

DRUŠTVENA ZNANOST I INTERPRETACIJA DRUŠTVENIH POJAVA

Postojana je i primjetljiva isključenost ili povučenost društveno-znanstvenih subjekata (znanstvenika i institucija) u govoru o aktuelnoj društvenoj zbilji koja je ispunjena kompleksnim fenomenima. Mi trenutno ne posjedujemo upotrebljive validne interpretacije društvenih procesa i pojava iz vlastitih istraživanja na osnovu kojih bismo mogli izvući neko prihvatljivo obavještenje ili znanje za orijentaciju i poduzimanje narednih koraka u funkcioniranju društva. Uopće ne postoje relevantne analize sa stanovišta sociologije, politologije, kulturologije, antropologije, demografije, ekonomije i sličnih nauka. Gotovo da je ugašen filozofijsko-znanstveni diskurs o bosanskohercegovačkoj zbilji. Sve analize i interpretacije dolaze sa strane u našu javnost i mi se pretvaramo u papagaje koji do besvijesti ponavljaju već negdje pripremljene stavove i na taj način ne razvijamo vlastitu interpretacijsku poziciju. To otvara prostor za stravične manipulacije. Mi još nismo interpretacijski preradili rat 1992–1995. protiv Bosne, pa ni aktuelne događaje koji nas prestižu u fenomenologiji pauperizacije i gubljenja perspektiva.

Stavovi za diskusiju i promišljanje

Prvo.

Da li smo svjesni stanja *ilegalnog funkcioniranja države Bosne i Hercegovine koja je vojnom agresijom i cinizmom internacionalne zajednice pretvorena u nefunkcionalan politički sistem u kojem su centralna tačka ustava etnije* a ne građani? Država **Republika Bosna i Hercegovina je u periodu od 1992. do 1995. godine izvođena iz stanja legalnosti i pretvarana u stanje ilegalnog dogovaranja „zaraćenih strana“ pod kapom tzv. internacionalne zajednice i njoj potčinjenih domaćih političara. Izbacivanje Republike Bosne i Hercegovine u stanje ilegalnog postojanja provedeno je vojnom agresijom i pripremljenim pregovorima. Svi smo svjedoci da Dejtonski ugovor o miru nije ispunio većinu svojih sadržaja. Prognani se nisu vratili na prijeratne adrese. Državna imovina je „etničkom privatizacijom“ opljačkana i tako su etablirane nove oligarhije koje se koriste etničkim, nacionalnim i religijskim naracijama za vlastiti prosperitet i dominaciju. Hiljade radnika je bačeno na ulicu i izigrano. Možemo li pokrenuti pitanje o legalnom stanju u našoj državi ili vraćanju države u legalno stanje?**

Drugo.

Šta znači za državu Bosnu i Hercegovinu u perspektivi narodnjačka / etnička / pučka politika? Da li je to adekvatan politički odgovor (Bošnjaka, Hrvata, Srba) u povijesnom trenutku kada desnica oko Bosne pobjeđuje i jača? Može li narodnjačka politika sačuvati interes i pomoći napredak države Bosne? Moramo li imati još neku rezervnu političku mogućnost? Šta je s drugim političkim opcijama?

Treba imati u vidu da desnica širom Evrope diže svoj glas i nameće neke nove vrijednosti i ideologije, sasvim suprotne od onih koje smo poslije Drugog svjetskog rata gradili i

koncipirali. To je vidljivo u Srbiji, Hrvatskoj, Mađarskoj, Grčkoj, Austriji, Francuskoj, Turskoj. Sve to zahtijeva naše prilagođavanje političkom trendu koji mora biti određen interesom napretka Bosne. Stoga moramo uskladiti ili „uštimiti“ nacionalnu i narodnu politiku, interes države Bosne i interese njezinih građana i naroda, državu razumijevati kao nedjeljivu i suverenu *cjelinu* i *naciju* u sistemu savremenih država/nacija, a narod posmatrati *holistički* kao biće koje u sebi ima mnogo karakteristika i izbjeci reduciranje naroda na jednu dimenziju.

Treće.

Zašto nije uspjelo postratno privlačenje investicija u Bosnu? U kakvom je odnosu aktuelni „politički sistem“ Bosne koji je oktroyiran Dejtonom i investiranje kapitala u našu državu? Da li možemo nešto naučiti iz te korelacijske veze? Kako je bosansko društvo određeno kapitalizmom, postmodernim mentalitetom, nacionalnim ideologijama?

