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POLITICAL STABILITY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA PREREQUISITE OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: Bosnia and Herzegovina is going through a political change in a way that directly affect changes in people's lives. This primarily relates to the adjustment to the new democratic institutions, rules of conduct, the new position and role in the structures of social and political development of the society.

Political stability, i.e. instability in Bosnia and Herzegovina makes its political system complex, with cumbersome administrative apparatus, the inefficient and corrupted majority, which imposes a reform movement aimed at removing many barriers, misunderstandings and instability. Eliminating misunderstandings and barriers should be carried out through democratic dialogue among all political subjects in order to create the conditions for a stronger and more comprehensive social development.

Key words: *Political system, political stability, political and economic reform, social development*

In accordance with the dialectical principles, it can be said that nothing is constant as change and thus are subjects of change of society structures and its units. If a society is stable it means that it has changed its internal structure according to the needs and challenges of time. Experience shows that the processes within social structures can take place in a positive or negative direction, as the processes of progress or setbacks. This requires constant monitoring and examination of the relationship of certain elements of the society structure, above all politics and economics that have strong momentum of fast society development.

Significant changes in the political system often bring irreparable social losses to one part of the citizens and large gains to other. They require great efforts of all society, and their adjustment to present time and challenges. In a complex state, it is clearly highlighted that differences, in the positions and interests of the parts, causes a different perspective and attitude toward changes. Therefore, it is difficult to achieve and maintain political consensus of the main political entities about key reform directions. It is visible from practice, that at the beginning it is possible to reach the agreement

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based on the needs for appropriate changes but when implementation process starts, political project destabilization often follows and moves a step up and step back. This is evident in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the governments of all levels immediately after the inauguration lose enthusiasm for these changes. Social reality and interests of citizens are seeking actions that will ensure political stability needed for the reform process and accelerated development².

Today, political systems all over the world are in a wide range between authoritarian and liberal-democratic. In order to sort out democratic deficit, or lower intensity of democracy, with term democratic despotism or authoritarian democracy. Samuel Huntington warned of the danger that "political leaders can be elected by democratic means but they do not have real power. Unless the most powerful makers of collective decision are not elected by elections, the political system is not democratic."³ These are all problems that directly or indirectly may affect the political stability and rapid social development.

NECESSITY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

For every country, therefore for Bosnia and Herzegovina too, the issue of development is not only an economic issue because it represents a key political issue of the framework in which an effective state organization, sustainable economy, adequate internal administration should be organized to create the conditions for accelerated development. The development is significantly conditioned by political stability within work of a political system, with nice overall economic relations and European Union legally compliant laws and regulations. States with intention of European integrations, according to documents of the European Union, must make an effort to adapt its structure and interests to comply the required views for state candidate. A special place takes the Copenhagen criteria adopted by the European Council in 1993, which today represents a key document for negotiations and accession of new member states to the European Union. These are three key criteria⁴:

- Political: to ensure the stability and functionality of State institutions that should ensure democracy, the rule of law, respect for human, national and religious rights and protection of minorities;
- Economic: to ensure the functioning of the market economy - an economy that will be able to cope with the competition in the EU and thereby contribute to the social development of the country;
- Legal: to provide adjustment of legislation and retrieve the entire EU law as well as the obligations of membership towards the objectives of political, economic and monetary union.

Thus, set up of Copenhagen criteria, for potential candidates for admission into the European Union represents a framework in which the state must act and determine its activity to the Stabilisation and Association Process

² http://sociologija.webnode.com/promjene_i_razvoj_društva

³ Huntington Samuel P., (2004), Treći talas, demokratizacija na izmaku dvadesetog vijeka, Politička kultura - Zagreb i CID – Podgorica, s. 16.

⁴ <http://www.dei.gov.ba/dokumenti/?id=4718>

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obligations, arising from pre-conducted way of life in candidate countries, in order to accelerate the process of admission to the society of equal members of the Union.

