

# RAZVOJ MODERNIH DEMOKRATSKIH DRŽAVA I NJIHOVIH POLITIČKIH SISTEMA SA OSVRTOM NA POLITIČKI SISTEM REPUBLIKE SRBIJE

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## Apstrakt

*Identitet jedne države izražava se u njenim spoljašnjim odnosima, isto kao i u njenom unutrašnjem organizovanju, odnosno politici koju sprovodi. Demokratski oformljen politički sistem podrazumeva da je država uspešno organizovana, glavno shvatanje društva su sloboda i pravda, demokratija ne poznaje rat, načela pravde vladaju između grupa, a to znači da svaka grupa sa svojim osobinama ima slobodu da organizuje svoj život i međuodnose sa svim ostalim grupama, mora se negovati pravo nezavisnog razvitka koje je dopuna dužnosti svake grupe ponaosob. U radu je prikazan teorijski okvir izgleda modernih demokratskih država, opisana je savremena praksa iz razvijenih političkih sistema, izraženi su efekti modernog političkog sistema i definisana su tri pristupa procene valjanosti političkog sistema, prikazan je poseban osvrt na politički sistem Republike Srbije. Naučna i društvena opravdanost ovog istraživačkog rada zasniva se na ukazivanju i isticanju faktora koji doprinose većem stepenu demokratije, a manjim klasnim razlikama, što svakako determiniše politički sistem i društvo moderne države, gde Republika Srbija teži da bude.*

**Ključne reči:** moderna država, demokratija, razvoj, politički sistem, društvo

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## Uvod

Posmatrano sa naučno-istraživačkog aspekta, demokratija predstavlja najvišu fazu u kojoj se jedno društvo moglo razviti, odnosno demokratija je vrhunac razvitka društvene organizacije u novovekovnom društvu. U svemu ovome dejstvuje jedan

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isti ideal, taj ideal je politička demokratija, jer država je u modernim vremenima postala ne samo „smetnja nad smetnjama”, nego i aktivan pomagač razvitka svojih građana i zakon nije više pre svega zapovest niti kontrola nad zločincima, nego metod za uspostavljanje administrativnih organizacija (Berns, 2010).

Stepene razvoja moderne demokratske države možemo klasifikovati po sledećim zahtevima: mir, sloboda, jednakost, bratstvo, okolina (ekološka neistrošenost) (Nohlen, Schultze, 1992). Herbert Markuze (nem. Herbert Marcuse) smatra da je tolerancija jedan od osnovnih elemenata modernog demokratskog društva i tim povodom on ističe: Zaključak je da bi ostvarivanje cilja tolerancije zahtevalo netoleranciju prema vladajućoj političkoj praksi, stavovima i mišljenjima, te proširenje tolerancije na onu političku praksu, stavove i mišljenja što se osuđuju i potiskuju (Primorac, 1989). Moderne demokratske političke sisteme karakteriše i postojanje sistema koji nije zavisao od ličnosti, dakle postoje zakoni, procedure, forme delovanja i funkcionisanja društva, a ličnost, „vladar“ (ovde je nužno odrediti oblik državnog uređenja), je samo činovnik koji vrši svoju funkciju u mandatu koji mu je poveren i u slučaju volje naroda, narod ga može u svakom trenutku većinom glasova sa te poverene mu funkcije smeniti. Pojedinačna razumna bića mogu da imaju zakone koje su sama stvorila, ali imaju i one koje nisu stvorila; pre nego što je bilo razumnih bića, ona su bila moguća, imala su, dakle, moguće odnose, pa otuda i moguće zakone; pre nego što je bilo donetih zakona, bilo je mogućih odnosa pravičnosti; kazati da nema ničeg pravičnog niti nepravičnog izuzev onog što nalažu ili zabranjuju pozitivni zakoni, znači reći da pre nego što se opiše krug svi poluprečnici nisu bili jednaki (Monteskje, 2011). Ovo istraživanje ukazuje na stepen razvoja političkih sistema sa demokratskim prefiksom kao imperativom današnjeg vremena, kao što i nastoji da praktično pomogne unapređenju postojećeg političkog sistema Republike Srbije. Zapravo, politički sistem je sveukupna socijalna struktura u onoj meri, u kojoj je ta ista socijalna struktura uključena u procese oblikovanja modernog političkog života.

### **Karakteristike moderne demokratske države**

Karakteristike moderne demokratske države i njenog političkog sistema su predmet interesovanja mnogih teoretičara politike i prava, jer izazov je dati nov pogled, progresivnog karaktera, koji se može implementirati u praksi, i kao rezultat pokazati sveukupni društveni razvitak. Politički model moderne demokratske države sadrži najznačajnije emancipatorske domete i vrednosti viševjekovnog istorijskog razvitka zapadnoevropskih zemalja; u njoj se rezimiraju osnovne tekovine zapadne civilizacije: modernizacija, građansko društvo, pravna država, liberalno-demokratski politički sistem, participativno-demokratska kultura i slično; ove tekovine – vrednosti se uzimaju kao egzistencijalni minimum za civilizovani život ljudi u jednom složenom društvu (Trkulja, 2011). Jedna od bazičnih karakteristika moderne demokratske države trebala bi da bude i nacionalna bezbednost koja garantuje očuvanje teritorijalnog integriteta, što je

sastavni deo identiteta svakog društva. Moderne progresivne demokratije sveta nemaju ovakve izazove, te nesuočene njima, one mogu da ostvaruju svoj ekonomski prosperitet i time jačaju nacionalni integritet. Republika Srbija se po svojim pravno-političkim dostignućima može svrstati u red država koje teže modernom demokratskom životu, ali na tom putu težnje su često demantovane spoljašnjim uticajima koji su krucijalni za stvaranje demokratskog ambijenta svake države. Srbija je aktivna članica NATO programa Partnerstvo za mir, ali do 2007. godine, kada je Narodna skupština donela odluku o proglašenju vojne neutralnosti (Rezolucija Narodne skupštine Republike Srbije 2007. čl. 6), za SAD predstavlja činjenicu da je Srbija razbila homogenost tzv. Zapadnog Balkana u pogledu širenja NATO-a (Božić, 2023). Oдавde jasno vidimo uticaj spoljašnjeg faktora na širenje i progres demokratskog rasta jedne države. Jer demokratija je neograničena sloboda, u okviru nacionalne i međunarodne legislative.

Konstituisanje moderne demokratske države sa modernim političkim sistemom je veoma složen i dugotrajan proces, koji nužno podrazumeva prisustvo velikog broja različitih faktora i uslova. Neki od tih faktora i uslova su: oslobađanje ekonomije od tutorstva politike, izgradnja građanskog društva, proces edukativnog stvaranja građanina, postojanje pravne države i vladavine prava, primena načela podele vlasti, postojanje nezavisnog sudstva, nužnost političkog pluralizma, postojanje parlamentarizma, postojanje obostrane odgovornosti (i države, i građanina), slobodni demokratski izbori, sloboda informisanja, zastupljenost participativno-demokratske političke kulture, obavezno postojanje organizacija civilnog društva (Nevladine organizacije).