U svim narativima aktealne političke ekonomije naglašeno je da se primarno osigura investiranje u Bosnu i nova radna mjesta za mlade i nezaposlene ljude. Iz tog osnova se onda osigurava upravljanje i kontrola sistema. Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova mora pokrenuti svoju DKP mrežu i zadati obaveze diplomatskim predstavnicima da u svojim destinacijama pripremaju poslovnu saradnju. Važno je Ministarstvo za vanjsku trgovinu i ekonomske odnose uključiti u konkretne projekte i kod domaćih poslovnih ljudi razviti duh pravljenja projekta za poslovnu saradnju i onda lobirati na njihovom ostvarivanju – institucionalno.

Četvrto.

Zašto političke partije nemaju precizne programe modernizacije, racionalizacije, scijentifikacije, denacifikacije, reorganizacije društva i državne strukture? Zašto vladajuće političke partije nemaju savremene vizije budućnosti ili zašto nas stalno treba katolicizirati, islamizirati, pravoslavizirati, etnicizirati – srbizirati, kroatizirati ili bošnjakizirati? Zar nismo dovoljno etnicizirani, pa nas neko dodatno mora „pojačati“ u etničkom određenju? Ili nismo po mjeri Bošnjaci, Hrvati i Srbi, pa nas treba dodatno ispuniti „pravim“ etničkim sadržajem?

Zašto političke partije nisu u stanju ponuditi opipljivu i dostižnu viziju budućnosti, razvoja i osiguranja slobode čovjeku na svakom pedlju Bosne. Vizija mora biti cjelovita i podrazumijevati obrazovanje, ekonomski razvoj, euroatlantske integracije, znanstveno-tehnološko pozicioniranje Bosne i dostizanje znanja savremenosti, otvaranje kanala saradnje za dijasporalnu zajednicu i formiranje ministarstva za dijasporu. Na taj način kulturno stanje građana Bosne počinje da se transformira iz površne zapuštenosti i primitivnosti ka evropskom racionalističkom pristupu svijetu.

Za ovo je neophodno imati svake godine ili polugodišnje „slike stanja“, odnosno ekonomske, politološke, socijalne, geopolitičke, finansijske, kulturno-antropološke procjene tokova u bliskoj i daljoj budućnosti.

Peto.

Zašto naše društvene i humanističke znanosti ignoriraju probleme i teška pitanja društvene zbilje i pretvaraju se u apologetske discipline zaleđenog uma?

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Potrebno je vratiti dostojanstvo građaninu i narodu (bošnjačkom, hrvatskom, srpskom... narodu) aktivnom kulturno-prosvjetnom djelatnošću na planu odgoja i obrazovanja kroz institucije državnog sistema. Neophodno je razviti bosansku interpretaciju svijeta života u kojem se nalazimo.

Prof. dr. Senadin Lavić,

glavni i odgovorni urednik časopisa *Pregled*

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL OCCURRENCES

There is constant and tangible exclusivity from the discourse, or even reluctance, from the position of scientific and research subjects (scholars and institutions) to meet head on the current social reality packed with perplexed phenomena. As we speak, there are not available usable and valid interpretations of social processes and occurrences originating from our own research that would serve as the basis for providing an acceptable explanation or landmark knowledge for taking the next measures in the society's functioning. The relevant analyses from the standpoint of sociology, politology, culturology, anthropology, demography, economics and kindred sciences are virtually nonexistent. The discourse of philosophical and scientific nature is almost extinct. All analyses and interpretations entering the realm of our public are non-native; we are parroting ad infinitum adopted points that have been prepared and voiced somewhere else, thereby halting the development of our own interpretative standpoint. This makes ways for horrendous machinations... We have not yet processed and left behind us the 1992-1995 war against Bosnia and Herzegovina, not to mention the ongoing events, which are overtaking us in the pauperization phenomenology and the perspectives losing.

Points for Discussion and Deliberation

The first one.

Are we aware of the *illegal functioning* of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the state, turned into a dysfunctional political system by the military aggression and international community's cynicism; are we profoundly aware of the system in which the constitution is placing the focus on ethnos, instead of citizens? From 1992 to 1995, the **Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, as the state, was being relegated from the condition of legality and pushed into the condition of illegal deal making between "belligerent sides", with the blessing of so-called international community and sycophantic politicians. The act of military aggression, accompanied by rigged negotiations, succeeded in transiting the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina towards the condition of illegal existence. Each and everyone of us witness the failure in the implementation of the majority of Dayton Peace Accords' provisions. Displaced persons still have not return to their prewar permanent residences. Within the "ethnic privatization", by the means of asset stripping, the state property was plundered, having subsequently formed new oligarchies, which are using the ethnic, nationalistic and religious narratives for building their own prosperity and dominance. Thousands of workers were tricked and thrown at the street. Can we bring into question the legal state in our country or the country's return to the legal state?