It is undisputed, that the policy formulates goals of social development in accordance with the constitution and laws that represent the framework for the activities of all social and political subjects. We have witnessed that political structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina are not doing enough to create political stability, and are primarily oriented toward success in elections and securing political power. General situation calls for a qualitative changes in policy because the new system of values imposes the new political relations in the world and that requires prescribing administrative standards and their political approval in actual practice. This essentially means dialogue and agreement of the main political entities to identify and develop goals and strategies of development for all segments of society. Past events have shown us, that agreement is difficult to reach because of the different starting points of political power, but also due to their different interests.

The key is to determine the field of economy and introduce new ways of doing business, in line with modern trends of the economy and the free market to create the conditions for the effective functioning of the intensive competition in the Union. For such commitment it is necessary to adopt appropriate laws and regulations to ensure efficient economic management, integration into the international division of labor and the creation of space for stronger investment projects in BiH i.e. entities. All that seeks to regulate political control of not only economic obligations, but also adapting the decentralized global market through which one can achieve stronger development. This cannot be effectively addressed without a stable political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ensuring the political stability in the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina implies the development of efficient entities and common institutions or elements of the political system, by which democracy will be achieved, rule of law, respect and protection of human, ethnic, gender, religious and minority rights; the development of an efficient market economy capable to face the challenges and competition within the European Union and other developed countries; harmonization of laws and regulations in accordance with the *acquis* of the Union and commitments that will arise from the nominations and possible membership, to meet the Copenhagen criteria.

Today we are witnessing that the main political actors, within the segmented groups, are cumulated on the main functions on the basis of ethnic, regional or any other position in the company. The division of power between elites may be an aggravating factor when deciding on important social issues, particularly issues of social development. Because of this, political entities seek a balance between competition and cooperation, trying to reach agreement on key issues⁵. Consensualism is not an ideal model, and in democratic arguments there are perfectionists arguing that no democracy can survive without political stability and stability in the deeply divided society

⁵ Milovan. Milutinović: Konsenzualna demokratija u složenim državama, časopis „Svarog br 8/2014. NUBL, s. 51-55

can only be achieved in a manner of deviations from the ideal democratic norms, bearing in mind, that the opposition in homogeneous societies is not the same as the opposition in heterogeneous societies. Vučina Vasović says "Segment leaders have the difficult task, on the one hand to achieve political accommodation of making concessions to the leaders of other segments and on the other hand, to maintain the trust of their constituents ..." ⁶. There is criticism that the government set up of large coalition means slow decision-making and sluggishness in carrying out the necessary reforms, and by mutual veto certain groups bear the risk that the decision-making process can be blocked in a state which necessarily seeks solutions through appropriate compromises.

Liberal-democratic model of political organization is considered to be suitable for solving many internal problems as it strives to establish institutional relationships between political forces, social actors and the distribution of power in society on a fair basis. This model shows it is not equally acceptable and functional in all circumstances and all of societies, but it should provide the necessary conditions. They should turn to make results for the prosperity of communities that adopt and apply it where they are opposed, and lead to inequalities and political instability, which means they need to find the right deal through an agreement of political subjects.

Democratization is the process of building a democratic society through the transition processes from one form of government to another. According to Huntington the "set of transition from non-democratic to democratic regimes that occur in a specific period of time and which are numerically significantly outperformed by the transition in the opposite direction during this period ... and implies to liberalization or partial democratization of the political system that are not yet fully democratic." ⁷

Stability represents viability and reproduction of political order which depend on several factors, especially on degree of support that the political authorities have among citizens. The institutionalization of liberal values leads to deeper changes than it appears at first glance as to be expected. The influence of liberal values to stabilize or destabilize the political community depends on the dominant political culture, history, social and political characteristics, etc. In addition to well known positive effects there are negative consequences as well, especially when fast and inadequate liberalization lead to deep social divisions including secession; apathy and abstinence of citizens' and political actors and great social inequality and ultimately social unrest. In order to minimize the adverse effects it is necessary to achieve greater accountability of public office holders and the government as well, and of all political actors in the state of society and measures to ensure rapid social development.

