

Veselin Draskovic

**CLOKOTRIZATION
OF TRANSITION**

- critical essays -

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University of Szczecin, Poland

Translation and lector: *Magdalena RELJIC*

Preparing the press: *Milojko PUSICA*

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FOREWORD

Ab imo pectore.

This text phenomenologically and critically brings out the evident and degraded negative (hindering) processes and tendencies in the crisis environment of transitional societies. It's about *systemic* errors and institutional flaws, which derive from the principles of the electoral machinery. Problems spread like weeds and threaten the development (social, economic, scientific, educational, cultural, intellectual, creative, value, etc.).

The system is made of people who should create strong and effective *institutions*, ensuring their consistent and responsible application, especially during elections. The domination of rigged and privileged elections at various levels of decision-making with multiple positions of the same people and the negative selection of staff negate the institutional order. There are no secrets, no discoveries, no magic wands.

I tried to contemplate, clearly and from many angles, the undeniable causes of transitional crisis, which is continuously prolonged in time, due to *the reproduction of hindering factors*. I stressed the need to move from words (promises) to doings, from infinite harmful and futile processes to concrete results. My criticism has no political nor ideological motives, it is purely scientifically driven. I recognized the transitional quasi-neoliberal “shock therapy” as a velvet and wrong *revolutionary* path, which supported the individual interests of a small number of individuals. Many traditional values and living standards of the population have been sacrificed and destroyed.

The *evolutionary* development, based on the interests of the state and the people, has been ignored, which is contrary to the interests of political parties, groups and individuals. There are elitistic and citizens' interests.

A “calculative mindset” of some ubiquitous “analysts” of everything in the media is wrong and apologetic. Such is, for example, the “staged” view of *V. Gligorov* in the “News” (1. 12, 2017, p. 21)

on “*the social scientists' inclination towards ideological explanations ... Say, the neoliberals are responsible for the reduction of the state's role.*” But the author has forgotten that neoliberalism is an *abused theory*, which has been vulgarly transformed into *ideology* in global and transitional relations (and not vice versa, that someone allegedly “*ideologically explains neoliberalism*”). He consciously replaces theses, as if he does not know that most “*social scientists*” (as well as the author of these lines) use the term quasi-neoliberalism, because neoliberalism is a metaphor and meta-phore. My friend and colleague Ratko Bozovic uses the term “bullet-phore”.

Gligorov seems to have not heard of the “rapacious state,” and he doesn't know who used the state resources. The orchestrated and programmed *dogma*, which is often klokotristically imposed, is the main ingredient of an ideology.

In this text, I tried to satisfy the criteria of actuality, criticism, interest, relevance, metaphoricity, preciseness, and clarity of the message. For the title of the book, I chose the klokotrization as a dogmatic and anti-development formula for maintaining the *status quo* in a transitional society, economy and social sciences. The crisis is its logical and long-term consequence.

E. Maskin, an American economist and 2007 Nobel laureate, said: “*If you want better results, invest in education.*” There is an increasing number of examples that the science has no knowledge, that someone's “doctrine” is a shame, that improvisation replaces the creation. Klokotrization (and accompanying cretenism) is possible only in conditions of imposed consciousness totalitarianization, in which the primitivism of individuals rises to imaginary “scientific achievements” trance. Combined with own illusions it turns into dangerous and deceptive self-confidence and “power”, adorned with media, poltrooned, and sponsored applauses, which echo in their brain cavities.

I hope this manuscript will uncover at least some part of the *truth*, and perceive some *blurred lines* that exist between apparent and real, rhetorical and practical, formal and essential.

I would like to thank the distinguished reviewers, university professors *Dragoljub Stojanov* from Rijeka, *Radislav Jovovic* from

Podgorica, *Miomir Jaksic* from Belgrade and *Bagrat Yerznkyan* from Moscow.

To the corrector *Dragoljub Nikcevic* instead of gratitude I send a gymnasium greeting: *gaudeamus igitur ...* This will mean more to him, as well as to me.

I cannot find the appropriate words of gratitude for the reviews of my respected readers (mostly friends and colleagues). I am deeply moved by their praises. I hope that all these beautiful words (which I have attached at the end of the book) are not only deservedly addressed to this critical and benevolent manuscript, but will also serve as support and advice to my readers. In a way, I have taken them as suggestions... If nothing else, to continue my pluralistic path ...

Since "the youth shall inherit the Earth," I decided to include the extraordinary verses of my young friend from Moscow, *Milan Cvrlje Krivokapic*, as a very important motto. They carry a significant, powerful, sincere, and above all, optimistic message, which is compatible with my messages.

It is a happy occasion for some young, smart, and ambitious people to feel problems, to read and write about them, and thus support the fight with clickotristic windmills! Thank you, Cvrlje, for these delightful and "chirping" verses that have adorned my blue, provocative but realistic essays.

I am very happy as a man and author that this manuscript began to spark inspiration!

This is an opportunity to thank many people who have, before printing, read this pocket book in pdf format and sent me words of support, noting that they recognized "some" of our clickotrists and originals. Although this was not my intention - I do not mind... On the contrary, I think it will increase the significance of similar essays. I hope they would start the repair of distorted consciousness and conscience ...

Oh, "*the flaming Sun of hope*"!

Author

MOTTO

*As I sink into some heavenly hugs
heroes watch from their bronze busts
and they all look alike:
each of them was a clokotrist.*

*Many of them died and everywhere:
pure lives, knowledge, feelings,
yet, crazy times will pass,
full of cretins and clokotrists.*

*Their reign will pass, as well as trice...
someone's match will burn them!
No one lasts forever,
so will not the clokotrists!*

*Milan Cvrle KRIVOKAPIC
A student in Moscow*

WRITING vs SILENCE

Verba volant, scripta manet

Yes: *Silentium est aurem.*

But: *Est difficillium is ipsum vincere ... Vivere militare est ...*

Engagement in science and its development requires: *Anima candida...*

After all: *Cogito, ergo sum ... Dixi et salvavi animam meam.*
The truth and criticism are *Conditio sine qua non* of the social development.

And yet, *Non quis, sed quid ...*

Writing is silent if nobody reads it! Writing can also be copied (plagiarism). This is one of cretenism methods of high school education and society.

Few people read the papers published in scientific journals. The number of copies is only 100-200, and they are not all sold, so they could be found only in rare libraries. Few people look for them, mostly for quotes. A vast majority don't even know that something like that is written and published. And then a wise head writes in the daily newspapers that the whole academic community is *silent!* This wrong and general information becomes a constant, and one of the typical contemporary vulgarisations of reality. There are topics which are the subject only in the academic community. These issues are usually related to the phenomenological relation of science-nescience. Some authors, however, sometimes write something, but no one ever read it.

Some academic institutions and many individuals are truly silent. As if there were no problems, no massive collapses of public goods, no degradation of culture and education, no selective rule of law, no non-market wealth ... As if transition is not an endless clockotrist process with poor results. As if democracy is not a "fasade", while social stratification is increasing, as well as external borrowing. There is fear of resentment for a critical and publicly spoken attitude, but also from (possible) "crucifixion" by tabloids.

Private *interests* can obscure human mind, as well as the desire to write. It's safer to be selfishly silent. Writing causes the risk of circumvention and persecution. However, without a broader critical public there is no change of consciousness, no strengthening of reforms, no democracy and institutions. Individual criticism do not have more power, but it has some sense. If it could change the world, consciousness and conscience, I would immediately stop writing. I would just sign the interview by Latinka Perovic under the title “*This is the soil in which the worst thrive.*”

I've heard somewhere that we own only what we *spend*. I guess it is because we do not take anything with us once we pass away. However, I would add that we own what we *leave behind*. What we have built or (at least) what we have written. Assuming that writing is not apologetic and clearly focused. For example, it was written that the number of privileged people is decreasing every day. It can be misinterpreted that privileges are decreasing. But they are not, on the contrary: they increase and end up as a privilege of a decreased number of people.

The apophaticity of transitional economies and states in academic literature is mainly associated with inefficient institutions, irrational behavior of individuals, abnormal financial system, insufficient market discipline, lack of integral market, etc. Causes are often sought in some general academic statements and elaborations. There is no phenomenological and etymological analysis of problems, which are visible to the naked eye, and even quite dismantled in the media.

The academic community, with its silence (honor of exceptions), non-action and action (dogmatic descriptors and apologists), behaves like a *spiritual accomplice* of the negativity concerned. This metaphorically resembles the discussion of Russian economists in 1952, regarding the publication of political economy textbooks. At that time, J. V. Stalin the “hazyain” (whatever he was) called it “*pseudo-intelectual babble*2. The cause of apologetics at the time was *fear*, and today it is a demonic enrichment, the formation of network influence and power.

CHANGES vs CRISIS

*They lie and delay,
the same clowns, cretins,
and klokotrists...*

Modern *changes*, especially institutional, economical, and technological ones, follow one another. Many phenomena from the past have been left unexplained. Especially the non-market and anti-development redistribution of the wealth using various sophisticated methods. This is a fundamental problem of the economy. According to theoretical and practical explanation it's about a game with informal and privileged rules of conduct, taking place on a monopolized field, dominated by opportunity-oriented behavior. It is a contrary to institutional behavior, and can be called *imitation*.

Designing and realizing new ideas is a hard job. Especially in conditions of social, economic, developmental, technological, ideological, political, and other polarizations, dogmas, and *crises*. Most economists are stunned by the fact that the economic science (positive economy) has been increasingly *differentiated* for decades, while economic policy (normative economy) has been increasingly *personified*. That is why the gap between economic theory and economic policy is widening.

Modern economists usually don't criticize this phenomenon. Their criticism would be directly in the function of overcoming the *gap*, which is mostly caused by the traditional *dominance* of politics over the economy, due to the efforts of the ruling nomenclature to control economic processes as much as possible. And all of this in addition to the official imposition of (quasi)neoliberalism!

Changing people's awareness of the importance of economics, realistic entrepreneurship, and economic freedom¹ depends

¹ Freedom of market (and other) choices must not be impeded. However, freedom of choice must be realized only with one's own risk and money, within

directly on the degree of implementing the economic science into real processes of economic reality. The dominance of politics over the economy imposes not only the influence, but also the ordinary translation of thinking, ideas, and hypothesis of a positive economy into a normative one. In addition to motivation and control, ambitions and attempts to spread economic knowledge are limited. Creative communication is eliminated, while the possibility of accepting progressive changes, exemplary models, and civilization traits is diminished.

In theory and practice, there are valid answers to contemporary challenges, problems, contradictions, issues, and dilemmas regarding globalization, transition, privatization, institutionalization, economic growth and development concepts, and so on. *Without strong institutions* it is not possible to discover, limit, and penalize many hidden, destructive, and opportunity-oriented behaviors, as well as the ideological and ecologically blurred essence of many anti-developmental phenomena.

Development cannot be based on economic growth jumps, socio-pathological and opportunistic phenomenology, anti-civilization and anti-human norms, anti-natural antinomies, disinvestments, false rhetorics, pageantry, fraud, inequalities, exploitation, unilateralism, monotheism, domination, demotivation, or democratic and cultural deficit.

A rational and sustainable *choice* of development path is carried out by governments. They are responsible and obliged to eliminate the underlying causes that have led to a permanent crisis. One of them is the wrong choice of priorities, in which the *goals* (overcoming the crisis, economic growth, efficiency, development) by *means* (liberalization, privatization, democratization, deregulation) have been teleologically replaced. In that

the limits of moral criteria, social responsibility, rational behavior, institutional standards, protected and clearly specified property rights and games on the field that does not take someone's side. The market is not and should not be opposed to freedom, because it is one of its forms and ways of manifestation. The quasi-market (institutionally deformed and privileged) represents the opposite of freedom. It promotes constraints and deformations. The regulations (institutions) must prevent market distortions, and force innovations.

choice, there was not enough room for knowledge. It (creations) have been replaced by the improvisations of Jakobin style. On all levels, especially in the part of negative staff selection. Even at the scientific level! Therefore, in some environments, viewed through investing in it and real (but not fake) authorial references, science is not respected.

Knowledge is the only unlimited resource, the prerequisite for creative potential, the best and safest factor (path) of difusing the crisis, and seeking alternative paths of socio-economic development. When the *cretenism* is allowed at any educational level, and especially by scientific permission, then it spreads like a weed in all ranks of the society. This deepens the crisis.

Perhaps making (people) stupid suits someone?!

CLOKOTRISM vs REFORMISM

*Dogmas of the past are
clokotristically repeating.
Because it suits the clokotrists.*

Clokotrism as a palliative “selling snake oil” (throwing dust in the eyes) is ontologically, gnoseologically, and phenomenologically characterized by the general processes of globalization and transition, as well as specific policies and phenomena such as contemporary imperialism and neo-Bolshevism (meaning: says one thing, does another, thinks something else). Their long-standing domination has inevitably and everywhere led to serious social disturbances, destructions, manipulations, and crises. Clokotrism used to be an avant-garde literary, artistic, and broader spiritual workshop (1970-1980). It was a *rebellion* against elitism, injustice, and violence, it was the condemnation of evil, and irony, and the criticism of social snobism, deceit, limited choices... Clokotrism was created as an anagram from the A. Sekulic’s verse: “*Clowns that last because misery is eternal*”, where “ism” is added to indicate the essence of things, the excessiveness or dominance of these phenomena.

Some people think that clokotrism associates with the word “*cloking*” (as in the stomach, from hunger, or in the mouth - blabbing). My godfather Vladan “Conto” Jovovic, the Belgrade bohemian, constantly referred to it as the “*undefined direction in art and literature ... by laying polygonal eggs without tearing the ass ... selling a pig in a poke*”. This inspired me to realize that Communists and Imperialists are eternal, that they are clokotrists, because they spend not only according to the needs (*the realm of necessity*), but much more (*the realm of freedom*). It came down to me that clokotrism is actually protectionism of the minority towards the majority.

According to A. Sekulic’s poem “*Masters, Masters*”, clokotrism can be symbolically labeled as the “*clown masters*”. Hence, clokotrism is an undefined word with a defined and clear meaning and message. However, the workshop is now closed, but its idea

remained to live in our reality as a dangerous and widespread phenomenon without progressive changes in practice, and without theory can have the character of the reform paradigm. Especially not the theory that in practice turns into its opposite (quasi), as is the case of neoliberalism. Any clickotristic change is inconsistent, dishonest, inhuman, anachronistic, manipulative, anti-development, anti-civilization, and demotivation. It directly contradicts institutional changes.

At all levels of the transitional society (modeled on globalization), various forms of open and hidden opportunistic and socio-pathological behavior have thrived. They emerged from irresponsible, chaotic, greedy, arbitrary, incompetent, authoritarian, and hegemonic *ways of governing* people's choices and national resources distribution. Following the example of past socialist times and inherited dirigisme habits, the ways of governance have been paradoxically transformed into *elitist abuse* of public policies, manipulation and affirmation of imposed and granted privileges. Then all of this was legally transposed into power, institutional and other forms of violence, and the consistent affirmation of lobbying and patronage interests.

This has eliminated the possibility of civilizational adaptation, strengthening and improvement of real institutional changes and reforms. All forms of *choice*, which are an eternal *metaphor* for freedom, have been reduced. A vicious (unstoppable) anti-war-military circle was created, which S. S. Shatalin called "*the square of the circle*." It contains too much braking system elements and alternative institutional mechanisms that in practice ignore all of the alleged reforms and retain a *status quo*. Everything can change, but hardly the culture and mentality, which rest on the clickotrist personality cult (of the reformers, the leaders, "*the saviors from which should to be saved*" - V. Stevanovic).

Clickotristism is a tried-and-tested method for preventing real institutional changes, which are the *only possible mechanism* for limiting (quasi-institutional and other) violence, and transition from a "*restricted order to the one with an open access to the resources*" (D. North).

The propaganda of any "*absolute truth*" is always accompanied by apologetics, ideology, and dogmatization, which openly or

secretly support totalitarianism. It aims to *clokotristically* eliminate the activity of real institutions and create *myths*, which extend the reckless, non-market, privileged, rent-oriented, and boundless wealth of the minority at the expense of the poverty of the majority. This is a historical repetitive determinant (constant), an ugly picture of incomprehensible, demagogic, story of interests, which is rhetorically engraved in N. Karamzin's short answer: "*They steal*", to the question of Russian emigrants at the railway station in Paris "*What's going on in Russia*"?

This sonorous word even today explains all the quasi-neoliberal, cynical, metaphysical, and little-interested simplifications of the alleged "*ideological struggle between liberalism and protectionism, between liberals and dirigists*", ignoring the civilizational need for *massiveness* of effective owners, freedom, motivation, entrepreneurship, employment, etc. Primitive rapacious (clokotristic) *mission and vision*, reproduced in conditions of *deficit* of institutions, democracy, rule of law, and traditions of civil society.

The transitional reality, its problems, and vices are constantly clokotristically explained. What an irony: the former clokotristic alternative has been substituted by clokotristic absolutism! Historical analogies teach us that infinite human tendencies to conquer the world have always unscrupulously beaten by the finiteness of all empires. According to that, the primitive greed as a metaphysical-economist "holy" *grail of modern civilization* has no future.

I would like to change the interest globalism for good old cosmopolitanism. Because globalization bred and buried much (Cupic), it encompassed and neglected, annulled and destroyed, determined and distributed, dismantled and infected. The new deities (technological, economic, political, and others) have not liberated the world from hunger, poverty, inequality, unemployment, exploitation, alliances, backwardness, ignorance, fanaticism, terrorism, ecological disasters, and more and more crisis.

A new and reasonable alternative is not yet available. It is like that Andric's book - an *open puzzle*.

