



**Peace and Crises Management Foundation**

Fondation pour la Paix et la Gestion des Crises



***”What good to a man  
to conquer the world,  
if he loses his soul?”***

...IN MOSCOW 30.03.1993.

THE DEPARTMENT OF WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

AND

PEACE AND CRISES MANAGEMENT FOUNDATION (SWITZERLAND).

request the honor of your presence at the presentation of the Russian edition of a book  
by the Foundation's President, a noted Yugoslavian figure and French entrepreneur,  
Boris VUKOBRAT

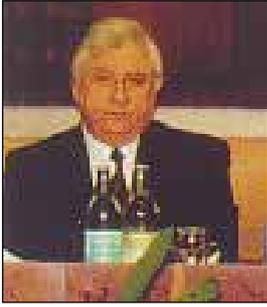
**Proposals for a New Commonwealth of the Republics of El-Yugoslavia**

The authors of a forthcoming book-inquiry of proposed solutions to overcoming the present crisis in the countries of the ex-U.S.S.R, S.S. Alexeicy, G.H. Popov, A.A. Sobchak, G.A. Yavlinski, A.N. Yakolev will also take part in the presentation.

The presentation will take place on March 30, 1993 at 6 p.m. in the Conference Hall of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences at the address as follows ul. Profsoyuznaya, 23.

A reception will be held following the presentation.

For information, please call 128.81.07



# Vitaly ZHURKIN

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I have been given the pleasant task of making the opening remarks of this formal occasion of the presentation of Boris I. Vukobrat's book «Proposals for a New Commonwealth of the Republics of ex-Yugoslavia».

Since we have an exceptional program of speakers coming up, I myself will not enter into heart of the matter here. I would simply like to say that this work comes to us at the right time. It is of interest not only for the people in Yugoslavia and for those parts of Yugoslavia that have separated off, not only for the Europeans, but also, it seems to me, for us for the Russians. The ideas in this work concerning the possibility of reunification, in one form or another, of what has been shattered may not seem relevant in these turbulent times, but they are without any doubt most interesting for the future. And we would like to believe that this is the direction in which things will be moving.

I now give you the author of this work, Boris Vukobrat.



*A. Yakovlev  
B. Vukobrat  
V. Zhurkin*

...IN MOSCOW 30.03.1993.



# Boris VUKOBRAT

**President of the Peace and Crisis  
Management Foundation**

I am truly grateful to all of the participants who are gathered here to take part in the presentation of my book, «Proposals for a New Commonwealth of the Republics of ex Yugoslavia».

The entire world is greatly interested in all the events happening in the Russian capital. It has been this way for the last few days, and I realized this upon my arrival in Moscow two days ago. So it gives me great pleasure to see you all here today in the large conference hall of the Academy of Sciences. I attribute this primarily to the topical nature of the book I am presenting.

The dramatic situation in the former and - I hope - the future Yugoslavia, where the Southern Slavs have always lived together with other ethnic groups, is cause for apprehension and, unquestionably, for general concern.

I had thought about the problems described in the book long before the outbreak of these tragic events.

The situation in Yugoslavia and in some of the other countries in Central and Eastern Europe demanded a more serious approach; what was needed, above all, were more timely and decisive actions. Such a tragedy could have been prevented in this way.

Our Foundation for Peace and Crisis Management was set up, exactly one year ago, with the aim of finding a solution to this situation. Experts from several European

countries work together in the Foundation in an effort to come up with possible approaches and plans for solving the crisis situations in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe. My book «Proposals for a new Commonwealth» came out in French and in English in the autumn of 1992. The book proposes the concept of a new union of the former Yugoslavian



**A. Yakovlev  
B. Vukobrat  
V. Zhurkin**

Republics. A discussion of its proposals was held at a conference in Belgrade at the end of the last year.

The Russian publication of the book came out in January 1993.

One might ask why this book was written, why was it published in Russian, why call it «Proposals», how should the terms «a New Commonwealth of the Republics»

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be understood? Other questions may also come to mind: for example, what category of publication should this work come under: utopias, fantasy, essays...?

I would like to make it very clear that my book is neither an end in itself, nor a fantasy.

