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Bosnia, Neoliberal Capitalism,
Conservative Consciousness,
and Citizens' Naivety

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Abstract

The historical process has posed a challenging question about Bosnia's national identity today. It is quite obvious that since the end of the 19th century, the historical course of a nation has been reduced to a "religious group" in which it is possible to recognize regression and unconscious existence. This represents a trace of the Ottoman period of hegemony in Bosnia, when the identity of the people was determined by religious affiliation. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the end of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in Bosnia, left Bosniaks solely perceived and defined as Muslims. What looks like naivety and powerlessness during the 20th century, should in fact be seen as ignorance of, and non-reflexivity on, one's own existence. In the Yugoslav system, they were designated as Muslims - with the capital letter M. At the time, it was announced as the solution to the national question! The clash of unfinished ethnic-religious constructions of Bosniak identity and the process of globalization in the first decades of the 21st century, led to paradoxical and somewhat tragic self-experiences and attempts to develop national consciousness, based on a religious matrix that is the foundation of conservative consciousness. This moves the whole of human destinies in the wrong direction once again, and the importance of the national or civic identity and political philosophy of statism are undermined and blurred by non-reflexive voluntarism. It seems that citizens' naivety and their lack of knowledge about themselves and their own state framework, have led to a disastrous anti-Bosnian mentality and the extinguishing of the Bosnian national civic identity.

Keywords: Bosnia, Bosnianness, Bosniaks, knowledge, reflection

Preventing 'Bosnianness' from expressing itself

Accidentally or not, but almost as a rule, every time since the 1990s whenever the Bosnian anti-fascist spirit is tried and the idea of Bosnia reappears, there comes along the Yugoslav flag, the five-pointed star that Serbian national fascists tarished under the Milosevic regime, and the sentimental appeal of Tito¹. All three

¹ This was also the case during the protest walk of the citizens in Sarajevo on the occasion of the glorification of the Bleiburg myth and the attempt to use the Mass to confront different political, religious and cultural orientations in today's Bosnia. In the whole event around that, however, no one disputed the Mass itself and the absolute right of the Catholic Church to hold Mass for the souls of the victims. But in Sarajevo, "caring for the souls" of Ustasha victims at Bleiburg is very indecent and distasteful, given what the Ustasha regime and The Independent State of Croatia did to the citizens of Sarajevo during the occupation in World War II, and the fact that the state of Austria banned any manifestation on the occasion within its territory. In addition, it is important to note that the citizens of Bosnia do not share the ideas and ideals of the Ustasha quisling creation of The Independent State of Croatia! This Croatian creation, led by Pavelić, was on the side of fascism in the Second World War. Serbs, Jews, Bosniaks, Roma, and Croats were exterminated there. However, all this does not mean that the crimes committed against the

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elements, the flag, the five-pointed star, and Tito had their active function and an unavoidable place in the history of the Bosnian and Slavic space, but they can in no way replace the Bosnian form of historical life. In this unjustified reduction, anti-fascism is reduced to communist ideology and South Slavic myths with a Serbian background. This projected description petrifies Andrić's Turkish image of Bosnia as an exotic remnant of the East in Europe by orientalising Bosnia in literature, politics, or diplomacy. For a long time now, there have been invented phantoms whose sole purpose is to suppress Bosnia and hide the Bosnian being in history.

For the sake of blurring the Bosnian perspective, "*Muslim members*" of the Usta-sha movement, as well as various groups and their ideological positions that serve to level other crimes and responsibilities, are being pulled out of the depths of time. Unfortunately, the Bosniaks have not finished the job started by Derviš Sušić (1980) in "Parergon". No one but they can work on their self-esteem and self-reflection. They must finally pose questions concerning the phenomena and processes from the 20th century that are essentially related to their existence. What is the position of Bosnia and its people in relation to Yugoslavia and the ethnic nationalisms that led to wars and aggressions in the 1990s? Now seems to be the time when *the Bosnian mind* must answer questions about Yugoslavism, Muslimism, Serbism, Croatism, Communism, etc. as ideas and ideologies that have besieged it and flooded it. From these responses, the Bosnian mind will be constituted as a regulative principle of life above myth, dogma, superstition, and irrational images of the world.