Clokotrism is present on every step, e.g. when some "reformists" manage the doctrine, and they have never read a single book

in their lives, only a half of it, or some parts. But they managed well. We all know how well...

Clokotrism is a verified method of (mass) *cretenism*.

APPARENT vs ACTUAL

*The minority wants
the majority to clok!*

In the majority of post-socialist countries, two parallel processes have been prolonged with a mutually conditioned negative sign – transition and crisis. This happens in a paradoxical and realistic way.

Paradoxical, because there are always futile discussions about the imposed dilemma, meaningless and visible, to the naked eye - neoliberalism (as institutional monism) or institutional pluralism? Neither of it exists in the economic reality of these countries, because they are substituted by quasi-neoliberalism as the abuse of institutions and the violence over them.

Real, because exemplary models of developed countries (theoretical and practical) are constantly ignored in the crisis practice. Official economic policy is (supposedly) neoliberal, but in fact it is - quasi-neoliberal. Strong state (party) structures and narrow lobby circles around them are the only decision-makers. In a primitive and non-market manner, they control everything related to the market transactions through the “clokotristic” and “concealed” economy.

All that useless, apologetic, monistic, and irrational rhetorics, and favored “market” regulation, are followed by myths, ideology, dogmatization, politicization, vulgarization, monopolization, exploitation, and quasi-institutionalization. These are the levers of quasi-neoliberal reforms, which contain social, political, and *economic clokotristism*. In practice, it is cruelly manifested through the application of dual standards towards a rich minority and a poor majority, an illusionistic balancing between myth and reality, individualism and institutionalism, in order to redistribute the national wealth and gain huge, illegitimate profits.

The sophist replacement of thesis and sophisticated quasi-neoliberal rhetoric and practice have produced original methods

of *organized use of privileges*: the sociopathological braking mechanism, the upped hand of nouveau-riche climbers, institutional nihilism, rapacious privatization, concealed economy, and protectionism towards their own people. Their mission continues in the conditions of a reduced market and “entrepreneurship” based on plundering the state and acquiring the not-on-marketed wealth.

The market (especially integral), competition, and entrepreneurship are just fictitious and abstract nouns. In practice, the not-on-market wealth and the power of monopolies and nomenclatures are increasing. Narrow and highly interest individualism limits and destroys the labour as a key productive factor, ignoring and undermining knowledge, motivation, and entrepreneurial initiatives.

The story of effective owners is reduced to an insert called *monopoly rent* (with no limits). Without production and employment there is no economic recovery. Continuous indebtedness, unpredictable government actions, and an increase in poverty are the consequences of inconsistent strategies.

As we all know, ownership changes have been created by “reformers” who carried out “rapacious privatization”, but who did not know (and did not distinguish) property relations, property, property rights, and property powers.

In addition to knowledge, order, labour, institutions, the rule of law, time, resources, and commitment, radical reforms require a change of mind and behavior – not convenience.

What is, say, rhetorics about the staff deficit in the conditions of domination of party employment and negative selection? Almost everything is rigged, from employment process, through projects to jobs. The money is drained from the real sector of the economy. The process of transforming capital into property is always destructive for the economy and society.

Salvation is in knowledge, pluralistic, developed, and efficient formal and informal institutions. Institutional canons will

sometimes channel and beat the anti-institutional. But, the what is *lost* can not be recovered.

Negatively selected staff structure and demagogic party re-iterations don't have mechanisms for reform regulation and realization. They only create a vague, non-transparent, interests, and corrupt ground, entilted to one side, in conditions of deficit and surplus on the wrong sides (where they should not exist), in which the strictness of the law (the rule of law) is persistently replaced with their circumvention.

The pyramid of values has been reversed (long ago). Ideas and vices, virtues and defects, intellectual and party elites, knowledge and property, power and weakness, creations and imitations have been replaced. An apathetic view of the same image and listening to the same story has been prolonged. There is no awareness of the apparent and the real. Is there a clear line between them? Is it visible, or has it become an illusion? All this is possible in the forms of great and long sufferings and hopes. They cannot be a foundation for a quality living. It has become impossible to survive on a regular salary. There is a huge difference between the "horsemen" and the slaves. Because, the destroyed middle class is the main development resource...

When quasi-neoliberal hell "has spoken", we realized that socialism was (at least a metaphorical) paradise. Once-existing middle class has been destroyed and remained frustrated to this day. Due to inflation, the university diploma is worthless piece of paper. Through systematic inversion of value, many acquired undeserved positions and privileges are unique and incomprehensible. Clokotristical *forsage* and *montage*. Matrix of dementia...

Party clokotrism has caused economic clokotrism, which has given rise to social clokotrism. Thus, a philosophical-critical abstraction, fantasy, and contortion have been transformed into reality. This has created a powerful, *real clokotrism*, which is legally equal to *developmental inability*.

Under the influence of total institutional control, by the method of chipping, people have become accustomed to nothingness, brainwash, and various ideologizations, dogmatizations, and tautologization of everyday life. Interests (quasi) neo-liberalism is reality, while enlightened conservatism – is an illusion, an ideal...

CLOKOTRISTS vs COMMUNISTS

*Communists changed their outfit
and became klokotrists.*

The similarities between socialist and post-socialist societies are communists and klokotrists. Both have party affiliation, spend on insignificant needs, came to power (and stay there long) using promises. They are true monopolists who, use privileges, and who are developmentally irrational and socially manipulative, they rule using alternative institutions, flosculums, arbitrariness, bluff, fiction, slogans, paradoxality, lies, and non-Bolshevism. Even their results are the same: the mass tragedy of insulted, degraded, and humiliated people. Both “*lead the working class into Paradise*” (loath, unemployment, permanent crisis), which is somewhat immanent to its corresponding (genetic, geographic, and ordinary) mentality and vacuumed society.

After the enumerated analogies, it turns out that there are no major differences among the klokotrists and communists, except for the duration and degree of their wealth and privileges.

Development requires work, order, and system (institutional, pluralistic, civilization, moral, and nomenclature). Kloko-trism is partly an ideology of anti-developmental, inhuman, elitist, totalitarian, and destructive system, which implies appropriate forms of non-market economic behavior.

In socialism, freedom and liberal ideas are not neglected. V. Churchill wrote: “*If you aren't a liberal when you're young, you have no heart*”. The extension is sobering: “*But if you aren't a middle-aged conservative, you have no head*”. Consciousness, upbringing, and culture can be added here. It's not enough to be good only for rare individuals. One should turn around. Demagoguery “*everything is good, because it can be worse*” is not sufficient. It must be understood what should be done to be good and not just what should be promised. Although the role of promises was very significant through the history, the time has turned

blue from waiting (for real changes), not only in the book, but also in reality.

When the choice is *reduced*, the principle of *choice alter-nativity* as a development imperative is replaced with alternative institutions. The conflict between *privileged individuality* and a *powerless socialism* has marked the contours of the transitional era with formalism and apologetics as important attributes of the *post-modernity*. It is covered with the crisis globalist, geoeconomic, and geopolitical cloak, leading to *modern slavery* (debt, economic, ideological, territorial, political, resource, etc.). Oh, that prophet F. Hayek...

Adaptation is prevented by quasi-elites. Transformed into a cartel, they maintain power and social balance by tightening party coalitions and imposing code of conduct. The state has been turned into a political machine and leaders of the masses (identified with “elites”, and assisted by nomenclature servants, lobbyists, and apologists).

After the robbery of economy and people, life has become the survival. Knowledge is subordinate to ignorance, money, and authority. There is a crisis of mentality and social relations, apathy and ambitions. The dynamics of change has slowed down, widening the gap between the personal and the social, the real and the apparent, limiting and enchanting, sustainable and crisis-ridden, creative and inefficient, pluralistic and monistic, civilizational and barbaric.

POLITICS vs DESTINY

The paradox is that neoliberalism allegedly promotes freedom, and doubts the democracy as the rule of the majority.

Politics is a human activity performed in order to create, implement and/or modify the rules governing people in certain areas. It is a process with contradictory and paradoxical outcomes. The emphasis on the rules is to stress the institutional importance and policy character (regulatory, mediatory, stimulatory, coordinating, limiting...). Politics is a declaration of will, an agreement that shapes the mindset of actors in the decision-making process. It generates attitudes, principles, and criteria of behavior, which serve to guide the decision-making process towards reaching the pre-set goals. It refers to the rules (procedures) of the art of governance, the conduct of public affairs, and the management of resources. Decision making is a primary apparatus and a factor of influence on a social change. It develops in accordance with the tasks and needs of a specific situation. Politics always aims to implement a certain *order* in the society or in some of its subsystem, which operates on the basis of social consensus, regardless of whether it has a pluralistic (institution, interest, party, democracy) or a monistic character (centralization, total control, interest privileges).

Politics is directly related to ideology as a system of ideas (philosophical, social, political, moral, religious, party, etc.), represented by individuals and groups. This synergy enables the establishment of certain collective understandings through systemic democracy or totalitarianism. In doing so, very important is the influence of institutional mechanisms (formal, non-formal and alternative), which have the task to regulate relations between physical and legal persons, and basically to enable the *control of controllers* (management).

Political metaphors, using a specific party engineering, create a chain symbiosis of lies, injustice, manipulation, corruption, crime, abduction, abuse, hypocrisy, cynicism, mythology, cult, irresponsibility, selfishness, social pathology, arrogance ... and many other negative manifestations. This symbiosis acts as a chameleon with its use of ideology, party slogans, voter's will, identity symbolism, and so on. It creates the contradictions between hedonistic-privileged individualism and disenfranchised masses, fictional pluralism, and real quasi-monism, a non-transparent and anti-developmental side for national resources, the well-being of nations, a cultural and institutional environment, rational behavior and the overall social environment. Because "creative demolition" (J. Schumpeter) is replaced with destructive "creation" as a devastating individualistic alternative.

The people compare the politics to a prostitution, because it is full of empty rhetorics, fake promises, manipulation skills, vulgarization of ideas and facts, demagoguery, non-transparency, etc. The functional field of politics lies within blurred, imaginary borders, between visible and invisible, real and unreal, rational and irrational, formal and essential, interestive and altruistic. Eternal, intangible, untouchable, and invisible (but easily explained) laws of interest determine the power, dependence, blackmail, domination, dictation, hypocrisy, selectivity, human mindset and behavior, obedience. All this challenges the freedom of thought, knowledge and honesty, polarizing the (mis-used) state and (impoverished) society, plutocracy and democracy, elitist hedonism and mass survival.

The influence of political processes must not directly and rent-oriented impact the developmental economic policies and processes. Politics must not be fate and privilege, but a collective achievement of set goals (not individual goals)! To reduce, relativize, and control the dominance of politics over economics, the dominance of institutions over politics and economics is required. Real, powerful, high-quality, and efficient institutions must be treated as a social good, because they effectively enable control over all social processes and eliminate possible devastating effects and tendencies.

DEVELOPMENT vs CRISIS

*Conjuncture, politics, and fashion
are just spinning the wheel,
without the rule of real freedom
development will never happen.*

The past century has convincingly confirmed that paths of progress are marked by turbulent, contradictory, and crisis events, changes, and processes: social, economic, scientific, institutional, cultural, technological, etc.. But a *crisis* continues in this century, becoming a recognizable symbol of our era (post-socialist), often viewed as isolated, economically, although it is always wider and more general, more social. It is difficult to prove which factors are causing the crisis, how and why it begins, manifests, and develops, when will it end. Society and culture are an *outline* for everything, therefore the crisis must be analyzed within that context.

A lot has been written about economic crises and their causes. The latest economic crises (global and national) are directly and predominantly linked to the institutional deficit and/or fiasco, which covers many causal and manifestational phenomena and processes. All contemporary crises are a Pyrrhic victory of speculative and opportunistic over entrepreneurial behavior, of asymmetric information over institutions, of non-transparent and privileged public sector over taxpayers, of neoliberal monism over institutional synergy, of market disorder over state neglectance (selective absence of regulation), of concealed economy over real economy, of risk creating over risk managing. Generally speaking: the victory of various forms of violence over freedom (in the most positive North's definition of these words).

When all forms of *institutional control* disappear, or they become deformed and transformed into their opposite, the crisis emerge... To overcome the crisis, we must learn the *lessons*. This means to understand the objective impossibility of development, which is based on the fatal institutional monism and

the domination of narrow interests of the rare and privileged individuals, who are often generated via parties and lobbies. However, overcoming the crisis is not decided by the majority (the people), but by the minorities (the power), and not by a positive, but by a normative economy. Hence, decision-makers *cause the crisis*.

The current crisis has not been predicted by economists either in time or intensity, despite general predictions of individual authors. The real causes of the crisis, the nature of its global, rapid, and strong expansion, the inability to adequately cease, the inapplicability of standard macroeconomic anti-crisis models, and so on, have not been sufficiently explained to date. Therefore, is necessary to review the key theoretical principles of contemporary economic science?

The global crisis was accompanied by *five paradoxes*, which prevented the modeling of economic reality (essentially: *development*). 1) a demand crisis occurs in the face of a long-proclaimed crisis of resources (stimulation of economic growth); 2) the virtual economy has “outplayed” the real economy; 3), the financial institution of mortgages (for centuries the most reliable) collapsed; 4) institutional investors behaved quasi-institutional; 5) under the pressure of greed and institutional deregulation, the institution of formal control failed. It is more about a *redistribution crisis*, rather than a production crisis, because the decline in consumption and investment was much higher than the decline in GDP. It is about a *systemic character* crisis, which occupied (and emerged in it) a contemporary mutant ambient (neo-liberally colored). It dismantled and deepened the distorted criteria and system values.

The crisis escalated through a combination of political, economic, social, institutional, technological, and environmental impact factors. That has proved the necessity (imperative) of institutional interventionism (the state), and therefore the need for *institutional pluralism*. When the developed economies experience the crisis, Z. Baletic (2009) points out that “*other mechanisms of social cohesion are being sought and activated, which are by their logic inconsistent with capitalist values...*”

Liberal globalism quickly abandons the globalism, strengthening the state and regional intervention mechanisms and regulation". Certainly, these mechanisms and measures are completely opposite to the neoliberal.

On the other hand, less developed and/or underdeveloped economies had much bigger economic and social problems in the period of crisis, in addition to the “*following the leader*” strategy. They are linked to their own crisis and additional effects of importing the global crisis. These are universal problems of long-term expansion of domestic aggregate demand, which elementarily generates foreign trade and internal imbalances and deficits, increasing general indebtedness. All this have disturbed the existing models of alleged economic “growth”, turning them into their opposite. The burning issues were solved in the difficult period of intensified crisis, when Krugman's “vicious financial circle” have allready existed: *as potential lenders lost confidence, the interest rates that they had to pay on the debt rose, undermining future prospects, leading to a futher loss of confidence and even higher interest rates.*

All the economies in crisis have huge economic problems in common, which were directly reflected on the problems of social sustainability of the population. Thus, the crisis have imposed the need to eliminate social tensions. This gives a special dimension and uniqueness to every economic crisis. And by that, the successful and timely applied anti-crisis policies difer from unsuccessful and palliative economic policies.

If they want to avoid greater social tensions, *social concern* in crisis periods must prevail over *insensitivity of elitist interests*. Administrative sense for growing problems must play an important role. And that is the substitution of quasi-legitimacy of anti-institutional absolutism with effective institutional pluralism (as seen in developed countries). The story about pluralism (of economic institutions, interests, politics, democracy, etc.) is often replaced by *party centralization* and almost *total control*, which always disables the efficiency of economic policy. This transforms the story of institutionalization into its op-

posite, so instead of stabilizing the economic environment further destabilization follows; and instead of incremental institutional changes, they are negatively substituted with the growth of crime rate, unemployment, insecurity, apathy, etc.

Regardless of the opinion that *economic growth* can only be achieved *only after* the adoption of stabilization measures and economic liberalization (M. Bruno), we point out the view of J. Kornai, who prefers the economic growth priority rather than the stabilization of economic conditions: “*Economic growth should be stimulated not when favorable conditions and stabilizes the economy are created, but when in a crisis (the author's note). The consistency of the government's choice - 'first stabilization, then economic growth' - is not good. These two tasks need to be addressed at the same time ... If we want to go into the growth phase only after solving all the tasks, we will have to wait the whole eternity.*” The crisis is the *ora* (latin) for the upheaval, for the *reverse substitution of priorities*.

ADAPTATION vs REGRESSION

*Will the clocktrists watch us eternally
from their bronze busts?*

The necessity of radical reforms was mentioned both in socialism and the transition period, which lasts for three decades. All attempts were unsuccessful. New time requires new mindset and behavior. They are reduced to *adaptation* towards civilization achievements, in terms of inclusion in contemporary world processes and flows. Changes are quick and elusive, time passes by, but there is no respond to numerous and big challenges. Fake and consumerist convergence can not substitute scientific, economic, democratic, or institutional. Even the economic necessity is not sufficient for changing the value system. The quick and indiscriminate destruction of everything we worshiped for decades has returned as a boomerang. Now many people nostalgically remember what they had (and lost). Happiness is often a walk in the ruins of own happiness. Like killing time when life gets boring.

Clearly, “*systemic changes are the only possible source of growth*” (L. Csaba), while key systemic changes are institutional (when they are - real). Systemic immutability is inspired by an inadequate civilization environment (according to Huntington), ethatist traditions (according to Berdyaev), neo-elitist ambitions, clouded consciousness, institutional deficit, reproduction of monopolistic and recombinant behavior, socio-pathological brake mechanism, and ignoring of exemplary models.

The developed world is arrogant and imperfect, but powerful. We have to adapt to it, sooner or later. *Civilization adaptation* is imperative, because it means survival. Confrontation is the privilege of unreasonable.