This presupposes the establishment of an adequate system of liability, harmonized with rules for certain social processes at different levels of government, as a precondition for political stability in different segments of the political entities. Time is structured in a rational system of roles and rules

⁶ Vučina Vasović (2008): *Savremene dmokratije*, tom I, Beograd, Službeni glasnik, s. 47.

⁷ Huntington, Treći talas, demokratizacija na izmaku dvadesetog vijeka, s. 20.

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and introduced social (moral, political and institutionally defined) behavior that is a necessary base for the effective functioning of the institutions. Prescribing and acceptance of responsibility, both in terms of guilt and punishment, as well as merit awards and is an important stabilizing factor that contributes to the determination of these rules to eliminate political and social arbitrariness with the application of new and as well as correcting past injustices. Politics is the leverage of such a process which must be given special attention of all political subjects. The problem is that the political field in such a way could never self-stabilize because the necessary synergy of political subjectsactions. Reform of the legal and judiciary system is one thing and perhaps the most important part of the process is how to endure.

For effective political communication, in accordance with elementary political culture, is very important for the public as a field in which to formulate a community, as well as justify and accept the rules and principles of social and political behavior. This is an important prerequisite for creating a secure climate to build social trust and may be exercised only by opening the channels of effective political communication that will give citizens the possibility to participate in the formulation and stabilization of social and political behavior. This process depends on the political initiative and cultural patterns in order to channel effective political communication of political entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The concept of political culture according to Milan Podunavac unite elements of relevant discursive strategies in contemporary political theories of liberalism, communitarianism, republicanism, as well as various traditional fields⁸. Thus, the theoretical status of political culture can be seen in multiple premises: First of all, the political culture is a model of subjective political orientation within the entire nation, its individual parts or different party affiliation. Second, the components of culture consists of cognitive, affective and value judgments and recognition of the needs of changing political realities. The third view is that the content of political culture result in youth, education and media impact and creation of the ruling powereffects.

Professor Pero Maldini says that the political culture stems from a subjective attitude toward the subject of politics. What is the market for the economy that is political culture to democracy? Democratic culture is a mixture of political cultures that balance among individualism, egalitarianism culture and culture hierarchy. As such, it has different intensities and forms of manifestation in different political systems, which is very important for the overall political stability and projection of a social development of a society⁹.

POLITICAL SYSTEM - ELEMENT OF POLITICAL STABILITY

The political situation in a country can be considered as the sum of relations between different social and political subjects, where the institutions of government function and where adequate political and economic systems developed. A prerequisite for the efficient functioning of the different levels of

⁸ Milan Podunavac, *Politička kultura i političke ustanove*, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, s. 23

⁹ Pero Maldini, *Uvod u političku znanost*, Sveučilište Dubrovnik, s. 27

government in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a good political communication that leads to agreement of all political structures about social and political key issues. Based on analysis we can say that the political stability or instability significantly affects internal and external factors, i.e. relations in that particular country, but also influences from the close and distant environment¹⁰.

The political system of BiH has partycratic characteristics as political parties and their oligarchy dominantly influence the electoral process and the selection of parliamentarians, and thus the composition of the legislature and the executive. As follows that there is a gap between the normative and the real, because of the basic idea of the electoral system is that voters have a significant impact on the choice of parliamentarians¹¹. The principles of parliamentarism, taken from the constitutions of Western representative democracy, are ignored and we have concentration of power in the party structures. It is a condition of the political system, so we can say that the political elite fail to align constitutional solution to the political practice, which produces the crisis, which consequences inhibit basic functioning of Parliament, and thus the development of modern society in B&H.

