

Sećanje
dr Zoran Đinđić
12.03.2003-12.03.2013.

U SVETSKOJ EKONOMIJI 21. VEKA POSTOJE SAMO USPEŠNI I NEUSPEŠNI

U znak sećanja na dr Zorana Đinđića, umesto Uvodnika, dajemo izvode njegovog predavanja "Nacionalizam i patriotizam" studentima Banjalučkog univerziteta, 21.02.2003. godine, koje je, nažalost, bilo poslednje predavanje premijera Srbije.

"...U 19. veku desio se prelazak od agrarnog ka industrijskom, a u 20. veku prelazak od industrijskog ka informatičkom društvu... Drugi veliki megatrend bio je u oblasti ekonomije- prelazak sa proizvodne ekonomije na ekonomiju usluga, koji izaziva velike promene u strukturi društava. Postoji možda desetak karakterističnih tendencija koje menjaju strukturu društva, strukturu institucija i strukturu svesti i naravno, iziskuju drugačiji način ponašanja da bi društvo bilo uspešno. Recimo od nacionalne ekonomije ka svetskoj, od zatvorenih malih tržišta ka konkurenciji u kojoj na skoro svakom mestu na zemaljskoj kugli danas ljudi mogu da proizvedu šta žele. Znači više nema privilegije ni za jedan deo, ni za jedan narod, ni za jednu ekonomiju. Svaka ekonomija danas na svetu može da proizvodi iste stvari. Sada se postavlja pitanje šta možemo mi da proizvedemo bolje, uspešnije, brže, kvalitetnije, jeftinije da bi bili konkurentni u odnosu na to što se proizvodi u Kini, Rusiji, Brazilu, Evropskoj Uniji ili bilo gde drugo na zemaljskoj kugli. To je nešto sasvim novo i to stvara ogroman pritisak svetske konkurencije i iziskuje pripremu vlastitih kapaciteta i potencijala za oštru međunarodnu konkurenciju. Zamislite sada uporedo kao neki primer da vaši fudbalski klubovi igraju u nekoj igri u kojoj su Manchester United, Sao Paolo, Milan i svi ti svetski klubovi. Ako želite da dobijete neku utakmicu to bi iziskivalo ogromne pripreme, trening i sasvim drugi pristup igri. Znači, lako je biti prvi u seoskoj ligi, ali postavlja se pitanje da li će u 21. veku seoske lige da

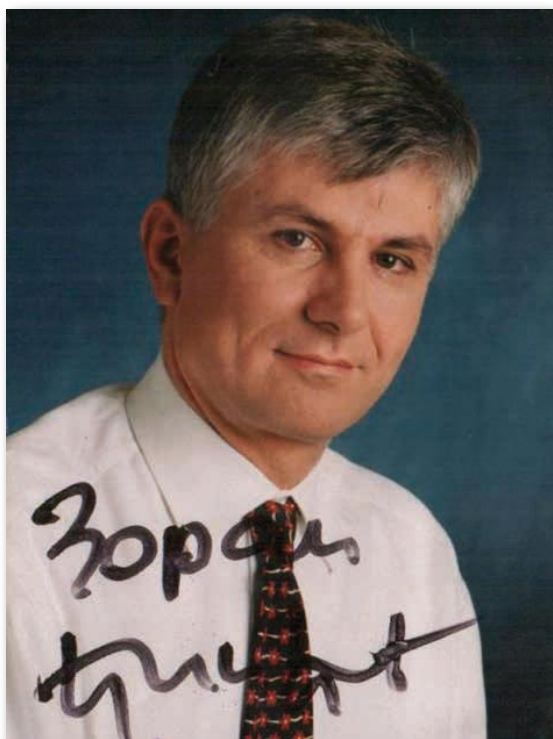
IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY OF THE 21st CENTURY, YOU CAN EITHER BE SUCCESSFUL OR UNSUCCESSFUL

Remembrance
Zoran Đinđić PhD

12.03.2003-12.03.2013.

In memory of Dr Zoran Djindjic, instead of the Editorial, we hereby present the excerpts from his lecture "Nationalism and Patriotism", delivered to the students of Banja Luka University, on 21.02.2003, which, unfortunately, turned out to be the last lecture of the Prime Minister of Serbia.