I am Yugoslav, born in Zagreb to a Serbian family. I studied in Croatia, in Bosnia, and in Serbia. My wife is Muslim. I have relatives nearly all over the country. For all of these reasons, the purpose of my proposals is to seek solutions to the problems which have torn my country apart.

These proposals, which form the basis for the plan of action our Foundation is trying to set up, are not intended as the definitive solution to these problems. This plan resolves

as far as Kosovo in the South.

The provinces must have the right to define their own political and social structures having done this, however, they may delegate to State authorities certain rights and functions, but not the contrary.

Setting up «ethnically pure» state or regional entities is not admitted in the Yugoslavian territory.

We assume, moreover, that it will not be possible for the mini-States in the exYugoslavian territories to ensure either adequate living space for each nationality or a normally functioning economy, and so the responsibilities that they cannot assume separately will have to be delegated to a Commonwealth.



*D. Najman  
B. Vukobrat  
G. Yavlinski*

around one essential idea, which is to let the Yugoslavs themselves decide on their future.

Our proposed plan is based on the principle of voluntary regionalization within the borders of existing states. These regions or provinces, traced by History, united by economic and cultural links, have existed in the Yugoslavian territories for a long time, from Istria in the Northwest, to Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Sumadija (region of Serbia) in the center, and

These proposals can, I believe, be useful to other regions or countries.

In order to put them into effect, however, there is one preliminary condition which must be fulfilled: an immediate end to the extermination of the people living in the former Yugoslavian territories.

In conclusion, I would like to say I am deeply grateful to the Department of World Economic Problems and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences for having organized this gathering.

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# Alexander YAKOVLEV

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I read Boris Vukobrat's work at the manuscript stage and I have discussed the issues raised in this book with him. I find it to be of particular interest and significance that this book is being presented here and now. Its author suffers for Yugoslavia, is deeply concerned for the future of his country, and, significantly enough, he is now bringing out his book here in Russia.

conflict. All we are witnessing is a vulgar power struggle of the most ordinary kind between politicians who, in their hunger for power, disregard the people, have no mercy for them, scorn their aspirations and their present frame of mind. In order to obtain and maintain their power, these politicians pay little heed to material losses, to the destruction

There is a likeness between Russia, with its problems and its potential, and Yugoslavia. If we Russians do not pull ourselves together and do not consolidate our internal forces in order to overcome our afflictions, one day we too could find ourselves in the same situation as Yugoslavia. I personally believe that this is what the author of this book is trying to alert us to on the basis an analysis of the tragedy afflicting his own country.



This work, however, does not dwell on the past, but looks to the future. The author has just told us how he sees the future of his country, and it sounds somewhat familiar to us. The author describes what has happened in Yugoslavia, the terrible conflict between nationalities, and we at once make the association between that situation and what is happening right now within the territory of the former Soviet Union. Boris Vukobrat and I have had many conversations about these issues.

of the spiritual richness or even the national essence of a people. In their pursuit of power they will use any means, and not only legal ones. Their actions are mainly criminal and illegal. And I sincerely believe this to be the situation in Yugoslavia.

In my opinion - and I firmly believe this - there is no inter-ethnic or inter-nationality

These same motives are also behind all the nationality conflicts that we observe going around us here; They are dictated by the same intentions and the same goals : the underlying

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cause is the same ruthless competition for power, fueled by vanity and unbounded ambition.

In the end, however, these motives will undoubtedly be revealed in the light of History and things will be put back in order. Faces will be unmasked and we will finally



learn what the true aims were behind these affairs and behind the events of the present day, and which of them were achieved.

I would like to congratulate the author on his book. I am sure that its publication in Russian will be of great use to us. Thank You.



## Anatoli SOBTCHAK

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The publication of Boris Vukobrat's book is important for the post-communist world. This work is one of the first dedicated to finding a solution to a situation which concerns one of the most powerful armies in Europe: the armed forces of Yugoslavia were ranked third in Europe in terms of their combat force. Today we see self-destruction spreading throughout the territory of this former federal State, and we see how difficult it is to stop it.

