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## **Bosnia and Herzegovina – State, or a specter for shady business**

### **Abstract**

*In Bosnia and Herzegovina (furthermore: B&H), as a state with a complex state organization, the opposing and particular national and social interests that exclude unity and social compromise are dominant. Such a state of society is significantly contributed by political parties in B&H, whose activities do not lead to a change in social conditions, but are exclusively aimed at struggle for votes and gaining power in order to achieve their own particular interests. If “parity democracy”, which is a distinctive feature of the political system in B&H as a specific form of pluralistic democracy in which the focus is on the group and not on the individual citizen, is applied as the only form of democracy in a society and state, then there is a real danger that individuals and the narrow groups usurp power and figure as the only “protectors” of the national interest, which is significantly influenced by the deficit of democratic tradition and the low level of education of the population in B&H. Consequence of the parity principle of decision-making in institutions of B&H is that national sovereignty is placed above people’s sovereignty, i.e. it leads to strengthening the power of national elites, therefore it is necessary to establish an appropriate balance between parity decision-making and majority*

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*decision-making in a manner that protects the rational functioning of the system, but at the same time eliminates any possibility of majorization. Establishing such a balance is significantly hampered by national and religious divisions, which are very pronounced in B&H, and the presence of such political and cultural divisions is an obstacle to the creation and functioning of civil society. One of the dominant factors slowing down the integration processes in B&H is the populist model of public policy, which implies a change of government institutions through democratic elections, and the removal of all institutional democratic restrictions on their rule after gaining power on the basis of "democratic electoral legitimacy". B&H needs a high degree of political socialization in order to build unity and common goals, and to promote integration processes.*

**Keywords:** *political parties; Bosnia and Herzegovina; democracy; parity; populism; autocracy; national and religious divisions; political socialization*

### **The specter of the state as an alibi for shady business**

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a political society, a society of different, contradictory and conflicting interests, both social and national. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it can be said that there is a "triangle" of power, a union of political, economic and financial oligarchy, or euphemistically "leading groups", which create the specter<sup>4</sup> of the state, as an alibi for "hunting in the dark"<sup>5</sup>. Organized corruption and crime (kleptocracy) are carried out in various forms of usurpation of power and privatization of public ownership (plunderous privatization) with complete disrespect of the law. Slogans and phrases in Bosnia and Herzegovina have worn out and no longer have a motivational charge. The state needs work, creation, not cheating. However, the devaluation of the economic, social and moral values in general is present. Bosnia and Herzegovina is increasingly a political provisional, a locus of agreement between the two entities, the Brčko district and the three constituent peoples, and the eternal problem of the others, it is a mechanical sum, not organic unity (after all, organic unity cannot be agreed, it can only be produced), possibly an alibi for failures and coverage for debts. In our country, the general interest

<sup>4</sup> Description of a ghost in mythology and folklore: "A ghost is described as a terrifying creature, which walks awkwardly and hides in dark places (in holes or abandoned houses) where it waits to grab, take away and devour its prey. The only way a ghost can be driven away is with strong light and noise". Špiro Kulišić et al, *Srpski mitološki rečnik* (Belgrade: NOLIT, 1970)

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, kleptocracy is increasingly present in Bosnia and Herzegovina, manifested as corruption and crime.

is not constituted on the functional-working, nor on the political-territorial principle. Neither the market nor the state functions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The interest of Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be the sum of particular interests, egoisms and particularisms. Unity in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not possible on the exclusivity and particularism of the national. Bosnia and Herzegovina can only function with its internal logic<sup>6</sup>, i.e. the interdependence of its entities and peoples. Collective consciousness as a cohesive force of community grows stronger in difficulties and in the face of dangers. But even that awareness must have positive social stimuli. One such stimulus must be a consistent social policy. Not the egalitarianism that people are otherwise prone to in crisis social situations, such as ours, but equal opportunities for all. The unemployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina are the most discriminated category of the population. Question: what can society do for the unemployed, needs to be radicalized with the question: what can employed (non) workers do for the unemployed? In the work itself, as the philosopher would say, is the great craftiness of the mind. The sacrifices we are forced to make cannot have significant and long-term effects, if they are not accompanied by stimulation of work and creativity. The willingness to sacrifice quickly wears off and dwindles if one does not feel, in the act and purpose of sacrifice, not only a prospect for the future, but also a tangible present. There is no authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina that could compensate for possible, even current disunity, which, among other things, necessarily follows from the Dayton confederate organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Political parties by their social structure, and that means by their awareness, are not parties of social compromise. Political parties must not be classic political parties that fight for power and votes, they must be parties that fight for people, mobilize them and lead them in battles to change social conditions, for more space for freedom, creativity and human dignity. The party, which is afraid of the temptations of the political government, and persistently proclaims its distance from it, is not up to the tasks that these times put on the “agenda”. It is therefore not capable of resolving them by other (non-political) means as an ideological, moral, educational force of society. The well-known idea of socialist workers in the former Yugoslavia is ... “that workers will continue to pay the bill for what they did not drink and for what they did not break until the Party (now political parties) and the Union stand on their side, without any hesitation and demagogy. As long as their top ranks are not closer to workers’ interests than to the state and their own seats. “