The socialist-self-governing experiment is far behind us, but many of its ballasts still remain. Especially the mindless

rhetorics, modernized and “refined” by reactive quasi-neoliberal promises. Time, lives, and material values have been wasted, life standard is intolerably low. The past was ugly and sad, the present is similar and worse, and the future is uncertain. Therefore, postponing changes means delaying progress. When ruinism begins to dominate over creativity due to monstrous, self-centered, and narrow-minded demand of time - then starts the enrichment of the rare and privileged individuals at all costs, and the farsical and totalitarian system of demagoguation begins to operate. It efficiently destroys all forms of competition and freedom, and reduces them to fictitiousness. Freedom means good rules, not good players.

Reducing the choices and freedoms in reality draws most of the population from property, employment opportunities, decision making, etc. Consequently, the complete economic behavior, which determines the inefficiency of economic and social system, is also reduced. The rhetoric of cheap promises degrades and demystifies the reforms. Frankly speaking, reform processes without results (or with catastrophic results) are a combination of fraud, property robbery, violence, and an effort to preserve and increase the acquired assets.

Whenever the formula of success is removed from the field of labor, order, economy, and science in the pseudo-domain, there are major problems and long-term crises. When reforms are reduced to abstract and unrealistic indicators, ambitions, and promises, failure is inevitable. It is forgotten that even the best-designed reform programs and development strategies are failing because of their non-implementation. When social processes get out of control, it is difficult to repair them. Much faster and easier is a destroying process than a building process.

It is not clear how it is possible for the society and the government to permit the operation of retrograde processes in all subsystems, on the principle of merged opinions and the domino effect: dogmatization in politics, economic tycoons, cretenism in higher education, quasi-liberalization, quasi-institutionalization, monopolization, and improvisation in all domains. Regular and strict monitoring of social and economic processes

is necessary. It involves reforming the “reforms” and institutionalizing the “institutionalization” in terms of reconsideration, correction, and prevention of “destroy rather than build”.

Transition and institutionalization, as its presumption, could only be carried out realistically to the extent and speed allowed by the existing social, economic, political, social, cultural, ethical, and other conditions. Since they were unfavorable, the transition did not turn into institutional innovation, nor even into institutional adaptation, but it caused many additional problems through various quasi-institutional imitations and improvisations. The necessary institutional complementarity (pluralism) has failed. There is no enigma or eureka here. There is only a fact that we should not talk about work, order, knowledge, responsibilities, morals, institutions and reforms, but put them into practice.

Transition has caused many problems, among which three can be distinguished for their importance: 1) the antinomic process contained in the enrichment-poverty relation has been strengthened, determining all the flows of transition, and being the result of another antinomy of a global and local character, which exists in relation to protectionism (towards the people) - neoliberalism (recipe for the people); 2) monopolistic interests have crushed corporate and entrepreneurial interests, and contributed to turning many foreign investment into disinvestment; 3) knowledge (human capital) has moved, stagnated, and declined due to its negative attitude towards it.

RESTRICTIONS vs POWER

*When the law falls silent,
clokotrists steal!*

Institutions are “*norms of behavior, conventions, and self imposed codes of conduct*” (D. North). It is symptomatic that in the underdeveloped countries (which include most transitional countries) people (especially nomenclature of government) avoid constraints and strive for power. Although it is known that institutions in practice provide positive results, reduction of transaction costs, better defining, realization and protection of property rights, improvement of regulatory frameworks and procedures, faster, greater, and more transparent flow of information, etc.

The foregoing raises the question: who and why tolerates and allows anti-development, anti-civilization, and negative effects of the so-called alternative institutional arrangements, which in practice hinder institutional changes and growth, creating a vicious circle of economic dysfunctionality and unbalanced social interactions?

The problem is never in the imperfect implementation of rules, laws, and norms, but in the degree of imperfection. It depends on the political structures (power), because they formulate the economic structure, economic policy, and property relations, through which they shape the functioning of society. Practice has proved that competition, in all fields, is always an issue.

Institutional development is one of the basic and universal civilization *criteria for progress*. It implies a regulated institutional environment (a set of basic political, legal, social, and other rules governing economic activities), and the existence of an institutional arrangement that regulates ways of cooperation and/or competition between economic entities.

If there is a *deficit of institutions*, which serve to reduce the uncertainty of human interactions, opportunities for solving social and economic problems are also reduced. Many authors cite elements that influence the formation of institutions and the quality of their actions: organizational and democratic level, the mode of governance, the political system, the foundations of legitimacy, cultural and structural factors. They emphasize the essential importance of harmonization and synchronization of the above mentioned elements for economic growth and development. Institutional development generates a wide range of influences, of which the dominant interaction is between politics and institutions. Regardless of the fact that it can be characterized by various forms of *backlinks*, the politics undoubtedly has a greater impact on institutions, than vice versa.

ECONOMICS vs POLITICS

*Elections are rigged,
a privilege is given,
ideas and honest people suffer,
everything screams ignorance.*

In the literature there are hypothetical economic theories, which interpret and reveal the essence of politics in general (means of achieving power and an imperfect *process of exchange*). However, they do not consider politics of particular fields (i.e. higher education policy). Such are the J. Buchanan's social selection theory (regardless of its basic motive, related to the negation of the state-regulated institution efficiency), economic theory of politics, and economic theory of bureaucracy. These are attempts to explore the *political market*, where greedy and privileged individuals realize their own interests, which they can not achieve in ordinary market exchanges.

It has been proven that *political decisions* can strongly affect the redistribution and allocation of resources. In a “natural way”, with the logic of organized interests of small, privileged, and lobby groups, political power can go into the hands of political leaders as their representatives. By activating the *privilege mechanism*, in time, their economic interests can be realized, as well as the exploitation of large latent groups (collective alienated individualism, mass and violent, not-on-market and undemocratically “freed” from real and propagated economic freedoms). No matter how drastic are the consequences of the crisis (which always involve many components: political, economic, institutional, legal, cultural, etc.), they usually don't affect those who caused it, they harm the people who did not contribute the crisis (excluding their voting choice). It is logical that the *causers of the crisis* want to cover their motives, which often have the signs of interests and ideology.

In the post-socialist period has been created a system of *alternative institutions*. These include various socio-pathological phenomena, gray economy, the use of false monistic recipes

(derived from the context of a complete theory), compensation of strict formal rules by their non-execution, the undermining of property rights, the formation of various stereotypes of behavior, etc. Turning around the essence of institutionalization as a socio-economic “technology”, quasi-reformers on the wings of the alleged “methodological individualism” (which also includes neo-institutionalism!) have imposed an individual “efficiency and rationality” over social. Then, by various methods, they transferred a significant part of the social (state) property into private.

In the three-decade transition process, key economic and social institutions have failed. *Massive* economic efficiency (as a target function) was not achieved because the wrong shock-strategies and partial institutional transplantation of monistic “exemplary models” were applied. The “*institution growth*” (V. Polterovič) of “*alternative institutions*” was negated. The causes were political and interests, using methodology of reproduction of *institutional dysfunctionalism*: paternalism, nepotism, passivity, tradition to violate legal norms, possibilities of safe and well organized manipulations and compensations, log rolling, lobbying, rent-oriented behavior, etc. Rapacious practice and apologetic economic theory have destructively rejected Hegel's slogan that institutions are “*the firm foundations of the state*”. The state was treated as a public good that needs to be destroyed and reduced to a minimum. This was a condition of fast enrichment and long-term protection of acquired wealth. Under the aforementioned syntagm, economic radicalism (neoliberalism²) was carried out.

² “*Corporate mercantilism... a fundamental political paradigm of our time, which serves for domination*” ... “*capitalism with the gloves off*” (N. Chomsky), “*eminently hegemonic order*” (S. Elakovic), “*market fundamentalism*” (J. Stiglitz), “*third world religion of the 20th century*” (F. Wertheim), “*ideological discourse legitimizing the strategy of imperial capital*” (S. Amin), “*geopolitics of chaos and the empire of liberalism*” (I. Ramonet), “*externalization of unfavorable operations, own costs, crisis, difficulties, and issues*” (L. Oxelheim), and the philosophy “*private good, public bad*” (P. Krugman).

Nominally, normatively, and formally there were democratic and economic institutions. However, they often served as a cover for expressing and realizing the interests of distribution coalitions. The new “elites” were not for strengthening the infrastructural and institutional power of the state, society, and economy. They created a system of “*alternative institutions*” through which they carteled the market, and parasitically developed the influence on public policy. They substituted the promised competitive market with monopoly quasi-competition and illegal (non-market) means of appropriating state property and/or rent. Individuals “created” an enormous wealth and enlarged it. Their network formal and informal power was reproduced and made impossible by real institutionalization, largely determined and dosed by parties (coalitions) in power. Alternative institutions turned the story of institutionalization into its opposite.

Instead of stabilizing the economic environment, it has been destabilized even more. Instead of incremental institutional changes, they have been negatively substituted by “alternative” quasi-institutionalization. Dominating political (party) interests have been functionally subordinated to all economic institutions, especially in the part of property rights redistribution. Control and monopolization of all important economic processes and economic policies were conducted. The superiority of “alternative” over formal institutions had a high interests sign. “*Economic imperialism*” has been copied from neo-institutional theory into post-socialist practice. Big problems and deformations (with an uncertain expiration date) have caused *new dogmas*. An unsuitable civilization environment, ethatist traditions, the introduction of a new elitist order, the use of the state as a cover for expressing expansive nomenclature interests, non-market appropriation of state resources, the “absolute truth” propaganda, oportunist behavior, and the domination of alternative institutions have caused the developmental delay.

GLOBALISM vs „DIRTISM“

Clokotrism is an old and global phenomenon!

Through the history of human society, the developmental stages were characterized by dominant specificities of economic reality. These stages corresponded to developmental levels of civilization and had a clearly visible *differentia specifica*. Generally and conditionally speaking, they were the naive optimism of antiquity, religious mysticism of the Middle Ages, rational scientism of industrial society, and contemporary globalization of post-industrial society. This division ignored numerous “elastic” boundaries (time, geographic, etc.) and *transitional periods* with a “*collision with the future*” (A. Toffler). Each of the mentioned stages had its clear *development paradigm* with appropriate criteria and value systems, which revolutionary and institutionally took turns (with different dynamics in time and space), in long-term transitions between different periods.

The scope and dynamics of contemporary changes, brought by globalization (the last three decades), are revolutionary. Perhaps here could be sought the justification for contradictory and often extreme theoretical explanations for globalization? As much as these changes appear revolutionary, complex, dynamic, and non-systemic, they occur in a legitimate manner (perhaps programmed). Because they have their own *interest background* (interests are basic integrators and motivators of economic behavior), and *internal logic* explained (justified and/or criticized) in various ways, depending on the author's theoretical positions and methodological approaches, which are often one-sided no matter how mosaically and democratically they display alleged *global pluralism*. There are no complete and non-contradictory theoretical explanations, but the uncritical and vulgarized absolutization of Western values and views can not be understood, while neglecting their own *developmental specifics* (economic, historical, cultural, institutional, etc.). I am particularly talking about some of the values that have long

been overcome in the West. They are rhetorically, skillfully blurred by the *neo-liberal cloak of globalization*, in order to justify post-socialist reforms, which are unsuccessful for most of the population, but also very successful for a narrow circle of people (mostly privileged, who are sometimes in the role of national representatives).

There is a similarity in the manifestation of certain phenomena at global and local level: uncontrolled centers of power, virtual financing, state power, unprotected peoples, and its pauperization, increasing uncertainty, and risk, etc. What about the numerous contradictions of globalization (especially among its leaders and outsiders), among which the *inequalities* single out in their contradiction. A large part of humanity is far from globalizing, which negates the epithet of its universality and integrity.

Globalization is often uncritically identified with post-industrial society, although it is its cause, while globalization is its consequence. Modern international economic processes are the part of a long-term world transition from industrial towards post-industrial society, and from internationalization of economic life towards globalization.

A paradox of *global inequalities* (differences) is too noticeable. In this regard, many questions are raised, among which two are distinguished: 1) whether globalization, to what extent and in what forms can overcome “*conflicts of civilization*” (S. Huntington) and reduce the degree of possibilities of dramatic outcomes?, and 2) does it lead to the globalization of freedom, democracy, and economic development?

We must live with non-alternative globalization as a source of conflicts, chances, risks, and competition. We have to adapt to it and try to extract from it as much benefits as possible, to mitigate its negative effects, and to preserve our (positive) specificities.

INDIVIDUALISM vs INSTITUTIONALISM

*Interests have turned
into clokotristic privilege!*

I have repeatedly written about the *double standards* which I have identified in the uncritical and unilateral enforcement of neoliberal concept of the development of post-socialist transitional countries, its theoretical vulgarization and practical abuses. Those “gurus” I have named alibi and/or pseudo-liberals due to inconsistency, apologetics, and interest motives. In my attempts to prove it, among other things I have also written about:

— the need for complementarity of economic freedoms and institutions, because it is the only satisfactory way to solve the eternal problem of adjusting the freedom of choice of individuals with collective interests, and

— a discrepancy between rhetoric (which proclaims the principle of market competition) and practice, which drastically reduces the principle, as it balances, if necessary, between the use of neoliberalism (towards the rich minority) and protectionism (towards the poor majority).

I have always preferred a compromise between individual and collective interests, on which many other authors insisted. It directly contradicts the interests of privileged individuals who are in power or close to it. Any consideration of a “collective dictation against an individual” is inconsistent and one-sided without a proper treatment of dictatorship of privileged individuals in relation to the collective. The latter exists where alternative institutions dominate over formal and informal institutions. They always enable the paradoxical enrichment of a privileged minority, by replacing old dogmas with new dogmas and state dictates by the dictate of “new entrepreneurs” (*nouveau riche*).

Panta rei, apart from the dominant and retrograde principle of enrichment at all costs. Since ancient times they have been using same slogans, promises, dominance of politics over the economy, crisis reproduction, reform apologetics, and palliation. However, every mythology, even neoliberal, is *irrational*. Economics presumes rational behavior. Therefore, there is no scientific (nor practical) answer to these questions: who benefited from the uncontrolled and neoliberal “*liberation of the economy*”, and who actually restricted economic freedom?

Neoliberal theorizing idly revolves around in an abstract and vicious circle: *individualism - freedom - market - competition - private property* – “*natural condition*”. Instead of explaining the logic of the vicious circle of crisis practice, to which they have substantially contributed, pseudo-liberal economists explain the known and appealing theoretical constructions that are far from our economic and social reality.

There are no secret causes of the crisis. Everything is clear, and especially problems, which are called *monopolies* at all levels, and *weak institutions*. This has strengthened the quasi-institutions such as the “concealed economy”, “rapacious privatization”, the negative selection of personnel (mostly party), socio-pathological braking mechanisms, and wealthy dictators, in the conditions of a long-term neoliberal “*rhetorical facade*”.

The uncritical and interests absolutism of individualism (vulgarized *economic liberalism*, which has long been absent in developed market economies) directly contradicts *institutionalism*, in which individual rights and economic freedoms are manifested and realized. A one-sided reheating of primitive quasi-neoliberal economic mysticism is the denial of institutions as proven stimulators of economic growth and development.

What is the point to propagate and glorify private interests, private property and initiatives, economic freedoms, etc., which are practically accessible only to a narrow circle of people, due to unequal conditions and access to resources (existence of monopolies, privileges, non-market ways of acquiring wealth,

etc.)? In addition, there is reduction in mass proportions, as well as notable violence against the political, social, legal, ethical, institutional, and economic interests of citizens. That is why I named that quasi-economic and anti-development philosophy an *economic clokotrism* (selling snake-oil).

Economic *coercion* does not have to arise from a state, but also from an individual source. Experiences of post-socialist transition are a good example. In socialism, good ideas were guided by wrong people, also individuals, but under the auspices of state policy and monolithic parties. Post-socialist neo-reformers are individuals, sheltered by party and/or scientific titles. They conceptualized the individualistic basics, which should apply to all. But they do not apply, they correspond only to the creators of the new experiment - quasi-individualism (vulgar neoliberalism). Hence - there is no *individualism of all*, only *rare*, privileged, not-on-marketed selected. There is an *antagonism* between freedom of the rare and the mass non-freedom.

How did that happen? In addition to opportunistic and rent-oriented behavior, there has been a substitution of civilized values with anachronous pseudo-values, ideals of vices, institutional control by party-individual control, one dogma and monopoly – to others, the development state - the rapacious state. In one word, there has been from the top imposed neo-militaristic, and paradoxical opposition to the individual and the institutional.

CREATION vs IMITATION

*Clokostrists have, in line with lies,
made an imitation of truth.*

Pseudo-institutions (alternative institutions) have a destructive impact on the valorisation of economic resources. Explanations of the causes and consequences of many restrictions and the misconceptions of institutionalization show that it can not be developed on its antithesis, nor on the deficit of effective private owners as a mass phenomenon.

Starting from the logical assumption that people have nothing against becoming private property owners and to be economically free, the causes of slow institutionalization must be sought in the context of social pathology and economic opportunism. In that sense, the words of G. Cavanagh sound warning: “*No human institution can exist for a long time without a stable consensus on what is ethically correct and what is wrong.*”

The main transitional processes have assumed radical changes of business relations and forms, property, regulatory mechanisms, political and normative regimes, real and rooted institutional changes that will lead to economic stabilization, growth and development. Institutionalization is a *general framework*, a common denominator, and a precondition for all other changes. That is why benevolent theorists interpreted post-socialist transition as an inevitable *institutional transformation*, in which institutions are the basis for the transformation and evolution of economic and social order, whilst changing and improving them (political, legal, cultural, democratic, and other institutions).