"...In the 19th century, there was a transition from rural to industrial, and in the 20th century from industrial to information society. Another vast megatrend happened in the field of economy – the transition from production economy to economy of services, causing huge changes in the structure of societies. There may be around ten characteristic tendencies changing the structure of a society, the structure of institutions and the structure of consciousness and naturally, they require a different approach in order for a society to be successful. For example, from a national economy towards the global one, from closed little markets towards competition, where today, at almost any point on Earth, people may produce whatever they want. This means that there are no more privileges for a region, a nation or an economy. Any economy in the world may produce the same items. Nowadays the question is what we can produce better, more successful, faster, of higher quality, cheaper, so as to be competitive to what has been produced in China, Russia, Brazil, European Union or anywhere else on the Globe. This is something completely new and it has created enormous pressure of international competition, and required one's own capacities and potential to be prepared and ready to encounter severe international competition. Now imagine, as a matter of comparison, that your football clubs are playing in a cup alongside Manchester United, Sao Paolo, Milan and all the world-known



postoje ili će sve biti jedna liga u kojoj možete biti ili među najboljima ili na začelju. Više ne postoji istok-zapad, komunisti-kapitalisti, katolici-pravoslavni, ovi ili oni.

Postoje uspešni ili neuspešni. I to je svetska liga 21. veka. Pre svega u ekonomiji, a onda naravno i u idejama, inovacijama, kvalitetu institucija i u svemu drugome što prati taj trend. Takođe postoji jedan trend od centralizacije ka decentralizaciji, od toga da su se odluke ranije donosile na hijerarhizovan način, u jednom centru, i da su ih onda drugi nivoi organizacije društva samo sprovodili, ka tome da se delegira, da se decentralizuje i da se odluke donose na onom nivou društva gde su ti organi koji na kraju sprovode te odluke, blizu građanima i gde građani mogu da ih kontrolišu, i da ponašanje tih organa tretiraju kao servis koji služi građanima, a ne kao sprovođenje neke volje vlasti.

Ako pogledate ovo o čemu ja sada govorim videćete da se zapravo kod svih njih radi o nečem sličnom, o nečemu što je bilo statično, što je bilo materijalno, što je bilo sadržajno kreće sve više ka nečem što je fleksibilno, pokretno i što počiva na komunikaciji, na brzini, na snalaženju, nečemu što bismo mogli da nazovemo procedura umesto supstance.

Naravno, u svemu tome se onda postavlja pitanje, šta je sa zemljama, narodima, nacijama, šta se sa njima događa. Očigledno da ono što

smo preneli iz evropske i svetske prošlosti, a to su čvrsto definisani suvereniteti, države sa svojim vladama, sa svojim nadležnostima, da se to postepeno utapa u ovaj jedan opšti trend.

Više uticaja na ekonomiju jedne zemlje danas ima MMF i Svetska banka ili američke Federalne rezerve koje utvrđuju kamate na kredite u dolarima, nego što ima ekonomska politika te zemlje, jer sve to što se događa na svetskom finansijskom tržištu više utiče dugoročno na ekonomsku politiku jedne zemlje od uticaja jedne vlade. Znači, tu više nema takvog ekonomskog suvereniteta jedne zemlje. Slično je sa politikom.

Udruživanje u Evropsku uniju praktično vodi odricanju velikog dela državnog suvereniteta pojedinih država koje su se tu udružile i taj proces integracije praktično obuhvata sve veći broj država sa krajnjim rezultatom da će negde za dvadeset, trideset ili pedeset godina postojati neka svetska organizacija kao svetska vlada, koja će se bazirati na dobrovoljnom odustajanju od državnih suvereniteta stotina država. Ali to bi bila velika iluzija, kada bi izveli zaključak da nacionalni interes i države nestaju. Ja mislim da bi to bilo pogrešno.

Mislim da se one samo transformišu i da se prilagođavaju ovim trendovima koje sam opisao, ali da neće doći do onoga o čemu je Kant sanjao u svom eseju o večnom miru ili o čemu je Marks sanjao, proleterci svih zemalja, ujedinite se. Da smo svi isti, da nema granica, nema nacija, nema država nego je čovečanstvo jedna nacija. Ne, mislim da će bar onoliko koliko mi možemo da predviđamo istoriju u narednih sto godina nosioci i zapravo glavna pravna lica i entiteti koji tu budu nastupali ipak biti države i nacije koje su organizovane u te države. Ako je megatrend u poslednjih sto godina bio u rastakanju onoga što je bilo stabilno, čvrsto, statično postavlja se pitanje nekog kolektivnog identiteta. Šta se onda događa sa nacionalnim identitetom, sa tim što se unutar jedne države definiše kao interes koji mora na tom svetskom tržištu ili u toj globalnoj konkurenciji da bude branjen, šticećen? Uvek govorimo o tome kada govorimo o jednom organizmu i njegovom okruženju, da taj organizam, prilagođavajući se tom okruženju, mora da uspe da bi ostvario svoje ciljeve.