I agree with the view that has already been expressed regarding the causes of this conflict and the former «Nomenklatura»'s attempts to remain in power. I too believe that at the present time there is no inter-ethnic conflict, no conflict between nationalities over there. This conflict has been artificially inflated by the mass media and by political forces which have played on the painful memory of certain World War II events, recasting them in a different version. Some of these political forces would be willing to put an end to this conflict, but they are unable to do so now because things are no longer determined by politics, but, rather, by the rules of war.

I consider Boris Vukobrat's book to be a serious and important warning for us, for we ourselves are confronted with the same dangers today. In spite of the events of the last few days - I'm talking about the special sessions of the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of People's Deputies of Russia - there are some who seem to forget that if events similar to those in Yugoslavia were to occur in a country which possesses an arsenal capable of destroying the entire world, we wouldn't be able to stop them.

And this is why I'd like to bring one particular aspect of Boris Vukobrat's book to your attention.

Academy Member Yakovlev has already said that this is a book which looks to the future. In it we find proposals and the elements necessary to building anew Commonwealth, which is of supreme importance to us. Alongside those principles which we generally recognize here and which are commonly found in the standard discourse and in political literature regarding the primacy of individual rights and liberties or the principles of the rule of law, this book brings up an essential element which we often forget about when speaking of the future of our country and of the post-communist world this concerns the integration of the new Yugoslavian Commonwealth into European life, into the European Community.

This integration, as Boris Vukobrat himself observes, cannot be achieved except on the basis of those economic and political principles on which this Community is to be built. Integration is possible only if these basic principles are homogenous. In economics, based on the principle of the market economy, and in politics, based on the principle of democracy, of the rule of law, and of the primacy of individual rights, it is possible to integrate the post-communist world into European life, into the economic, political, spiritual and cultural life of the rest of the world. Of all the proposals contained in the book, this one, it seems to me, is the most important. And, for us, it is essential.

I think Boris Vukobrat's book invites us to really think about our problems and to seek a solution to these problems : a pragmatic, realistic solution which will allow us to move the debates and the political struggle away from the opposition between the pro communist or neo communist forces and the democratic forces towards the positive transformation of society. Without this, no force will ever come out on top. As long as the federal power structures continue to contest the way power is exercised - as was done by similar structures in Yugoslavia two or three years ago - they will lose what they sought to reign over. The State they were hoping to take over and rule from will, in effect, no longer exist.

but also for having had the courage and the nobility to try to help his country and to have directed his work towards this end. I thank Boris Vukobrat for initiating this gathering and for having brought us together for the presentation of his work. Some of you may now understand why the group of people gathered here today, though close, is so diverse. The author of this book has given us an idea and a direction which we too can begin to think and work towards.

I would like to point out that G.K. Popov, G.A. Yavlinski, A.N. Yakovlev, S.S. Alexeiev and myself make up a group of people united into not only by our community of political opinions -with differences, no doubt, in our approaches to concrete situations - but also in friendship. We are also the co-authors of a book on the different peoples in the ex-Soviet Union in relation to issues concerning the Commonwealth and the union of the Independent States created from the collapse of the U.S.S.R. Our aim is to put together proposals which could help us out of the present crisis. We are also working on more long term proposals for the future.

Boris Vukobrat's book, in my opinion, deserves to be widely recognized, and I'm sure it will be.

Congratulations, Boris.



**B. Vukobrat**  
**A. Sobotchak**

I think that Boris Vukobrat's book offers us an excellent occasion to stop and think, once again, about what is happening in our country and what is happening in Yugoslavia. This book is a very serious warning, not only for us, not only for the peoples in Yugoslavia, but also for Europe and the entire world. Today we are going through a critical period which will determine the future of Europe and of the world on the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. And therein lies the essence of this book.