In the text written by Filip Švarm, Tamara Skrozza, and Biljana Vasić (2001) it is noted that: "In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Socialist Federal Republic Of Yugoslavia was counting down its last days. Out of the four pillars on which it rested - the figure and work of the marshal Josip Broz Tito, the Socialist Self-Government, the Communist Party and the Yugoslav People's Army - only the latter remained. Conceived as an armed force whose task was to defend the state but also its social order, the YPA welcomed the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall. Systematically protected from public control, the basic characteristic of the Army, which was even more dominant than its purely military feature, was its permeation with the ideology of the time" (Švarm, F., Skrozza, T. & Biljana Vasić, 2001). In a devastating anti-Bosnian project, the Serbianised YPA (Kadijević, 1993) prepared a siege of Sarajevo and drew up the RAM Plan to destroy Bosniaks (Lukic, R. and Lynch, A. 1996). That is the most important fact of the dissolution of the SFRY (Judah, T, 2000). Thus, the five-pointed star was stained with a cockade, and the tricolour with a five-pointed star was turned into a Serbian tricolour, together with a definite rupture with everything that had

people in this area after the collapse of the fascist axis and the victory of the Yugoslav forces should not be investigated.

been built since the 1940s. The YPA occupied Bosnia and prepared the genocide against Bosniaks - I guess that's clear! Namely, in order to formally comply with the international community's ultimatum, the Bosnian Serbs renamed the YPA, "The Bosnian Serb Army" and promised to demobilize all soldiers who were not citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which no one could verify). In that way, the plan to hide the aggression of Serbia and the YPA was realized, to create a *civil war* that led to horrible crimes, and then to impose reconciliation through forgetting crimes and renouncing the search for justice.²

Planted ideological models, hibernation and repression of Bosnia

During the period of Ottoman hegemony over Bosnia, religion served as the basis on which the identity of national groups was built. A complete image of the world, in which interconnected human groups are found, has been developed from religious identity. From the second half of the 19th century, ideological concepts that desecrated Bosnia "came" and led to a departure from its own historical course. In these ideological designs, the disease and the criminal mind of man or the negative energy that spreads to human communities and envelops them in darkness and a state of hatred can be recognised. At the time, the ideology of nationalism offered Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox people differing identities. They ended up renouncing Bosnia and gradually developing hatred towards their own country! Ethnic and national identities from Serbia and Croatia are still imposed on its people through religious propaganda. Borrowed identities, coming from neighbouring countries that significantly falsify the history of Catholics and Orthodox in Bosnia are imposed on the *Bosnian Humanum*. These identities were imposed through the infrastructure of religious institutions and political organizations, but also thanks to Muslims, who imposed an unrealistic and inaccurate

2 The whole narrative of "reconciliation of the people" is absolutely meaningless. Why? Because behind it, there is a deceptive thesis that "nations were at war". It is necessary to emphasize, once again, that the peoples of the former Yugoslavia did not wage war against each other - so that is impossible - but that there were clashes of political oligarchies that irresponsibly and maliciously used the peoples as basic units of manipulation and group relations to achieve great state projections. The nations did not wage war against each other. Bosnia was attacked by Milošević's regime, which manipulated the Serb element in Bosnia and brought it into a state of war. The idea of "Greater Serbia" has never become the idea of the entire Serbian people! The crimes on behalf of the Serbs are very clearly answered by the specific people who made the joint criminal enterprise and organized the killing system. We can talk about organizations such as a political party, a religious institution (SOC), SANU, but the whole nation should never be blamed because war criminals want to hide behind the "endangered Serbian people". A large number of conscious Serb citizens of Bosnia and Serbia understand that Milošević occupied Bosnia with the YPA in the 1990s and thus created the "RS" entity, based on genocide against the non-Serb population. It is also clear that there would never have been genocide and occupation of Bosnia if Milošević had not used the state system of Serbia and the military power of the YPA!