Mislim da uz ove trendove, koje je lakše

clubs. If you wish to win any of the games, that would require extensive preparations, training and a completely new approach to the game. In other words, it is easy to be the first in the village league, but the question is whether in the 21st century, the village leagues will exist at all or there will be just one league where you can be either among the best or be at the bottom. There is no more East or West, communists or capitalists, Catholics or orthodox, these or those.

There are only successful or unsuccessful individuals. And that is the 21st century league. First of all in economy, and then of course in ideas, innovations, quality of institutions and anything else that accompanies such trend. There is also another trend from centralization towards decentralization, from formerly having the decisions made on a hierarchical level, in the headquarters, which all the other levels of organization in a society only used to execute, towards the trend of delegated, decentralized operation with decisions taken at the level of society encompassing the bodies that eventually perform such decisions, close to citizens and where citizens will be able to control them, and treat such bodies as services for the citizens, rather than exercising the will of an authority.

If you start thinking about my words, you will realize that all these trends have something in common, something that used to be static, material, substantial has been gradually turning to something more flexible, movable and resting on communication, speed, getting your way around, what we may call the procedure rather than the substance.

Indeed, the question that may be put considering all this is what happens with countries, peoples and nations. Obviously, anything that we inherited from the European and global past, such as firmly defined sovereignties, states with their governments, their jurisdictions, has also been gradually blended into this general trend.

Today, the IMF and the World Bank, or the American Federal Reserves defining the interest to loans raised in USD, have more influence on the economy of a country than the economic policy of that country, given that the developments at the global financial market have a stronger, long-term impact on a country's economic policy than one government alone.

This means that there are no more economic sovereignties of such type, connected to a single country. Similar trends take place in politics.

Joining the EU practically leads to wavering a significant part of state sovereignty of individual countries that formed this union, and this integration process practically encompasses the increasing number of states, with the ultimate result that in around twenty, thirty or fifty years there will be a world organization, such as the world government, that would be based on voluntary wavering the state sovereignties of hundreds of states. But it would be a big delusion to think that the national interest and the states would disappear. I believe that such conclusion would be wrong.

In my opinion, they would only be transformed and adjusted to the trends described above, without having something that Kant dreamed of in his essay about perpetual peace or Marx's dream to unite all the proletarians. That we are all the same, that there are no borders, no nations, no states, but only one humankind constituting one nation. No, I rather believe that, at least as much as we can predict from our perspective, the main legal entities and bodies to participate in such trend would rather be the states and nations organized within such states. If the megatrend during the past hundred years was to disintegrate what used to be stabile, firm, static, then a question of some collective identity is raised. What happens then to the national identity, to what has been defined within a state as the interest to be protected, defended in such a global market or global competition? Whenever we talk about an organism and its environment, we mention that by adjusting to the environment such organism must be successful in order to achieve its goals.

Alongside such trends that are easier to analyze, referring to economy and institutions, we may identify a trend that refers to collective identity, and simultaneously defines what happens with that collective identity during the societies' modernization. I think it may be described as the transition from nationalism to patriotism, with nationalism acting as the expression of collective identity in a relatively static society. I think it wrong to believe that development in such domain of modernization from nationalism would

analizirati, koji se odnose na ekonomiju i na institucije, možemo da postavimo jedan trend koji se odnosi na kolektivni identitet, a koji u istoj meri opisuje šta se to togađa sa tim kolektivnim identitetom u modernizaciji društava. To se može opisati kao prelazak od nacionalizma ka patriotizmu, pri čemu je nacionalizam izraz kolektivnog identiteta u jednom relativno statičnom društvu. Mislim da je pogrešno smatrati da razvoj u tom domenu modernizacije od nacionalizma vodi ka internacionalizmu. Znači, nije pandan nacionalizmu internacionalizam. Ako je nacionalizam kolektivni identitet jednog statičnog, u principu ruralno-industrijskog društva, onda ne znači da se kolektivni identitet jednog modernog društva izražava kroz internacionalizam. Internacionalizam je na potpuno drugom koloseku. On funkcionalno ne zadovoljava tu potrebu za identitetom koji je zadovoljavao nacionalizam u jednom drugom tipu društva. Mislim da je jedan pravi pandan nacionalizmu, patriotizam...

Stepen demokratičnosti u smislu učešća i participacije građana u donošenju odluka nikada nije bio veći u istoriji čovečanstva nego što je danas. Znači, to su neke realne činjenice. Ponekad se to smetne s uma, jer imate neke primere zloupotreba, jer je ogromna moć skoncentrisana sada u nekim instrumentima zbog toga što su društva dobila ogromnu moć. Ali u relativnom smislu, danas se vlast mnogo manje zloupotrebljava nego ikada u istoriji. I imidž vlasti je danas gori nego ikada u istoriji zbog toga što postoji demokratska svest koja ne toleriše ni namanje zloupotrebe, čak ni priču o zloupotrebama, što ne znači naravno da nema zemalja u kojima ne postoje velike zloupotrebe i što ne znači da se ovo što govorim odnosi baš na sve zemlje. Ali mislim da ne treba biti pesimista jer je politika nešto plemenito.

