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Research Article

Psychology of political morality, ethics, and law: the Western Balkans' review

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Article Info	Abstract
	The study's objective is to critically explore the relationship between politics, morality, ethics, and law, focusing on the Western Balkans. Like morality, politics is an activity and an effort around the community. As a concern for the community, and the everyday life of the people, morality would be the first kind, the first and most favorable form of politics. It means acting for the community's benefit, especially for the benefit of those who cannot fight for justice independently. Alternatively, if it accepts good and best customs as a regulation of its actions, it would have to be a pure moral derivative. Theoretically, then, politics should be the essence of morality. Human amorality is most prevalent in political parties. A transparent society's struggle should be based on political actors', a power-holders real will to make positive social values such as honesty, responsibility, and efficiency desirable behavior. To act morally also means to self-limit the power that arises from a political position restraint from conformism. It is a society's strategic commitment to preventing corrupt behavior by installing systematic tools in public authorities, corrupt irregularities sanction, and irresponsible individuals punished and prevented from acting in public. Hypocrisy and private interest characterized by civil society's industrial phase are rampant in post-Yugoslav societies. Individuals remain subjects of politics; without them, neither justice nor morality will happen. Affirming the idea of cosmopolitanism, whose democracy is valued by the government's attitude towards the individual, is the basis of neoliberalism and the idea of human rights' inalienability.

Introduction

The relationship between politics and morality is one of the oldest and most comprehensive social topics. It has been one of the most controversial, mostly after Machiavelli (1513) wrote a book, The Ruler. It is the subject of practically continuous debate in law, politics, political philosophy, and international relations analysis. The central question that Machiavelli asks is the question of the relationship between morality and politics. Are morality and politics two - if not already opposed - and then completely separate phenomena, mutually incompatible?

The basis of the term ethics is "ethos" (Greek), which objectively means habit, custom and morality, and subjectively - moral habitus, conscience, the totality of subjective as much as the totality of the world into which the subject fits. The notion of political responsibility is not just an ethical notion but is multi-layered and multiple. (Thompson, 2007). In context, our topic ethics is emphasized as a doctrine of morality, and in the function of dealing with politics, we will therefore look briefly at its legal, ethical, and political significance.

Human morality consists of values and norms applicable to persons' behavior in their personal or private relationships. By contrast, political morality consists of moral values and norms, which are applicable to the community's political life. (Thompson, 2007) Examples of political morality include norms such as norms on equality of people, freedom of news, equality before the law, the right to self-defense. Although political morality has "roots" in personal morality, it differs from it in nature, its norms, and the sphere within which these norms apply. While humane morality governs individuals' actions, political morality is applied to political and government

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officials' public decisions. Although politicians and citizens, as human beings, share similar moral obligations, their different roles impose various moral obligations on society's political life.

It can be suggested understanding the term ethically as morally. In this way, ethical responsibility also has the meaning of a relationship to morality. The most superficial understanding of political responsibility is the famous saying: "Do not do what you would not like to be done to you or act as usual or in a familiar way." Here two moments are differentiated: the doing behind which the deed occurs and behavior followed by consequences. Man is expected to do good; good is right for man, and behavior to affirm good. The controller of human individual acts or actions is conscience. When it comes to politics, their problems arise because human and political interests are often opposed and neglected. Philosophers talk about this as a conflict of beings and ideas, and we ordinary mortals about the conflict of humanity and interests. Politics often relativize morality and imposes behavior, and excludes the disobedient (moral) from politics. (Turiel, 2018)

In more contemporary philosophy, it is often pointed out that ethics can be understood as classical and modern philosophy, that is, as conventional and post-conventional, postmodern ethics that is necessary for our time, the age of science when politics as a vocation in Weber's sense is based on the arguments of science, and they are the foundation of truth. Kant's deontological ethics influenced the earliest significant theories of the psychology of morality, Kohlberg's, and Piaget's (Turiel, 2018). His categorical imperative as a moral law reads: "Act in such a way that the maxim of your will can always be valid at the same time as a principle of universal legislation."