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narrative of “Turkey as the Motherland.” The Republic of Turkey is a friend and partner, but not the mother of Bosnia, because “Bosnia is the mother of Bosniaks/Bosniaks and Bosnians” (Bošnjak/Bosnewi). Through man’s terrible ideologies, it is possible to persuade people to act on evilly or to work in favour of a fascist ideology and not see anything controversial in that.

For decades, Bosnian Serbs have been subjected to the idea of Chetniks as role models, the concept of “Greater Serbia” and Greater Serbia hegemony over other groups of people. The crimes committed by individuals in that name were not condemned by the Serbian intellectual elite. They did not even admit the crimes and warn from following that path. Lately, political representatives, shameless and inhuman in a state of mental illness, have proudly glorified crimes against other groups. Thus, the denial of crimes, and the glorification of crimes, complete the circle of Greater Serbia’s atrocities against Bosnia and Bosniaks. At the head of the political groups that dominate the Serbian people, are noticeable characters with serious mental problems and an inability to communicate at the level of a civilized man.

Ustasha criminals are offered as heroes of the people to Bosnian Croats. At the same time, a revised image of the NDH is created, which was, in fact, a quisling fascist creation. Bosnia is deceptively spoken of as an old Croatian country and that Bosniaks are the “flowers of Croatia”. The myth of Bosnia and Bosniaks as Muslim Croats originates within the great Croatian national policy³ of Ante Starčević (Jelčić, D., 1995), which was then transformed into a Tudjmanized plan for the “Europeanization of Bosnian Muslims” by the Croatian political and cultural project, which is “superior”, the *antemurale christianitatis*. This right-wing ideology proved to be fundamental to Croatian state policy from the 19th century to the end of the 20th century (Gross, M., 1973).

Distorted *Turkishness*, the idealisation and mythologisation of the Ottoman period, Islamism as a dangerous ideology or simulacrum of Islam and Muslim civilization, the definition of their ethnies as a religious group, dominated by priests

3 In accordance with this ideology, the Serbs of the 19th century are especially demonised and dehumanised in A. Starčević’s texts. In *Pismima Magjarolacah* [The Hungarian Letters], he writes on a racist basis about the Slavo-Serbs, “Finally, about the Slavo-Serbs that you intend to defeat. They are a breed of Slaves, a scoundrel who is more disgusting than anyone else. Let us take into consideration the three degrees of perfection that exist within a man: the degree of animal, the degree of reason, and the degree of mind or the mentality. Slavo-Serbs have not fully reached even the lowest level and cannot rise from it. They have no consciousness; they cannot read; they do not learn any doctrine; they can be neither better nor worsen than they are; they are, except for the agility and cunning that practice gives, all in all completely the same; they cannot moo or bark about themselves whether they are full or hungry; neither rest or jump. They conduct themselves as their shepherds command them.” (Starčević, A. (1879). *Pisma Magjarolacah* [The Hungarian Letters]. Sušak; Starčević, A. (1876). *Pasmina Slavoserbska po Hervatskoj* [Slavo-Serbian Breed In Croatia]. Zagreb: Tiskara Lav. Hartmana i društva.)

with their ahistorical explanations of historical trends, are being forced upon Bosniaks. They neglect their Bosnian history and lose themselves in other people's histories and their religious constructions of history or civilization, which do not not acknowledge their "days and nights" and as well as the real historical events that determine them.