### **Savremena praksa razvoja modernih država i političkih sistema u njima**

Politički sistem se u praksi ne može odvojiti od države. I država, i politički sistem su sastavni deo istih društvenih odnosa, snaga i procesa. Međutim, država kao klasna organizacija koja štiti interese vladajuće klase aparatom prinude fizičke sile kojim raspolaže je mnogo starija društvena pojava i manje je podložna promenama od političkog sistema, jer državna struktura se menja tek ukoliko dođe do socijalne revolucije, a opet, oblici političkog sistema su podložni promenama čak i posle izbora i smena partija koje su bile promoteri određene politike i zagovarači takve ideologije. Ono što je bitno jeste da je politički sistem svake zemlje normativno uređen ustavom, kao najvišim pravnim aktom i temeljnim zakonom iz koga proizilaze i s kojim moraju biti usklađene norme svih drugih nižih pravnih akata. Ono što je pri proučavanju političkih sistema najznačajnije jeste da se u svim delovima društvene organizacije normativno i stvarno nikada u potpunosti ne poklapaju (Duraković, 2007). Profesor dr Božo Žepić, eminentni hrvatski pravnik, sociolog i politikolog smatra da: „Pravo nastoji normirati celokupnu društvenu zbilju i ponašanje svih društvenih subjekata, kao i svakog člana datog društva. Međutim, između normativnog i stvarnog uvek postoje određene razlike, odnosno veća i manja odstupanja. Ovo zato što je državna

norma, u pravilu, nametnuta i prisilna, u odnosu na podanike i druge pravne subjekte, najveći deo političke povesti, kada je promatrano kroz deklaracije i programe njezinih ključnih protagonista, i nije u biti ništa drugo do historija pretvaranja sile u pravo, a pokoravanja u dužnost, sve to radi ostvarivanja posebnog interesa koji se silom natura kao zajednički interes, za koji se onda propisuje i zahteva da bude dobrovoljno poštovan.“

Ako želimo da otkrijemo raskorak između norme i prakse, analizirajući političke sisteme modernih država, moramo imati na umu, da niz političkih pojava i procesa kojima se bavi politička nauka, nije pravno regulisan. Ovde kao primer možemo navesti: razne vrste lobija (lobiranje), ponašanje javnog mnjenja, angažovanje tzv. „grupa za pritisak“ i slično. Da bi se ovaj raskorak naučno proučio i da bi se otkrili indikatori ovakvih pojava, neophodno je (zapravo, prinuđena je) da se politikologija bavi isključivo empirijskim istraživanjima, te da na osnovu dobijenih rezultata u empirijskim istraživanjima, koja nužno moraju biti nezavisna i objektivna, izvede relevantne zaključke. Savremena pravna nauka, posebno posle prodora sociologije i socioloških metoda, do koga je došlo poslednjih decenija, pokušava da u svojim proučavanjima uvek gde može i kada može primenjuje sociološke metode i time se sve više odstupa od svog pretežno ili čak isključivo formalnog, legalističkog, normativnog i institucionalnog pristupa. Nastoji se na razlikovanju onoga što Englezi nazivaju *law in books* (pravo u knjigama, na hartiji) i *law in action* (pravo u primeni, u stvarnosti) (Jovićić, 2006). I ovog puta pokazalo se da snaga promena ne leži u volji pojedinca, već isključivo u stvaranju snažnih, politički nezavisnih institucija, koje predstavljaju, figurativno govoreći, mehanizam koji funkcioniše bez obzira na ideju ili ideje pojedinca; ovome u prilog govore politički sistemi Republike Austrije, Francuske, Nemačke i drugih razvijenih zemalja, gde bez obzira na politička dešavanja, sistem funkcioniše, ne paraliziše se (Ljubojević, Petrović, 2019).

Efekte savremenog političkog sistema, kao i usklađivanje postojećeg raskoraka između teorije i prakse je moguće potražiti u modernizaciji društva, proširenju celokupnog opsega svih ljudskih prava i sloboda, ali i obezbeđivanje poštovanja istih tih prava i sloboda, izgradnja ekonomski stabilnog društva je imperativ svake države, jer jedino ekonomski jaka država može sa velikom sigurnošću da obezbedi sprovođenje proklamovanih prava, težnja ka stvaranju socijalnog kapitala, demokratizaciji, rad na povećanju upravljačke stabilnosti i sposobnosti sistema, kao i rad na stabilnosti i efikasnosti političkog sistema. Treba istaći, da ne zadovoljavaju sve savremene države pomenute kriterijume u jednakoj meri.

### **Tri pristupa procene valjanosti političkog sistema**

U prosuđivanju valjanosti političkog sistema najčešće se koriste tri pristupa: prvi, manje ili više empirijski pristup, drugi u normativnoj, a treći u

nekoj vrsti mešovite empirijsko-normativne ravni. Prvi, manje ili više empirijski pristup najčešće tretira ili interpretira demokratiju u institucionalnim i proceduralnim, a ređe i gotovo uzgredno u supstancijalnim kategorijama – sadržajima. Drugo, demokratija se traži i nalazi uglavnom u institucionalno proceduralnoj ravni politike i političkog sistema. Treće, demokratija se traži i gradi na materijalu koji je stacioniran u krugu zapadnih demokratskih zemalja. Drugi pristup nastoji da prepozna i postavi horizont valorizacije tako da seže iznad empirijske institucionalno – proceduralne ravni i sadrži nešto šire progresivne i humanističke vrednosti. Treći pristup je najprihvaćeniji za valorizaciju političkog sistema, on obuhvata pored demokratske i druge kriterijume valorizacije poput: filozofskih, socijalnih, ekonomskih, širih političkih i etičkih efekata (Vasović, 2008). Uporedno proučavanje savremenih političkih sistema susreće se sa znatnim razlikama pojedinih političkih sistema, prvenstveno u pogledu različite klasne strukture i društveno-ekonomskim uređenjem, zatim tome treba dodati da su neki politički sistemi buržoaski, dok su pak drugi socijalistički. Uporedo proučavanje političkih sistema je nezamislivo bez analize političkih pojava i procesa, u kojoj su jake tendencije etnocentrizma, zatim težnje za ostvarenje nacionalne suverenosti, i možda najopasnije, iznad svega prisutne ideološke netrpeljivosti.