This part of Europe suffers from conflict fragility and lack of an adequate development model and policy. The policies do not stimulate economic development, leading to growing poverty and deviation from moral and legal rules, leaving political responsibility open. „In post-Yugoslav spaces, democracy has not been won by independent and robust social groups that can act as a counterweight to the state structure, with formed interests that act transformatively; not directing political change and form the basis of political pluralism" (Hadžić, 2020, p.52). It is an indisputable fact that polarization in social systems grows over time, i.e., that the initial social consensus relatively quickly turns into a confrontation, a gathering of social subgroups into "herds" between which dialogue is no longer possible. Simultaneously, „the well-known phrase bribery and corruption, which is an integral part of the Balkan reality, has paradoxically become an appropriate mythological image that delegitimizes the Balkan disordered post-communist corrupt transitional collectivity" (Vujić, 2019, p.1).

Ethnonational party elites dominate the political scene; there are sharp attitudes of the government and the opposition with a minimal role of non-members in party affairs, a limited direct role of party members in decision making, lack of party factions, weak influence within groups by functional groups like youth and retirees, lack of affiliated organizations, hierarchical internal order; simple organizational patterns.

Hein and Frustorfer (2016) analyzed several statistics and indicators that measure democracy according to different parameters: developmental, social, and the rule of law. All the countries of Southeast Europe, except for Kosovo, regardless of whether they are members of the EU or not, have recorded a constant downward trend over the past ten years. It concerns a physical deterioration. However, even in the case of subjective parameters, such as citizens' trust in society's parliaments and institutions, the same tendency is shown among the countries of the region that are not yet members of the EU or, as in Croatia, which is only members for a short time, the crisis of democracy is accompanied by a more moral crisis of values orientation. Moreover, in this confusion, strong leaders often provide vital support with simple messages derived from national history. Furthermore, nationalism unites communities under the leadership of, admittedly, democratically elected, but leaders who act autocratically. However, something else is even more accurate: political leadership acts to shape citizens' character in the region.

When Haidt (2010) and his colleagues examined which values were most valued by leftists and rightists, they got a clear picture: for leftists, the central values are "care" and "justice,'" classical liberals value freedom and fear subordination the most. In contrast, rightists, especially on the far end spectrum, value with equal intensity all of Haidt's "modules" of morality: in addition to care and justice, they value both loyalty, authority, and "holiness." (Haidt later added a sixth "module": freedom/submission.) Haidt (2010) calls these moral values or intuitive "modules" that drive human psychology's deep evolutionary mechanisms a moral foundation theory. According to Kant's deontological ethics, we expect that there should be a universal consensus around moral beliefs, which is somewhere we expect to see morality as a rigid and objective category. (Turiel, 2018) However, it is not very easy to determine what is morally right and what is not. The question and dilemma: what are moral and what is immoral, what else did Sophocles put in the example of Antigone, to date has not found its complete answer, but in part, it is still in the fact of the won human right to and on human rights, especially freedom and the right to fight for the

realization of human rights, but not yet everywhere and not equally. I maintain that this applies to the former Yugoslavia.

Legal liability is based on a legal act - the law and determines the limit of the permissible and the forbidden. Unlike ethical responsibility (because of moral misdemeanors), where the sanction is relativized, the legal sanction is strict and precise, specified and prevented by the type and scope of the sanction - punishment and is carried out with the help of state coercion. Lack of law, undeveloped legal state, or bad laws reduce accountability, and the irresponsible government encourages irresponsibility and stimulates immoral behavior. Conscience and interest are not in harmony. Conscience becomes a declared interest (Haidt, 2010).

Although political responsibility has to do with legal and moral responsibility, which are often individualized, political responsibility is unique today. It forms the backbone of modern government or, more precisely, the work of government. If society is responsible, then the government is also responsible because an irresponsible government cannot survive. Society is a broader concept than the state and its government. It changes both the type of state and way of governing, but without some form of state and rule, it grows into anarchy, and it is simply not possible because it lives in a crisis of insecurity and trampling on human dignity, suffers the law of the more robust (Giddens, 2003).

Today, according to Giddens (2003), the rule is about implementing politics, decision-making, and resolving issues of national importance. On the one hand, I suggest that current policies are determined by the nation-states and the process and effort to overcome it. Modern policies draw energy for this from moral and legal acts and based on the need to overcome tragic experiences from history, therefore from postmodern philosophy, politics, and ideology. Here, we do not ask the essential question of the complete credibility of applying the proclaimed principles or, consequently, the consequences of their application's manner. We already look at them from the elevated levels in accepting the achieved levels of development of democracy in Europe and the USA, whose development model dominates today and is offered to societies in development such as Western Balkans.