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<sup>6</sup> For Bosnia and Herzegovina to function, it must be accepted by all citizens, as a common guarantee of democracy, the rule of law and coexistence.

## **Power in Bosnia and Herzegovina - parity and democracy: national and religious divisions, political and cultural divisions**

It is historically known that no government, in any country and at any time has (nor by its very nature can have), the “internal legitimacy” of all. Political legitimacy survives on the constant justification and challenging of power, regardless of the means used by the holders or challengers of power. Every government is undemocratic, but every government is not equally undemocratic. The defense of the values of democracy should be built on that small but significant and sensitive difference. The principle of decision-making by parties does not satisfy some elementary requirements and achievements of democracy of private property (civil democracy), let alone modern types of democracy. There is no public interest in the internal logic of the political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is only agreement and determination of common interests in Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina is not meant as a political community, as something general in the world of special interests, but only as an opportunity to agree on particular interests around a measure of common interest. And even in that agreement, a particular interest is systematically preferred (and in practice absolute). That is why there is so much trouble and consumption of energy regarding determination and realization of common interests in Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The parity principle of decision-making in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which practically comes down to the right of veto) starts from the assumption of a single, homogeneous and non-contradictory national (entity) interest. National sovereignty in Bosnia and Herzegovina is increasingly taking precedence over people’s sovereignty. This absolutization of the national, parity principle is needed by national political bureaucracies, which thereby strengthen their power and strengthen the foundations of their reproduction. Our “parity democracy” is a form of pluralistic democracy, a democracy that respects the group but does not respect the individual. In such a complex, multinational community as Bosnia and Herzegovina, such a form of pluralistic democracy is unavoidable. However, if it is an exclusive form, if it is favored (and these tendencies are evident), if it pushes the individual as a subject of politics out of the political process, then the danger of usurping the power by individuals and narrower groups as “representatives and defenders” of the group-national interest is quite realistic. Such dangers and tendencies are helped by the circumstances of the insufficiently rooted democratic tradition in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as by the institutional political system tailored to the measure of “group de-

mocracy”. If the foundation of such democracy is a nation, then it is only one step from the usurpation of power to some of the variants of totalitarianism. Now, the majority principle has been suspended in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so we can talk about “veto federalism” in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The democratic principle of majority decision-making on all issues in institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina would devalue the principle of equality of entities as federal units, which means equality of peoples, and the tendency to absolutize the parity principle violates not only the democratic principle but also the fundamental principles of federalism. There are, of course, some issues, such as the fundamental issues of the determination of global relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina that must be addressed on a parity basis, in order to avoid any majorization and national discrimination. If this principle is applied too widely, it blocks any possibility of rational functioning of the system, or better said, the system becomes a scene of daily conflicts of particular interests. The output of such temporary condition is that everyone is at a loss. A balance needs to be found between majorization as the decisive power of the majority and a solution for the “tyranny of the minority”. A major obstacle to this balance is national and religious divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Political (national) and cultural (religious) divisions are recognizable features in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is a serious problem for the creation of civil society for a longer period of time. Our history was military and diplomatic history, not economic and cultural history. Here one must do without friends, but one cannot do without enemies, because the internal or external enemy is used as an integrative principle. National heroes and national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina are always in the forefront, while democratic compromises are neglected, which is not only a consequence of internal divisions, but also a consequence of the policies of great powers (Ottoman, Venetian, Habsburg) that adhered to the *divide et impera* principle (divide and rule). The basic features of political culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina are provincialism, patriarchal mentality and distrust of the other and the different. The low educational level of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a constant companion, regardless of political changes<sup>7</sup>. In the current state of society in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is very difficult to provide functionality and implement the Dayton Peace Agreement.