These three groups are systematically stretched in three divergent directions that now comprise Bosnia and the Bosnian experience. When a Bosnian character needs to appear in history, it is deliberately suppressed by Turkish myths in literature and communist fairy tales in politics, invoking a missing state and its leaders, who have long since disappeared. Also, the need to create a Bosnian vision of the future and Bosnian interests and ideals of common life is suppressed. The Bosnian flag and the Bosnian national state consciousness are suppressed too, while the "holy ethnic group" now renamed the "nation", backed by priests and well-established "national workers" who have turned being Bosniak, Serb and Croat into lucrative jobs and job posts, is being overly-accentuated. Anti-fascism is subsumed under a party idea or several historical figures as if it were a matter of one party or its leaders. Antifascism is a natural historical state of Bosnia that has been expressed several times in the 20th century.

During the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s by Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia, Bosnian people were pushed into a cataclysm and used for the conquests of Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia! Shamefully exploited by the ethnic and religious phantasmagorias of their neighbours, while being deceived, displaced and devastated by the immorality of the crimes committed against them for the "grand designs" of neighbouring states, they today represent a complete expression of loss and disorientation. Thus, Bosnia was subjected to a state of terror and disorder that has lasted too long and prevented the establishment of a normal civil society or a peaceful landscape for the life of Bosnian Humanum. The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina aimed to destroy the historical Bosnian society as an individual form of life.

The Chetnik and Ustasha ideologies have united against Bosnia - these terms clearly distinguish the Croatian and Serbian peoples from the ideologies of fascism and Nazism - which serve the hegemonic ventures of the neighbouring regimes from Belgrade and Zagreb. Those people, who have renounced their attachment to Bosnia, towards which they express a hatred developed through planned propaganda in political and religious organizations, live with a feeling of perversion against their state, which is a clear sign that at some point in history they were triggered by a disease. This created cancer in human souls and led them to the horror of crime. The mental viruses of evil in people's heads, which are being spread in Bosnia today through the ideologies of the Ustashas and Chetniks, show an "infection" that has been going on for a long time and is attacks

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everything Bosnian. Elements of *ponerogenesis* or genesis of evil in Bosnia must be elaborated upon through the scientific research process, which is a prerequisite for the development of public understanding of the evil that the sick ideologies of great hegemony constructed in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia during the 19th and 20th centuries (Lobačevski, A. M., 2011). Therefore, in *ponerogenesis* it is necessary to consider everything that can be obtained from history: literary works, religious writings, philosophical texts, political debates, folklore, programs of political parties, religious rites and experiences of survivors of mass crimes. Political situations arise from the actions of rulers and political powers in which evil is at work, human evil, disorder, hatred and fear, and the powerlessness of “small” and ordinary people. Ponerology helps us to understand and monitor the occurrence of evil at all levels of social reality. Andrzej M. Lobaczewski took the sentence - *ignotas nulla curatio morbid* (Do not try to cure what you do not understand) as the motto of his work on ponerology. This clearly sets the framework for any research on the evil that has befallen Bosnia. Understanding this process in Bosnia is the starting point for any future activity!

In the shadow of a great human catastrophe, Greater Serbian hegemony during World War II carried out its own extermination project on Bosniaks in Podrinje, Herzegovina, Sandžak, Krajina and other parts of Bosnia (Čekić, S., 2012) and the extermination of Muslims and Bosnian Men/Humanum remained the main criminal project of Greater Serbia during the aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s. The Greater Serbia war against Bosnia has not stopped and has not changed its goal, but has only changed its means of achievement! From a sociological point of view, anti-fascism in 1941 and 1992 meant the defence of Bosnia from the hegemonic fascist policies of greater power. One should not unnecessarily compare partisans and fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina - they are on the same anti-fascist side of history. They were fighting against the quislings, fascists, Chetniks and Ustasas!