Method

Discourse analysis is a prominent research method in qualitative research due to the developments in social psychology in recent years, and it is accepted as an attempt to turn its focus to the variability of meaning. Discourse analysis is a highly used qualitative research method as a heterogeneous analysis technique that develops from different disciplines (psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, media and communication studies) and is surrounded by armor based on the theoretical perspectives of these different disciplines and uses different research techniques (Tonkiss, 2006).

The study's objective is to critically explore and analyze the relationship between politics, morality, ethics, and law, focusing on the Western Balkans, i.e., former Yugoslavia. The literature review highlights the knowledge and research gaps, identifies relevant initiatives, analyzes evaluation/policy reports. The secondary data rely on official sources, books, research, international documents accessed through the databases, and policy reports from international and NGOs and media accounts (e.g., Hofstede Insights, Freedom House, Transparency International, Center for Investigative Reporting). Theoretical knowledge and expertise are drawn from political science, political sociology, political philosophy, criminal justice, social and political psychology, constituting a robust conceptual framework. The study highlights future research that could lead to more insights into the importance of the correspondence between phenomena in global societies, development, and refinement of the normative solutions.

The Psychology of Political Morality and the Western Balkans

Morality is a complicated concept and flexible. The contents of moral beliefs change over time, and different cultures formulate it differently, although the belief in "good" and "bad" persists. The proof is the numerous moral beliefs on various topics (abortion, vaccines, same-sex marriages), which, although personal, we want to impose as universal. The horizon of the political community consists of questions of 'general' and 'common' interests, which are objectified in acts of will which, if it concerns the decision on order and other issues of common interest, if it takes place as the struggle for positions in which such decisions are made, political. Politics is determined by interests, both individual and shared, especially party, i.e., particular (Giddens, 2003).

A secure connection between forms of public behavior was established in ancient Greece in the works of those philosophers who created the concept of politics. The unbreakable link between morality and politics is founded precisely in politics as a moral value in the idea of the community's common good. In the political life of society, the public good is achieved for all citizens. This idea was called into question (Machiavellianism) by discovering the

supremacy of the technique of gaining, maintaining, and maintaining power over the ethical behavior of those who fight for power (Masciulli & Molchanov, 2009).

Moreover, morality relating to politics proclaims the advantage of the common good. However, people are not driven by the idea of the common good but by their interests. People are influenced by immediate interests, not "distant" considerations of utilitarianism and justice (Haidt, 2010). The interests must not be hasty and uniporter to discriminate because interests are a sign of life and human morality. Because the countries no longer have an interest, they remain with the interests of heirs and other living family members. Of course, it never occurs to anyone to ask politicians to make a vow of poverty. However, politicians should "surpass" and not overestimate material values. It is the only way to avoid "moral mud" amid political action.

The question and dilemma: what are moral and what is immoral, what else did Sophocles put in the example of Antigone, to date has not found its complete answer, but in part, it is still in the fact of the won human right to and on human rights, especially freedom and the right to fight for the realization of human rights, but not yet everywhere and not equally (Masciulli & Molchanov, 2009). It can be maintain that this applies to the former Yugoslavia. Moral flexibility is used to explain the thesis that people are incredibly motivated to affirm and support their moral beliefs, but the context often affects which moral beliefs we will rely on in a given situation. Such specific situations usually involve some opposition or tension of different moral principles, which are operationalized as abstract ideas and applied accordingly. Small variations in the context are enough to lead to inconsistent decisions, which does not mean that it is a matter of moral error, failure, or hypocrisy.

Today, we can hardly imagine a sentence passing through the mouth of a left-wing president, as was the case with Kennedy fifty years ago: "Do not ask what the homeland can do for you, but what you can do for the homeland." Probably even a right-wing president would avoid those sentences today. When he uttered the said sentence, Kennedy touched the non-leftist tentacles of authority, loyalty, and holiness. Moreover, political parties of the left are not that dominant and, if they want to win, of course, must be touched by atypical feelings or emotions for them. Furthermore, political elites, for example, go to Church, Mosque, even though they are agnostics. They eloquently support convicted war generals and sometimes even construct mini-conflicts with "others" to touch the loyalty module. Therefore, his diagnosis of a leftist shortcoming of moral foundations' trigger is valid for Western Balkans. For the former Yugoslavian country's politics, Haidt's results and goals can be reversed. Instead of suggesting to political parties how to "touch" and "irritate" some moral foundation or tentacle, perhaps the task of exposing abuses of these actions may prove more productive. Haidt is skeptical of the political reach of "unmasking" because, for him, „intuitive and evolutionary foundations are much more robust and deeper than rationalizations" (Haidt, 2010, p. 811).