### **O političkom sistemu Republike Srbije**

Republika Srbija i celokupan pozitivno pravni poredak prošli su mnoge reforme, transformacije, procese prilagođavanja, restituisanja, redefinisivanja granica, neopravdanih političkih ucena od strane međunarodne zajednice, doživeli smo u jednom veku tri ratne agresije, no ipak smo uspeli da se izdignemo i izgradimo u svakom, pa i u političko-pravnom smislu. Republika Srbija je kandidat za članstvo u Evropskoj Uniji, da li je ova kandidatura ispravan politički potez i koliko je ona realna u pogledu ostvarivanja, a koliko je realna u pogledu postavljanja uslova za ulazak u Uniju, već sa ove vremenske distance možemo da zaključimo. Na vlast u Republici Srbiji vrši se snažan politički uticaj i to je evidentno, u prilog ovoj tezi govori podatak da i vazdušni prostor iznad jedne države pripada toj državi, jer svaka teritorija je trodimenzionalna (tlo, voda, vazdušni prostor). Republika Srbija želi da jača bilateralne odnose sa već dovoljno dokazanom, i po slovenskom, ali i po religioznom pogledu, bliskom Ruskom Federacijom. Međutim, ne može se zanemariti podatak koji nam govori da Republika Srbija najveći procenat izvoza roba i usluga ostvaruje upravo sa EU. Ono što je srpski nacionalni interes, a i put ka samoizgradnji je razvijanje politike podizanja nataliteta, uspostavljanje socijaldemokratskih principa ekonomske politike, i to ukidanjem liberalnog odn. sad već neoliberalnog ekonomskog stava. Prioritet razvoja Republike Srbije trebao bi da bude mobilnost mladih. Mobilnost mladih podrazumeva sposobnost slobodnog i samostalnog zaključivanja, upoznavanja različitosti i samim tim se u individui izgrađuje relevantan sistem vrednosti i sposobnosti racionalne komparacije, koja isključuje političke faktore.

Razvoj informacionih tehnologija, kao prioritet razvoja, podrazumeva donošenje Nacionalne strategije o razvoju informacionih tehnologija, što direktno doprinosi razvoju politiko-pravnog sistema jednog društva. U prilog ovome govori činjenica da je SFRJ osamdesetih godina bila četvrta zemlja sveta po budžetu izdvojenom za ulaganje u razvoj informacionih tehnologija. Izgradnja sistema obrazovanja koji podrazumeva razvoj socijalne inovacije kao imperativa 21. veka. Praktično osposobljavanje učenika i studenata da razumeju i primene sve ono što su kroz sistem obrazovanja usvojili, osnova je Strategije o razvoju mladih, koju takođe treba doneti i praktično implementirati u društveni sistem Republike Srbije. Političko-pravni aspekt uvek je bio odlučujući faktor i stabilnosti, i ekonomske razvijenosti, i međunarodne politike, i nacionalne progresije, međutim, u svakom trenutku društveno svestan pojedinac mora imati na umu da se istorija menja, da se politika prilagođava interesima jačih, da se pravni poredak prilagođava trendovima i potrebama vremena u kome egzistira, samo je ljudski resurs ograničena kategorija, koja ima početak i kraj. Budući da se srpski narod i srpske zemlje nalaze na Balkanu, jednom od strateški najvažnijih regiona sveta, geopolitički način razmišljanja i delovanja su egzistencijalno važni, te upravo na takvom Balkanu srpski prostor je najprostraniji i svojom centralnom pozicijom igra ulogu „balkanskog heartland-a“ (Stepić, 2019).

Politički sistem Republike Srbije suočen je sa nerešenim društvenim problemima, ekonomskom tranzicijom koja traje, uplivom stranog kapitala na domaće tržište roba i radne snage, a istovremeno odlivom radne snage u razvijenije zemlje Evrope i sveta. Srbiji je neophodna politika saradnje i prihvatanja evropskih vrednosti i standarda u oblasti političko-pravnog uređenja države i društva, razvoj demokratije, funkcionisanje pravne države i vladavine prava kao i poštovanje ljudskih prava i osnovnih sloboda deo su zajedničke tradicije prihvaćene od strane svih, ili skoro svih država evropskog kontinenta i predstavljaju nadgradnju ekonomske integracije mirovnog projekta koji se razvija na tlu Evrope od 1951. godine (Petrović, Vasilkov, 2021). Međutim, danas smo svedoci dvostrukih aršina evropske politike, posebno na primeru autonomne pokrajine Kosovo i Metohija, što dodatno determiniše položaj Republike Srbije i njene politike, kako domaće, tako i međunarodne, pa se s razlogom pitamo da li je ovakav evropski politički scenario samo nužda ili viša potreba. Država jednom narodu daje statusno određenje čineći ga nacijom (Bodrožić, 2023). Danas nacionalnu politiku takođe karakteriše nepostojanje odgovornih nosilaca vlasti i stabilnih institucija. A to je ozbiljan društveni hendikep države koja pretenduje da svoj razvoj zasnue na političkoj korektnosti i poštovanju principa demokratičnosti, decentralizacije, depolitizacije, supsidijarnosti, kao i uvođenja određenih zakonskih regulativa koje bi podrazumevale zabranu bavljenja političkim pozivom svim zaposlenima u javnoj upravi. Jedan od krucijalnih problema sa kojim se srpsko društvo bori (ili pak ga neguje) jeste partokratija. Partokratija u Srbiji može se pratiti u institucionalnoj ravni (Ustav, zakon, izborni sistem), u političkoj kulturi i tradiciji,

ali i u razumevanju politike, više kao zadovoljavanju parcijalnih i ličnih interesa, a manje kao oblikovanju javnog dobra (Orlović, 2021). Set zakona koji bi podrazumevao promene u pravosudnom, obrazovnom, privrednom, medijskom, urbanističkom i svim vitalnim segmentima legislativnog korpusa neophodan je novom demokratskom društvu Republike Srbije.