The Dayton Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a given that our arbitrary verbalism cannot change, but, on the contrary, can make the path to those changes more difficult. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina is an authoritative, formally firm, codified and written constitution, which en-

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<sup>7</sup> Duško Vejnović, *Politička kultura, dijalog, tolerancija i demokratija u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Banja Luka: Klub studenata Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci i Evropski defendologija centar, Banja Luka, 2014)

visages a federal state system, a republican form of government and a political regime of consociational democracy.<sup>8</sup> The Constitution is not a vision or utopia, it is a constitutive, realistic-programmatic act. This means, among other things, that its categories must be clear, they must indicate the real situation and be a suitable tool for a better understanding and change of that situation. If it ignores the reality, the Constitution cannot be a suitable framework and projection for something new. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a matter of agreement between two entities, the Brčko District and the three constituent peoples, so it survives only conditionally: as much, if and how the entities and constituent peoples agree. No form of forced unitary unity is acceptable to Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only unity of diversity is acceptable, unity in differences. If, however, we insist on specifics and differences, only on the particular, then unity becomes fiction or an alibi for separatisms and nationalisms. What makes Bosnia and Herzegovina a community in general, if not the awareness of community as an expression of its social being, therefore, a cultural, spiritual synthesis. It is not only the institutional normative order (“system”) that seems to make it a community. The current model of federalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although it contains essential elements of a confederation, is not (the only) obstacle to integration processes. All the more so, one should ask about other, “non-systemic” causes of the obvious phenomena of disintegration. They are certainly not economic — regardless of the fact that the economic consequences are not only noticeable but also catastrophic — because economic logic requires integration and concentration. These causes are primarily political. The will to power of political oligarchies prepares all moments of social life for its own use. When it needs a little nationalism for that purpose, it will deliver it pronto, when it needs a little higher dose of enemies, it will produce-invent them (or it will “invoke” already existing and known enemies). Increasingly drastic manifestations and eruptions of nationalism in our country have taken place and are taking place either under the direct baton of political oligarchies, or with their tacit consent. This consent is withdrawn only when nationalism escalates so much that it begins to threaten its mentors and instigators. Only the will to power is often short-sighted, the summoned spirit from the bottle knows how to explode uncontrollably and not to return to the bottle - from the servant it becomes the master.

The legitimation of a political will that has no foundation in the nation-citizens is sought to be gained in the nation. These are already legally unlocked

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<sup>8</sup> Goran Marković, *Ustav Bosne i Hercegovine. u: Zborniku Uvod u politički sistem Bosne i Hercegovine-izabrani aspekti* (p. 57-83) (Sarajevo: Sarajevski otvoreni centar i Fondacija Konrad Adenauer, Predstavništvo u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2009)

doors to nationalism, which is always waiting for its opportunity. The social crisis is very good for him. If once politics was defined as the wisdom of managing people and things for the purpose of achieving the highest values (truth, justice, freedom, holiness of life, etc.), then today it is defined as a naked and bloody struggle of social groups and individuals to conquer, preserve and increase the power, authority and benefits that go along with it. The essence of politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the struggle for the distribution and control of social power - politics is drama. The philosopher of the will to power said: the time has come to rethink what politics is, because as it is now and here, it is the place where all mental illnesses have scheduled a meeting. With sufficient reason, it can be said that mythical and pagan notions and beliefs are still very powerful in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, as a rule, come to life in moments of political and social crises. Whenever crisis situations recur, these mythical and pagan patterns are always renewed. In crisis situations, a teacher is not sought but a savior: a charismatic leader always has a chance when it is not possible to resolve the crisis in a rational way, which is the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.<sup>9</sup> Expert and scientific analyzes of the state of politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina agree on the lack of real social projects that would be presented and implemented by politicians. Unfortunately, it can be said that the slogan “Let’s forget about tomorrow” has turned into national and nationalist anthems in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Populism, autocracy and harsh rhetoric in Bosnia and Herzegovina have suppressed democracy, law, justice and legal procedures, and political elites are to a good extent in the function of, not using, but abusing power and introducing nations and peoples into so-called “voluntary slavery”.