Furthermore, if we understand responsibility in terms of its content and subjects on which falls responsibility, then here it should be further emphasized that we can discuss political, criminal, civil, and disciplinary responsibilities in the content of political responsibility. All of them are related to actions, to doing or not to do. One should know that not doing can also be a good or punishable act, an act for which one exists the acting politician's responsibility if the moral principle of good is violated (Thompson, 2007). If politics is the 'art of the possible,' then political responsibility rests on the ability of a politician to choose from the diverse spectrum of possibilities offered by political power the one that does not endanger man and his freedom, the result of his labor and his human dignity, then a politician can be said to be wise, moral and just. If he chooses the opposite, then the consequences are inevitable, and sanctions ultimately inevitable.

Although the EU member, even the London The Economist, assessed that Croatia's main political parties were incapable of doing anything but parrot phrases and folklore themes. Because never before as recently, especially after joining the EU, it confirmed that very little or no work is being done to build a society as a desirable place to live and encourage investment and progress. Of course, many problems date back to the first years of transforming society into private property, from the so-called era-transitional privatization, which was the most fertile ground for criminal activity. Non-transparent privatization is still a "cancer" of society and the state as a whole, and as such goes to the heart of wrong political decisions and manipulations, so it is frequently mentioned as a crime whose criminal responsibility does not become obsolete (Glas Slavonije, 2016).

In general, irresponsibility towards national goods and national interests is still a burden for the states that left a legacy. The non-transparent, irresponsible, and corrupt political elite of previous governments (both those in power and supervisory boards, which cannot be amnestied from responsibility), which dearly for too long a crisis on the economic, social and overall social and moral level.

Within the discourse of the gap between anarchy and pseudo-democracy, BiH society demonstrates a symptomatic lack of moral consciousness, which is logically accompanied by an increase in anemia, a lack of compassion, and an unprecedented influx of violence and mass conformism. Such a situation fully corresponds to the picture of the immorality of civil society in its industrial phase. The same mismatch of goals and means of achieving them is at work. So, just like then, today, everyone wants the only benefit and follows only their interests. Just as then, criminals achieve their goals by illicit means, and moral people try to achieve them by permissible means. „As the latter is almost impossible, conformism, corruption, and violence are rampant in society." (Bajtal, 2011, p.1)

On the other hand, apathy and complete passivation of legalists prevailed as a moral gesture of giving up participation in a semi-social game. Whether it is business, sports, art, or science, in such a moral eclipse, both the best knowledge and the highest abilities become meaningless and unusable. Instead, nepotism, ethnic-suitability, and so-called resourcefulness are on the scene. Because, „apart from open violence and crime (such as robbery of post offices, gas stations, apartments), as a consequence of consciously chosen moral insanity, there is only nepotism, ethnic-eligibility, and "resourcefulness" (i.e., a sophisticated form of fraud), lead to sure success." (Bajtal, 2011, p.2)

Sometimes, moral action in the public sphere carries certain risks for the individual who chooses to do so. It often happened that people, through no fault of their own, would perish instead of being treated as exemplary citizens because they followed their sense of justice and fairness. It has had several cases of "whistleblowers" - people who, for moral reasons, who turned out to be in the public interest, risked losing their jobs. They violated specific internal rules in order to expose immoral and illegal behavior to the general public.

In a broader context, it is similar to civil disobedience and conscientious objection as specific types of protest against what a citizen considers unacceptable from his moral principles. In a democratic society, these forms of protest are permissible and should serve for a broader discussion of the laws themselves. Both forms of protest are peaceful and non-violent. Conscientious objection is also individual (unlike civil disobedience, which calls on others to protest) and points to the importance of respecting each individual's autonomy.

Instead of suggesting to political parties how to "touch" and "irritate" some moral foundation or tentacle, perhaps, the task of exposing abuses of these actions may prove more productive. Haidt (2010) is skeptical of the political reach of "unmasking" because, for him, intuitive and evolutionary foundations are much more robust and deeper than rationalizations (Haidt, 2010). We would see that even more marginal political groups use the same, not particularly conspicuous, "shrines," such as "class struggle" or "class solidarity." First, we would prove relatively easily that everyone uses "dirty" means of persuading and intruding on our evolutionarily deep intuitions.