But where does the Serbian genocidal plan against Bosniaks come from? The preliminary answer is: from *beliefs* and *ideas* that have been developed for decades in religious, political, cultural, literary, and other forms of everyday life of the Serbian people. This means that in the parallel reality of Serbianism, preference and motivation for **genocidal intent and action** exists within this culture. As such, it was just waiting for the historical circumstances to coincide to show its true face, and manifest itself. The fact that it exists and works should never be doubted again. The most monstrous evidence of this are the sick post-genocidal slogans of Serbs, such as: “Nož, žica, Srebrenica” (“Knife, wire, Srebrenica”) or “Oj, Pazaru novi Vukovaru/Oj, Sjenice nova Srebrenice...” (Hey Pazar, The New Vukovar), in which the morbid belief that these sentiments are the justified meaning of Serbian life is made clear. Muslims as followers of a faith and Bosniaks as people, have been dehumanized, devalued and erased from the human story

for decades, so that the crime against them almost became a “desirable” act! It is evident from jokes about Mujo, songs about the desecration of women wearing hijab, literary works in which Bosniaks present themselves as orientalised buffoons, singing of the so-called “mountain wreath”, political programs of Serbian parties and military terrorist organizations, education systems and so on.... E. Gellner’s claim that, “nationalism is rooted in modernity” (Gellner, E. 1997) is quite understandable when placed in this context.

The landscape dominated by the collective mentality or collective-tribal representation, backed by a religious narrative, is subjugated to a pernicious unanimity, recognizable by its one-party system and a conservative consciousness. The spirit of the collective or ethnic herd⁴ suffocates any plural human rationality and multi-party system. It destroys democracy, reducing it to the dictatorship of a one-party system, in which people with a different political attitude are traitors to ethnic-religious dogmas. This is a terrible regression that is happening in the Balkans, which threatens to destroy any plurality of forms of living among people with authoritarian tendencies. States and societies with the absolute domination of one party are totalitarian systems in which there is no developed political society, i.e. in which the pre-modern or pre-political ethnic-religious mentality and reflex towards human existence in general dominates. That is why fascist tendencies that lead to catastrophic consequences appear and develop very easily in these societies. In such societies, genocidal narratives spread as the cultural norms of a poor backward Balkan world. They mark their *lebenswelt* with mass graves of the non-identified!

The naivety of the citizens is an expression of ignorance

The extermination of Bosniaks has been going on since the 19th century. It is a project designed for “cleansing of the space” where Bosniaks have lived for hundreds of years. So how do Serbian criminals do that? According to the president

4 As the editor of the book “Ethnic Group And Borders” (1969), Fredrik Barth presented an approach to the study of ethnicity that focused on continuous discussion/negotiation of borders between groups of people. Barth argued that such groups were not discontinuous cultural isolates or a logical a priori to which humans naturally belong. He therefore diverged from anthropological notions of cultures as bounded entities and ethnicity as core/primordial connections. It focused on the boundary/interface and the interaction between the groups that created the identities. Boundaries are places of touch, permeation, and confrontation. The identity of ethnic groups depends on each other’s confrontation, in fact, ethnic groups are interdependent and their identities are the result of continuous ascription. In his “Introduction To The Book Of Ethnic Groups And Borders”, he pays full attention to the interconnectedness of ethnic identities and says, “...categorical ethnic differences do not depend on lack of mobility, contact, and information, but imply social processes of exclusion and inclusion in which discrete categories are maintained despite changes in participation and membership over the course of individual life histories” (pp. 9-10).

of the Association of War Victims “Foča 92-95” Halida Konjo-Uzunović, it is done as follows:

“They brutally kill your whole family, occupy the city, burn down your homes, capture you, torture, rape, enslave, sell you as slaves and then boast about it... We, the victims of aggression, wonder from whom they liberated the city when they already expelled, killed and humiliated all of us. We have never received a memorial for innocent women, girls and civilians, 3,000 of them killed.” (Džaferagić, N., 2020).