### **Populism, autocracy and harsh rhetoric - danger for Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Bosnia and Herzegovina, like others, must position itself on the international market of knowledge, ideas, goods, capital and everything else. One of the existential threats to the further development of global “multilateral competition” in the coming period could be a broad inclination towards a populist model of public policy, which could make any request to create a transparent and accountable government of trust and credibility meaningless, a government that could successfully coordinate a new structure of change which is in sight. In conditions when it is difficult to expect social changes that do not exclude mass violence both in the developed democratic world and in periph-

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<sup>9</sup> Vejnović, *op.cit.*

eral communities, such a model of public policy could lead to the absence of any responsibility of the populist government.<sup>10</sup>

What is common for “modern” populists, and there are many of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is the change of government institutions through democratic elections, and then removal of all institutional democratic restrictions on their rule (free media, political opposition, institutional protection of minorities and individuals) in a “democratic” manner. This strategy legalizes the interruption of the democratization process and opens the way to the establishment of a “democratic authoritarian regime”<sup>11</sup> capable of implementing changes in public policy without legal (democratic) obstacles that prevented liberal democracy from effectively responding to urgent social problems.<sup>12</sup> Through the creation of a “democratic authoritarian regime”, and some of its elements are present in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is increasingly growing into a personal dictatorship of leaders and eliminating the democratic legitimacy of resistance against personal dictatorship, the way is paved for the dissolution of constitutionalism and democracy in an era of global structural change which poses the greatest threat to the development of democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The UK vote on Brexit and the election of Donald Trump in the United States are undoubtedly examples where a relatively well-informed electorate voted against their economic self-interest. When the Nigerian government announced a sharp reduction in fuel subsidies in early 2012, protests erupted across the country. Although subsidy cuts disproportionately harmed rich people, many protesters were poor. Why? Because the levels of corruption and mismanagement in Nigeria have been so high that fuel subsidies are the only way ordinary Nigerians see any benefit from the country’s oil wealth. When the government promised to use part of the savings from cutting fuel subsidies to compensate the poor, protests continued. Since the government has done little in the past to help the poor, why would it do so now?

<sup>11</sup> Democracy is often abused, used in the name of someone and for someone, as in the 1930s, when Hitler himself came to power through democratic elections, elected by the democratic will of the people, later establishing an autocratic form of government within a totalitarian regime. Hence, it turned out that democracy and fascism are often the face and reverse of modernization.

<sup>12</sup> William A. Galston, *The populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy. Journal of Democracy*. Johns Hopkins University Press. Vol. 29, No. 2, (April 2018), p. 8

<sup>13</sup> „Data on authoritarian regimes show that until recently, coups have been the primary threats to democracy. From 1946 to 1999, 64 percent of democracies failed because of such insurgencies. In the last decade, however, populist-fueled authoritarianization has been on the rise, accounting for 40 percent of all democratic failures between 2000 and 2010 and matching coups in frequency. If current trends persist, populist-fueled authoritarianization will soon become the most common pathway to autocracy. Data show that just under half (44 percent) of all instances of authoritarianization from 1946 to 1999 led to the establishment of personalist dictatorships. From 2000 to 2010, however, that proportion increased to 75 percent. In most cases, the populist strongmen rose to power with the support of a political party but then proved effective in sidelining competing voices from within.“ Andrea Kendall-Taylor & Erica Frantz, *How Democracies Fall Apart, Foreign Affairs*, Council on Foreign Relations, (December 5, 2016), p. 1-2



This populist threat to democracy comes precisely from the sphere of legitimacy of the democratic election of the populist authoritarian regime (leader), which on the basis of this “democratic electoral legitimacy” is authorized to make further political and economic changes without any public oversight. The populist regime (leader) derives from this “democratic electoral legitimacy” the legitimate right to abolish any possibility of public criticism which usually qualifies as political resistance of the opposition, or as hostile provocations of the “fifth column”, or as a conspiracy of national or religious minorities or migrant groups, which creates a climate of fear and mistrust in which new perspectives are opened for authoritarian regimes, in whose hands all political power is concentrated. Such concentrated political power enables the control of the legislative, judicial and executive branches, which opens the transformation of authoritarian regimes into a personal dictatorship of a populist leader. Today, this process is a recognizable political phenomenon in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the region and the modern world. Religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina is being abused and used for dirty political purposes.