### **Značaj razumevanja države i političkog sistema u procesu stvaranja demokratskog ambijenta**

Za razumevanje politike, političkog sistema i svih činilaca političkog sistema, nužno je poznavati državu kao determinantu i predmet prostiranja političke ideologije. Neprestana borba za moć između konkurentskih, nacionalnih država u miru i ratu stvorila je najveće izgledе kapitalizmu u novo doba na Zapadu; država je morala da se takmiči za pokretljiv kapital koji joj je propisivao uslove pod kojima će joj pomoći da dođe do moći; iz prinudno stvorenog saveza između nacionalne države i kapitala izrastao je nacionalni građanski stalež, buržoazija, u modernom smislu reči; dakle, zatvorena nacionalna država je ta koja kapitalizmu garantuje izgledе za opstanak; dokle god ona ne ustupi mesto jednom svetskom carstvu, kapitalizam će trajati (Veber, 2014). Politički sistem je osnova opredeljenja društva, on je orijentir društvenog kretanja, te koliko god država stvarala politički sistem (misli se na narod kao osnovni element države), toliko i sam politički sistem utiče ideološko-institucionalnim instrumentima na definisanje kontura države. Osnivač moderne sociologije, tvorac sociologizma, David Emil Dirken smatra, da sve do početka 19. veka većinom filozofskih radova vladala je jedna ideja koja je društvenu nauku u korenu sprečavala da se ustanovi. Naime, bezmalo svi ti teoretičari politike videli su u društvu ljudsko delo, plod veštine i refleksivnog mišljenja. Po njima, ljudi su stali da žive zajedno zato što su našli da je to korisno i dobro; bila je to veštačka tvorevina koju su smislili kako bi malčice poboljšali svoj položaj. Nacija, dakle, ne bi bila prirodni proizvod, poput organizma ili biljke koja se rađa, raste i razvija zahvaljujući unutrašnjoj nužnosti, već bi pre nalikovala onim mašinama koje prave ljudi i čiji su svi delovi sastavljeni shodno prethodno zamišljenom planu. Ako su ćelije od kojih je sačinjeno telo odrasle životinje postale ono što jesu, to je stoga što je u njihovoj prirodi bilo da to postanu (Dirken, 2007). Dakle, politički sistem se definiše po unapred utvrđenim ideološkim (teorijskim) pravilima, u interakciji sa činionicima političkog realiteta on se prilagođava i prilagođava društvo, te u toj sprezi dveju dejstava nastaje ono što mi danas nazivamo političkim sistemom. Iz ove tvrdnje može se izvući jedinstven zaključak, a to je da, politički sistem nastaje onog trenutka kad nastane i identifikovano, nacionalno, suvereno, međunarodno priznato, teritorijalno omeđeno, simbolima ukrašeno, pravno, institucionalno, formalno priznato društvo. Prof. dr Radomir D. Lukić govori o dva lica politike, naime, on razdvaja politiku kao nauku, i politiku kao veštinu. Nesumnjivo je da je politika nauka sa elementima veštine. Ono što se uzima kao predmet politike jeste celokupan politički proces, koji je po svojoj prirodi vrlo složen i dinamičan, pa ga

je stoga teško planski organizovati i teorijski prognostički voditi, nego, iz akcije i reakcije dobijene posledice smatrati esencijalnim proizvodom političkog sistema kroz koji se sprovodi pomenuta politika. Unutar svakog političkog sistema odvija se politički proces ili društveno politički proces, preciznije definisano. Pod društveno političkim procesom podrazumeva se celokupan politički proces koji se vrši u društvu, tj. povezano delovanje političkih delatnosti političkih subjekata, koje, u celini uzeto, usmerava kretanje društva u jednom određenom pravcu, prvenstveno pomoću države. U središtu političkog procesa se nalazi država. Delatnost državnih subjekata vrši se kroz političke procese, sprovođenjem državne vlasti, što znači da politički subjekti vrše i određene političke delatnosti kojima teže da usmere društvo u određenom pravcu i bez neposrednog cilja (Lukić, 1995). Danas demokratija ima više svojih oblika i kao takva ona je podložnija uticajima koji bilo da su unutrašnje ili spoljašnje prirode ograničavaju slobodu, a to automatski znači da anuliraju postojanje jednakih prava svih. Odatle se može jasno zaključiti da sva ograničenja koja kao takva postoje pred svakim modelom demokratije neposredno dovode u pitanje i opšti opstanak demokratije uopšte. Činjenica da od postanka demokratije pre dve i po hiljade godina do danas građani sve manje neposredno odlučuju, u budućnosti može dovesti do uspostavljanja virtualne demokratije zasnovane na upotrebi interneta u izbornim i drugim aktivnostima, što koliko sprečava neke dosadašnje oblike manipulacije od kojih su patila i sva demokratska društva, isto toliko otvara i neke nove, još opasnije mogućnosti visoko sofisticiranih i tehnologiziranih oblika manipulacije (Simeunović, 2022).

### **Zaključak**

Osnovno obeležje svakog savremenog političkog sistema trebala bi da bude težnja ka klasnoj borbi. Klasna borba je trajno i bitno obeležje klasnog društva, kao antagonističkog društva. Ona je njegova dinamička snaga. Ali iz klasne borbe, kako su utvrdili Marks i Engels u Manifestu komunističke partije mogu nastupiti dva istorijska rezultata: 1) Progresivna promena postojećeg društvenog i političkog sistema, promena u odnosima moći klasa u sukobu koja takođe izaziva proširenje ljudske emancipacije i 2) Propast obe osnovne klase u sukobu i istorijsko nezadovoljstvo društva (Tadić, 2007).

Ono što mora biti zajedničko svim savremenim političkim sistemima, svake zemlje koja je normativno uređena ustavom, jeste činjenica da je svaka zemlja uređena ustavom kao najvišim pravnim aktom, sa najvećom pravnom snagom, iz koga proizilaze i moraju biti u skladu svi zakoni i uredbe jedne zemlje i da se ustav u potpunosti ima poštovati, to je ključna odlika savremenog političkog sistema svake države. Prosperitetan politički sistem treba da ima neko šire i solidnije filozofsko, pre svega ontološko-gnoseološko i antropološko-etičko utemeljenje. Valja imati u vidu da naše anticipacije i projekti, kao sastavni deo



političkog bitisanja i delovanja, zavise velikim delom od naših saznanjih mogućnosti i svesti o njima i o prirodi čoveka uopšte (Vasović, 2008).

Politika je ona suštastvena spona između pozitivnog prava, prirodnog prava, etike, filozofije, kulture, tradicije, logike, metafizike, ekonomije i sociologije. Razumevanje politike je krucijalna vrlina svakog mislećeg bića, te se ona kao uzvišena disciplina prvenstveno javlja u misaonim procesima intelektualnih ljudi, ne samo današnjice, već je ovo njeno svojstvo postalo identitet svakog vremena i ljudi koji tom vremenu pripadaju. Ako bismo rekli da je politika učenje o dobrom i pravednom, onda smemo da tvrdimo da je ona kao takva nastavak etike. Mesto i uloga čoveka u svakom trenutku ovozemaljskog postojanja srž je ideje političkog progressa civilizacije i sam proces za posledicu ima stvaranje političkog sistema. Politički sistem je osnova opredeljenja društva, on je orijentir društvenog kretanja, te koliko god država stvarala politički sistem (misli se na narod kao osnovni element države), toliko i sam politički sistem utiče ideološko-institucionalnim instrumentima na definisanje kontura države.