After a great historical distance, the inefficiency of many post-socialist economies can be explained by the existence of an institutional vacuum and an increase in transaction costs associated with adaptation to the market conditions and the slow formation of new institutions. This has happened because the

authorities have experienced transition as an opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses. Extremely ambitious “multidisciplinary”, and interest-oriented theorists and practitioners (quasi or alibi reformers) understood the transition as an *institutional imitation*.

Post-socialist countries that have indiscriminately applied macro-economic recipes of developed economies in an inadequate microeconomic and an unadjusted institutional environment have been affected by a deep economic and social crisis. Instead of improving the institutional structures, many (recombined) forms of *quasi-institutional relations* have been established (paternalism, monopolism, lobbyism, social pathology, gray economy, hierarchical behavior, dominance of politics over economics, opportunistic behavior). Laws and other regulatory forms have not been implemented in practice.

Institutionalization was more copied than created. In some cases violence³ was applied against institutionalization. That is why the term “*market neobolshevism*” appeared (saying one thing, doing another, and thinking something else).

³ We interpret violence as “*limited access to resources ... various forms of social pathology*” (North, Walis, Weingast).

APOLOGETICS vs DIALECTICS

Apologetics is a dogmatic corridor of clokotrism!

For a long time, there has been a phenomenon in economic science (which has grown into the practice of some “researchers”) in order to name things wrongly, to ignore dialectics. A vicious circle of *apologetics* has been created, which most often coincided with *vulgarization* (more conscious and interest-oriented than unconscious and altruistic).

Two economic systems and their influence on the official economic policy have historically shifted through various theories. Those are: liberalism and dirigisme. What historical coincidence and irony of fate: the era of *laissez-faire* liberalism ended in 1873, and 100 years later (1973) ended the period of state interventionism, and began a period of neoliberalism!

Clearly, there is no “*economic theory for all aspects of life*” (J. Hicks), and economists have “*often made mistakes*” (Ashley), and they do not have a “*unique opinion*” (G. B. Shaw). But, there are some key economic knowledge and behavioral rules (we call institutions or otherwise), which are not controversial. One of these knowledge and rules is *institutional pluralism*.

J. Schumpeter argued that economic theory suffered from *Ricardo's sin*, since it was formed on abstract assumptions, without an empirical basis. A. Wald thought similarly: “*Economic phenomena are of such a complicated, involved nature that far-reaching abstractions must be used at the start merely to be able to survey the problem.*” Nowadays, this can be added to the so-called *Krugman's sin*, because there are theories that describe reality better than standard theories, however, they are not used in the practice of economic policy (e.g. neo-institutional theory). If this is added to “*opportunistic ignorance*” (G. Myrdal) and the *interests orientation* of economic policy makers, it is clear how and why different economic theories are used

for different purposes, depending on the political (apologetic) criteria.

There is also the selective (alibi) application of theories (the method of double standards) - one for internal and the other for external use.

Transitional apologetic dogmas had an uncertain length of time and distorted value criteria. P. Murell noted “*the most dramatic episode of economic liberalization in economic history.*” Making economic decisions was under the influence of powerful administrative-party groups. Some “players” and their connections dominated over economic and other institutions as *uber-institutions* (alternative). This deformed the overall economic reality and the corresponding institutional structure. Therefore, the nomenclature-criminalized and rapacious “capitalism” managed to transform the state into a *patron-redistributive instrument* in some areas, which served to certain (predefined) users (the privileged).

Political competencies are not always regulated by the rules of choice, and politicians compete for obtaining private rent (P. Earle). Libertarianism (L. Reed) turned upside down the Kantian concept of “*respectful treatment of persons as ends rather than merely as means*”. Politics (directly or indirectly) manages to ideologically indoctrinate society at various levels, i.e., “*the idea of paradigms as the basis of scientific research, and the idea of scientific communities, as the units responsible for paradigm-based research*” (T. Kuhn). A good example is the decades-long discrepancy between monistic neoliberal rhetoric and quasi-neoliberal reality, which has caused enormous damage to nations and national resources. At the same time, the total damage to society and marginal benefits for “capable” (“resourceful”, privileged) individuals increased.

Subjective tendencies of the nomenclature of power, with the help of interests apologetics, degenerate the objective conditions and possibilities of choice in economic reality.

PLURALISM vs MONISM

*Clostristic pluralism is
Paradise for a rich minority,
and Hell for a poor majority.*

It has been proven that the performance of economic activities is more organized and more efficient in strictly defined conditions that determine them. Institutions are a set of constraints (rules, mechanisms, and norms of behavior) created by people for regulating mutual political, economic, and social activities. These are standardized, harmonized, and generally accepted patterns that regulate human behavior as a means of adapting to changes, minimizing entropy, risk, and uncertainty. They represent regulators, coordinators, and limiters of economic activity, which are constantly repeated, containing the rules of conduct and mechanisms that ensure their realization.

Institutions are a connective tissue in the economic and social system (*institutional synergism*), which provides healthy institutional competition (*institutional pluralism*). They preclude the metastatic forcing of individual institutions (*monism*), which leads to undesirable and counterproductive quasi-institutionalization. Since formal, and consequently informal institutional matrices mostly determine parties in power, it is logical that practice can create unfavorable development conditions, in which distribution coalitions can cartelize the market and parasitically develop an impact on public policy. Therefore, it is possible to substitute the market with monopoly quasi-competition and illegal appropriation of state property and/or rent.

The aforesaid can be achieved only in the conditions of the state financial regulator *fiasco* (and the rule of law) in favor of party monopoly, control deficit, institutional vacuum, and programmed selection of economic freedoms. When economic and institutional dialectics shift, and instead of good “*rules of the game*” (of institutions) the “*good players*” start to dominate, they forget the Pareto optimum, or the limitation of individual

freedom in terms of legality, morality, loss of damage to others, etc. Then comes the interests greed, which turns into an evil elitist urge (driving force) for the quick realization and increase of wealth, consequently and power. This creates alternative institutions of *total control*. Since the ideology of totalitarianism and domination is a common denominator of all forms of imperialism, a conditional conclusion is that *imperialism* of a neoliberal type has been formed in some transitional countries. There have been colonial (geographical) and neocolonial (industrial) colonialism. In this context, the neoliberal type may be characterized as a form of *postcolonial colonization*, however much it resembles pleonasm.

If nothing else, the neoliberal order has an imperial character due to simultaneous double actions: the *wastefulness* of developed (rich) and the *survival* of underdeveloped (poor) people. All empires have historically collapsed and/or shifted, as well as ideologies, formations, totalitarianism, dominations, and exploitation forms. Their remnants remain for some time. When will it come to a real institutionalization, humane, and social responsibility - it remains to be seen. The level of real human freedom, democracy and social development will depend on it.

All monisms, mythologies, ideologies, and dogmatisms are harmful, since they are always based on interests rhetoric of double standards. When perverse individualism (of the rare and privileged ""*effective owners*""") is imposed as a social and civilization norm, and the basis of formal *institutional monism* (as an ideological basis of economic neoliberalism), it is clear how and why social and economic *clottrism* comes into being (in terms of an orchestrated and long-term ""*selling snake oil*""", without consequences for sellers). It is in direct contradiction with *institutional pluralism*, which characterizes all developed countries and economies. Here should be sought the *main cause* of the creation and strengthening of the socio-pathological braking mechanism of transition.

LIBERALISM vs INSTITUTIONALISM

Neoliberalism is an ideological and institutional dogma of a privileged society layer, which enforces interests and quasi-institutional violence, while using distorted value criteria.

Quasi-neoliberal dogma, utopia, and illusion (as institutional monism, or “*market fundamentalism*”) on individualism is methodologically, epistemologically (understood as a difference between truth and “belief”), and ontologically in a constant (inevitable) conflict with neoinstitutionalism (as institutional pluralism). It corresponds with the general neoliberal platitude of the so-called “mini-state”⁴, which is *methodically inconsistent*. It is not clear whether is it the social state (which would imply social inequalities), or the rule of law (which would mean a minimum rule of law, the reduction of economic freedoms and property rights, and the lack of the required specification of property rights and their effective legal protection), or the *political state* (which would mean the minimum of parliamentarism and democracy), or the *economic state* (which would mean the reduction of macroeconomic policy instruments and the suppression of an integrated market and healthy competition). On this dogma was designed a *strategy* of redistributing wealth to the benefit of privileged and greedy people. If so, then one can

⁴ The theoretical concept of the “*mini state*”, which “ensures a stable legal and regulatory framework, so that individuals can do their business without excessive political interference”, proceeds from the traditions of Locke's liberalism, in which the idea of society with the emphasis on individuals is developed, separated from the state. One should not forget the question of J.S. Mill about the balance between individual independence and social control, as well as the correct understanding of R. Nozick that the “minimization” of the state is justified when it is “limited to narrow functions of protection against violence, theft, fraud, enforcement of contract, and so on.” The statement by A. Smith is also significant: “By serving his own interests, the individual for law serves the social, public interest”. The post-socialist practice should be analyzed through the prism of the above-mentioned understandings.

ask a logical question: is all this (quasi) neoliberal scenario possible without participation (and approval through acting and not-acting) of state people and organs.

Let us remember that liberal and Marxist economic theories are, in fact, only specific versions of Ricardo's abstract system. According to Marx, the state should disappear, according to neoliberals it should be *micro*. History shows that in the conditions of the great world crises, theoretical economic formulas are neglected, and attention is focused on *state economic interventionism*. The contemporary period is marked by a devastating financial and economic world crisis, in which state interventionism is trying to save the shaky economic foundations built on the neo-liberal recipes.

It is necessary to distinguish the original neoliberal models from the quasi-neoliberal models, as a wrong "*economic wisdom*", which has caused many social and economic deviations and led to devastated economy, rapacious privatizations, pauperization, apathy and stratification of the population, unemployment, decline in production, the criminalization of the economy and society, the deficit of the rule of law, etc. The aforementioned "economic wisdom" does not fundamentally distinguish rapacious (privileged) wealth from the innovative (entrepreneurial), nor individual choice in the mass scale from a privileged individual choice (abuse). A strong liberal P. Krugman said: "*Freedom of the market sometimes leads in a completely wrong road ... and leads to scandalous failures.*"

Neoliberalism as a doctrine, philosophy, theory and practice (monistic economic policy) has produced dramatic consequences for mankind, through the two dominant parallel processes of globalization and transition. Due to the application of quasi-institutional violence (political and economic), which verified *non-market appropriation* (in vast proportions) of organized minorities (who can do what they want, where they want, when they want and as they please) over an unorganized majority, some authors identify neoliberalism with *neo-Darwinism* (S. Kubic).

The reformist rhetoric on human freedom, free trade, and democracy was and remained just *an illusion and a promise*. Are there limits (moral, human, civilization, and other) and what does the concept of freedom include? Does it, for example, include the freedom of the velvet and sophisticated robbery, a “democratic” establishment of a totalitarian system of power at all costs, the application of “recipes” inherent to the system, all of which looks like “*new barbarism*” and the corresponding imperial “culture”? Neoliberal recipes are based on elitist and greedy *concepts of power*, which tend to turn into omnipotence, that is, a total domination (of the rare states, parties in power, and privileged individuals).

The practice has shown that K. Popper's paradoxes can not be solved without the presence of efficient and developed institutions. Although they point to the need of a “*mini-state*”, they do not prove that there are defined boundaries of such a state. On the contrary, they create conditions for new forms of totalitarianism and economic reductionism. The term “liberalism” was abused. I. Herder correctly stated: “*When the meaning of the term broadens so that it begins to mean everything and nothing, then the moment occurs when it does not really mean anything.*” The maximization of profit at any cost, regardless of its origin, is the most important principle and value criterion for a neoliberal economy. It has not brought economic prosperity in the mass scale anywhere in the world.

MYTHS vs MOTIVES

*Even cloutrists know
that all myths are dogmatic,
and that they hinder the changes.*

Neoliberal ideological myths are the ground for the globalization process and post-socialist transition. Their similarities are reflected through dominantly expressed interests motives of “reformers”, and the application of neo-liberal economic recipes. The vulgarly applied theoretical neoliberal economic model has balanced between myth and reality, between the application of dual standards strategy and pseudo-liberal interpretation of the relationship between individualism and institutionalism. There must not be contradiction between them.

The scientific-ideological, phenomenological, and practical phenomenon of neo-liberalism is not accidental. It has clear sources, roots, and motives. It has appeared during the breakdown of socialism, as a reaction to the long-term rule of vulgarized and dogmatized Marxist political economy. In the absence of an original own developmental concept, market “reformers” have opted for a new and more sophisticated vulgarization, this time of the alleged “Western neoliberalism”, which protected the interests of large trans-national capital, because its borders were a development barrier.

Unsuccessful post-socialist modifications were made according to other (customized) recipes, and were functionally incorporated to support the philosophy of large-scale capital in global and local relations. The methodology of massive voucher privatization was a very efficient and quick way of redistributing national wealth into the hands of narrow groups of individuals (*achieving illegitimate benefits*). Ideology was based on promises and slogans of massiveness, ensuring equality (again!), market competition, economic freedom, and so on. Everything was grossly disarranged.

The myths of globalization influenced the monistic myth of neoliberal economy. The *first* is the view that globalization is a general framework (template) for creating a new world economic order, without crises, because information as the main product of “new economy” does not disappear when consumed, so their value is not determined by the cost of production, but the number of subscribers which is constantly growing.

The *second* is a romantic idea of the market as a perfect information, allocation, and institutional system, which economic reality has not confirmed. It has been proven that the developed market is characterized by information asymmetry. The production of social goods, especially those related to the human capital development, must not rely on market laws. The market can not solve numerous energy, environmental, demographic, and other social challenges of globalization. Even the creator of the so-called “*open society*” G. Soros acknowledged that market fundamentalism had become “*the dominant a priori ideology, which presupposes a painful substitution of human values by money.*”

The myth of market economy emerged as God, whose religion is neoliberalism (faith in the market and “capable” individuals), and the priests are interests inclined, and privileged individuals. M. Mesaric has generalized the view of many authors in a “*global free moral ideology*”. It reflected in many local environments. The difference is “only” in the fact that at the global level benefits from its application were trans-national corporations as “*market marionettes*” (J. K. Galbraith), while nomenclature of power and their lobbyists have benefited at the local level. Victims (“believers”) were numerous. It is not just about poverty, but also about stopped development, the lack of consistent development strategies, crisis reproduction, ecological catastrophes, the spread of uncertainty, etc.

The third myth is that national states have allegedly lost their economic sense, so less state interference in the economy gives them greater chances of getting out of the crisis, and the rate of economic growth is inversely proportional to state economic activities. But “*a holy place does not remain empty*”, and

instead of state and international organizations, speculative and terrorist groups operate in many areas, which the market can not control. The “messiahism” of economic neoliberalism as an incarnation of unlimited market power and the “ideal” way of organizing the economy is also an institutional-monistic myth. It rests on a system of discriminatory and double standards: rhetorically designed futile imaginations and practical realization of narrow individually motivated interests.

The “dictatorial” application of quasi-neoliberalism in the countries of post-socialist transition “capitalism” has turned out to be more vicious and ruthless than the socialist state dictate, due to, among other things, neglecting and degrading humanism, many human and social values. Instead of the propagated “*trickle down*” effect, the neoliberal “*dictatorship of capital*” (J. Ziegler) and the manipulation of monopoly (G. Myrdal) came to life, simulating democracy. Scientific neoliberal model was replaced by *neoliberal mythology*, which seemed convincing and messiahistic to the population, especially in the part of faith and hope for more freedom, private initiative, private property, and appropriate motivation and efficiency. Reduced individualism (of the privileged) quickly became the ground for formal quasi-institutional monism as a theoretical and ideological basis of neo-liberal economic policy. The main cause of this phenomenon is the paradoxical need for public economic policy to serve private and party interests.

DILEMMAS vs PARADOXES

Clokostrism is one of the greatest enemies of progress!

In recent decades, economists (numerous “multidisciplinary” experts) have been competing in mathematical-statistical modeling of economic reality. Some of them have been Nobel Prize winners. However, all of these models did not successfully predict the future. Dynamic economic reality turned out to be “elusive” for dynamically modeled forecasts. The problem has been more logical and less methodological paradox, revealed by the simple question: how is it possible to develop a model for predicting the future economic conjunctures when it is a prerequisite to know the way agents would predict?!

The principle of rational expectations (which also provokes suspicion, because “rational agents” supposedly need to know everything in advance) was used to overcome the above paradox. Apart from theoretically great achievements in sufficiently abstract spheres, quantitative practical estimates were lacking. Behaviorists were more realistic, and their research showed better results. After all, in 1993, in his Nobel-winning paper, D. North wrote that “*theories of economic dynamics do not exist*”.

Traditional approaches have not provided an explanation of the volatility process in economic reality. Are modern approaches in this respect better? Especially when it is known that they focus on factors of balance, rather than on factors of its disruption, which is absurd. What to say about new and unknown impact factors of influence, which are constantly appearing in a turbulent economic reality, which can not be predicted in the initial stage of analysis and forecasts. Thereby, one has to bear in mind the difference between *turbulence* as a characteristic of economic systems, which mean the movement of their individual elements at various speeds, and *volatility*, characterized by fluctuations in wide diapason.

The global financial and economic crisis in 2008 has seriously shaken the postulates of macroeconomic theories, especially those related to the regulation of financial markets and the realization of macroeconomic (primarily monetary) policies. At the end of the 1930s, J. Tinbergen compiled a series of equations in order to understand the nature of the business cycle. The later works of T. C. Koopmans and L. R. Klein, published in 1950, opened up an era of significant econometric models. The availability of information was a limiting factor. It was later overcome by the rapid development of information technology and programming. The asymmetry of information on the market after the 1950s proved to be a specific scientific and practical phenomenon, and the problem which market could not solve, only social institutions (K. Arrow). At the same time was developing the theory of economic growth, initiated by the work of R. Solowa (1956), which used dynamic methods and had two branches - theories of optimal and endogenous growth.