Political stability, i.e. instability in Bosnia and Herzegovina makes its political system very complex, with bulky administrative apparatus, inefficient and corrupted, and in this sense it is necessary to make significant reform changes, otherwise, it will continue to be a source of many misunderstandings and to encourage appropriate factors of instability¹². In this sense, inadequate political communication and consciously closing eyes against criminalization of some prominent politic, power and politicians who carry out public functions, makes this situation even more precarious.

Political parties are the backbone of democratic government, with direct influence on decision-making in the most important political institutions of government which ultimately affects the overall development. The ratio of political power and political behavior of the structure shows that the reasons and problems, from the recent past in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are not exceeded. The facts show that 20 years since the end of the civil war with a certain normalization of the situation, has not significantly changed balance of political forces in the construction of a common society. All three national constituents supported by forces from the region and some international circles, remained at the previous starting point without significant change of political views, which makes it difficult to agree on common goals.

Such instability imposed the process of tendering party propaganda in which the focus is directed towards a political rally instead of addressing the crucial issues of development and creating conditions for a better life for people. To understand the essence, it is necessary to set the foreground ratio of the Constitution as an annex to the Dayton Peace Agreement and the existing

¹⁰ Milan Radoš: Međunarodna politička komunikacija, časopis „Svarog“ br. 2/2011, Nezavisni univerzitet, Banja Luka, s. 54

¹¹ Zoran Kalinić: Parlamentarizam u Bosni i Hercegovini i njegova kriza, časopis „Svarog“, br. 8/2014, NUBL s. 37-38

¹² Milovan Milutinović: Uticaj političke stabilnosti na održivi razvoj, časopis „Svarog“, br. 3/2011, NUBL Banja Luka, s. 210

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laws to a society as a whole, which will cover all its political, economic, cultural, historical, ideological, technical and other elements. In Bosnia and Herzegovina today, there are different views that also refers to the political system that makes more complex political situation and makes it difficult to implement measures that ensure development. Among the political forces there are large discrepancies about the form of state organization (federal or unitary state) and form of political regime (majority or consociational democracy), because the starting point of national power is completely different. Serbian political parties are seeking a foothold from the parties of the Croatian national corpus in the constituency of people, having a similar views about the political system which will ensure complete equality and the prevention of recurrence supremacy, due to a recent civil war.

For effective constitutional and legal state, the existence of five elements that show the completeness of the society are: "First, there must be development condition for a free and active civil society. Second, there must be relatively autonomous and respected political society. Third, the rule of law, guaranteeing civil liberties and freedom of association. Fourth, there must be a state administrative apparatus of the new democratic government that can be adequately used for the realization of certain political goals. Fifth, there must be institutionalized economic society. "However, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is full of absurdity, because these elements vary in interpretations from different subjects, and there is no interest within political subjects for consensus in finding optimal and commonly acceptable solutions¹³.

The rule of law functioning is important internal issue, particularly for the respect of human rights and freedoms and the exercise of legal certainty and equality of people and citizens. The rule of law is a prerequisite for creating a desirable legal environment in the field of economy, which may encourage or restrict development. The legal system has to deal with the dominant regulation of basic political and economic issues, which will provide legal certainty of investment and lead to an increase in foreign investment, and without them, there is no stride in economic development. Inadequate reform of the judicial system in BiH and different standards of law enforcement lead to the lawcases which applies different qualifications of individual behavior, which is in contrary to the legislative attitudes and practices of the European Union that complicates political and general situation. It is because of the different views of the reform of the judicial system which did not provide security and adversely affect social and economic development.

The nature of the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina dominantly determines the character of the BiH society, which is deeply divided into three sub-cultures, that shape three subsystems. Division leaves a deep imprint on the functioning of the institutions of the political system, which is still dominated by the national political elites in all political processes. The complexity of BiH caused the adoption of consociational democracy, which is based on broad coalition government composed of three national political elites, parity composition of important institutions, the right

¹³ Linz Juan J, Alfred Stepan (1998), *Demokratska tranzicija i konsolidacija*, „Filip Višnjić“, Beograd, s. 20-21.

of veto and a broad consensus in decision-making, with the constitutional mechanisms that prevent the possibility of being outvoted by certain nations.