In this way, from the 19th to the end of the 20th century, Serb butchers, criminals, murderers, Serbized Vlachs, carried out “rituals” of slaughter and rape against the helpless and naive Bosniak population. They were almost never punished or persecuted for these actions until the Hague Tribunal. The leader of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, S. Milošević, died in prison in The Hague! Thus, the Greater Serbia hegemony completely destroyed the Bosniaks in one territory, that is: it expelled them, killed thousands of them and destroyed all signs of their cultural identity, and then declared that territory a “century-old Serbian land”. This procedure has remained unpunished in history, and the Serbian expansionist policy of evil in the 1990s implemented a definitive solution to the “Serbian question”, at the expense of Bosnia! Everything that happened after the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, through the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement, was in fact a manipulation of that agreement, in order to achieve in peace what was started in the war. Greater Serbia’s mythomaniac policy and the subsequent historiography of these pretensions introduce the term “Serbian world”, another name for the sick concept of “Greater Serbia”, which should include three points - Belgrade, Banja Luka and Podgorica. It is obvious that two of these points belong to other independent states! After the catastrophic wars during the 1990s, Serbia’s intentions are best shown in the Strategy (*Strategy for Preservation and Strengthening of Relations between the Homeland and the Diaspora and the Homeland and Serbs in the Region.*” (Official Gazette of RS”, No. 4/2011 and 14/2011) which was written in 2011 and envisages how Serbia might openly interfere in legal and political processes in neighbouring countries in the region, such as Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The provincial, narrow consciousness, which reduces religion to tribal xenophobic superstition, underlies the ethnic-confessional *sect of evil* or *the conquering tribe* in the Balkans. It has failed to rise to the level of human, universal, man as a being of freedom. It is locked in hatred towards the different, the foreign, the Other, the new, the rational. It lives and realises evil - it is a horrible negative energy that undermines the human community. Contrary to this destructive form of darkness, it seems that the active Bosniak consciousness does not recognise the people and ideas of evil that inflict catastrophic losses on Bosniaks every fifty

years, i.e. it is not able to distinguish it precisely, as if the question of survival of an entire nation is just child's play. Milorad Popović reminds us of one activity of the religious organization of the Serbian Orthodox Church:

The Cult of St. Sava, like other fundamentalist sects, preaches militarism, a perverted ideology of blood and soil, in the name of God. The universal character of Orthodoxy is opposed by the Serbian character of religion, which is contradictory in adjecto with the spirit of original Christianity, in which God is the center of the gospel or the (eternal) life connected with the transcendent. ("Religion" comes from the Latin *religare*, which means to connect with the transcendent, to gather around the transcendent). The Cult is deprived of the transcendent: instead of God's sublimity, which exceeds the possibilities of our experience, it prefers the magical, the earthly, the mundane, the superstitious. In that context, the Cult is provincial, xenophobic, it rejects all foreign influences and customs, especially European ones, which it considers superficial, "man-god"! (Popović, M., 2020).

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Unfortunately, in today's post-genocidal era, Bosnia is left at the mercy of ignorance and irresponsibility. The irresponsibility and ignorance of conservative consciousness is evidenced by the obscure proscribing and disavowing of communism and the socialist order, as totalitarianist and dictatorial, and the complete failure to perceive the Chetniks and Ustashas as fascist, quisling and criminal instruments of terror of great anti-Bosnian hegemony. This naivety among citizens comes in part from a religious narrative against a communist ideology that has not behaved correctly toward religious institutions which then leads to ignorance of the real forces and actors of history. Since the end of the 20th century and the disintegration of communism and the socialist bloc, narratives about its guilt and responsibility have been published, while at the same time, new religious dogmatic narratives that pretend to take the place of science and scientific explanations are being created. This enchants social historical reality in a new way and imposes on religion an unnecessary role and task that it cannot fulfil by its definition. In turn, escapism is becoming the norm and most citizens are fleeing from the present to some "golden epochs" of humanity, unprepared to face current problems and demands for rethinking the new Bosnian historical direction. Therefore, it is evident that throughout history, various forms and levels of social existence are constantly mixed and brought into contradictory situations, sometimes out of ignorance and sometimes intentionally, in order to perpetuate the social confusion dominated by a pathocratic structure. In Bosnia, politicians often "preach" as priests, and priests openly sit in the front rows of party congresses, thus expressing their political intentions!