Law, Politics and the Western Balkans

The existence of the legal system is insufficient to adequately prescribe the obligations and protection of citizens' rights and interests. On the contrary, in a political order based on profoundly immoral and unjust ideological content, the legal system passes into its opposite. Life in such political orders is characterized by the phenomenon of "legal injustice" or "the existence of morally bad laws." The mass violations fundamental human rights are not only evidence of the use of the state apparatus in order to achieve morally questionable ideals but also proof to formally correct regulations without adequate morality substrates can lead to the establishment of a regime of organized terror. The experience of authoritarian and especially totalitarian political orders in the twentieth century draws attention to the fatal reality of the mentioned fact of legal life. Hart (1994) interprets the shared content of legal and moral norms as their standard rational basics. There is a sound source of law and morality in empirical facts that describe human nature and social relations. Among the facts that justify a certain degree of legal morality, the order includes human vulnerability, approximate equality, limited altruism, and scarcity of resources. The mentioned facts represent the basis for a critical review of any factual legal order.

This area is characterized by extreme fragmentation of states originating from the beginning of the crisis at the end of the last century within the historical reasons, geopolitical periphery, and "entities" defined in ethnoreligious conflicts. Today, former Yugoslav countries show elements of "captured states" with interrelated negative influences on conflict transformations. „The problems arising from the state's criminalization arise mainly in environments characterized by institutions' weakness and the moral crisis that usually accompanies weak institutions" (Hadžić, 2020, p.39). In the former Yugoslavia political environment, politicians often act without moral responsibility, nor after the lawsuits against them and the publicly announced crimes they committed as officials. There is almost no prominent politician in the region who has not been accused of abuse of power. Investigations are mostly not completed, and even if there is a trial, it ends with an acquittal. While the salaries of parliamentarians in EU

countries amount to two or three average salaries, this ratio in BiH (the highest paid in ex-Yu) is as high as eight average salaries, which puts them among Europe's highest (Hadžić, 2020). The profession of "politician" has become a synonym for the best paid social elite, which has the right to "white bread" after the expiration of its mandate.[2]

The notion "He managed" in the Balkans is a euphemism that justifies that someone has taken something that does not belong to him by any logic of things (or morals). "Coping" means doing something against or against the law and, therefore, not answering to anyone. However, in a legal and moral state, no one needs to "manage because everyone has (or should have) an equal chance to put their knowledge and abilities in the service of their existence and build their life success within the framework of morality" (Bajtal, 2011, p. 1).

The assessment of these countries by the Freedom House Organization (2018), Serbia, BiH, Kosovo, and North Macedonia are transitional, hybrid regimes; regimes that have elements of democracy but also authoritarianism, speaks enough about the fact that these countries face important issues, which diminishes political, social, and economic opportunities in the modern world. In the Serbia, „the executive dominates all aspects of political life, ignores the constitution and laws, and plays with the legislature and the judiciary and newly established regulatory agencies" (Vladisavljevic, 2011, p. 205). Although the former Slovenian Prime Minister was convicted of corruption, Slovenia has a perception of corruption of over 60%, while Croatia, to 48%. These are indicators that speak of a social, moral stumbling block. In Croatia, we have a daily discourse of new economic crime affairs, which unfortunately confirms the famous Balkan paradigm of Who moaned, moaned.[3] „Bankruptcy and destruction of Croatian shipbuilding and other industry segments (steel, metallurgy) as strategic segments" (Vujić, 2019, p.2).

Simultaneously, unstable societies, including the societies of the former socialist countries of Central and Southeast Europe, are mainly marked by discussions about the political structure and political processes. The foundation of modern democracies is trust. Public service ethics are a prerequisite to and underpin public trust and are a keystone of good governance. The legitimacy of the government presupposed the existence of absolute fundamental democratic values that needed to be instilled, established, developed, and changed in order for institutions to function. Such values are social and political capital. In public duties, the primary relationship is trust between the official and the community he represents and on whose behalf he acts. The relationship of trust is not limited to political responsibility towards its voters, but the sovereign people. It cannot be reduced to a test of confidence in the elections but is a permanent obligation. Therefore, different norms should encourage persons of higher moral qualities, knowledge, and experience to engage in politics. In parallel, there are codes of ethics, legal principles, norms, individual declarations, acts of unclear legal nature, strict norms that prescribe principles and often refer to the interpretation of unique bodies with legal and moral authority. Through the secularization of society and law, it has been shown that such norms cannot be based on the ecclesiastical authority and appropriate norms (ex-communication, curse). New political communities are half-confessional and multicultural, based on a consensus on the foundations of "social morality as the foundation of a legal community" (Rawls, 1971, p.474). Codes of ethics are not legally neutral; they establish specific conduct standards, even in social anomie conditions.