Politički sistem nije samo sistem pravnih (zakonskih) propisa, već je to znatno složeniji sistem koji podrazumeva učešće svih agenasa društvenih procesa i njihove interakcije. Aristotel je smatrao da zakon nema mogućnost da stvara moć bez navike, jer kako on tvrdi, zakon i nije ništa drugo do „opšti običaj“. S toga je politički sistem složen skup svih aktera društvenog života i samog društva, unutar određene teritorije, pa se na osnovu takvog interakcijskog odnosa i definiše priroda političkog sistema.

Čovek je društveno biće koje i kad je sam, nije sam, jer i onda je deo društva, kao šireg sistema kojem pripada, dakle, čovek je po prirodi upućen da živi u društvu, odnosno državi, jer je država klasna organizacija koja je nastala na određenom stepenu razvoja ljudskog društva. Cilj politike zato treba da bude stvaranje opšteg Dobra kao vrhovne socijalne vrednosti. Predmet politike trebalo bi da budu plemenitost i pravednost, a u središtu političke nauke bi trebalo da bude društvo, odnosno država.

Politika je sredstvo pomoću kojeg se šire i manifestuju ideje, a ideje implementiraju u ideologiju, a ideologija zahvaljujući masama sprovodi u realnost – tj. stvara politički poredak – determinanta je svakog sistema, jer bez političke ideologije nema političkog sistema, kao i obrnuto, bez političke ideologije nema politike koja determiniše politički sistem. Stvaranje političkog sistema je planiran i često, iz istorijskih, ekonomskih, militarnih, lukreativnih, strateških ciljeva koncipiran i vremenski unapred osmišljen proces, koji gotovo uvek ima geopolitičke ciljeve, koji treba da ostvare izvesne interese. Makijaveli, a posebno Hegel, smatraju da je politička teorija u interakciji između onih koji vladaju i onih nad kojima se vlada. Da bi postojala politika, neophodno je da postoji sloboda, a to znači da postoji jednakost između onog što je politički ideal i etička vrednost.

Ključni faktori koji utiču na progresivni razvoj svakog političkog sistema, pa i političkog sistema Republike Srbije, jesu: zavisnost konkretnog političkog sistema od spoljašnje i unutrašnje politike zemalja u regionu, stepenom demokratskog razvoja zemlje, i treće, a možda najznačajnije – od stanja međunarodnih odnosa u bližem i širem okruženju.

Za svaki politički sistem od vitalnog značaja je uloga političke, ekonomske, socijalne i kulturne razvijenosti zemlje. Ono što je zajedničko svim savremenim teoretičarima političkih sistema jeste tvrdnja da je politički sistem složena strukturno-funkcionalna celina koja se temelji na interakciji društva i političkog poretka (Blanuša, Vasilkov, Petrović, 2020). Politika je uvek kreirana, ukoliko govorimo o nacionalnoj politici, bez obzira da li ima primese levičarskog ili desničarskog orijentacionog opredeljenja, ekonomskim (monetarnim) kapitalom. Samo marionetske politike ne moraju da imaju stabilnu ekonomiju, već finansiranje takvih politika isključivo se vrši putem inostranih fondova i drugih izvora materijalne moći, koji za uzvrat traže odricanje od nacionalnog suvereniteta, a to uključuje i odricanje od monetarne politike. Ekonomske prilike jedne države direktno i bezuslovno utiču na socijalni status društva, stvara se, u zavisnosti od politike koja se vodi i koja dobija većinu (u parlamentarnim demokratijama) socijalna slika društva, koja može imati niz različitih oblika, tako možemo govoriti o državi blagostanja, ali i o državi državnih kuhinja i velike socijalne različitosti unutar društva, što implicira stvaranje ekstremno bogatih i ekstremno siromašnih, a takva vrsta polarizacije društva nije i nikad neće biti dobar oblik društvene organizacije. Društvena organizacija utiče na održivost određene političke ideologije, a svi ti interakcijski procesi stvaraju kulturu jednog društva. Kultura je uvek najčistije ogledalo društva. Kultura je instrument za merenje ideološke gladi, korumpcijske prisutnosti, plaćeničke politiziranosti, socijaldemokratske cenjenosti, građanske svesti, obrazovne snage pojedinca i akademske kontrole, analize i sposobnosti kreiranja budućih političkih procesa.

Dakle, možemo reći da je politički sistem skup međusobno povezanih činilaca u političkoj sferi društva i da je on samo jedan od niza podsistema u sistemu globalnih društvenih odnosa. Deetatizacija i demokratizacija društva moraju imati za cilj da kroz univerzitetski definisan edukativni proces sve društvene pojave i promene teorijski obrazlože, kritički ocene, i da svim tim pojavama i promenama pronađu smisao i perspektive daljeg razvoja. Nužni preduslov za stvaranje akademske i naučne afirmacije političkih sistema jeste određenje pojma i strukture političkog sistema, ravnomerno izučavanje njegove teorije i prakse, ali i prevazilaženje dogmatskog pozitivizma i apologetike, kao i nihilističkog subjektivizma uz rapidno i neselektivno podizanje kulture ljudi. Zapravo, politički sistem je sveukupna socijalna struktura u onoj meri, u kojoj je ta ista socijalna struktura uključena u procese oblikovanja modernog političkog života.

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# DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN DEMOCRATIC STATES AND THEIR POLITICAL SYSTEMS WITH REFERENCE TO THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

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## *Abstract*

*The identity of a state is expressed in its external relations, as well as in its internal organization, i.e. the policy it implements. A democratically formed political system implies that the state is successfully organized, the main understanding of society is freedom and justice, democracy does not know war, the principles of justice rule between groups, which means that each group with its own characteristics has the freedom to organize its life and relations with all others groups, the right of independent development must be nurtured, which complements the duties of each individual group. The paper presents the theoretical framework of the appearance of modern democratic states, describes the contemporary practice from developed political systems, expresses the effects of the modern political system and defines three approaches to assessing the validity of the political system, shows a special review of the political system of the Republic of Serbia. The scientific and social justification of this research work is based on pointing out and highlighting the factors that contribute to a greater degree of democracy and less class differences, which certainly determines the political system and society of a modern state, where the Republic of Serbia aspires to be.*

**Keywords:** modern state, democracy, development, political system, society

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## **Introduction**

Seen from a scientific and research point of view, democracy represents the highest stage in which a society could develop, that is, democracy is the peak of the development of social organization in modern society. The same ideal is at work in all of this, that ideal is political democracy, because in modern times the state has become not only a "distraction on top of distractions", but also an active

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helper of the development of its citizens, and the law is no longer primarily a command or control over criminals, but a method for the establishment of administrative organizations Burns 2010).