I would like to thank Boris Vukobrat not only for making a study of these problems,

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# Yuri LUJKOV

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I also would like to begin by congratulating Boris Vukobrat both on the occasion of his book's publication and on the position he has taken over the last few years with regard to the situation in Yugoslavia. He has worked towards trying to ease and to normalize the situation, towards finding a solution to the problems it poses.

would try out his socio-political experiments, which in the end would show the world that shouldn't be done in other countries or imposed on other peoples. Unfortunately, it seems to me that this is true not only for Russia, but applies just as well to another Slavic land, Yugoslavia. We Russians must attentively study and examine the phenomena and processes going on in this country, not

I have known Boris Vukobrat for a very long time. I know him as a businessman who has established important contacts in Russia and who is looking to develop them even further these days. He knows the difficulties we are going through at the moment. Over the last three years he has done all he can to help Moscow resolve its problems, in particular, those concerning food supplies.



I have also come to know Boris Vukobrat as a man actively involved in the social affairs of his country. He has shown great personal courage and responsibility in his actions in support of the land he comes from, of the people that he belongs to.

only to analyze them, but also to learn what we can from them.

The book that you and I are holding in our hands is very useful to us, too, here in Russia, and I think we should thank the editor «CopArt» for publishing this book in Russian.

Boris Vukobrat is a man who wants to see peace, happiness and prosperity come to his homeland, and in his book he exposes his ideas and makes related proposals. He charts a path towards prosperity for his country, and he outlines plans for the social and political organization which will set it on its way.

An intelligent person once said that Russia was chosen by God as the country where he

*B. Vukobrat  
V. Zhurkin  
G. Yavlinski  
Y. Lujkov*

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On reading this book, and after giving much thought to its main proposals, one is involuntarily reminded of similar reflections made by some of our political leaders concerning the most rational way to establish Russia as a new federal State, on how to set up the interaction between territorial units and a center, on how to resolve complex problems and to coordinate responsibilities within a multi-national State.

One of the political analysts present today published his proposals in the newspaper «Izvestia» last summer. They closely resemble those recommended by Boris Vukobrat.

The proposals of these men were conceived independently of each other, but both may be considered as analytical research systems

well thought out. But perhaps they need to be verified, as all these propositions do, through life itself.

I would also like to bring up the following points : Boris Vukobrat is a prominent personality on the French scene. He is independent and doesn't need to rely on outside financial sources to support his social and his personal actions. This is important because such financial sources quite often influence the sincerity, the interests, and the stands taken by those in politics, and this has a direct effect on their approach and their objectivity. In Vukobrat's case, we are speaking about a man who is totally independent, free, and courageous. He wants, for worthy personal reasons, the best for his country.



Thank you, Boris, for your courage and your nobility. I wish you much success in your affairs, in your decisions.

*G. Yavlinski  
Y. Lujkov*

and they offer, in my opinion, the needed solutions in an objective manner. The analysis is, without any doubt, of great value, for it reflects the individual opinion of autonomous persons or of competent groups of politicians. Such proposals and clarifications, in any case, deserve to be studied in detail.

I remain very cautious regarding the necessity of undertaking decisions, whatever they may be, in accordance with these proposals. They must, in fact, first be verified, evaluated and

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# Gavril POPOV

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It is clear to everyone today that the problem of nationality conflicts could become one of the most complex problems faced by Russia. With this in mind, Boris Vukobrat's book is thus important and directly concerns us.

I have thought about our problems and I have become more and more convinced that they are extremely complex and that we mustn't, under any circumstances, try to simplify them or we will never find the right or the needed solutions. There are certain processes, present on a worldwide scale, which seem to be at work here.

The first one is the rise of nationalism. The socialist countries are not the only ones troubled by national unrest it had also spread to India, England, Ireland, Spain and even peaceful Belgium is bordering on disruption. The problem is not as simple as merely putting it down to the communist «Nomenklatura». I personally link this process of intensified nationalisms, strange as it may seem, to the great positive processes involving the renaissance of human rights, individual freedom, etc... For personal liberation must, in fact, be accompanied from the very outset by national liberation: in other words, by the right to use one's own language, to dispose of one's own culture. This is a matter of concern for all peoples, without exception, and particularly for the Russian people.