The rule of law presupposes a set of fundamental norms (Kelsen, 1934) over a law that justify it and give it credibility and justification. Legitimate political order needs both moral and professional ethical justification. It is not a question of abstract theoretical analysis, but an efficient question of how and on what foundations to build incomplete or developing democracies. The position on the practical use of ethical principles in operation is critical. However, the privatization of political influence as a decision-making principle displaces the decision-making system outside formal institutions. It prevents the international community from exerting any significant influence and reduces civil society's influence towards the state in favor of informal/private influences. This situation, trends that have been present for even more years, suggests that the political crisis is the essence of the social crisis in the example of Bosnia. Moreover, "the whole process of ethnic mobilization ends with the imposition of a kind of prepolitical equalization of the people and their political elite, which is now expected to lead them through the difficulties of the hostile transitional environment within the highly homogenized former Yugoslav political space " (Hadžić, 2020, p.126).

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[2] Presidents, prime ministers, ministers, their deputies, advisers, and deputies and heads of some state institutions can receive a salary even after the end of their term. This right is given to them by laws that they have written and adopted at the state, entity, and cantonal levels of government.
[3] The phrase "Who moaned, moaned "serves the small and the big thief's relationship. They praise the big one; they take off the hat of the little one. That phrase became common knowledge when Ljubo Ćesić Rojas (Croatian politician) uttered it in Parliament.

In this regard, there is a kind of balance of powerlessness and inability to resolve the social crisis, increasing the government's degree of efficiency and the efficiency of security. In a survey conducted by the World Bank in 2003., Bosnia (the same can be applied for several other former Yugoslavia countries) ranked among the top few countries with the highest state captivity, a situation in which public and private sector actors influence law and regulation to their advantage. At the same time, about 40% of respondents perceive the authorities as dishonest and have minimal trust in them, while over 70% believe that corruption is part of the Balkans' culture and mentality. Amoral familism has a similar message and effect, "a way of behaving that in all relations focuses only on the interest of the individual and his closest environment, regardless of laws and professional standards" (Hadžić, 2020, p. 251). The social pyramid of corruption consists of its massive broad base, everyday corruption whose actors are officials and citizens.

Is it realistic to pass a law on this region that would bring order and morality to politics? The morality of politicians or influential people has long been at the lowest. In the Western Balkans countries, the level of corruption is still relatively high, according to the Corruption Perceptions Index (Transparency International, 2020). Do the words morality and politics go together in this region. Can it happen and when a move similar to them (for example) French parliamentarians? The law on the Morality of Politicians, which is being prepared in France, prohibits their closest ones' employment. Ministers, MPs, and city councilors will not be able to employ their spouses, parents, children, and other people with whom they are in close contact; otherwise, they face a three-year prison sentence and a fine of 45,000 euros (Center for Investigative Reporting, 2019). In Bosnia, with 207 active political parties (at 3.5 million people), the party affiliation of the candidate or other affiliation with the ruling parties is almost, as a rule, an essential reference when appointing or recruiting in the entire public sector.

From managerial positions to auxiliary workers, almost all public sector positions are considered elective and partisan. Public competitions are a formality, often without any real significance, because various embezzlements become meaningless and a farce for the public, with the simple satisfaction of shallow transparency and correctness criteria. "The public does not have a clear picture of the number and structure of political appointments and employment because some institutions and some political parties oppose public demands for transparent and fair procedures and employment according to qualifications. However, all are declaratively committed to the principles of transparency. This problem is still only a public secret because no research, analysis, or reports have dealt with this issue precisely, even though the enormous public insubstantial." (Arapović & Lučić, 2014). There is no official estimate of how many traditional primary political positions (ministers, advisors) exist and how many secondary party appointments and employment from the presidency to kindergarten (boards, agencies, institutes, funds, public companies, public institutions, schools). Bosnian parliamentarians have developed an entire system of fraud to defraud the state and secure thousands of euros. The latest case investigated by the Center for Investigative Reporting (2019) showed that the Federal Parliament's delegates collected more than 825 thousand marks (over 410 thousand euros) for fake tenancy contracts in two and a half years. Debts to the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund of the Federation amount to over one billion KM (500 million euros).