We can classify the stages of development of a modern democratic state according to the following requirements: peace, freedom, equality, fraternity, environment (ecological integrity) Nohlen Schultze 1992). Herbert Marcuse (German: Herbert Marcuse) believes that tolerance is one of the basic elements of a modern democratic society and on this occasion he points out: The conclusion is that achieving the goal of tolerance would require intolerance towards the ruling political practice, attitudes and opinions, and the extension of tolerance to that political practice attitudes and opinions that are condemned and suppressed Primorac 1989). Modern democratic political systems are characterized by the existence of a system that does not depend on the personality, so there are laws, procedures, forms of action and functioning of the society, and the personality, the "ruler" (here it is necessary to determine the form of state organization), is only an official who performs his function in the mandate entrusted to him and in the case of the will of the people, the people can at any time remove him from the office entrusted to him by majority vote. Individual rational beings may have laws of their own making, but they also have laws of their own making; before there were rational beings, they were possible, therefore had possible relationships, and hence possible laws; before there were laws, there were possible relations of equity; to say that there is nothing just or unjust except what is ordered or forbidden by positive laws, means to say that before the circle was described all the radii were not equal Montesquieu 2011). This research points to the degree of development of political systems with a democratic prefix as an imperative of today's time, as well as tries to practically help the improvement of the existing political system of the Republic of Serbia. In fact, the political system is an overall social structure to the extent that this same social structure is involved in the processes of shaping modern political life.

### **Characteristics of a modern democratic state**

The characteristics of a modern democratic state and its political system are the subject of interest of many theorists of politics and law, because the challenge is to give a new view, of a progressive character, which can be implemented in practice, and as a result show the overall social development. The political model of a modern democratic state contains the most significant emancipatory scope and values of the centuries-old historical development of Western European countries; it summarizes the basic achievements of Western civilization: modernization, civil society, rule of law, liberal-democratic political system, participatory-democratic culture and the like; these acquired values are taken as the existential minimum for the civilized life of people in a complex society Trkulja 2011). One of the basic characteristics of a modern democratic state

should be national security, which guarantees the preservation of territorial integrity, which is an integral part of the identity of every society. The modern progressive democracies of the world do not have these challenges, and without facing them, they can realize their economic prosperity and thereby strengthen national integrity. According to its legal and political achievements, the Republic of Serbia can be classified as one of the countries that aspire to a modern democratic life, but along the way, these aspirations are often denied by external influences that are crucial for the creation of a democratic environment in each country. Serbia is an active member of the NATO Partnership for Peace program, but until 2007, when the National Assembly made a decision on the declaration of military neutrality (Resolution of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia 2007, Article 6), for the USA it represents the fact that Serbia broke the homogeneity of the so-called of the Western Balkans in terms of NATO expansion (Božić, 2023). From here we clearly see the influence of external factors on the expansion and progress of the democratic growth of a country. Because democracy is unlimited freedom, within the framework of national and international legislation.

Establishing a modern democratic state with a modern political system is a very complex and long-term process, which necessarily involves the presence of a large number of different factors and conditions. Some of those factors and conditions are: freeing the economy from the tutelage of politics, building a civil society, the process of educational creation of citizens, the existence of the rule of law and the rule of law, the application of the principle of separation of powers, the existence of an independent judiciary, the necessity of political pluralism, the existence of parliamentarism, the existence of mutual responsibility and the state, and the citizen), free democratic elections, freedom of information, representation of participatory-democratic political culture, mandatory existence of civil society organizations (Non-Governmental Organizations).

### **Contemporary practice of development of modern states and political systems in them**

In practice, the political system cannot be separated from the state. Both the state and the political system are an integral part of the same social relations, forces and processes. However, the state as a class organization that protects the interests of the ruling class with the coercive apparatus of physical force at its disposal is a much older social phenomenon and is less subject to change than the political system, because the state structure changes only if there is a social revolution, and again, the forms of the political system are subject to change even after the election and change of parties that were promoters of a certain policy and advocates of such an ideology. What is important is that the political system of each country is normatively regulated by the constitution, as the highest legal act and fundamental law from which they derive and with which the norms of all

other lower legal acts must be harmonized. What is most important when studying political systems is that in all parts of social organization, the normative and the real never completely coincide Duraković, 2007 Professor Dr. Božo Žepić, an eminent Croatian lawyer, sociologist and political scientist believes that: "Law seeks to standardize the entire social reality and the behavior of all social subjects, as well as every member of a given society. However, there are always certain differences between the normative and the real, i.e. larger and smaller deviations. This is because the state norm is, as a rule, imposed and coercive, in relation to subjects and other legal subjects, the largest part of political history, when observed through the declarations and programs of its key protagonists, and is essentially nothing more than the history of turning force into right, and obedience to duty, all this for the purpose of achieving a special interest that is created by the force of nature as a common interest, for which it is then prescribed and demanded to be voluntarily respected."

If we want to discover the gap between norm and practice, analyzing the political systems of modern states, we must keep in mind that a number of political phenomena and processes dealt with by political science are not legally regulated. Here as an example we can cite: various types of lobbies (lobbying), behavior of public opinion, engagement of the so-called "pressure group" and the like. In order to scientifically study this discrepancy and to discover the indicators of such phenomena, it is necessary (in fact, it is forced) that political science deals exclusively with empirical research, and that based on the results obtained in empirical research, which must necessarily be independent and objective, draw relevant conclusions. Contemporary legal science, especially after the penetration of sociology and sociological methods, which has occurred in recent decades, tries to always apply sociological methods in its studies wherever and whenever it can, and thus deviates more and more from its predominantly or even exclusively formal, legalistic, normative and institutional approach. There is an effort to distinguish between what the English call law in books (law in books, on paper) and law in action (law in practice, in reality) (Jovicic, 2006) And this time it was shown that the power of change does not lie in the will of the individual, but exclusively in the creation of strong, politically independent institutions, which represent, figuratively speaking, a mechanism that functions regardless of the individual's idea or ideas; this is supported by the political systems of the Republic of Austria, France, Germany and other developed countries, where regardless of political events, the system functions and does not become paralyzed (Ljubojević, Petrović, 2019)

The effects of the modern political system, as well as the reconciliation of the existing gap between theory and practice, can be found in the modernization of society, the expansion of the entire scope of all human rights and freedoms, but also ensuring respect for those same rights and freedoms, building an economically stable society is an imperative of every state, because only an



economically strong state can with great certainty ensure the implementation of proclaimed rights, striving towards the creation of social capital, democratization, work on increasing the management stability and capabilities of the system, as well as work on the stability and efficiency of the political system. It should be pointed out that not all modern countries satisfy the mentioned criteria to the same extent.