The second process, which has arisen in connection with the others, is both interesting and very complex : this is the process of economic disintegration which followed the huge successes of integration in the past. Now, at the end of the century it is the disintegration factors which are again gaining ground. I will not go any further into this theme here, but I just want to say that



the reflections that Tofler makes in his book «The Third Wave» deserve our consideration. He predicts that for hundreds of years the human race will live through a period similar to the feudal period, which came after the great structures had broken up, dividing up society into a multiplicity of small economic structures. For him, this process is already apparent in robots - automatons capable of working autonomously, in personal

*G. Yavlinski  
G. Popov*

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computers, in the dozens of others means of production which require no texture, nor any big structures.

There is a direct relationship between this process and everything we are now coming up against. For us, the problems related to the socialist countries' changeover to a post-industrial society are very real. As far as I know, there is no existing theory concerning this changeover. One cannot just apply any International Monetary Fund model, or any other model, for that matter, in this period of transition. The attempts already made to apply previous configurations or standards are absolutely incompatible with this process. This is why it is necessary to work out the theory of the changeover period itself: and national problems are only a part of the future theory of this transition period.



*B. Vukobrat  
G. Popov*

The very complex problems of the USSR or Yugoslavia should be considered independently. Here, the conflicts involve ethnic groups which are totally different culturally, religiously and in many other ways; even when it concerns people from the same ethnic group - namely the Slavs - the problems turn out to be extremely complex: we see this, for instance, in Czechoslovakia. In the case of the Slavs, it seems to me that there is a very serious problem due to the fact that a number of these

peoples - who have achieved independence - have never had the experience of living under their own autonomous government. This is the case in Byelorussia, in the Ukraine, and in many other countries.

I would also like to add the following: the amplification of national unrest in our country, at the present stage, is first and foremost the product of the schemes of the neo-communist «Nomenklatura» and of the emerging power struggles. For the «Nomenklatura», power is an economic asset; therefore, they fight for power because they cannot imagine having any other economic resources. The notion that property can bring in assets without having any connection to power is totally beyond the comprehension of a certain category of the population. The ferocity of the power struggles in our states shows us, in fact, that those who are fighting

so relentlessly for power now will not be willing to give it up afterwards. In these new States, when one of these forces gets the power, it clings to this power after becoming nationally independent. Since power, for these forces, is the source of well-being, they don't care about anything else.

I'd like to add one other thing concerning the problems of the «dominant people». It will probably be necessary to choose another designation or another word. However, the real issue has to do with the situation of the people who will be the backbone of the structures that are now being reorganized. This applies to the Serbs in Yugoslavia, to the Russians here, but also to other peoples in many other countries. This is an issue which cannot be ignored, for these peoples have endured a lot in trying to support certain State formations, or other types of empires, and today they find themselves scattered all over their former