The history of each religion shows and proves that from the very beginning there were different ways of believing and that all these beliefs satisfied the individual and collective needs and desires of the believers. Only when one form of belief was declared the official system (e.g. Christianity in the ancient Roman Empire), then all other forms of religion were considered a deviation from the true faith (mystics, monks, heretics, schismatics, etc.). In societies where the church is separate from the state, the law on religious communities treats all religious groups as equals. However, the specificity of the Islamic community (mind) is that the religious and legal norms (prescribed by the state) are in fact identical (Sharia law).<sup>14</sup> In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the society, the state and the party are often identified with religion and belief.

It is known that society is not the same as the state. The desires, needs, and interests of society are always broader and deeper than the power of the state to satisfy them through its institutions. Therefore, it should not be surprising that a good part of social life takes place outside the system of state institutions. Non-governmental organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be engaged in protecting society from the state, that is, to constantly prove that political life takes place in mutual relations of people, and not only in the relations of institutions - this free area of life should be protected from state control and coercion.<sup>15</sup> The ubiquitous hate speech in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be opposed.

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<sup>14</sup> Duško Vejnović, *op.cit.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*

Words can tell the greatest truths and the meanest lies. Today, words have become weapons - language and speech are a field of struggle for power and authority. Relations between the three political communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina are reflected in language and speech as in a mirror. These are words that have visible consequences: there are unpleasant, poisonous and deadly words that have a terrible effect on the human soul and collective memory. All diseases of these communities, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina, are first visible in language and speech - if language and speech are sick, then the individual and the community are sick. The ancient Chinese sage warned: when the language is corrupted, the people are also corrupted! Sick language and speech always precede sick societies: the first dungeons, the first crimes, and the first tombs are prepared in language and speech. The first mines are language mines. Even today, we in Bosnia and Herzegovina are not aware of all the diseases that short-sighted politics has introduced into language and speech.<sup>16</sup>

### **System and crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina - the problem of spiritual indolence**

The current model of Bosnia and Herzegovina contains essential elements of a confederation, but it must not be an obstacle to integration processes. The causes of integration and disintegration of Bosnia and Herzegovina are primarily political. The will to power of political oligarchies prepares all moments of complex social life for its own use. Increasingly drastic manifestations and eruptions of nationalisms and national exclusivities in Bosnia and Herzegovina have taken place and are taking place, either under the direct baton of the political oligarchies or with their tacit consent. The legitimation of a political will that has no foundation in the people is sought to be gained in the nation. Nationalism is very much affected by the social crisis in the functioning of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the decisive subject is not the citizen, but the nation. The civic is de facto subordinated to the national, to the state, the entity. All our divisions and national bunkers in Bosnia and Herzegovina from which we negotiate and agree have at their core, not trust and awareness of the community, but fear and mistrust, and in their background is the notion of national and political as private-property. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is difficult to take off the baggage of the past. Our spiritual space is still overcrowded with our traumas, hypersensitivity, revanchisms. Instead of the truth of the future, we are still making “balances of hatred”, so we are

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*

picking up partial “truths” of the past. This, of course, does not mean that black balance sheets should be forgotten, but they cannot and must not be a guide and a criterion for the future. For many years and decades in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the process of “disabling consciousness” lasted in ethnic, geopolitical and cultural areas, producing ignorance, primitivism and conflict at the expense of others, so that we would be ready (“trained”) for critical self-reflection. The problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the law of spiritual inertia as the only law<sup>17</sup> in the milieu of our political culture. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, one should be an opponent of all hegemony and unitarism, but also anyone’s separatism and nationalism is the greatest danger and “historical plague” for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The formula of unity in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a precondition for the independence, autonomy and modern survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The various paraphrases of that formula: nationalist, separatist, liberal, unitarian (and they are all “in circulation”), are working not only against Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole but also against the people in whose name they would speak. The people do not live comfortably, they only want “bread and games”, the people have a longer memory than individuals: they think from the collected historical experience, from the troubles, ups and downs of entire generations, so they do not care for things to be different, but to be better. For some today, Bosnia and Herzegovina means almost nothing, which is not good because it is an internationally recognized state and a place and agreement should be sought in it for all nations and national minorities, with maximum respect for human rights and freedoms regardless of race, religion and nation. Centralist-unitarian Bosnia and Herzegovina is not possible and it is destroying the foundations of this Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.