### **Three approaches to assessing the validity of the political system**

In judging the validity of the political system, three approaches are most often used: the first, a more or less empirical approach, the second in a normative approach, and the third in a kind of mixed empirical-normative level. The first, more or less empirical approach most often treats or interprets democracy in institutional and procedural terms, and less often and almost incidentally in substantive categories - contents. Second, democracy is sought and found mainly in the institutional and procedural level of politics and the political system. Third, democracy is sought and built on material that is stationed in the circle of Western democratic countries. The second approach seeks to recognize and set the horizon of valorization so that it reaches beyond the empirical institutional-procedural level and contains somewhat broader progressive and humanistic values. The third approach is the most accepted for the valorization of the political system, it includes, in addition to democracy, other valorization criteria such as: philosophical, social, economic, broader political and ethical effects (Vasović, 2008) The comparative study of contemporary political systems encounters significant differences between individual political systems, primarily in terms of different class structures and socio-economic arrangements, then it should be added that some political systems are bourgeois, while others are socialist. In parallel, the study of political systems is unthinkable without the analysis of political phenomena and processes, in which there are strong tendencies of ethnocentrism, then aspirations for the realization of national sovereignty, and perhaps the most dangerous, above all, ideological intolerance.

### **About the political system of the Republic of Serbia**

The Republic of Serbia and the entire positive legal order have gone through many reforms, transformations, processes of adjustment, restitution, redefinition of borders, unjustified political blackmail by the international community, we have experienced three wars of aggression in one century, but we still managed to rise and build in each one. and also in the political-legal sense. The Republic of Serbia is a candidate for membership in the European Union, whether this candidacy is a correct political move and how realistic it is in terms of achieving it, and how realistic it is in terms of setting the conditions for joining the Union, we can already conclude from this time distance. There is a strong political influence on the government in the Republic of Serbia and this is evident, in

support of this thesis is the fact that the airspace above a country belongs to that country, because every territory is three-dimensional (soil, water, airspace). The Republic of Serbia wants to strengthen bilateral relations with the Russian Federation, which has already been sufficiently proven to be close, both from a Slavic and a religious point of view. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the Republic of Serbia exports the highest percentage of goods and services to the EU. What is the Serbian national interest, and the path to self-building, is the development of a policy of raising the birth rate, the establishment of social democratic principles of economic policy, and the abolition of a liberal or now of a neoliberal economic stance. The priority of the development of the Republic of Serbia should be the mobility of young people. The mobility of young people implies the ability to make free and independent conclusions, to get to know diversity, and thus a relevant system of values and the ability of rational comparison is built in the individual, which excludes political factors. The development of information technologies, as a development priority, implies the adoption of the National Strategy on the Development of Information Technologies, which directly contributes to the development of the political and legal system of a society. This is supported by the fact that in the 1980s SFRY was the fourth country in the world in terms of the budget allocated for investment in the development of information technologies. Building an education system that includes the development of social innovation as an imperative of the 21st century. Practical training of pupils and students to understand and apply everything they have adopted through the education system is the basis of the Youth Development Strategy, which should also be adopted and practically implemented in the social system of the Republic of Serbia. The political-legal aspect has always been a decisive factor in stability, economic development, international politics, and national progress, however, at every moment a socially conscious individual must keep in mind that history changes, that politics adapts to the interests of the stronger, that the legal order adapts to the trends and needs of the time in which it exists, only the human resource is a limited category, which has a beginning and an end. Since the Serbian people and Serbian countries are located in the Balkans, one of the most strategically important regions of the world, the geopolitical way of thinking and acting are existentially important, and it is precisely in such Balkans that the Serbian space is the most spacious and with its central position plays the role of the "Balkan heartland" (Stepić, 2019).

The political system of the Republic of Serbia is faced with unresolved social problems, the ongoing economic transition, the inflow of foreign capital into the domestic market of goods and labor, and at the same time the outflow of labor to more developed countries in Europe and the world. Serbia needs a policy of cooperation and acceptance of European values and standards in the field of political and legal organization of the state and society, the development of democracy, the functioning of the legal state and the rule of law, as well as respect

for human rights and fundamental freedoms are part of the common tradition accepted by all, or almost all countries of the European continent and represent the superstructure of the economic integration of the peace project that has been developing on European soil since 1951 (Petrović, Vasilkov, 2021). However, today we are witnessing the double standards of European politics, especially on the example of the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija, which additionally determines the position of the Republic of Serbia and its politics, both domestically and internationally, so we rightly wonder if this European political scenario is just a necessity or higher need. The state gives a nation a status determination, making it a nation (Bodrožić, 2023). Today, national politics is also characterized by the absence of responsible power holders and stable institutions. And that is a serious social handicap of a country that claims to base its development on political correctness and respect for the principles of democracy, decentralization, depoliticization, subsidiarity, as well as the introduction of certain legal regulations that would imply a ban on political calling for all public administration employees. Partocracy is one of the crucial problems that Serbian society struggles with (or nurtures). Partocracy in Serbia can be traced at the institutional level (Constitution, law, electoral system), in political culture and tradition, but also in the understanding of politics, more as the satisfaction of partial and personal interests, and less as shaping the public good (Orlović, 2021). A set of laws that would entail changes in judicial, educational, economic, media, urban and all vital segments of the legislative body is necessary for the new democratic society of the Republic of Serbia.

### **The importance of understanding the state and the political system in the process of creating a democratic environment**

In order to understand politics, the political system and all factors of the political system, it is necessary to know the state as a determinant and subject of the spread of political ideology. The constant struggle for power between competing nation-states in peace and war created the greatest prospects for capitalism in the new age in the West; the state had to compete for mobile capital that dictated the conditions under which it would help it come to power; from the forced alliance between the nation-state and capital grew the national civil class, the bourgeoisie, in the modern sense of the word; therefore, it is the closed nation-state that guarantees capitalism its prospects for survival; until it gives way to a world empire, capitalism will continue (Weber, 2014). The political system is the basis of the determination of society, it is a landmark of social movement, and as much as the state creates a political system (we mean the people as the basic element of the state), the political system itself influences the definition of the contours of the state through ideological-institutional instruments. The founder of modern sociology, the creator of sociologism, David Emil Durkheim, believes that until the beginning of the 19th century, most philosophical works were dominated by one idea that prevented social science from being established. Namely, almost all