All that was economic research based on the principles of individual behavior, which supposed a monistic economic set of market institutions as a part of social and economic institutions. It has been proven that state regulation plays a significant role, especially in the event of inefficiencies and market distortions (e.g. external effects), as well as risks, which must be constantly explored, identified, and institutionally (legally) “supervised” and regulated.

A decade after the work by Lucas and Prescott (1971) on the *rational expectations* of atomic agents in perfectly competitive markets, Kydland and Prescott (1982) proposed a new approach to the study of a business cycle. They have shown that the same can be studied using dynamic models of general equilibrium, which accurately describe the empirical tendencies of long-term growth. It was the first attempt of work-cycle and economic growth synthesis. Before that was applied a comparative analysis of theoretical models with various indicators.

In further macroeconomic theoretical research were increasingly applied the real-life business cycle models (RBCs), dominated by realistic shocks as the main business fluctuation

(e.g, technological) factor. They were widely used to analyze the general macroeconomic policy as well as its specific parts (fiscal and monetary policies). These were the first steps in resolving Lucas' hypothesis (1980), according to which “*one of economic theory functions consists in creating flexible artificial economic systems, by which it is possible in laboratory conditions to test the consequences of economic policy at no cost.*”

In the period of relatively high world economy growth rates, and relatively low energy prices (1986-2005), the RBC theory dominated the analysis of fluctuation in economic activities. In 2004, F. Kydland and E. Prescott won Nobel Prize for economics. After a two-decade low volatility of macro indicators in developed countries, the global crisis in 2008 actualized the issue of the RBC theory sustainability. There were doubts about its justification and meaning, from a theoretical and practical aspect. However, its object of research is quite clear - the fluctuations in economic activity, which are considered equilibrium even with all existing shocks. But the RBC theory does not study the trajectory of economy. In addition, economic entities (governments in the preparation of macroeconomic policy, firms in planning investments and borrowing, and banks in formulating their strategies) always start from the predictions of the basic economic indicators, and not of their dispersion and, for example, the conjuncture predictions.

Implementing anti-cyclical measures is extremely important for governments, and will always be a topical, practically burning issue. It is also very difficult, given the stochastic nature of the business cycle and general equilibrium. No macroeconomist has successfully predicted the global economic crisis. Therefore, adequate defense macroeconomic measures have not been taken in time. Even before the frequent economic crises and the tragic consequences of 2008 crisis, it was clear that the used mathematical models ignore many important phenomena in economic reality and social environment. Hence, their consistency was questioned in the part of explaining the economic reality, and in particular in predicting the future events. In practice, the events have largely denied it. Why?

Objective constraints are high, and all these abstract models are based on the assumption that these are “normal” periods of economic activity. All of them in a certain way, and to a significant degree, abstract the complex dynamics of economic systems, their possible instability and risk exposure in a very changing environment. In addition, most models refer to assessment and risk insurance. But, in reality, none of these models has been able to predict, identify, and/or reduce risks.

All such models proved to be inaccurate, empirically unconfirmed and/or unimplementable. They are mainly based on two poor assumptions - rational expectations and a representative agent. Viewed through this prism, it is likely that the methodological correctness of economic science subject definition may be questioned. It is clear that people's behavior cannot be mathematically modeled and predicted in significant segments. Economic science simply ignores many of the crucial and widespread problems and limitations in economic reality, as if they were a taboo topic.

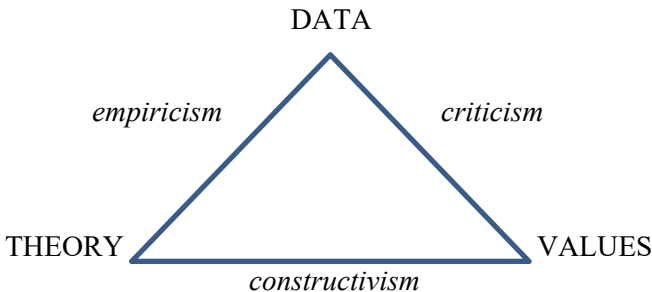
FORMALIZATION vs ABSOLUTIZATION

“Macroeconomists have more recently focused on developing analytic tools and establishing theoretical principles. These tools and principles, however, have been slow to find their way into applications... This is humiliating for all of us who work in this area.”

Gregory MANKIWI

Modern economics is too much based on modeling as a formal description of economic behavior, processes, or phenomena, whose structure is defined by their objective characteristics and subjective target character of the research. There are realistic modeling constraints from the aspect of the degree (scale) in which models reflect (or do not reflect) the economic reality.

J. Galtung has highlighted three basic aspects of scientific activity: empiricism, criticism, and constructivism. Their interaction and change ensure the development of science. They allow to describe the existing behavior, phenomena, and processes, and to create preconditions for correcting and improving the reality. However, there are often attempts to *absolutise* one of the aspects of coherent scientific activity. Galtung’s idea of social science in general:



Economists rely on the use of the most sophisticated econometric methodology, which in recent decades has contributed

to the great improvement of identification strategy and the resolution of endogenous problems. Adequate identification of econometric model strategy for economists means that the problem is endogenously solved. Therefore, research topics are often selected from the aspect of identification strategies availability (e.g. instrumental variables, not vice versa). According to economists, the role of theory in empirical research is implicit, since it is a formal mathematical model, in which the regression is ideally evaluated, and derived directly from the “structural” model. Nevertheless, the theoretical model specifies only the general direction of relations (links) between variables, which is explored empirically. Thereby, it is considered that the mathematical model, by definition, is applicable to different objects of research, through simple renaming of variables.

Requirements for high quality econometrics obligate economists to set high demands on data quality in terms of frequency of observation. It is difficult to find good economic paper that does not use panel and micro data. They can not be generated by one researcher. That is why economists use the same databases, changing only research hypotheses and econometric methods. As a result they get a *cycle of similar works*, which differ only in the econometric methodology. They all pretend to be original, and thus treat them on reference scientific papers (SSCI, Scopus, etc.).

Modern economic theory is based on conventional economic models, through which it was unable to predict the global economic and financial crisis in 2008. This fact has stimulated widespread *discussions* on redesigning the foundations of economics, which include three themes: the essential problems of theory (domination of formalism), methodological and epistemological causes, and institutional causes. Discussions point out the need to change the existing model (even paradigms), not only in the part of the criticism of the key *mainstream assumptions* (which some call the “theory of market fundamentalism”), including the concepts of “*efficient markets*” and “*rational expectations*,” in which these models base their approval. It is

about excessive simplification of economic reality, which is also the case of econometric modeling works.

The most actual is “ontology” issue (the correspondence between theory and reality it describes) in the doctrines dominated by formal methods of knowledge presentation. The solution of economic theory in a methodological way is done in two ways: the manifestation (reconstruction) and analysis of basic ontological assumptions, and criticism of their unreality, and the development of interpretative context, which enables the connection of the model for economic reality and the question of its applicability. D. Colander metaphorically explains the essence of devastating formalism of contemporary economic science. *One night a policeman saw a macroeconomist looking for something buy a lightpole. He asked him is had had lost something there. The economist said, “I lost my keyes over in the alley.” The policeman asked him why he was looking by the lightpole. The economist responded, “it’s a lot easier to look over here”!*

Economists (scientists), especially macroeconomists, perceive themselves as persons whose profession is related to social events, because the economics should address the problems of an efficient allocation of limited resources in society. But modern economic theory is by its academicism closer to mathematics than to social sciences. Modern macroeconomists formulate theories with mathematical description, they collect huge amounts of data and apply econometric methods to reach empirical conclusions, which are supposedly without prejudice and ideology. A significant part of economic science (and not only economic) has become only a cover of mathematical theory.

In order to publish some paper in the field of social sciences in a better foreign journal (as required by the new criteria for selection in scientific titles, doctorate, mentoring, etc.), it must contain formulating axioms, hypotheses, theorems, and their proofs, as well as developing methods of building and testing formal models. There is an absurd and paradoxical need to fol-

low the standards of mathematical accuracy, logic, and abstraction, motivated by the desire to obtain “convincing” results as in exact sciences. G. Stigler once scornfully remarked: “*Without mathematics, we’d be reduced to the caviling of sociologists and the like.*” G. Mankiw ironically responded: “*God put macroeconomists on Earth not to propose and test elegant theories, but to solve practical problems.*”

Traditional economic descriptive argumentation (reasoning) has been replaced by mathematical calculations. The first “*invigorating kiss*” (J. M. Keynes) was given by P. Samuelson (1947), K. Arrow, and G. Debreu (1954). Later, with the development of computers, formalization became obsolete and turned into a dominant trend. It completely *separated from reality*. Explaining the phenomenon of real economic reality was expelled from scientific research. Thus, the essence of the economy has lost its sense and turned into an idle “*science for science*”. This is confirmed by the statement of R. Coase, who sarcastically noted: “*In my youth it was said that what was too silly to be said may be sung. In modern economics it may be put into mathematics.*”

Unable to solve practical problems, the economics lost the ability to significantly influence the official economic policy. There was a paradoxical situation: if someone were to become a doctor of economics or a professor of some economic discipline, he/she did not have to know the economy! The language of economics is overloaded with formulas, theorems, and proofs, so it is not understandable even to most economists! Two and a half decades ago, A. Krueger (1991), a chairman for the Commission on Graduate Education, formed on the initiative of the *American Economic Association*, said that the system does not allow the understanding of essence of economic problems and institutions. The commission consisted of K. Arrow, O. Blanchard, A. Blinder, C. Goldin, R. Lucas, P. Shultz, J. Stiglitz, L. Summers, and other well-known economists.

Forsing abstractions and neglecting the history of economic thought, economic knowledge, and practical issues (regardless of how much it is *art*), the essence of economics, its

multidisciplinary connection, and economic mindset in a “pure” (academic) economic science and higher education produces great consequences and favors standard opponents of economics (apologetics and dominance of politics over economy).

P. Volcker was not honest enough when he said to his students that “*politics is destined for yokels*”! It's funny to talk about the fact and the need to increase the mathematical knowledge of economists (in the era of informatics!), because W. Hansen has proven that it never happened. Many factors in society, subjective and objective, favor the formalistic expansion of pointless arguments, which are generated in well paid mathematical interpretations of the simplest ideas, even the hypothesis like “*it rained, therefore the street is wet.*”

It is about a class of “*simple methodological exercises*” (D. Colander), where certain conceptual, terminological, and other nuances are discretely modified. In intellectually appealing mathematical manipulations when choosing models and the corresponding variables and “*self-sufficient hypotheses*” (F. Hayek) the economic reality can be tautologically, ideally and trivially redesigned (and/or hidden) in order to obtain the *desired* results, which have nothing to do with economic logic and/or economic reality.

Is there an alternative? Yes, there are non-institutional economic theories, used by the few. In many transition countries even less applied are recommendations from its respectable representatives.

SYNTHESIS vs APOTHEOSIS

*A healthy skeleton is not made
of broken clockwork hips.*

Economics explores and reveals the most general, fundamental principles of economic activity organization, in their tight interdependence and relation with social, political, ideological, institutional, cultural, and other processes. Economic theories are more or less aimed at justifying the existing socio-economic order. The modern approach to the discovery and explanation of economic reality assumes the *synthesis* of different theories. However, economics should rest on the principles of theory and practice reciprocity (because “pure” theoretical economy means separating *homo economicus* from his social environment).

Greater synthesis of economic theories would provide greater opportunities for seeking solutions in economic politics, even for some problems and phenomena. Nevertheless, it is difficult to have faith in rational synthesis of numerous economic theories. There is pluralism in their understanding of the state role and the market, as well as the tendency to explain the objective conditions, interests, and needs of economic practice through their model and research “originality”, and thus influence the official economic policy.

A Nobel laureate M. Allais pointed out the “*necessity of synthesis and unconditional subordination of the lessons of practice*” of contemporary economic science, alluding to its *abstraction* and increasing *specialization* in various fields. There is an uncertain prospect of the emergence of such synthetic thinking, which will explain economics in all its diverse aspects, forming a complete, logically consistent theoretical construction. It is only certain that pure economic analysis is sufficiently abstract and limited. Therefore, a more sophisticated approach to economics is needed, based on the unity of economic, social, political, ideological, and institutional aspects.

In recent years, significant trends have emerged for the “synthesis” of economic theory. At the regular annual conference of the *American Economic Association* (January 4, 2008), one of the sessions was “Convergence in Macroeconomics”. It presented a wide range of opinions on many key issues, in which great diversity can be recognized, even in defining the most perspective topics of further research. Viewed through this prism, it is difficult to believe in a possible majority agreement and separation of some key elements, which would form the basis of a *new economic synthesis*.

The universality of economic theory cannot exist by the nature of things. Nevertheless, the future economic development must be based on the respect for synthesis of at least some rational parts of different economic theories. Among them the prominent (perhaps the dominant) place belongs to neo-institutionalism. Without the correct application of such a theoretical background, it is not possible to implement a consistent development strategy and an appropriate effective economic policy. Every monism in this context proved to be dogmatic, unsuccessful, and illusionist, ideological and interest-oriented, and therefore harmful, anti-developmental, and anti-civilizational.

Institutional pluralism and selective theoretical synthesis are an imperative of time. It refers to the combination of market regulation and the necessary and dosed interventionism. It must be an institutional, not an economic and/or (daily) political character. However, one should bear in mind the danger of the fact that the state institutional matrices largely determine (and sometimes abuse) the parties in power.

EXPERIMENT vs INSTRUMENT

*I'll become a monster, just like them,
without feeling and without honor,
In my soul, the world is breaking down,
I see it goes to ruin...*

Milic MUCALICA

In the conditions of pronounced post-socialist social and economic *non-system* (organizational, institutional and normative vacuum) it was not possible to form effective social and economic institutions. The quasi-neoliberal experiment in post-socialist countries has not changed anything in terms of economic growth and development. Why? Because the appropriate *instrumental* (institutional and systemic changes, or reforms) were not carried out. However, the (probably) planned task was realized, based on the redistribution of wealth and power in favor of nouveau riche and privileged “elites”. The transition has not solved many of the old problems, and has created new ones. Special *contradictions* could be seen between their leaders (carriers, creators, subjects) and outsiders (observers, audiences, objects). They resulted in palliation, failure, an increase in the criminalization of society and opportunistic behavior. All this has been sublimated in the general crisis. They have made transitions lose the epithet of universality, integrity, and competence. Therefore, the confidence of the mass in their positive outcome has been lost.

The boundless quasi-neoliberal dynamics of experimental deregulation breached the moral and institutional limitations of economic reality and rational human behavior. Because of that, transitional reforms need to be seriously implemented. Government structures have opted for recombined institutions, which have enabled the establishment of various forms of quasi-institutional relations. Forcing institutional monism (market type) has caused enormous consequences of the crisis.

Various market restrictions have contributed to the boom of uncontrolled market forms, which do not have any common

elements with an institution of effective market regulation. There was a logical consequence - the crisis elements were *re-produced* (low standard of living, social stratification, poor motivation system, unemployment, decline in production and all economic indicators, rapid social pathology, criminalization of economy and society, systemic corruption, gray economy, insufficient government rights, etc.). That has deformed and reduced economic reality and the general institutional structure.

These conditions are characterized by an insurmountable gap between suppressed massiveness and privileged individualism, which exists parallelly with the debt dependence growth, inefficient models of governance, systemic corruption at all levels, and many other social costs of anti-development strategy. In every respect, this is an unsuccessful experiment, instrumentalized with futile academic discussions, apologetics, insincere manipulative and hypocritical stories about freedom and the market.

Deficit, imitation and/or fiasco of formal and informal institutions allows the rule of alternative institutions, leading to various social and economic disorders, and retrograde processes. Controlled, complementary, and interactive functioning of all economic institutions is an imperative of time and there is no alternative. Instead of an experiment, it requires an instrument called institutional pluralism!

DOCTRINE vs ART

*Clowns subsist, and evil spreads,
the truth fears, no matter what ...
Everything is always decided by the jury,
full of ignorant, who cry and lie...*

Scientific methodology is a set of tools (methods and procedures) of scientific activity (meta-science), and a part of general knowledge theory (epistemology) and philosophy of science. In an applied sense, it is a complex system of interrelated principles and approaches to research activities, on which a scientist base the preparation and development of specific knowledge forms in a particular scientific discipline. Its primary goal is to provide heuristic forms of knowledge, which are strictly confirmed and have verified the principles, methods, rules, and regulations. In the style of an old saying “*you can't make bricks without straw*”, M. Koen and E. Nagel in the book *An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method* find that “*perfect instruments are a part of necessary tools for mastery.*” Naturally, knowledge, skills, and dedication are needed, under the *ex professo* principle - professional, competent, and qualified. Therefore, scientific metrology is precisely a *set of tools*, analytical-thinking processes, a systematized order and procedures for conducting some research, or data processing (facts) from practice. In accordance with the dominant understanding of *synthesized knowledge*, it is generally accepted that the scientific method is inductive-deductive and empirical-rational. It must, in the nature of the matter, contain *suspicion and hypothesis*, which is rejected or validated only after rigorous and multiple research and/or verification in practice.