Corruption and nepotism are a matter of morality. Just like the violence of the powerful against the powerless, neglect of the weak and minorities, the disabled. Cases of abuse of position - the emergence of clientelism, the most dangerous of which is political, and any clientelism violate the principle of justice.

Under the guise of transition, the law on converting social property, passed in the wars, provided an opportunity to privatize the social people's property. Meanwhile, states in the region have become "trapped" or "kidnapped" by private interests after controversial privatizations and the immense influence of illegally enriched individuals. (Teokarevic, 2009). These societies demonstrate an asymptomatic absence of moral consciousness, which is logically accompanied by an increase in anemia, a lack of compassion, and an unprecedented influx of violence and mass conformism. Such a situation fully corresponds to the picture of the amorality of civil society in its industrial phase. The same mismatch of goals and means of achieving them is at work. Just like then, today, „everyone wants the only benefit and only follows their interests" (Bajtal, 2011, p.1)

Political Ethics and the Western Balkans
Machiavellianism did not displace the ethical side of politics but only shed light on what happens when reduced to dry pragmatism. That first face of politics has remained to this day, and unethical pragmatism cannot prevail. Why? If morality were squeezed out, no one knows how to regulate human relations and individual and group behaviors. Only the legal norm would remain, and it covers a smaller part of social life. Thus, political parties are the biggest hotbeds of moral stumbling, becoming a generator of moral and spiritual stumbling in the whole society. Serbian-

born economist B. Milanovic wrote on his blog about former Yugoslavia as "multi-party kleptocracies"; political scientist J. Mujanovic described it in his book "Hunger and Anger" as "elastic authoritarianism"; V. Džihić from the Austrian Institute for Foreign Policy noted that the Serbian elections were about "false democracy and the art of illusion." (Steinacker, 2020).

Furthermore, groups often turn to "bad "corrupt leaders because even bad leaders often provide critical benefits, maintain order, ensure cohesion and identity, and take care of common interest jobs. One reason may also be the need for authorities that followers can admire and obey. According to Freud, this intense need could be attributed to "the longing for the father, which we all carry within us from the earliest childhood" (Kellerman, 2006). Having someone as an authority means we have someone we can follow, who knows what he is doing, and who is responsible for everything that happens. It is present in collectivist countries, whose political system arose from a totalitarian or communist system.

In a broader socio-political sense, nationalism, i.e., the leading proponents of the ideology of exclusion, "quickly became allies in the ex-Yu" (Papić, 2002), which further weakened and impoverished all others who did not support such discourses. In Southeast Europe, hybrid democracies, kleptocracies, and corrupt states have become entrenched today. In the study of the national cultures, Hofstede explored the "distance of power" dimension, according to which many collectivist countries such as the Republic of Croatia (score 73), China (score 80), Serbia (score 86), Albania (score 90), Ukraine (score 92), Russia (score 93), Romania (score 90), Saudi Arabia (score 95), Slovakia (score 100), have a high score. It means that people accept a hierarchical order in which everyone has their place but how inequality reigns and subordinates expect to tell them what to do. An autocratic leadership style is considered ideal (Hofstede Insights, 2019).

High ethical standards in the performance of public duties are the social capital of every society. In the political sphere, a lack of reliable performance of duty and a sense of moral and political responsibility increases the risk of corrupt government and corruption, leads to poor management of scarce resources, and encourages passivity and political apathy in society. A government whose decisions are biased and unethical can ruin even the best economies. On the contrary, an open and accountable government, bound by ethical standards, is a stimulus to the economy, social openness, and democratic initiative. The Law's purpose is to formulating general and high ethical standards to raise the obligation or otherwise evasive ethical rules (Rawls, 1971).

When it comes to the phenomenology of political irresponsibility, or unethical, it should be borne in mind that it is often associated with the state apparatus's privatization. In the footsteps of Carl Schmitt's (1932) Concept of political, it could be said that the private sphere colonized the political sphere, which should be a protected sphere of the public good and the common good. The paradox is that the free and democratic states of former Yugoslavia enabled - due to the inconsistency of legal rules and the absence of a strong state-building political will - the flourishing of clientelistic interests that colonized the political sphere.