of these political theorists saw society as a human work, the fruit of skill and reflective thinking. According to them, people stopped living together because they found it useful and good; it was an artificial creation that they came up with in order to slightly improve their position. The nation, therefore, would not be a natural product, like an organism or a plant that is born, grows and develops due to internal necessity, but would rather resemble those machines made by people and all parts of which are assembled according to a previously conceived plan. If the cells that make up the body of an adult animal became what they are, it is because it was in their nature to become so (Durkheim, 2007). Therefore, the political system is defined according to predetermined ideological (theoretical) rules, in interaction with the factors of the political reality it adapts and society adapts, and in this combination of two actions what we call a political system is created today. A unique conclusion can be drawn from this statement, which is that a political system is created at the moment when an identified, national, sovereign, internationally recognized, territorially demarcated, symbolized, legal, institutional, formally recognized society is created. Prof. Dr. Radomir D. Lukić talks about the two faces of politics, namely, he separates politics as a science and politics as a skill. There is no doubt that politics is a science with elements of skill. What is taken as the subject of politics is the entire political process, which by its very nature is very complex and dynamic, and therefore it is difficult to organize it in a planned way and guide it theoretically prognostically, rather, the consequences obtained from action and reaction are considered an essential product of the political system through which implements the mentioned policy. Within each political system, a political process or socio-political process, more precisely defined, takes place. The socio-political process means the entire political process that takes place in society, i.e. the connected action of the political activities of political subjects, which, taken as a whole, directs the movement of society in one specific direction, primarily with the help of the state. At the center of the political process is the state. The activity of state subjects is carried out through political processes, by implementing state power, which means that political subjects also perform certain political activities that aim to direct society in a certain direction and without an immediate goal (Lukić, 1995). Today, democracy has more of its forms and as such it is more susceptible to influences that, whether internal or external in nature, limit freedom, which automatically means that they nullify the existence of equal rights for all. From there, it can be clearly concluded that all the limitations that exist as such before every model of democracy directly call into question the general survival of democracy in general. The fact that since the beginning of democracy two and a half thousand years ago until today, citizens decide less and less directly, in the future may lead to the establishment of a virtual democracy based on the use of the Internet in electoral and other activities, which prevents some previous forms of manipulation from which all democratic societies, it also opens some new, even

more dangerous possibilities of highly sophisticated and technologized forms of manipulation (Simeunović, 2022).

### **Conclusion**

The basic feature of any modern political system should be the tendency towards class struggle. Class struggle is a permanent and essential feature of class society, as an antagonistic society. She is his dynamic force. But from the class struggle, as determined by Marx and Engels in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, two historical results can occur: 1) A progressive change of the existing social and political system, a change in the power relations of the conflicting classes that also causes the expansion of human emancipation and 2) The collapse of both basic classes in conflict and the historical discontent of society (Tadić, 2007)

What must be common to all modern political systems, of every country that is normatively governed by the constitution, is the fact that every country is governed by the constitution as the highest legal act, with the greatest legal force, from which all laws and regulations of a country derive and must be in accordance and that the constitution is fully respected, that is a key feature of the modern political system of any country. A prosperous political system should have a broader and more solid philosophical, primarily ontological-gnoseological and anthropological-ethical foundation. It should be borne in mind that our anticipations and projects, as an integral part of political existence and action, depend to a large extent on our cognitive capabilities and awareness of them and the nature of man in general (Vasović, 2008)

Politics is the essential link between positive law, natural law, ethics, philosophy, culture, tradition, logic, metaphysics, economics and sociology. Understanding politics is a crucial virtue of every thinking being, and as a sublime discipline, it appears primarily in the thought processes of intellectual people, not only today, but this characteristic of it has become the identity of every time and the people who belong to that time. If we were to say that politics is the teaching of the good and the just, then we can claim that as such it is a continuation of ethics. The place and role of man in every moment of earthly existence is the core of the idea of political progress of civilization and the process itself results in the creation of a political system. The political system is the basis of the determination of society, it is a landmark of social movement, and as much as the state creates a political system (we mean the people as the basic element of the state), the political system itself influences the definition of the contours of the state through ideological-institutional instruments.

The political system is not only a system of legal regulations, but it is a much more complex system that involves the participation of all agents of social processes and their interactions. Aristotle believed that law does not have the ability to create power without habit, because as he claims, law is nothing more

than "general custom". Therefore, the political system is a complex set of all the actors of social life and society itself, within a certain territory, so the nature of the political system is defined on the basis of such an interaction relationship.

Man is a social being who, even when he is alone, is not alone, because even then he is a part of society, as a wider system to which he belongs, therefore, man is directed by nature to live in society, i.e. the state, because the state is a class organization that arose on a certain level of development of human society. The goal of politics should therefore be the creation of the general Good as the supreme social value. The subject of politics should be nobility and justice, and the center of political science should be society, that is, the state.

Politics is a means by which ideas are spread and manifested, and ideas are implemented into ideology, and ideology, thanks to the masses, is implemented into reality - i.e. it creates political order - it is the determinant of every system, because without political ideology there is no political system, and vice versa, without political ideology there is no politics that determines the political system. The creation of a political system is a planned and often, from historical, economic, military, lucrative, strategic goals conceived and thought out in advance process, which almost always has geopolitical goals, which should achieve certain interests. Machiavelli, and especially Hegel, believe that political theory is in the interaction between those who rule and those who are ruled. In order for politics to exist, it is necessary for freedom to exist, which means that there is an equality between what is a political ideal and an ethical value.

The key factors that influence the progressive development of any political system, including the political system of the Republic of Serbia, are: the dependence of the specific political system on the external and internal politics of the countries in the region, the degree of democratic development of the country, and thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, on the state of international relations in closer and wider environment.

For any political system, the role of political, economic, social and cultural development of the country is of vital importance. What is common to all contemporary theorists of political systems is the assertion that the political system is a complex structural-functional entity based on the interaction of society and the political order (Blanuša, Vasilkov, Petrović, 2020) Politics is always created, if we are talking about national politics, regardless of whether it has left-wing or right-wing orientation, with economic (monetary) capital. Only puppet policies do not have to have a stable economy, but the financing of such policies is exclusively done through foreign funds and other sources of material power, which in return demand the renunciation of national sovereignty, and this includes the renunciation of monetary policy. The economic conditions of a country directly and unconditionally affect the social status of society, depending on the policy that is conducted and which gets the majority (in parliamentary

democracies), the social image of society is created, which can have a number of different forms, so we can talk about the welfare state, but also in the state of state kitchens and great social diversity within society, which implies the creation of extremely rich and extremely poor, and this kind of polarization of society is not and will never be a good form of social organization. Social organization affects the sustainability of a certain political ideology, and all these interactional processes create the culture of a society. Culture is always the purest mirror of society. Culture is an instrument for measuring ideological hunger, corrupt presence, mercenary politicization, social democratic appreciation, civic awareness, educational power of the individual and academic control, analysis and ability to create future political processes.

Therefore, we can say that the political system is a set of interconnected factors in the political sphere of society and that it is only one of a number of subsystems in the system of global social relations. The destatization and democratization of society must aim to theoretically explain and critically evaluate all social phenomena and changes through a university-defined educational process, and to find meaning and perspectives for further development in all these phenomena and changes. A necessary prerequisite for the creation of an academic and scientific affirmation of political systems is the determination of the concept and structure of the political system, an even study of its theory and practice, but also overcoming dogmatic positivism and apologetics, as well as nihilistic subjectivism, along with the rapid and indiscriminate raising of people's culture. In fact, the political system is an overall social structure to the extent that this same social structure is involved in the processes of shaping modern political life.

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