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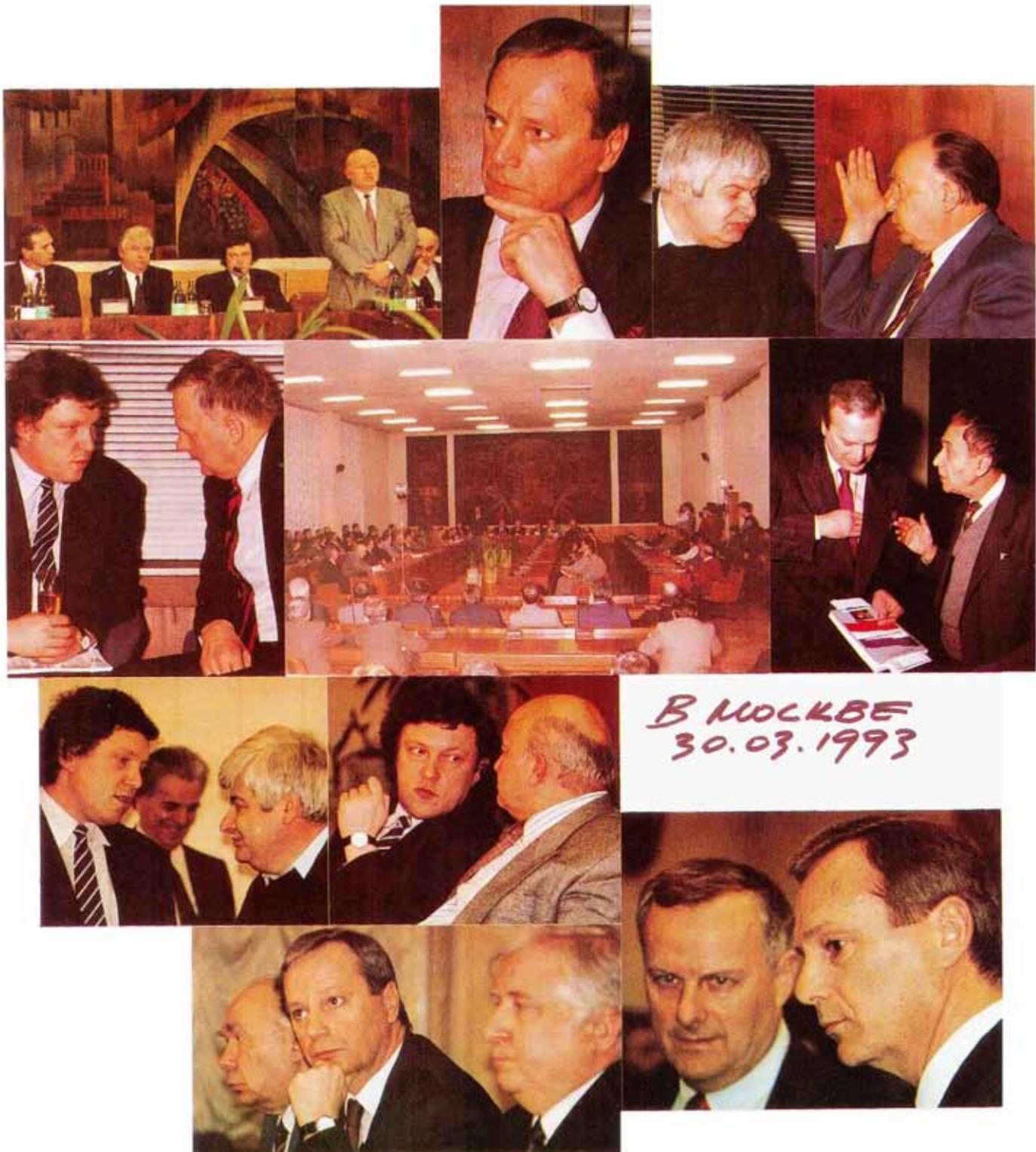
lands, part of which now has a different status. Ignoring certain factors specific to these peoples, or placing them on the same level as other peoples, would mean laying the groundwork for a series of new conflicts. Indeed, we need to understand that these peoples also have a particular situation which must be taken into account.

Many ideas come out of reading Boris Vukobrat's very interesting book, and I could say much more on this subject. I think it would be difficult to put into effect immediately - or even step by step - everything that he has written and recommended in this book. However, as always, the names of those who have tried not to sow dissension but, rather, to bring out the right feelings, who have thought about those elements that are common to us all, will be engraved forever in the collective memory.

Boris Vukobrat's book is one of these.



*G. Yavlinski - B. Vukobrat*



**T**here is, in the event related by this document, which took place in Moscow on March 30, 1993, a symbolic message.

The very place which hosted this meeting symbolizes intellectual courage and the independent spirit of the Academy of Sciences. Representatives from the intellectual and business worlds, politicians and visionaries, all came together to take up Boris Vukobrat's intellectual challenge. They were moved, no doubt, by this thought expressed by a French philosopher "In the twenty-first century, the world will be spiritual or will not be at all".

It is no coincidence that this event was sponsored by COPECHIM, an international company specializing in the oil and petrochemical products trade.

Boris Vukobrat, the company's President, who succeeded in making a relatively marginal enterprise into one of the strongest in its sector, believes that a thriving business involves not only the accumulation of riches and the expansion of professional influence, but, more and more, as we near the end of our century, a commitment to basic values. COPECHIM's innumerable humanitarian activities attest to this conviction, and it is further strengthened by the tragedy which has befallen the Yugoslav peoples.

The publication of «Proposals for a new Commonwealth of the Republics of Ex-Yugoslavia» is not, for Boris Vukobrat, an act of political engagement. It is the natural response of a man compelled by the urgency of the situation, to come to the aid of his suffering homeland.