Contemporary science has advanced dramatically in recent decades, almost exponentially, due to the boom of information and communication technologies. However, its essential commitment is to regulate social life according to the norms observed and formulated by the human mind - inherited from ancient principles. Thus, for example, macroeconomic analysis *ex*

post refers to national accounting, i.e. analysis of statistical data, which allows to evaluate the results of economic activities, identify problems and negative phenomena, and develop an appropriate economic policy that will solve them, conduct a comparative analysis of the economic potentials of different regions and states. On the other hand, the macroeconomic analysis *ex ante* implies predictable modeling of economic processes and phenomena based on certain theoretical concepts, which allow to determine the patterns of economic process development, and identify the cause-effect relationships between economic phenomena and variables. *Ex ante* approach reflects expectations, plans, and intentions of economic agents at the decision-making stage.

Much is forbidden in science, like e.g. plagiarism, but also to prove something starting from nonsense. It must not start with the principle *Ab absurd*, nor literally (from word to word) to rewrite (*Ad litteram*), i.e. “to throw spear that has already been thrown by others” (*Ab alio ammentatas hastas torquere* - Cicero). In most cases adding something that is already known (*Facile est inventis addere* – “it is easy to improve what has already been invented”) applies to something else, it combines, criticizes, analyzes in concrete cases, and the like. It is not always (but often is) the path of least resistance, but rather a researcher’s reflection of subjective and objective possibilities, the character of concrete science, etc. However, facts tell us (*Facta loquuntur*) that in science one must distinguish improvisation, imitation, and creation.

The existing knowledge (and especially scientific) must not be forgotten (*Ad acta*), but it should be constantly improved and repetitied (*Repetitio est mater studiorum*), or not a day without a line drawn (without a move - *Nulla dies sine line*). We must not act *Ad hoc* - only for this occasion (or purpose), with skips, but gradually and thoroughly. We must not act at will (*Ad libitum*), subjectively, but one must apply accumulated knowledge on the cases that we investigate using, i.e. referring to the opinions of many. We must not believe too much, but by means of

doubt we arrive at the truth (*Dubitando ad veritarem pervenimus*), once the necessary changes have been made (*Mutatis mutandis*). We must not start with the assumption of infallibility, immutability, and absolute truth, because science constantly corrects itself, it changes, and improves.

Since economic theory (as such, broad in content, unconventional in conclusions, composed of many theories), circumvents many essential issues of economic reality and failures of economic policies, many authors believe that economic theory is in crisis. It is also necessary to add *apologetics*, which supplements ignorance and inability to investigate the truth. By nature, it limits the possibilities of science. Therefore, economics requires “justification” in a long-open dilemma: is it science or art? However, we must not neglect the fact that number and speed of changes in economic reality outweigh the pace and possibilities of their study.

The existence of a large number of different theories, the use of a specific methodology and the application of scientific knowledge, nevertheless, places the economy in the line of serious sciences, which are existentially significant. Unfortunately, the scientific results of economics as a science, and the development of individual scientific ideas has always been obscured and relativized by politics as a fateful determinant, dominant and limiter, particularly by alibi-economists, i.e. apologists who have interpreted economics in accordance with daily political interests.

Economics studies the choice in specific segments of life: the acquisition of goods (wealth), its distribution and consumption. Economics is actually the science of choosing combinations between rare resources and unlimited needs. This represents a specific *conflict*, not less than that between harmonizing the goals of *social justice* (equality, solidarity, altruism, guarantees, determination, coercion) and *economic efficiency* (inequalities, market verification, competition, uncertainty, games, freedom).

NESSCIENCE SCIENCE

*I'm not from around here anymore!
The truth is dead here.
Clototrists and fools
have staged the injustice.*

After long and dominant invasion of (permissible, and perhaps targeted, programmed) thematic and content formalization (mathematical, statistical, technical, operational, and instrumentalistic) in economic science, while ignoring critical thought, many authors rightly wonder: *is economic science in crisis?* Accepting the risk of possible error, this question can also be formulated differently: *did economics lose its soul, critical blade, and basic profiling?*

Ezra Davar believes that the crisis and the degradation of economic science have been prolonged since the beginning of the last century, after strengthening the positions of neoclassical school. She points out that this claim may sound paradoxical, since useful tools have emerged in the meantime, such as mathematical programming, game theories, econometrics, and powerful computers. Criticizing the often simplified, abstract, and unreal character of modeling variables, she supports a methodology that is as close as possible to the economic reality, because there must be a reverse link between theory and practice, as well as a fundamental principle of causality of economic phenomena.

The crisis of economic science is significantly contributed by the phenomenon of simplification and primitivization of scientific knowledge. It consists of two requests. The *first* is a rigorous, non-selective, universal, and paradoxical requirement for compulsory publication of scientific papers in scientific journals which are on SSCI and Scopus lists. And this is no longer as the first author, through the team work, but self-written! The irony is that none of the proposers of the said rule has ever published a self-written paper in the referenced journals. The *sec-*

ond is consequential and is related to the desirable (almost obligatory) statistical mathematical modeling, not only in economics, but even in other social sciences. It is unclear how many economists will mathematically and statistically model on their own. What to say about other social scientists?

That way, economic science loses not only its sense and essence of existence, but also its critical blade and originality. In economics, it destroys the canonical structure of its fundamental knowledge and most of previous methodologies on which these skills rested. This is an imposed (taken over) trend. In the West, it is relaxed in many ways: by university massiveness, by a completely different system of organizing scientific research, by multiple testing, and so on. However, it is dangerous in countries with a low level of knowledge and science development, and even lower investments in them. This requires an urgent, objective and thorough review of the current paradigm, which is highly destructive for educational and scientific motivation, and therefore for the development of science and higher education.

Economics has significantly changed its image in certain areas in which economic logic has lost its cultural, social, and political context, including the red thread called the critical thought. The sudden transition to the predominance of the mathematical-statistical methodology has impoverished the thinking horizon of economics, and its former rich methodological arsenal. This does not diminish the scientific and practical importance of mathematics and statistics, nor the functional and rational application (usability) of their methodology in economics. However, the *redundant absolutization* of econometric methodology has led to a *large objective banality*, due to which economics has been unjustly placed in the corner. Even those rare, critical, and useful economic segments are avoided, although they have not jeopardize the politicians (on the contrary!).

By building an artificial barrier and increasing the *distance* between economic knowledge and reality, the fundamental economics has been practically and ultimately underestimated and

marginalized. *Derived and applied* economic disciplines have multiplied. Nevertheless, in theoretical circulation survived *alternative* exceptions (directions), such as institutional and regional economics, the history of economic thought and economics of knowledge. Unfortunately, those important areas are not sufficiently applied in practice.

Economics has been globalized, unified, and narrowly standardized in the world's leading scientific journals (which are classified in various scientific bases, of which some owners have made a profitable businesses!). From social (conditionally: “national² and/or “general”) science, it has been turned into a *programmed* “instant” science, incomprehensible even to many professional economists, and particularly to the common people.

Through the dirigisme, global and regional “enlightening” and “reforming” channels, using the satellite-connected courts, this “elite” (central) scientific-publicist trend has been quickly imposed to the periphery. Without any scientific caution or selectivity (measurements), various *quantifications* (numbers and regression, often with cabinet and fictitious data) have occupied a place that belongs to the *people and economy*. That way, the answers to everyday and vital human issues have been *substituted* with abstract, incomprehensible, insertive, and insignificant constructions and analyzes. Through the discourse reduction of economic research topics on *regression and correlation*, the truth that *there is no* universal economic theory (for all time and for all occasions) was broken down. A new theoretical dogma has been created, decreasing the already decreased humanitarian reputation, level, and importance of economics. It is based on inadmissible *economic reductionism*, which leads economics into impersonal and reckless nihilism.

The imposed modeling of partial technical relations and survey data have neutralized a rather rare critical thought. In a certain way, the real economic and social problems were *relativized* (exploitation, alleviation, monopolization, non-market enrichment, velvet subordination, debt slavery, domination,

negative selection, patriotic economy, socio-pathological phenomena, etc.). In such a situation, it is difficult to find a way out of a permanent economic and social crisis.

Scientifically neutral and critical papers are a valid and useful attempt to bring back *the lost soul* of economics (raison d'être, logic, poetics, metaphors, criticism, rhetoric, thoughtfulness, philosophy, character, art, reputation, argumentation and literality, because economics is *all that together!*).

BUREAUCRATISATION vs CRETENISM

*Birds are singing:
some ignorant
are ruling the doctrine
via connections and shames!*

In the conditions of many inherited problems in higher education, the introduction and enforcement of a vague (convention and declaration), and unspecified “Bologna process” has created additional problems, which has culminated in recent years, adopting a scandalous character. As in all other areas of society, politics was involved. “Bologna process” is not to blame, but numerous conditions in which it is being implemented, and its diverse and voluntaristic application and lack of regulation. The problem usually arises when the strictness of the regulations is compensated by their poor and selective application and control. The cause is always the same - the *interests motivation* of privileged individuals.

Unfair competition and the rapid establishment of many new study programs, faculties, and universities has widened the gap between the number of enrolled (and graduated) students and the possibilities for employment. These processes are accompanied by system errors and institutional disorientation. The fictitiousness of the Bachelor degree (for which noone announces vacancies) is a sufficient indication of destructiveness. In such a situation, private motives (interests) are masked under the cloak of political affiliation. There is also an affirmation of socio-pathological phenomenology: negative selection of personnel, multiple management functions, long mandates, and the application of party principles (organization of elections, lobbying, voting), fictitious organization of teaching, management, promotion of non-professional staff, plagiarism and more. Consequently, the quality and reputation of education decreases, the discontent and demotivation of teachers grow, there is gossip, non-academic decisions... Some were given scientific titles

without proper references, others were damaged despite good references. Individuals hold (or “cover”) a large number of cases, although they do not have the biological nor professional abilities to conduct so much teaching. Commercialization, arbitrariness, discrimination, and the revanchism of incompetent staff have resulted in consequences, among which stands out bureaucratic centralization. Paradoxically, the number of diplomas has increased, and the level of knowledge has fallen. Manipulations with multidisciplinary destroyed the dignity of scientific vertical. Merchantization of education is a trap for future generations. For decades, knowledge has been saving us from crisis, however, ignorance will contribute to their reproduction.

The lack of consistent control and allowing substitutional relationship between academic rights and obligations, autonomy and responsibility, resulted in a significant reduction in the educational process. Under the slogan of university autonomy, the centralization (of functions, of decision-making, etc.) was strengthened. It was conducted by organized individuals and narrow groups of like-minded people, who lobbied everything (regulations, opening of study programs, teaching engagement, etc.). Centralization always leads to bureaucratization, collapse of processes, abuse of functions, the reduction of democratic decision-making to the voting machines (incompetent override) and palliative reform.

There are small, middle, and large nations, interests and leaders. Institutions can exist or not exist. Everywhere are interests (“*rule the world*”), non-culture, ignorance, chaotic behavior, and crime. History has shown the survival of those states and peoples who have had a critical mass of true values, customs, traditions and institutions. Institutions preserve social values for future generations. However, quasi-institutions are destroying them.

In transitional countries, the critique of socialism has been focused on its bureaucracy. Bureaucracy and systemic corruption as its direct consequence are manifested in utopian-political forms of social organization (D. Graeber). Viewed as a “form

of idiocy”, it is a form of institutional violence (compared to D. North's concept).

Universities were affected by perniciousness of administrative bureaucratic improvisations and manipulations (after the socialist experiment). Unprincipled elections were guided by criteria of similarity and affiliation, rather than scientific authority. This created vacuumized, single-minded and authoritarian administrative-bureaucratic management systems, worst than socialistic. A group of alleged reformers created scandals and became a victim of their own mistakes. The flood of ignorance, purchased diplomas, plagiarism, and the mysterious nostrifications of science candidates to become doctors of science, have formally equated knowledge and ignorance. There has been degradation, demotivation, rationalization, and degradation of science, even the famous announcement of “*world-recognized scientific results*” by those who do not have it.

The process of cretenism, according to domino system, was expanded under the slogan of some reforms. The word “reform” is otherwise compromised in transitional environments due to imposition of the *process* without results, and suppression of creators by (bad) imitators. In such a situation, attempts to hide behind demands for university autonomy were paradoxal. People without a scientific authority did not know that *university autonomy* is primarily based on scientific authority and strong profession as the synergy of all positive university values!

Prioritizing the voting machinery in relation to scientific authority, media repression, affirmation of quasi-scientists, and marginalization of scientific results does not contribute to university autonomy. On the contrary, that was and is a way to eliminate the possibility of using internal reserves and positive changes. A society that does not distinguish *true values* (scientific, moral, and other) from bluff, dilettantism, and demagogy, reduces its chances of getting out of crisis.

AUTHONOMY vs ANTINOMY

*The path to the truth could be found,
although it sinks, wanders, and winds,
One needs to endure and exit
from the klokotristic circle.*

The profession excludes a paradoxical possibility that semiliterate scholars (plagiarists, people without a necessary average grade and scientific vertical, people with purchased diplomas and papers, former repeater students, candidates of science, etc.) can get scientific titles, and still be at managerial positions! How is that possible? Simply due to the deficit (inadequate critical mass) of profession and scientific motivation, as well as degradation of the profession through many negative phenomena, among which dominate voting machines. The imposition of profession antinomy leads to a crisis of university autonomy. That is a specific and paradoxical hypocrisy, associated with an interests context and klokotristic milieu.

Higher education is a non-market environment and the holy land, where illegitimate benefits must not be achieved. It is not a place for bad players! But, individuals have lost the sense of a measure and think they are (much) smarter than they are. They are prepotent. They inaptly use “Andric’s time”, putting “*Signs by the Roadside*” on the road, as barriers to development and crisis leverage.

It seems that higher education was dominated by *neo-paganism*, because no one takes it seriously nor devotes due attention to it. Everything that doesn't draw people's attention - disappears, and traces fade away fast. Especially if there is no respect and humiliation.

Scientists never betray science! Tragicomics in science is its scam and betrayal. Some people speak (and decide) about science, but they know nothing about it! Nowadays, the division of journalist A. Tijanac into “fans” and scientists looks naive. Modern alibi-scientists and pseudo-scientists can not even be

fans! Some of them don't even know the basic rules of the game (methodology and other), while some of them wittingly bypass laws.

Ethical standards are the foundation for higher education. The principle of academic ethics includes academic integrity, intolerance of plagiarism and other forms of fraud, corruption, malicious and absolute behavior, false representation, misleading others, forging documents, buying scientific papers and dissertations, wrong (and/or malicious) nostrification of diplomas, and more.

Violation of ethical principles and demands, legal conditions and various manipulations undermine trust in higher education and deprives it of the ability to effectively perform its function and mission. The erosion of ethical standards in higher education disables the creation of human capital, innovation, and international competitiveness. Declarations on commitment to ethical standards, reform, quality enhancement, honor code, etc., are not a guarantee of proceedings in accordance with the rules.

Anti-ethical behavior in higher education is illegal and anti-social. It directly diminishes trust, prestige (rating), devalues it, and degrades the quality of acquired diplomas.

For many violations of ethical rules, the application of appropriate sanctions has failed. Sanctions for violators of ethical rules are a condition for improving the competitiveness of national higher education systems. This is the only way to minimize the fraud (J.M. Stephens, T.B. Murdock, A. Miller, A. Goetzinger). However, the utilitarian understanding of educational rationality (G.A. Akerlof, R.E. Kranton) in some cases dominates over possibility of preventing anti-social behavior (Fehr, Schmidt).

Immoral university externals are a reality, both at student level (copying, using various illicit tools for that purpose, giving bribes to teachers, plagiarized seminar and graduate thesis, master theses and doctoral dissertations, etc.), as well as at teaching staff level (taking bribes, plagiarism, purchased diplomas and

scientific references, unfair and corrupted influence, pressure and bribing in electoral processes, especially decision-making of students in various bodies, conformity, dirigisme and selective decisions, favoring, creating network groups of influences in decision-making bodies, multiple functions, etc.).

All these are ways to create the unlearned competitive advantages of individuals (T. West, S. Ravenscroft, C. Shrader), which decrease the competence of faculties and universities. There are sometimes mechanisms of networked coordination of deviant behavior of certain persons who, due to “operational needs”, unscrupulously ruin their competitors (V. Polterovich).

Knowledge cannot be conquered. Ignorance is a path that leads to various forms of crisis, dependency, and slavery.

SCIENCE vs MYTH

*Dust is thrown into our eyes,
interests, thefts, and vices are everywhere...
The crisis is spreading, the development is hindered,
clototrists have become prophets!*

Mythological knowledge is characterized by the primal man. Mythological “creativity” refers to the distant, but in some cases also the near past (political and economic myths). Some myths are still around us. They create wrong development (strategic) guideposts, and threaten to destroy previous accumulated knowledge. Mythology and science exclude each other. Science always defeats, dissolves, denigrates, and demolishes myths. Rarely, the balance between bribes and science can prevail to the side of the former. When that happens, it is a mythology of science. Under conditions of general crisis - that is also possible! The myth can not emerge from nowhere, it appears only in conditions that have escaped the social and institutional control. Every myth needs appropriate conditions (causes).

The *first* cause is the general and long-term crisis, with unbalanced social values, and reduced criteria. It implies the affirmation and reproduction of false value systems, which in the field of higher education reflects through achievements (diplomas, titles, vocations) without proper investments (learning, scientific work, references, and knowledge).

The *second* cause is the long-term forcing of infantilization and imitation of science (in fact – cretenism), the hyper-production of scientific staff, study programs, faculties and diplomas (at all levels), shutting down scientific institutes as temples of scientific research and poor financing of science, the underestimation and relativization of real scientific results (national scientific monographs, national scientific journals, and everything that requires long-term, devoted, and competent scientific and team work).

The *third* cause is the carelessness, no-action, irresponsibility, and silence of society (people, academic circles, government) about knowledge in general and in science. In particular, gossiping and scornful talk of individual scientific “originals”. But nobody does anything that these people are exposed and punished. This cause could be called a mass policy of scientific suicide.