States based on national culture (as is the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina) can hardly fit into a new world order in which universal values, norms and rules of conduct apply. For these parts of the world, the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it can be freely said that people are divided by what they have in common: common origin, common customs, common institutions, common language, etc. Here we have a rich experience with the illogical fact that three peoples (Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks - Muslims) share the same language, because over 90% of words are the same, and several percents of the language are different. Intolerance and hatred do not cause big differences, but small ones, so psychologists are right when they talk about “narcissism of small

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<sup>17</sup> B&H is inhibited for social change towards the social progress of all, due to the partial interests of governance. By deepening the crisis in B&H, citizens have lost motivation for public action, participation in public affairs, and this activity has been left to a minority of pathocrats, who manage most normal people.

nations” - every tribe wants to be a nation. Despite all the social differences among individuals of the same nation, the nation is perceived as a fraternal community: in the national consciousness all inequalities are erased in the name of the unity of the nation! This is achieved by skillful manipulation of political symbols (flag, coat of arms, anthem, mythical heroes, etc.) because myth offers personal identity and collective identification with the community (national, religious, etc.): it answers the question of who I am and where my place is in the structure of society. A community based on a national myth opposes change: identity and change do not go together. These closed patterns of the archaic spirit are certainly an obstacle to broader integrative processes and tolerance between the three peoples and their cultures in Bosnia and Herzegovina: instead of democratic negotiations and co-habitation, each nation emphasizes its libertarian traditions and national heroes. - Fear of the living is regulated by the law, fear of the dead is regulated by the myth - the dead as the moral policemen of society. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, democracy is taught because the people have no experience with democratic forms of opinion, belief and decision-making: here the transition from the rule of one will (the will of the leader) to the rule of law is at work. In other words, the rule of fear is gradually being replaced by the rule of law. And that is a very difficult and long process, because the clan-tribal consciousness and way of life in this area can hardly rise to the level of universal values, norms and rules of conduct. If Christianity and Islam as universal religions have failed to eradicate this pagan way of thinking and acting for so many centuries, then even today we cannot hope to have more success in the near future.

We in Bosnia and Herzegovina have a very important and difficult task ahead of us. We have to learn dialogue and tolerance, because all our troubles stem from the fact that we do not know how to communicate with each other. Only by proper upbringing and educating for dialogue and tolerance can the awareness be gained that the other man and our culture are our complement and not our hell. He who is not patient cannot be a modern man: he has not yet reached the height of a man! In order to achieve that, he must listen to different voices of time and different ways of speaking, because only then he will have the ability to compare, choose and create. A truly dialogical way of thinking and living would result in no dogmatists among thinkers, no fanatics among believers, and no tyrants among politicians.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Duško Vejnović, *op. cit.*

## **Where are we and how to proceed? The problem of (ir) responsibility**

“I’m an optimist, because you can’t go on like this.” The theory is called upon, even forced to prove and defend its practicality, to help eliminate or at least mitigate the consequences of the misfortune from the mentioned metaphor. But from the standpoint of our professions, disciplines, our prohibitions and plots of science and politics can we say like Rousseau did: I believe I can solve this question. All changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina are accompanied by the growth of the bureaucratic, parasitic apparatus, which multiplied by the logic of self-reproduction, looking for new spaces and possibilities for its expansion and finding them in new systemic changes. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to establish the external authority of the system. This primarily means establishing a respectable system of accountability. Responsibility is a derived category. To be responsible means to perform one’s job, one’s function conscientiously and professionally. To be irresponsible means to act differently, it means to be able to act differently. And “being able to act differently” is an indication of a system that “does not work” for the proclaimed social relationship and its fundamental values, but on the contrary endangers them. Society is an alibi for all kinds of usurpations, both usurpations of government and property. The consumer syndrome has taken over our social organism so much that we can justifiably claim that our society is a paradigm of consumer behavior. Things must not be taken from workers to be given to non-workers. There are too many universities, academies of sciences and arts and too many students in the small area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are too many scientific institutes, and unfortunately there are few practical results from all of the above. In a little while, every one of our scientists, researchers, experts (or, as Lj. Ršumović would say: “Secretary for the South Wind”) will be able to hang a foreign license around his neck in addition to his diploma and title. What a millstone around the neck of society in Bosnia and Herzegovina that is. It is expensive and often uncertain to invest in one’s own intellect, but buying someone else’s intellect is many times more expensive. It must not be our basic motto to incorporate foreign intellect into Bosnia and Herzegovina as a primary one for development and prosperity. We must cooperate with those who know, can and have, and not close ourselves to our borders and our slogans. The energy of science and knowledge can alleviate and even compensate for the lack of any other form of energy. The fragmentation of scientific research institutions and programs not only weakens the possibility of significant research, but eludes any evaluation. And