However, in such condition, some political actors are trying to marginalize it and impose attitude of a civil society with applied paragraph: one citizen, one vote, which threatens the collective national rights of the people and makes the situation even more complex. An additional problem in BiH's request for a new political community, is a request for a third entity, supported by Croats. All this creates a precarious situation, however, to remove misunderstandings and barriers through democratic dialogue all political subjects must find common solution.

The important features of the political system is a constitutional and political position of the collective head of state, whose responsibilities are greater than the competencies of the heads of state in modern parliamentary democracies. Presidency, runs foreign policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and has an important role in the adoption of the state budget, because with the Council of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly proposes them among other responsibilities. The Parliamentary Assembly shall enact laws, which among other things, regulate numerous economic issues of relations with foreign countries, which is important for social development.

The Council of Ministers has a specific position in the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to propose legislation to create conditions for legal regulation of various aspects of social life under the jurisdiction of the common institutions. To ensure the implementation of economic measures that provide development, encourage foreign investments and repayments of loans to international financial institutions. Past events have shown, that it is often the work of the Council of Ministers that was blocked by attitude of national parties, and it is the main reason why the whole country became a hostage of megalomaniacal requirements of some national circles. All this destabilize political situation and directly affects development.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL STABILITY

Political stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina is of importance and it is being achieved by adjusting the interest of all parties with the general interest which allows a better life and full equality of people and citizens, and development as well. Political stability does not only depend on the maturity of the political parties, but their will to resist the dictates of political neglects that exceeds the level of bad taste and causes constant misunderstandings. In addition, one of the reasons for this is mixing of foreign factors, which are often placed in support of one side and causes a complicated political situation. A particular problem is the hints of the press and non-governmental circles about new 'Dayton' and euphoria about Republic of Srpska "as a genocidal creation" that should be abolished, and the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be reduced to a marginal group without constitutionality, which was the cause of conflict in the early nineties in the first place.

Political instability in BiH causes a drop of the credit rating for the country, the continued stagnation of economic development and the lack of needed foreign investments. Due to the small and open economy, which is still

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largely divided by crisis is at first felt by banks originating from the countries affected by the crisis, because it produces a reduction of sources of funding for banks in BiH, and the unwillingness of the international financial institutions to support specific development projects. Increase of interest rates and greater restrictions on banks' credit approval hinder business. Because, recovery from the crisis is a long process and requires a fresh financial capital, political instability and the failure of implementation of political and economic reforms threatens development. That is why the Council of Ministers together with entities must establish joint measures and put all available resources in the function of social development. Significant available resources in BiH should be used primarily in the energy sector, the production of healthy food, tourism and public works, and these benefits should be used. However, all this is not possible without the financial support and new foreign investments. It is clear that we should implement reforms that will reduce public spendings and balance the budget entities, for BiH to be more attractive destination for foreign investors, but this does not happen without functioning of institutions.

It is not difficult to conclude that because of the constant confrontation between political and national forces political stability has not been achieved yet, which is an important prerequisite for economic development. Credit rating agency often send alerts in assessing the credit rating of Bosnia and Herzegovina, pointing out to the weakening of its position from stable to negative, which make complex situation even worse. Negative credit rating caused by political problems, due to the lack of the realisation of political and economical reforms, prolonged the candidate status of the European Union. The general elections of 2010 and 2014 showed that the nationalist rhetoric and the politics of fear were well rewarded, and produced a crisis increase, which negatively affects the functionality of the institutions. Accordingly, some political forces renewed nationalist rhetoric in recent years and it has been geared towards deepening of ethnic divisions and the denial of the Dayton Peace Agreement, especially in the constitutional framework that directly undermines the country's political stability, and thus curtail efforts for rapid social development and fulfillment of the roadmap towards European integration.