The *fourth* cause is the optimistic mentality in bad faith, based on a sick ambition of mediocrity to underestimate the overall scientific environment and other scientific achievements, and to overestimate one's own (twisted) imagination about science, which has led to an illusion that it can transform the craft into science, ignorance into knowledge.

The *fifth* cause is the political imposition of eligible personnel and media (self)creation of a “great scientists” cult (with false references). The aforesaid and cheep self-marketing that tries but fails to annulate an objective, verifiable, and massive knowledge of their insignificant and/or nonexistent creativity. Such scientific dogmatism is the vestibule of scientific mythology. It deletes the boundaries between the real and the apparent, the obvious and the controversial. However, it allows the appropriation of anti-scientific rent.

The *sixth* cause is institutional deficit in the society. Science is just a subsystem, which shares the fate of social movements. In institutionalized conditions, it is not possible to impersonate alternative sciences, demagogies, and social pathologies!

The *seventh* cause is rigid and non-alternative interests connectivity and unilateralism, which dominates and survives in conditions of opportunistic ignorance and alternative institutions, which marginalize not only science, but even the motivation for it.

The *eighth* cause is not the last by its importance, and it refers to frequent palliative, improvisational, ignorant, and irresponsible attempts to reform science, applied by ignorant and interests-driven reformers. They shift on key functions by

model in the elective (excessively long) mandates, by the procedure where voting outcome is known in advance, and later by the subjective choice of the closest associates.

Instead of comments, the words of Napoleon Bonaparte: “*The biggest immorality is to do a business which you are not able to!*”

FORM vs REFORM

*Plagiarism about equilibrium,
all bluffs and scams...
Why cretins need grammar
when they have titles and money!?*

Since 2003 the so-called “global university system” has entered a new development phase. Universities receive public ratings on websites of various global university ranking. For many countries ranking has become a national goal. More recently, transition countries have been involved in this “metric” race for adapting the scientific techniques and indicators of prescribed assessment methodology. Exaggerated fascination by ranking has turned into an anti-scientific phenomenon. That has induced adaptation reforms, leading to distortion of scientific criteria and strategies.

New criteria and ratings have relativized the sense of scientific “clarity”, turning it into a destructive tool of influence at many universities. However, “*when achieving an indicator becomes an objective, it stops being good,*” correctly have stated D. Arnold and K. Fowler. Describing the practice of data manipulation, used in composing the ratings, E. Balatsky and N. Ekimova consider several assessment types:

- traditional, based on the assessment of many indicators of objective university activities,
- reputational (personified), based on the processing of expert’s opinions obtained by special research,
- virtual (Internet ratings), using indicators of university websites popularity in the Internet environment; and
- mixed (hybrid, non-independent), using the mix of the previous three methodologies.

They distinguish two essential forms of manipulation: by universities that are being assessed (consciously and uncon-

sciously), and by assessors (foreign experts). That way, university ranking can be conditionally viewed as a process of two opposing manipulation forms.

Possible errors and manipulations are related to several basic shortcomings, of which the *quotation* is a prime indicator of popularity (quality, significance) according to its importance. Many authors rightly point out that the quotation is in very poor correlation with terms of quality, originality, significance of research, and scientific progress. According to the distortion of the exact role of scientific institutions, it is closely related to an indicator of the publication cyclical activity and the corresponding quotation.

The opportunity is to mention one local phenomenon (seemingly an obvious fraud), which has not yet been seen in global academic practice. In addition to the tragicomicity and possible dangerous consequences (to its carriers?!) that this phenomenon may cause to the environment in which it originated, it does not deserve attention for anything else. However, this phenomenon is mostly about the people who produced it, who do not realize that it can influence the valorization of all other “scientific” outcomes. In short, suddenly appeared on the Internet an increasing group of professors and assistants, which before 2017 had negligible quotation, but in 2017 it was hugely quoted, and in the first two-three months of 2018 - even more than during the whole of 2017! Data for Guinness World Records! What kind of scientific contributions have they given to the country in which they live and work? When “small” teachers with enviable scientific references (some of which held lectures in several countries for decades) saw it, they immediately deleted their quotation profile. They did it in protest, but also due to the fact that competition with such scientific sizes - no longer makes any sense! How much will the academic community benefit from this phenomenon - remains to be seen ... Nothing so far!

The following weaknesses are associated with the shortcomings of the review system, the relativeness of impact fac-

tors, and the underestimation of some high-class national publications (e.g. Russian, which are traditionally strong in the scientific sense, and are not found on the aforementioned prestigious lists). Due to all this, the acceptance of fast-paced and inconsistent reforms, whose authors are sometimes scientifically and professionally incompetent for their formulation and implementation, is very questionable and risky. Especially in cases when four known criteria of elite scientific development (Selmi) are ignored:

- high concentration of talent among teachers and students,
- abundance of resources (financing and infrastructure),
- flexible management (real innovation decisions and lack of bureaucratic barriers), not centralization, and
- ability to combine these conditions.

Elementary financial problems can be seen through the following comparative indicators in 2006: a) there is a huge difference between the attracted capital at the leading universities (Harvard - \$29 billion, Stenford - \$14 billion, etc.), and the scarce budgets of universities in the region (approximately \$10-20 million), b) it is similar with annual salary of professors at relevant universities (Harvard \$185,000, at Stenford \$173,000), and at regional universities (10-30,000€), and c) there are disproportionate possibilities of additional earnings from projects, which is significantly in favor of larger university centers.

Higher education in transitional countries is facing a great crisis. A huge number of people have a degree, and many of them do not know spelling, not to mention methodological illiteracy or more complex forms of knowledge. The massiveness of higher education is not harmonized with the employment policy, nor with the adequate development strategy and employers orientation. Reforms and “strategies” must not be hasty, rigorous, unrealistic, demotivational, conducted by scientifically un-referenced people, in accordance with ambitions of the management, and without significant investments.

In conditions of low level of knowledge and science, with small investments in it, the hasty take-over of the world's highest criteria is perilous. That can be useful in the segment of distinguishing scientists from lecturers. Science needs scientific institutes, among other things.

When there is a high (mass) interest (demand) for low-level diplomas (from below), and negligible interest (supply) for higher education reforms (from above) - a quality solution is not possible.

CONCLUSIONS

*Where there are no intellectuals,
values are endangered, devalued, and disputed.*

Ratko BOZOVIC

History is life's teacher, but it also requires a few steps. Development cannot be leapfrogging, nor can it be achieved without consistent social, economic, and political institutions, strategies, and responsibilities.

In all historical periods of society, there was a development paradigm with appropriate criteria and value systems. Development has always been contradictory, since order and chaos never existed in pure form, but in various combinations where one or another form dominated. They were interdependent and conditioned in their interweaving. The domination level of order or chaos in society determined the degree of crisis in general and in certain areas, and also consequently the development rates. This level was always determined by the degree of institutional development.

The new historical transition period requires a paradigmatic change in the mindset and behavior. It is reduced, among other things, to institutional adaptation to civilization norms, achievements (exemplary models), and challenges. All forms of quasi-institutional monism (e.g. neoliberalism) have a dogmatic, totalitarian, and anti-development character. Real and pluralistic institutionalization is the only reasonable alternative in creating a sound economic policy and economic development. It is contained in exemplary models of developed countries.

One of the most important and powerful driving leverages of modern civilization is institutional pluralism as a mutual connection, conditionality and dependence of market economy (which basically includes private entrepreneurship), technological progress, and institutionally developed and flexible state regulation. This development criterion operates in individual

“worlds” (countries, economies, etc.) and in global “world of worlds”, as a combination of various economies, politics, cultures, nations, areas, and civilizations.

New time produces new paradoxes. In contrast to globalization of economics and society, there is individualisation of personality. Globalization frees the space for human creativity. It removes chains that have been hampering the man for centuries: formational, ideological, political, national, organizational, institutional, managerial, and so on. Nevertheless, institution of the civil society, as an ideal instrument for protecting people from power, does not act globally. It is negated by various national, corporate, and informal group structures that pressure individuals much more than so much criticized state (by controlling, reducing freedom, underestimating, compelling, blackmailing, determining, etc.).

The changes and developmental antinomies, integration and disintegration processes were rapidly reproduced. They legitimately violated democracy and freedom, building new foundations of authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and the hierarchical structure of social relations. Reforms must always be accompanied by the strengthening of institutions, democracy and education, competent and committed personnel, the elimination of political monopoly and negative selection, the reduction of opportunistic behavior, the emancipation of power, the reduction of violence, and the relativization of collectivist matrices.

This is a general development formula. Poor institutions are always the result of bad politics (its negative attitude towards them) and one's interests.

Democracy must exist as an exemplary meta-institution and a part of sociocultural capital, i.e. as a set of certain ethical, cultural, and civilizational values, by means of which a certain order in the society is realized as a social consensus.

The people of post-socialist countries believed in promises and smashed everything they have been worshiping for decades. Now they nostalgically bow to what they had. It is not possible to rapidly ruin the old and build new and effective institutions

by teleological replacement of goals and assets (“shock therapy”). The gap between propagated institutionalization and forced one-sided individualism (of the rare, privileged, and non-market-enriched individuals) proved to be multifaceted and long-term harmful to the state and society. The “new reformers” turned into “new elites” through rapacious methodology (gravitation of their interests) and neoliberal mythology.

That way, an unsuccessful socialist experiment was replaced by an even more unsuccessful transitional experiment!

The transitional social and economic “development” of the last three decades is dominantly marked by quasi-neoliberalism, as a form of quasi-institutionalism, no matter how others understand and interpret it. It is about metaphor which signifies and conceptionally generates a conglomeratic complex and contradictory context, having its own doctrinal, terminological, institutional, developmental, cognitive, strategic, interest, redistributive, property, civilization, geopolitical, and ideological meaning.

This context has been characterized by numerous practical quasi-manifestations (paradoxes, contradictions, problems, robberies, deceits, myths, restraint and control of changes and freedom, greedy, unlimited and non-market enrichment, and strengthening of power), orchestrated by theoretical apologetics. From that perspective, neoliberal metaphor looks like a programmed “meta - phore”, i.e. the amorphous, monotonous, anti-state, anti-national, anti-developmental, and anti-civilizational fraud, which has been rooted thanks to the patronage of the state towards privileged individuals who abuse it insensitively and long-term.

Economics has always led a double life (in theory and practice). In recent decades, it has become increasingly formalized, instrumentalized, and ideologized. Less attention is given to certain practical issues and problems in terms of transition economic environment (to which political economy and institutionalism were much more interested).

The word “quasi” can be added to the term “economics” (in the context of K. Popper's reasoning), due to formal abolitions (M. Blaug), numerous abuses and falsifications (T. Hutchison), and conceptual primitivism of "mathematical forms in economic context" (G. Debreu).

No matter how unreasonable and unacceptable they are, motives of Western forms of creating a modern economy are understandable. The causes of distancing from political economy and non-institutional economic theories, critical thoughts, complex and accumulated social problems should not be sought in the cult of mathematics and statistics, but in someone's big interests. Motives of the local and incompetent “reformers” of higher education that are unacceptable, due to their non-selective, uncritically and unconditionally acceptance (copy and apply) of other formulas (which they do not themselves use, but serve exclusively for others' use). We need to answer the main question: who and why has allowed and accepted all that?

Many “quasi-economists” also participated in “issuing license”. The application of theory in practice is desirable, but its replacement by formalization is perilous!

The future belongs to growth, which could be realized only on the basis of work, knowledge, and innovation (and not on growth in “innovation branches”). Societies which ignore work, knowledge, innovation, their production, and production in general, are based on anti-development strategies. They are condemned to deepen and reproduce the crises. Numerous research has proven a positive correlation between institutions, development, and knowledge. Education and science must be a sublime ideal, not a management. Universities should not apply party principles of election, organization, lobbying, and voting.

Creating new ideas and shifting the limits of knowledge is a very difficult, complex and long-term task, especially in the conditions of polarization, crises, and difficult creative scientific communication. Nevertheless, writing and publishing even in such (difficult) conditions is probably a good sign for the af-

firmation of economic and other knowledge, creativity, and development, as well as for overcoming the gap between differentiated economic science and the personified economic policy, i.e. between the crisis positive economics and the misused normative economics.

Critical texts always cause resistance: bypassing, braking, and neglecting. Scientists must rise above these artificial and monopolistic barriers. They must differentiate processes and outcomes, trust only in results.

Criticism makes no sense if it is just the critique of critique, without a message. Therefore this book sends some clear and unequivocal messages (even in the title). It is up to readers to evaluate whether and to what extent are those messages correct, useful, and usable.

AFTERWORD

*Euphoric gig of fools. And cries
dominate the new lost night.
Ignorant are hiding in yelling.
A better life will not come soon.*

*Nothing is accidental. There is no fate!
Demons of theft are staging the destiny.
Everybody lives in a false hope
Only mad are not disappointed ...*

*Everything is bought, rigged, and deceived,
ignorance, fraud, and bluffs dominate.
There are no rules,
Instead of ideals, the prophets are speaking.*

*Betrayal and struggle change places,
Primitivism is an unfortunate heritage,
from the common table again will eat soup
but it will be worse and rarely...*

*In the sad night of a tragic defeat
One thing, however, is clear:
the agony continues without an exit
the future will be ugly and dangerous.*

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Veselin DRASKOVIC was born in Niksic in 1954, where he finished secondary school (Gymnasium of Natural Sciences and Mathematics). He graduated from the Faculty of Economics in Podgorica in 1977, where he received his MA (1983) and Ph.D. (1992). He is a full-time professor at the University of Montenegro, and visiting professor at the Faculty of Economics (Masters studies - MGU) “M. V. Lomonosov”, State University of Tyumen (International Institute of Finance, Management and Business), Faculty of Economics, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Economics, International University in Travnik, etc.

He works as a professor at Maritime Faculty in Kotor. He teaches Economics for Managers, Strategic Management and International Management (*Basic Studies*), Economics of Knowledge and Entrepreneurship, and Project Management (*Specialist Studies*), Maritime Management (*Master Studies*) Economic Efficiency and Rationality, and Institutional Economics (*Doctoral Studies*). He was a mentor at five doctoral dissertations and 25 master theses.

He was in two terms a member of Montenegrin University Vocational Council. He was an associate member of NDEJ, and is a regular member of the Academy of Philosophy and Economy at MGU “M. V. Lomonosov”, Moscow, Russia, and at the Philosophical and Economic Scientific Society (Center for Social Sciences – MGU “M. V. Lomonosov”, Moscow). He is a regular member of the CIRU - Governance Research and Development Center, Zagreb, Croatia.

He is the author of 12 scientific monographs, 17 textbooks, 24 manuals and scripts, over 180 scientific papers (over 120 in international journals), and 50 reviews, editorials, annexes, and interviews. He is the co-author of 12 scientific monographs, 6 textbooks, 15 manuals and scripts, and over 50 scientific papers. She

is the author of Elementary Economics textbook for Secondary Vocational Schools in Montenegro, many projects and investment programs. Basic areas of scientific interest are: macroeconomics, microeconomics, international economics, neo-institutional economics, knowledge economy, strategic management, economic system, and foreign trade.

At the Maritime Faculty of Kotor he was the Head of the Department of Economics and Organization (1997-2002), the Head of Postgraduate Studies (2001-2009), the Head of the Department of Economics and Management (since 2002), the Editor-in-Chief of the FZP Collection (2002-2017), the Head of Master Studies (since 2010), the Head of PhD Studies (since 2012). Since 2004 he is the President of the Government Commission for Control and Evaluation of the Investment Dynamics and Expert of the Ministry of Tourism in the Montenegrin Government for evaluating business plans and investment programs. Since 2011 he is an expert of the Ministry of Education in the Montenegrin Government for Accreditation of Study Programs.

He is editor-in-chief of the international scientific journal *Montenegrin Journal of Economics* (www.mnje.com), located in ESCI (since 2015), Scopus (since 2017), Cabells (since 2012), and 12 more reference international scientific databases.

He is a member of the international scientific journals: *Amfiteatru Economics*, Romania (**SSCI**), *Journal of International Studies*, Szczecin, Poland (**Scopus**), *Journal of Competitiveness*, Zlín, Czech Republic, *Philosophy of Economy*, Moscow, Russia, *Economics of Contemporary Russia*, Moscow, Russia, *Journal of the Tyumen State University. Socialno-economic and legal research*, Russia, *Bulletin of the Tyumen State University. Socio-economic and legal research*, Russia, *Economija / Economics*, Zagreb, Croatia, *Montenegrin Journal of Economics*, Podgorica, Montenegro (**ESCI**, **Scopus**), *Economics & Economy*, Podgorica, Montenegro, *Montenegro Journal of Ecology*, Podgorica, Montenegro, *Economic topics*, Nis, Serbia, *Selective tourism*, Herceg Novi, Montenegro, *Siberian Trade-Economic Journal*, Omsk, Russia, *European Journal of Economics and Management*, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, *The Journal of Logistics & Sustainable Transport*, Celje, Slovenia, *Economic Ideas and Practice*,

Belgrade, Serbia, *Media Dialogues*, Podgorica, Montenegro, *Economic Essays*, Podgorica, Montenegro, and *Financing*, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He participated in over 100 international and national scientific meetings. He was the organizer and scientific manager of the international scientific meeting “*Economic Institutions as a Condition for Social and Economic Development of Transitional Countries*”, Kotor, 5-6.10. 2012.

