In the economic fields they supported the nationalisation of large companies (railroads, coal mines, water management) and integration of private enterprise in cooperatives, provided that suitable interest in this existed. In the agricultural field they argued for the abolishment of entails and the prevention of farm fragmentation. Slovenian bourgeois liberal policy persisted in all its key stand points throughout the period from 1918 to 1941. It also rejected resolutely the Russian Bolshevism as well as Italian fascism and German Nazism. It also consistently opposed the political Catholicism.

In the 1930s, in terms of contents, the liberal policy further expanded its socio-economic standpoints established in 1918. It emphasised the principle of coherence and solidarity of all social strata. Besides the acknowledgement of private property as the basic condition for successful economic development it also argued for planned economy and the concept of corporatist state.

The Catholic camp presented its ideological, political and socio-economic principles extensively in 1920. At that time it emphasised its Christian social socio-economic programme, which argued that the social question in the industrial society should be solved by abolishing the mistakes and injustices of the capitalist economy on the democratic and Christian ethical grounds. The Catholic camp also stressed the resolute opposition to communism and liberalism, and later it also clearly rejected fascism and Nazism. However, despite fascism and Nazism being identifiable enemies of the Catholic policy, the Catholic movement nevertheless deemed godless communism and Bolshevism as a greater evil for they were supposedly constant enemies of Christian culture and Catholicism, and thus also of the Slovenian nation. Therefore the Catholic policy constantly struggled against them.

By rejecting everything in existence more or less resolutely, Slovenian political Catholicism saw the only correct ideological-political way in the concept of the Catholic renewal and the related so-called total Christianity. Such a concept was already emphasised by the 5<sup>th</sup> Catholic Convention from 25 to 28 August 1923 in Ljubljana. The Convention demanded that the guidelines for all of the ideological, cultural, educational, social, economic and political life should only be set out by the Christian principles. The Catholic policy persisted in these demands throughout the existence of the First Yugoslav state. The key principles of the Slovenian bourgeois policy of the liberal as well as the Catholic side in the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia were more or less similar. They were similar in their rejection of communism, fascism and Nazism, in its anti-Semitic viewpoints and its striving for the corporatist system and disciplined or authoritative democracy. However, they differed in the context of the permanent Catholic-liberal cultural struggle and in the attitude towards the national problem. Regarding these issues, Anton Korošec, the leading Slovenian politician in the period between both World Wars, had one of the most prominent roles in the establishment of the basic principles that governed the Catholic policy almost until the end of the First Yugoslavia. His political activities notably influenced the social and political circumstances as well as the lives of the people in this state.

Slovenians, who entered the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia expecting to have significantly better opportunities (extensive autonomist or federalist rights) in the context of the new state than in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in order to decide on their basic socio-political, socio-economic and cultural-educational matters, soon discovered that their expectations had not come true. Apart from the unattained autonomist national legal goals and integration of the national-linguistic and cultural development in the Yugoslav unitarian system, Slovenians also had to come to terms with the lower cultural-civilisational level (the so-called Balkans culture) that governed the Yugoslav political, cultural and economic space. In the cultural and scientific field, threats were often made that the Slovenian University, only established in the Yugoslav state, would be abolished. Simultaneously, in the economic field, Slovenia was caught in a strict tax system, irreversibly oriented towards the south. In the foreign political field the loss of the Primorska region, which the Kingdom of SHS renounced in favour



of Italy in the international legal sense by signing the Peace Treaty of Rapallo on 12 November 1920, was a crushing defeat.

This negative Slovenian experience with Yugoslavia was alleviated by the favourable characteristics and positive development of Slovenians in the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia. Thus in the context of self-governing administrative units from 1927 to 1929 and the operations of the Ban's Council of the Drava Banate in the second half of the 1930s, Slovenians proved they were capable of solving the issues of their development by themselves. This strengthened them in their conviction that their majority national autonomist-federalist goals were justified, which in turn strengthened the Slovenian national awareness and self-awareness. The latter was also strengthened through the universally developed Slovenian national-cultural life in Yugoslavia, the establishment of integral Slovenian educational system and the evident economic progress of the Slovenian nation. In the First Yugoslavia, besides being an economic and cultural factor that had to be reckoned with, Slovenians also became an influential political factor that contributed to the shaping of the state policy of the time. Slovenians developed their modern democratic social, socio-economic and political thought. As a visible factor within the Yugoslav state, Slovenians represented a fascinating force and moral support for their compatriots outside the Yugoslav borders. In view of such progress, the basis for the national emancipation of Slovenians was established in the first Yugoslav state. Together with national liberation decisiveness and military capabilities that Slovenians proved with their actions in World War II, this was enough to allow them to set out on their next Yugoslav experience confidently. In 1991, on the basis of the necessary historical maturity, Slovenians concluded their national emancipation by establishing their own national state – Republic of Slovenia.