Creating of the political instability and general insecurity, is a practice for some political structures that constantly raise tensions and divert attention from the socio-economic problems and unfulfilled campaign promises, thereby continuing ethnic homogenization of the BH population¹⁴. This requires the development of acceptable political stability based on democratic processes and institutions of BiH put into operation in accordance with its constitutional responsibilities. Priority should be given to the work of official institutions instead of the ruling party. In addition, it is necessary to remove the scare tactics toward citizens done by nationalist rhetoric and focus on socio-economic problems and requirements of the European Union which are primarily directed towards faster integration, i.e. improving the conditions for development.

¹⁴ Milovan Milutinović, *Političko komuniciranje u Bosni i Hercegovini*, časopis „Svarog“ br. 2/2011, Nezavisni univerzitet Banja Luka, s. 67-86

Bosnia and Herzegovina is in some circles labeled as a "hybrid democracy", implying that it combines democratic and non-democratic forms of government. Practice shows that the paradoxes of democracy in BiH are numerous and constantly growing. At the beginning of the 21st century, we met with the fact that BiH is the only European country with working protectorate where the High Representative illegitimately imposed laws, abolished the legislative decisions of people's representatives, dismiss elected political representatives of the people and arbitrate in local political processes of political subjects. In a word, the democratically elected and legitimate representatives of authorities and institutions are subordinated to the interests of the supervisors who, according to some analyses, do not seem sufficient to maintain a stable political situation and provide the conditions for accelerated development of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Changing relations in the political scene in BiH will provide political stability and generate confidence and certainty about the future and better lives of people will erase differences. The life of people today is faced with security challenges that impose the need for the elimination of all forms of threats as well as planned joint actions of all forces. The fight against terrorism, arms control, total protection of human and minority rights and the fight against human trafficking, corruption and all forms of crime is an important task for all subjects in BiH. The data suggests that reduced economic growth will increase poverty, with necessary measures for its elimination, because in a way it indirectly threatens political stability. Many believe that without achieving a higher level of development it is not possible to establish a stable and efficient social structure and political stability, while continued structural reforms are key to attract foreign investments.

The fight against crime and corruption must be a priority concern and responsibility of all political actors and institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of different views and efforts of alienated power centers. No matter how it is presented in a public, the fight against crime and corruption must be planned action and continuous task of structures and institutions. It is very important to put an end to illicit financial flows, which can significantly reduce the overall performance of the development and discourage the behavior of agents of the society in the implementation of commitments aimed at social development.

A particular problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina is inadequate attitude of political structures towards religious communities whose activity goes beyond the context of secularism, which must be taken into account, in particular to meet the requirements of European integrations. Also it is a risk, the strong support of certain Bosniak circles and part of the Islamic Community to radical Islam whose activity is expanding. Practice shows that the militarism of radical Islamic circles is strongly felt in some areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina and represents a serious threat to the safety of the general population, private and state property. To eliminate these hazards require the action of all the subjects of security and citizens in order to ensure political stability.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is moving through political changes not only in the political sphere but also through all areas of social life. In this regard, the

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change of the political system involves primarily the multiple changes in the actual lives of people. This primarily relates to the adjustment to the new democratic institutions, new rules of behavior, a new position and role of the structures of society that affects the daily lives of people in causing extreme lack of understanding of their position in a given society, disappointment or loss of a sense of their own involvement of the developing world.

The changes that have been taking place for the last ten years indicates the most common transition from authoritarian or totalitarian real-socialist regimes to regulated liberal-democratic societies, but it's just a lip service. The transition from one to another form of social organization in transition countries is much more difficult because the transition from authoritarian rule mediated, without clear rules and new ideological foundations which usually leads to a collapse of the financial and social capital in the country and the drastic fall in living standards. The situation in these areas has been worse by the presence and inadequate jurisdiction of international institutions that seek to impose their interests and who are in conflict with the interests of citizens and development.