Simply put, there is a thesis that some behavior is legal but perhaps ethically problematic. The formulation of these requirements is left to good practice (Haidt, 2010). Most people do not attain a higher degree of moral judgment, but it is considered normal for people performing public and responsible duties. It involves creating a moral attitude driven by a genuine sense of social interdependence and the common good's need. This highest level is seldom reached, although, in exceptional individuals, it is a set of ideas, moral guidelines according to their conscience. That is why the Bushido Code[4] is not a mere declaration of ideals but a guide in the moral judgment of duty. Japan is not ideal, but a different society compared to former Yugoslavia, in which ethics and Law are often violated, an instructive example of how a hundred years of intensive enlightenment, and the deeper foundations of tradition, give results.

In stable societies, a sense of morality and justice can be left mainly to institutions, and we can rely on them. Although, never without criticism and never to the extent that would give some complete freedom to specific government segments (Hart, 1994). However, in the former Yugoslav societies, it is essential to develop a sense of justice among citizens and emphasize this sense of justice through political and public action.

Conclusion

Like morality, politics is an activity and an effort around the community, around the best arrangement of people's ordinary lives. In that sense, as a concern for the community, and the everyday life of the people, morality would be

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[4] The set of codes of honor and ideals that dictated the samurai way of life

the first kind, the first and most favorable form of politics. Alternatively, if it accepts good and best customs as a regulation of its actions, it would have to be a pure moral derivative, i.e., the best derived or "squeezed" out of morality. Theoretically, then, politics should be the essence of morality.

At the same time, politics is a skill of maneuvering. Like many other definitions, politics in the direct implementation of basic postulates are prone to pervert but pragmatic degeneration. Hence, instead of politics in practice, we have politicking, instead of working for the common good, we have work for our interests, instead of fair and effective political action, we have dishonesty and careerism. The benefit to citizens of the extremely inefficient rule of democracy and law, with the paradigm of politics as the "art of the possible," expand into the paradigm of "possible" in favor of their ambitions and gain. Human amorality is most prevalent in political parties, as a rule - the more power a party has, the more immorality it has. Responsibility in political action should be an expression of morality, so understood, of the individual as a subject. When it comes to political action, it is the values of public morality that make our society better. They lead to the suppression of greed and all attempts to abuse power, to more feelings for those who cannot protect themselves, respect others, more solidarity, and transparency in society. These are values that have their deep moral significance, and at the same time, they are goals that should be promoted in public action.

A transparent society's struggle should be based on political actors', a power-holders real will to make positive social values such as honesty, responsibility, and efficiency desirable behavior. Good management, i.e., state, should be based on institutions' and individuals' independence, expertise, and integrity. Appointments and employment in the public sector by party practice require urgent analysis and systematic reforms. States must fight systemic corruption with their commitment and strength, not solely by stimulating external and higher interests conditioned by global trends. It is a society's strategic commitment to preventing corrupt behavior by installing systematic tools in public authorities, corrupt irregularities sanction, and irresponsible individuals punished and prevented from acting in public.

However, something else is even more accurate: political leadership acts to shape the character of citizens. If we keep in mind that those who decide on the general interests can be amoral and free from moral considerations, citizens cannot be indifferent to the country's government. Hypocrisy and private interest characterized by civil society's industrial phase are rampant in post-Yugoslav societies today. We cannot expect the morality of the citizens where the government is corrupt. Individuals remain subjects of politics; without them, neither justice nor morality will happen. Justice and morality only happen if we act justly and morally. That is why individuals must never forget these principles in public activity. It is also important to expect others - known to us or unknown to us - to create a moral policy and build criteria to apply to others and ourselves.

Thus, act with more transparency, more respect for others, more restraint from conformism, or the privileges that power brings with it. To act morally also means to self-limit the power that arises from a political position. It means acting for the community's benefit, especially for the benefit of those who cannot fight for justice independently. Moreover, affirming the idea of cosmopolitanism and civil society whose democracy is valued by the government's attitude towards the individual is the basis of neoliberalism and the idea of human rights' inalienability.

Therefore, the most promising way forward is outside the ritual, political matrix framework, and concentrated on specific programs to stimulate economic growth, social capital, and regional integration.

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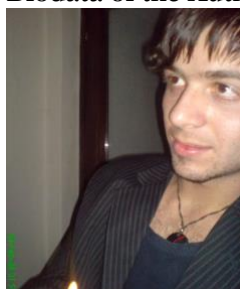
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