here, unfortunately, science follows politics: each section is a sovereign entity, everyone is a criterion and a reference point for itself. It is necessary to develop the third mission of the university. The third mission of the university consists of two dimensions - social, civil and economic, which should be equal. Therefore, in addition to education and research, universities should be more engaged in the community.<sup>19</sup> Universities in Bosnia and Herzegovina should serve its needs, because the story of the university is inseparable from its responsibility to society and the economy, while on the other hand, what is new is the depth and scope of interaction between communities and universities. The third mission of the university implies both a social and economic dimension, so that they should be equally important. It is based on private-public partnerships, cooperation between universities, the economy and the state.<sup>20</sup> Dominant technologies become technologies of economic, political, cultural and any other domination.

### **Political corruption suppresses political socialization**

Republic of Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina are entering a new phase of (non) politics in which they need to get out of ideological trenches. Dramatic conflicts and divisions in political parties, schisms, negotiations and trade are being done under wraps so everything is blurry, gray and hidden. Political corruption of the coalition and betrayal of principles in the parties are a reality, therefore, coalitions of everything and everyone. Political campaigns are turned into orgies of emotions in order to divert attention from real issues, and in order to paralyze even those few intellectual, cerebral, mental abilities. A moral washing machine is needed for politicians. Experiences from all fights against corruption confirm that it is not easy to declare war on immorality in politics and political immorality and get out of it alive. From legitimate and reasonable demands for pure politics, a small step leads to the other side, in purity in politics. In politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the majority are losers, with due respect for certain individuals and groups, because living with principles, honestly and smart is the fastest way to poverty. It is anti-civilization with all human values violated. The struggle against blindness and ignorance, which is spreading and threatening to annul all values, takes

<sup>19</sup> Duško Vejnović & Vladimir Stojanović, Visoko obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini na raskršću treće misije razvoja Univerziteta, In: Zborniku radova *Bosna i Hercegovina u izazovima različitosti* (Visoka škola Union u Mostaru, Udruženje Sport za sve, Banja Luka i Evropski defendologija centar Banja Luka, 2019)

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*

us back to the beginning, to the question of the relationship between good and evil, towards morality. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a moral renaissance is necessary in all structures and at all levels. The example of humanity in contrast to so many inhumanities unfortunately does not pass for now. A small lamp should turn the great darkness into nothingness, so that “evil comes and goes, and good returns to good.” Political (in) security, political corruption, changing jerseys from party to party, use and abuse of power are a great danger for the people and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Glory always belongs to the martyrs, never to the executioners. All around us and among us, there are those who want to see us torn and divided. Everyone should be called to spiritual vigilance and wisdom. All those who divide peoples from the struggle for power, regardless of race, religion and nation, because of their pride and vanity, should know that when justice arrives, God’s justice will come to them. Politics is a sharp game when it is played in the first league, and a good team is not born but must be made, envy is a matter of moral disorder, and jealousy is a matter of external disorder. We can build unity in the Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region only on the unity of goals. In order to achieve that, moral revival and maximum political socialization are necessary.

Political socialization is the process of shaping and transmitting political culture (symbols, values, norms, rules, experiences, knowledge, skills - political memory) to new generations. This must begin at an early age, if society and even Bosnia and Herzegovina want to be open, democratic and stable later. Political socialization is in the function of maintaining, strengthening and stability of the political system - reaching consensus on key issues (obedience to legally elected authorities). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a number of generations have grown up and matured in an authoritarian political culture, so it is difficult to expect them to reorient themselves to a democratic way of thinking, believing and behaving, because it is a completely different scale of values and norms. Primary (family) and secondary (school, peer group, political parties, mass media, etc.) factors of political socialization will have to work actively to make this transition from a tribal to a democratic type of society in Bosnia and Herzegovina - from particular to universal norms. From what and how they work (for example, the mass media), it could not be concluded that they are on the way to accomplish these tasks. The ruling three cliques in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the so-called elites) are creating the public opinion they need: to have a privileged position (monopoly) in the media means the same as having a public on your side! Public opinion is no longer listened to, it is created: the media image of reality replaces reality itself! He who has power and authority, who has access to information and

who knows the techniques of persuasion, can convince anyone, to think, believe and do anything.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Vejnović, *op. cit.*