One of the destabilizing factors and negative impact on the political stability is the relationship of the Hague Tribunal and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina for war crimes, who through the judicial process seeks to establish collective guilt, mainly through indiscriminating condemnation of the Serbs and certain forces are used for polarization and keeping the anti-Serb propaganda aimed at disqualification of the Republic of Srpska. It is evident that in the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina many war crimes took place and their perpetrators must face the law, but it is unacceptable to blame most of the Serbian people for it. Due to the policy of the Republic of Srpska, which is partly contrary to the interests of certain international circles it in a kind of isolation for many years, and a negative image of the Serbs in the world, through the judicial process, is confirmed regardless of the number of objective truth that come to the light. This is why Serbian politicians must make great efforts to provide adequate position and place of the same state at the international community and the various actions contribute to removing the anathema only the Serbs are responsible for the war and suffering in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is hard to expect that the different requirements of political entities receive unanimous support of all political forces in terms of its implementation. Social losers and winners must be reckoned, but the priority is support for change. In this sense, the political order should be resting on the distribution of social power and positioning of social and political power relations in a particular society, and therefore need a good basis for the reconstruction of institutions in order to solve problems, or to change as more equitable burden evenly and painlessly performed with broad support of citizens and structures for change.

CONCLUSION

Political parties are the backbone of democratic government as they directly and indirectly influence the political decision-making in government institutions which contribute directly to the development and political stability. The relationship of political power and political behavior of the

structure shows that the causes and problems of the recent past in BiH are outdated, because after 20 years from the end of the civil war and the evident normalization, conditions are not significantly altered the sides and refer to the construction of a common society. All three constituent national sides with the support of forces from the region and some international circles are not ready to depart from the previous starting points, making it difficult to agree on common goals.

The liberalization of societies is a process dependent on a number of external and internal factors. In our country one such factor is the transition process which burden with various political influences that certain spheres of social life are protected from political decision-making by narrow political circles. On the other hand, the process of liberalization in challenging conditions, such as in Bosnia, brings small effects of liberalization that is slowly establishing patterns of responsibility and influence to the public sphere, which is reflected in the total balance and social development. In addition, the stability of liberal regimes depends on the options open to continual review and correct distribution of power among the various political entities that are in a way the participants of the institutional mechanisms of society.

Social values, beliefs and attitudes are fundamental elements of political culture. This suggests that the beliefs and attitudes of political entities are based on the values formed under the influence of socialization, historical heritage, political processes and activities of political actors and their fruitful interests. Political culture can significantly affect the political stability and development of the political system, but also its instability. This is particularly important for the implementation of comprehensive political, economic, legal and other measures to ensure rapid social development.

POLITIČKA STABILNOST BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE PREDUSLOV DRUŠTVENOG RAZVOJA

Prof. dr Milovan Milutinović

Apstrakt: Bosna i Hercegovina prolazi kroz političke promjene koje na određen način direktno utiču na promjene u životima ljudi. To se prije svega odnosi na prilagođavanje novim demokratskim ustanovama, pravilima ponašanja, novom položaju i ulozu društvenih struktura u političkom razvoju društva.

Političku stabilnost tj. nestabilnost u Bosni i Hercegovini čini njen politički sistem koji je složen, sa glomaznim administrativnim aparatom, neefikasan i dosta korumpiran, što nameće reformske promjene usmjerene na otklanjanje brojnih barijera, nesporazuma i nestabilnosti. Otklanjanje nesporazuma i barijera treba provesti kroz demokratski dijalog svih političkih subjektata kako bi se stvorili uslovi za snažniji i sveobuhvatniji društveni razvoj.

Ključne riječi: *politički sistem, politička stabilnost, političke i ekonomske reforme, društveni razvoj*

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