Najveća opasnost od jednog pesimističkog opisivanja politike je u tome da pošteni i časni ljudi ne žele da se bave politikom, jer je politika nešto loše i kroz medije je prikazana kao nešto loše u svakoj zemlji, ne samo u našoj. Onda se praktično događa jedna dobrovoljna negativna selekcija da oni koji imaju dobro mišljenje o sebi i o svom moralu, kažu neću da se bavim politikom jer su političari korumpirani, političari su lopovi, političari su prevaranti i onda na kraju zaista nema dovoljno dobrih ljudi koji bi preuzeli odgovornost za nešto što je najvažnije, a to je opšte dobro... Potrebno je i u nacionalnom interesu da se rehabilituje pozitivan pojam politike i da se shvati da ne možete dopustiti lošim ljudima da vode državu u kojoj živite vi i u kojoj će da žive vaša deca. Morate da se potrudite da na važne položaje dođu dobri ljudi, jer ništa vama ne vredi što radite i privređujete ako on to na kraju sve upropasti. I može vas milion takvih da budu dobri koliko god hoćete. Ako na kraju neko u vaše ime to upropasti, onda bolje da ni vi niste privređivali - bolje da ste spavali ili da ste pecali. Znači, politika je instrument za obavljanje velikih poslova u jednom društvu bez koga ne može ništa da se uradi. Danas nema ni jednog društva bez politike i oni koji pričaju o tome da treba eksperti nešto da rade, oni hoće da vas prevare.

Znači mora da se prizna činjenica da su u modernim društvima politička struktura, političke institucije jedini instrument koji može da služi za obavljanje velikih društvenih projekata. Društvo mora da kontroliše taj instrument i svaki pojedinac mora da bude zainteresovan za kvalitet tog instrumenta, jer od kvaliteta politike zavisi njegova bezbednost, njegov život i njegova budućnost..."

lead to internationalism. In other words, internationalism is not the counterpart of nationalism. If we define nationalism as collective identity of a static, generally rural and industrial society, this does not mean that the collective identity of a modern society is necessarily expressed through internationalism. Internationalism runs on completely different tracks. Functionally, it does not satisfy the need for identity which used to be satisfied by nationalism in another type of society. I think that the real counterpart of nationalism is patriotism...

The level of democracy in terms of participation of the citizens in decision-making has never been higher in the history of mankind. These are the facts. Sometimes this slips from our mind because of the occasional examples of abuse taking place due to the enormous power concentrated in some instruments after the societies had obtained vast supremacy. But in relative terms, today has power been far less abused than ever before in the history of mankind. At the same time, the perception of authorities today has been worse than ever before, given that a democratic consciousness has developed, which does not tolerate any form of abuse, not even rumors about power abuse. This, of course, does not imply that there are no countries where huge abuses of power have taken place, but it also does not imply that what I am saying necessarily applies to all countries. In any case, I think that one should not be a pessimist, since politics is a noble discipline.

The biggest risk of having politics described in a pessimistic way is that honorable and rueful people do not wish to ever go into politics, as politics is usually presented in the media as something negative, which applies to any country and not only ours. As a consequence, a voluntarily negative selection is made, in such a way that those who have a good opinion about themselves and their morals, say that they would never deal with politics, since politicians are corrupted, politicians are thieves, conmen, and eventually we end up with insufficient number of honorable people that would be ready to take responsibility for what is of crucial importance, and that is general welfare... It is necessary and it would be in the national interest to try to rehabilitate the positive notion of politics and

make it clear that corrupt people will not be allowed to lead the state in which you live and your children are expected to live in the future. You must ensure that important positions are taken by good people, since your hard work and earnings will mean nothing if at the end of the day someone will ruin it all. And if so, a million of you may be as good as it takes, but all in vain. If, acting on your behalf, someone ruins your success, then you had better not even made the effort – you could have slept or gone fishing instead. To be more specific, politics is an instrument for enabling significant operations in a society, without which nothing could have been done. Today, there is no society without politics, and those who keep saying that it is experts who should be doing something are actually playing tricks on you.



Dr Zoran Đinđić na Banjalučkom univerzitetu
Dr Zoran Djindjic at the Banja Luka University

It has to be recognized that in modern societies, political structure and political institutions are the only instrument that may be used as a support for carrying out big social projects. The society must control this instrument and each individual has to be interested in the quality of its performance, given that his/her safety, life and future depend on the quality of politics..."