The second one.

What do popular/ethnic politics mean for Bosnia and Herzegovina as the state? In this historic moment, when the rightwing factions that encircle Bosnia win and gain strength, does this seem to be the appropriate political answer (of Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs)? Can popular politics preserve the interest and help the Bosnian state's marching forward? Do we have to have some

other political opportunities stacked in reserve? What is going on with other political options?

One must keep in his mind that, across the Europe, rightwing factions do raise their voices and do impose some new values and ideologies substantially different from those we embraced and cherished after WW2. The presence of such tendency is palpable in Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Greece, Austria, France, Turkey... Those conditions demand our adjustment to one political trend that must be determined by the interest of Bosnian advancement. Therefore, we must harmonize or “tune up” the national and popular politics, the Bosnian state’s interest and interests of its citizens and peoples. The state should be perceived as the indivisible and sovereign *unity* and *nation* in the system of modern states-nations. The people should be *holistically* perceived - as being that contains a multitude of facets, while avoiding at the same time the reduction of people to a single dimension.

The third one.

Why did the investment attraction fail in post war Bosnia? In what relation stand the current Bosnian “political system” that has been octroyed¹ by the Dayton Peace Accords and capital investments in our country? Is there anything we could learn from that correlation? How capitalism, postmodern mentality and national ideologies affect the Bosnian society?

In every narrative of the current political economics, the ensuring of investment in Bosnia and making new jobs for youth and unemployed are on top positions. Subsequently from that, bases for the governing and system control are getting ensured. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs must establish its own diplomatic mission networks and charge them with the task of preparing the business cooperation at its destinations. It is crucial to engage the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Economic Affairs and Relations in specific projects, to foster the spirit of making cooperative business projects with local businessmen and then to do the lobbying for their implementation at the institutional level.

The fourth one.

Why political parties do not have accurate programs for modernization, rationalization, scientification, denazification, reorganizing the society and state structures? Why political parties on power do not have contemporary visions of future, or why we need to be constantly Catholicized, Islamized, converted to Orthodoxy, ethnicized – undergoing Serbization, Croatization, Bosniakization? One could assume we are not properly ethnicized, so someone must additionally “reinforce” our ethnic determination. Or, it may infer that we are not proper Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs, so someone must additionally make us complemented with “appropriate” ethnic content?

Why are political parties unable to offer tangible and down to earth vision of tomorrow, development and ensure one’s freedom at every inch of Bosnia? That vision must be coherent and imply education, economic development, Euro-Atlantic integrations, scientific and technological placing of Bosnia and gaining access to the contemporary knowledge, opening channels for cooperation with Diaspora and establishment of the Ministry for Diaspora... In this way the Bosnian

¹ In Bosnian, the term *oktroiran* means *bestowed*. However, the term draws its origin from the title of the 1931 Yugoslav Constitution, which was imposed under the pretence of being “bestowed” upon the people by the King. Translator’s note.

citizens' level of culture would begin to transform from the superficial squalor and primitivism to the European rationalistic approach to world. In order to make this thing going, it is necessary to organize "providing a glimpse into the condition" annually or semiannually, or evaluations of economic, politological, social, geopolitical, financial, cultural and anthropological (...) courses in near and further future.

The fifth one.

Why our social sciences and humanities ignore problems and pressing issues of our social reality, thereat turning into frozen state of the mind's apologetic disciplines?

There is present and tangible exclusivity from the discourse, or even reluctance, by scholar and research subjects (scholars and institutions) to meet head on the current social reality packed with perplexed phenomena. As we speak, there are not available usable and valid interpretations of social processes and occurrences originating from our own research that might serve as the basis for providing an acceptable explanation or landmark knowledge for taking the next measures in the society's functioning. The relevant analyses from the standpoint of sociology, politology, culturology, anthropology, demography, economics and kindred sciences are virtually nonexistent. The discourse of philosophical and scientific nature is almost extinct. All analyses and interpretations entering the realm of our public are non-native; we are parroting ad infinitum adopted points that have been prepared and voiced somewhere else, thereby halting the development of our own interpretative standpoint. This makes ways for horrendous machinations...

We have not yet processed and left behind us the 1992-1995 war against Bosnia and Herzegovina, not to mention the ongoing events, which are overtaking us in the pauperization phenomenology and in losing the perspectives.

Citizens and peoples (Bosniak, Croatian, Serbian...) must regain their dignity via active cultural and enlightening activities on the educational level through the system of state institutions. We must develop the Bosnian interpretation of the world we live in.

Prof. Dr. Senadin Lavić
***Pregled's* Editor in Chief**