The welfare state is disappearing!

The welfare state is in part, a humane state because it tries to take care of man in general. Against such a state rises the monster of neoliberal capitalism, which

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would swallow such a human community and completely subjugate it unto itself in order to fully master all the elements of human life. The secret button of the neoliberal spirit of capitalism is the plunder of the state and the citizens in it - the state serves to plunder and that is why the creators of this neoliberal world order talk about it with contempt. The plunder of the state is proving to be the safest and most lucrative business of the newly established capitalists!

Ethnopolitical elites pretend to rule as independent, powerful, and self-confident groups of people loyal to *the nation*, but, in fact, life within this system is all about serving in hierarchies of subordination and acting as compradors to these cultural, economic, and political elites. These outside groups receive secret and public support through which they stay in power in front of a mass of followers, playing the role of great politicians and visionaries. In a state of crisis, this hoax is clearly revealed when none of these “great politicians” are able to do something important for their “collectives”, the people, the voters, the citizens! Thus, their connection with the “people” or citizens became suspicious, because the question arises - when do “our elites” actually work in neoliberal capitalism and who do they represent? That is - in whose hands is the state? Politics based on totalitarianism does not care about the votes and wishes of citizens - it ignores them as insignificant and powerless.

Citizens are not even aware of the countries in which they live. Their lives and social destinies, for example, may be limited by the will or emotion of a politician, the subjective assessment of a judge appointed by the party to “judge the unfit”, the whim of a “guardian of great national interest” or a sick anti-Bosnian policy, as well as hatred and fascist ideology. Citizens are neither guilty, nor innocent, of being trapped in the anti-Bosnian enterprise of Serbs and Croats and the naivety and undeveloped Bosniak political process - all three ethnopolitics have ruled out the development of Bosnian political identity and for three decades have been “spinning” everything that moves through this country and its political currents.

Representatives of international organizations, ambassadors, presidents of other states constantly hold Bosnia in the position of “*ethno-trinity*”, a three-member presidency or a “state of three peoples” that does not have a strong state institutions or civic authority. “Foreigners” insidiously emphasize the agreements of ethno-leaders, because there is no other way! Thus, they keep them in power as something that is completely legal, normal and democratic. As a result, citizens are reduced to the role of useful idiots, who need ethnic leaders to be able to walk the streets. This provokes idiosyncrasy and a sense of nonsense in which injustice, lies, and the cynicism of power grind down the “little people”. People are fleeing, moving, and thus expressing their disgust towards the tribal primitivisms of anti-Bosnian policies.

In the age of the COVID-19 pandemic, new questions about the meaning and the functioning of neoliberal capitalism, the ideals of human freedom, humanism, and our future goals arise. The world prepared by neoliberal capitalism is a world without *homo humanus*. Why the daily death toll and media bombardment? It seems that behind this social panic spread by the media, it remains unnoticed that the corona virus pandemic has disrupted world capital flows, destroyed many established relations and slowed down processes, and brought many countries conflict with omnipotent multinational corporations that have risen above national levels. Today's Balkan states are testing their own unstable sovereignty, borrowing funds, desperately seeking loans to maintain the system, falling into dependence on financial institutions, and facing the sale of their own resources to powerful corporations. The international bureaucracy that is in collusion with multinational corporations and capital owners play a major role in this (Stiglitz, J. E., 2002). Political systems have come to resemble the concerts of pub musicians, in which everyone "plays" their line as they see fit. Mechanisms of control and responsibility are disappearing from state political systems. Judicial systems and the judiciary are being undermined as authoritarian oligarchs loom over them, presenting their arbitrariness as being in the interest of the citizens and the "will of the people." No one trusts the media under the control of the ruling structures anymore, and democracy itself is an illusory form of "people's rule". Disruption of world order always provokes wars in some part of the world and then it is seen that the world has once again fallen into some medieval illusion rulers and great leaders and their need to struggle for hegemony and prestige. All the misery of the world flows from the power that the owners of capital or military potentials have - they dictate to state systems and leaders what will be done! Many authors believe that we are now in the epoch of the *capitalocene*, which had replaced the epoch of *the anthropocene*. This means that the time of the omnipotence of capital and its self-sufficiency has come (Moore, J. W., 2016). It is an experience of the end or one's own finitude. We are living in period of transition in our planet's life with "the potential for Earth to quickly and irreversibly turn into a state unknown to human experience" (Baronsky, A.D. et al., 2011). Palaeontologists characterise mass extinctions as times when the Earth loses more than three-quarters of its species in a geologically short interval, as has happened only five times in the past 540 million years or so. Biologists now suggest that a sixth mass extinction may be under way, given the known species losses over the past few centuries and millennia... "Our results confirm that current extinction rates are higher than would be expected from the fossil record, highlighting the need for effective conservation measures" (Baronsky, A.D. et al., 2011).

Humanities are being pushed out of university curricula. The end of that discipline will be recognised in the triumph of artificial intelligence or superintelligence, smart machines and the smart framework of everything that exists. The

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growth and eventual dominance of machine learning replacing the earlier “failed project” of creating awareness of humanism and freedom, will be accompanied by an emerging global network of comprehensive electronic surveillance and the control of mega-data after the death of neoliberal ideology. From 2020 on, an era of a continuous chain of global emergencies and management of the world’s population in the name of their health and security will begin. Post-politics and transhumanism will frame the “smart world” as a field of “smart machines”, the “smart killing of people”, “smart concentration camps”, “smart hegemony”. We are entering a world where everything is “smart”! There is no need for humanity in that world! Should we already be thinking of the mass extinction of a species that trusted the myth of its own superiority?!

To the conclusion: The state as a bank for robbery

Ethnopolitics privatizes the state and turns it into a dictatorship led by a leader and the oligarchic political group around him. Above them stand or sit the owners of financial capital, for example, bankers and industrialists. The “king’s law” once again becomes the norm and the rule of law is suspended. Such an internal constellation of the nation-state is ideal for neoliberal capitalism, because apostate political oligarchies in state possession cannot survive without outside support, thus becoming a comprador layer that serves a powerful supranational mechanism of capital and power. They thus deliver the state over to supranational concerns and the affairs of neoliberal capitalism. This irresponsibility is hidden in by the so-called policy of “in the name of the people”, an ethnopolitics of miserable subservience to the herd, shrouded in a fictional, constructed understanding of its own historical “mission” and its supremacy over others. From such a basis, a new historical state develops. State institutions serve private businesses and do not protect the general and public good/interest of the majority of citizens. Consequently, states could become subject to concentrated plundering by multinational corporations, which thus raise the exploitation from merely the working classes, as it was before, to the plunder of the entire population of one state.

From the 19th to the 21st century, capitalism has been based on a logic in which all facts and ideas are reduced to a consideration of their “feasibility” within the capitalist system. All major economic and political theories, including the Marxist ones that were supposed to offer an alternative vision, were stunned. All utopian ideas were completely marginalized. In order to constantly do what is *feasible*, you have to stick to pseudo-factual notions such as: nationalism, the constant pursuit of efficiency, the nation-state idea, corporatism, market management, business ethics, governance, etc. Capitalism comes down to managing the economies of states that fight each other and admire the independence of their own finances. And all of that, intellectually, economically, politically and, unfor-

tunately, individually, is related to fascism (Micocci, A. and Di Mario, F., 2017). To which the concept of the Balkan *disentanglement* belongs too.

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