He published scientific papers in the following journals and collections: *Economic Thought*, *Economic Annals*, *Economics*, *Economist*, *Strategic Management*, *Kikinda Dialogues*, *Proceedings of CANU*, *Marxist Topics*, *Marxist Thought*, *Economics of Entrepreneurship*, *Media Dialogues*, *World Economy and International Relations*, *Problems of theory and practice of management*, *Philosophy of the economy*, *Journal of Economic Theory*, *Economics of Contemporary Russia*, *Montenegrin Journal of Economics (ESCI, Scopus)*, — *Economics & Economy*, *Economic Ideas and Practices*, *Actual Problems of Economics (SSSI; Scopus)*, *Proceedings International University Travnik*, *Technology, Culture, and Development*, *Amfiteatru Economic (SSCI, Scopus)*, *Transformations in Business & Economics (SSCI, Scopus)*, *Economy of Region (Scopus)*, *Socis (SSCI; Scopus)*, *Sociology and Economics (ESCI, Scopus)*, *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issue (Scopus)* and other.

He is the reviewer of several scientific monographs and books by the following authors: T. Bandin (Subotica), O. Roy (Omsk), D. Stojanov (Rijeka), R. Jovovic (Podgorica), S. Bauk (Kotor), Z. Todorovic Luka), O. Suharev (Moscow), S. Meteljev (Omsk), M. Popovic (Podgorica), T. Domazet (Zagreb), Z. Maric (Mostar), M. Draskovic (Kotor), M. Markovic (Niksic), M. Grdinić (Kotor), S. Lukic (Banja Luka), J. Zugic (Podgorica) and others.

He worked in the economy as the Head of accounting and Financial director of RO “Kole” Niksic (1978-1980), in Zeljezara Niksic as an independent export officer (1980-1990), in Moscow as the Representative director of the companies “Euroferro” Milan and “DKD” London (1990-1995), and as Advisor to the General Director of Rusinvest Group Moscow (2006). He is a Director of

NVU ELIT - Economic Laboratory for Transition Research in Podgorica.

He is the author of scientific monographs:

— *Development of Soviet Economic Thought*, Ekonomika, Belgrade, 1994 (in Serbian).

— *Mixed and Transitional Economy*, Ekonomika, Belgrade, 2002.

— *Neo-Institutional Economic Theories: Property Rights, Firms, and Social Choice*, Ekonomika, Belgrade, 2002 (in Serbian).

— *Contrasts of globalization*, Ekonomika, Belgrade, 2002 (in Serbian).

— *Property and privatization*, Maritime Faculty of Kotor, 2005 (in Serbian).

— *Neoliberal metaphor*, ELIT, Podgorica, 2014 (in Serbian).

— *Neoliberal metaphor - Quasi-economic paradigm*, Elit and Rifin, Podgorica and Zagreb, 2014.

— *Neoliberal metaphor - as a quasi-economic paradigm in the function of vulgarized institutional monism and an experiment of interest*, SPH Scientific Publishing Hub, Celje, Osijek, Chestochowa, Kotor, 2014.

— *Institutional Aspects of Soviet Economic Thought: Achievements, Dogmas, Dilemmas, and Misconceptions - A Contribution to the History of Dirigisme Institutional Monism*, Elit, Podgorica, 2015 (in Serbian).

— *Institutional Aspects of Soviet Economic Thought: Achievements, Dogmas, Dilemmas, and Misconceptions - A Contribution to the History of Dirigisme Institutional Monism*, 2nd Edition, Elit, Podgorica, 2015 (in Serbian)

— *Clokotrization of Transition*, Elit, Podgorica, 2017 (in Serbian) (in Serbian).

— *Clokotrization of Transition - Critical Essays*, Centre of Sociological Research, Szczecin.

He is the co-author of scientific monographs:

— *Globalization in the Mirror of Development, Crisis, and Media*, ELIT, Podgorica, 2010 (in Serbian).

— *Facing the Futures of South East Europe*, Croatian Institute of Finance and Accounting, Zagreb, 2010.

- *Institutions, Order, Transition*, ELIT, Podgorica, 2013 (in Serbian).
- *Paradigmatics of Knowledge*, ELIT, Podgorica and the Faculty of Maritime Studies, Kotor, 2013 (in Serbian).
- *Knowledge in modern economics: theory and practice*, Omsk State University, Russia, 2014 (in Russian)).
- *Macroeconomic Theories and Policies in the Global Economy - Scope, Challenges, and Perspectives*, ELIT, Podgorica, 2014 (in Serbian).
- *Economic Mindset*, ELIT, Podgorica, 2014 (in Serbian).
- *Macroeconomic Theories and Policies in the Global and Transitional Economy: A. Smith, K. Marx, J. M. Keynes*, Elit, Podgorica, 2015 (in Serbian and Croatian).
- *Economic Ideas of Local and Global, Entrepreneurial and Predetermined, Individual and Mass, Monistic, and Pluralistic*, International Travnik University, Travnik, 2016 (in Serbian).
- *Management and Logistics - Selected Topics*, SPH Scientific Publishing Hub, Celje, Osijek, Chestochowa, Kotor, 2016.
- *Sustainable Development: Crisis of Regulation / Sustainable Development: Crisis or Regulation?*, ELIT Podgorica, SPH Scientific Publishing Pub Celje, Czestochowa, Kotor, Osijek and Žilina, CSR Center of Sociological Research Szczecin, 2017.
- *Media Life: Economic Aspects of Killing Boredom*, ELIT, Podgorica, 2017 (in Serbian).

EXCERPTS FROM REVIEWS AND READER COMMENTS

Dear Veso, you threw thoughtful stones into the swamp that stinks on rot and decay. Congratulations! You have splendidly explained the literary neologism, which starts from the great poet Aco Sekulic ... You've said *meta-phore*, but one could say a *bullet-phore*... You have rightly point out: "*Clokotrism is the proved method of mass cretenism*". Now I will read your book carefully and in the quiet of leisure. Your critical lucidity have genuinely delighted me. People from Niksic are the best! Warm greetings from frozen Belgrade.

Ratko BOZOVIC, Professor

Dear friend, you wrote many capital and great economic works. But this is your book - BRILLIANT!!! I am impressed! It's a kaleidoscope of top-level essays by a top economist!

Dragoljub STOJANOV, Professor

Dear Veso, you managed to monographically shape a lot of your genial, original, and correct ideas, which we for decades read with delight at many scientific meetings. Your realism, thoughtfulness, courage, and brilliant literacy have immersely transformed difficult and painful transitional themes into a ingenious and clear series of short and educational essays that celebrate knowledge and pluralistic institutions, delivering honest and warning messages! This text awakens and inspires! You made me read it many times, repeating your wonderful language. I am waiting for you in our meeting place in Ilinka street in Moscow to make together new creative plans! We might translate this splendid monograph for Russian edition!? We have to use our creative science to beat "*ne-science*"!

Bagrat YERZNKYAN, Professor

There is no pleasure like discovering a new author, new thoughts, new text, and new books. Especially when it comes to great authors such as Professor Veselin Draskovic. Since 3,000

years ago, opinion is the engine of the world progress, and it is conveyed through this precious nomadic object called the book. And today, more than ever, writing and creating books is a essential for our civilization full of impatience and money terror and fast success. This is why Veselin Drastovic studies, teaches, and bravely writes, collects knowledge for current action and future generations. His books, even this latest one, create reflections of active, profound thoughts, motivation for creativity and possibility for criticism. He says that without thinking and critical attitude towards reality and recorded knowledge, there is no innovation or progress of any society. Veso has always put all his energy and time in promoting science and knowledge. This book is a synthesis of his research in several scientific areas. It complements his rich monumental scientific opus, needed for everyone, certainly necessary for young people who seek to find a way in this complex modern world, to gain confidence, prepare for the future, and avoid traps of “*guilty consciousness*”, caused by instant success – to achieve everything possible right here and right now. Brilliant analysis of the “*distorted reality*” in this book is a warning to all societies that neglect the reading, creating, and knowledge, forgetting that their greatest obligation is to leave something for the future generations.

Radislav JOVOVIC, Professor

The truth is: (almost) no one reads books, unfortunately! And then they say “*the academic community is silent*”! Dear Veso, your book is a painful transitional truth! It is interesting and rich with deep ideas, terminology, and analysis! It's like I listen to you when I read it! I really look forward to your great work!

Nada ZGRABLJIC, Professor

Bravo, Veso! This is exceptionally topical and very good! No one likes to hear bad things about oneself, but hearing bad things is good, because then we have the ability to change for the better. Same is with “*clockotrization of transition*”, as pointed out by which Veselin Draskovic. Transition must first occur in our heads, and it must be confronted with “*we don't know where we are, we don't know what we are doing, we don't know how to do it, we don't know how to think, we don't know...*”. However, if we overcome

this level of transition, then we can start overcoming clokotrism, and start learning and changing the world we live in. But are we ready for that, we as an old generation, or are we lulled into our false knowledge from “that time” which is long gone, and persuade each other into prejudices of our (non)genius knowledge? Therefore, read this book and you will understand everything... Good luck...

Academician *Tihomir LUKOVIC*, Professor

“Clokotrism of Transition” by Veselin Draskovic is a testimony of the great life experience and top multidisciplinary knowledge of his author. Although he is an economist in his basic education, this was not an obstacle for him to offer an outstanding work to the readers, scientists, and professionals, in which polytechnicism intertwines very strongly with elements of psychological, sociopsychological, sociological, and cultural. All that is a great recommendation for this book, at least for the region of the former Yugoslavia. The author is a person of rare intellectual possibilities and achievements. After reading this book, I am sure that there will be no problem to reach a consensus for everyone who has had the opportunity to read it. And therefore, my sincere congratulation to the author, and my advice to everyone - read Draskovic's “Clokotrism of Transition”, and find out yourself that this is a book of unusual and permanent values.

Academician *Slavo KUKIC*, Professor

A spiritual display of global everyday life, a theater performance in which reality is replaced by metaphors, and no one knows how long will it last.

Andjelko LOJPUR, Professor

Veso, my friend! This is read as a bestseller! Well done! We are happy to know you, because you illuminate this difficult and ungrateful scientific path with your brilliant thoughts!

Drago PUPAVAC, Professor

Dear and respected Veso! Heartfelt congratulations for your precious book, which is a genuine gift to all. You have written that

ours is only what we give to others. Thank you for enriching the lives not only of your friends, but also of the future generations. Thanks for this strong awakening... Your energy, creativity, and enthusiasm are endless!

Tatjana STANIVUK, Professor

The book succinctly and originally explores the range of transitional paradoxes, problems, and antinomies. It is a brilliant example of the author's insight into the essence of the problem “*nescience science*” (author's term). It is an extraordinary and rare critique of a set of particular limitations and perversity, which manage to integrately dominante all levels of social reality, as well as the awareness, which are stuck in a hindering transition loop.

Sanja BAUK, Professor

Only the great authors can say a lot in a small text. Dear Veselin, my colleague and friend – you managed to put all transition mice into a mousetrap! I sincerely look forward to your great edition! For us here, it will be an educative “manifesto”! Congratulations!

Academician **Yuri OSIPOV**, Professor

Veselin, my dear colleague! In 1994, I acknowledged that you overcame all of us Russians with your critique of Soviet economic thought! With this new bold economic-philosophical critique of transition you overcame all transition economists! “*Montenegrins, what is...?*”

Aleksandar Sasha HUDOKORMOV, Professor

I read these extraordinary essays right away, “at one sitting,” and I will often return to them. Such thoughts, messages, critiques, and brave conclusions – all in one place! Brilliant! Bravo to the editor of SPH! I know you promised me, and you will fulfill that promise soon!

Borut JEREB, Professor

The history of man, among other things, is a history of searching for truth as an eternal challenge. It has always been critically oriented toward the enormous human need to *believe*, which created a space for manipulation, with the accompanying "evidence" - unconditional, monistic, dogmatic, clokotristic, and others. For centuries, intellectuals have recognized this inevitable and conflicting *boundary* between truth and faith, covered with an absolutist, exclusive, mythological, and ideological mantra. In this rare book of a universal character, V. Draskovic offers a wide spectrum of a distorted transitional reality by advocating institutional and every other pluralism (conditionally: "*polyphony*") and the metaphor of clokotrization, using convincing critical argumentation. All his evidence are tangible and simple: they are found in the pluralist value systems of developed countries. By raising the subject of research from the local to transitional level, using experience and professionalism of a scientist, he justifiably, scientifically neutral, critically and patriotically offers the development alternative: pluralism (dialogue) instead of monism (monologue). This work will, by its numerous values and especially by the affirmation of critical and free thought, rise Montenegrin creativity to the higher level, in the region and beyond.

Zeljko RUTOVIC, culturologist and publicist

Veso, my friend! Reading this book of inspired essays, I remembered a Heinrich Heine's famous saying: "*When the heros go off the stage, the clowns come on*" In recent decades, by choosing and glorifying clowns we live in a transitional circus. However, the clowns cannot frighten a robust and vigorous man like my friend, Professor Veselin Draskovic, who helps us with this manuscript to get them back where they came from - in the shackles of history!

Radovan STOJANOVIC, Professor

I read in Veso's review that "*all dogmas, absolutizations, totalitarianisms, dictatorships, and imperialisms are based on monisms*". Slavoj Zizek correctly writes that "*the marriage between democracy and capitalism is over*". This book of masterfully written essays only confirms the fact shared by all true intellectuals, as Veso writes, that "*history repeats itself in its darkest monistic*

vices, imposed by uncontrolled centers of power in order to achieve their absolutist interests.”

Ivo SPERANDA, Professor

Dear Veso, I was trully delighted and amazed by this book of yours. Your analysis of “clokotrism” as a modern form of corrupt reign is unique and original. This is a genius review of a rapacious transition, characteristic to your writing style and critical scientific spirit. You have knowingly described the main social and economic processes of the past and the present, announcing the gloomy future. You fairly showed a corrupted higher education system that has reached the highest degree of degradation or “*cre-tenism*”, as you have put it. It's not enough to say: hard times are coming! Congratulations for this great and rare short-form monograph!

Nesko USCUMLIC, PhD

In these short essays, the author returns the soul to economic science and shows that economic logic must have its own developmental cultural, social, and political context, connected by a red thread called a critical thought. Pointing to the unjustified transitional marginalization of science in general, the author suggests a pluralistic trail, which should lead to progress, modeled on developed countries.

Marija JANKOVIC, Assistant Professor

This extraordinary work represents a paradigm for serious dealing with social issues. The author, in accordance with his splendid intellectual spirit and criticism, describes negative tendencies in the reproduced crisis environment of transitional societies, and seeks to illuminate the causes of transition crisis and its hindering factors, from various angles. It is particularly worrying is his conclusion, “*Dogmas of the past are clokotristically repeating*”. The author's criticism has no ideological or political, but exclusively scientific motive. That is the greatness of this book, among other things.

Radenko SCEKIC, Assistant Professor

These essays critically, poetically, and revolutionarily return the abused (economic and other) theory to the right track. While cretins and klokotrists dance a dark “reform” kolo-dance, the truth ignores them and prepares the order in which they will, nevertheless, be marginalized.

Vlasta ZUPANC, Associate Professor

Veso has shown in a simple way (which is the most difficult!) how alienated centers of power and “omnipotent” global sponsors, due to their narrow interests (enslavement and dependence), through programmed madness, dogmas, and transitional imitations with unlimited duration, find frivolous and ignorant accomplices, who impudently betray liberalism, destroying knowledge and exercising obedient one-mindedness. Only brave, brilliant, benevolent, and highly intellectual patriots, such as my best man and school mate Veso, write about the infinite greed of the alleged “reformers” and fake “scientists”.

Veselin DJUROVIC

I was the first to receive and read this essay book, which is topical, with clear messages, and high quality. Congratulations! Keep up the good work! Knowledge will beat the klokotrists!

Borjana BULAJIC

With this book, my schoolmate and friend Veso continues to consistently confirm his incisive and justified criticism of social neglect, deformation, and failure, to which he had been loyal since high school. His words seem to come from that time, “our” time of hope and enthusiasm that echoed sincerity, as if our great gymnasium professors were singing in us. I am honored to take part in this great project of local, regional, and broader transitional importance!

Dragoljub Njako NIKCEVIC

This is a real book for sobering up! You wrote somewhere: “*Innovation does not require an ovation.*” This critique of the quasi-klokotrists opens the eyes, removes from them the dust that

“masters” have mounded. And, I swear to God – it requires an ovation... Great job, my friend! As far as the former and the real (original) klokotrists are concerned: “*We went down the road // the road was long // we noticed too late // that we went into circles*” (Aleksandr Aca Sekulic). And now, buddy: *We go sideways // all poor and all alike // our wings are broken // by foolish klokotrists.*

Vladan Konto JOVOVIC, original klokotrist

I am happy to join this usparing and rare critique of boundless and insensitive transitional fraud, which has, unfortunately, affected the higher education as a weed.

Ugljesa GRGUREVIC, Assistant Professor

With four decades long journalistic experience, I have always applied the rule of clear, accurate, brief, current, and true writing and speaking. I was in a position to spend time with you and follow your work and scientific career. I've learned from my life that without a good host there is no safe family. In your scientific work I have found confirmation that institutions are the foundations of social movements and the whole life. This postulate is essential for surviving on this planet, determining all other relationships in society. The book "Clokotrism of Transition" has confirmed to me that imposed transitional sideways do not provide safe economic and social relations. I was delighted by your concise, short, clear, and argued form, which is scientifically and humanly characteristic for you. In the era of hopelessness, as you have clearly and fairly stated, *there is still a safe path* for the economics and society. I realized that *institutional pluralism* is the only developmental imperative that can break the disastrous dominance of politics over the economy and all the accompanying dogma, violence, and tyranny. Hoping that scientists, and not only them, will follow critical and analytical messages from this top-level book, I take the opportunity to congratulate you!

Zoran GRGUREVIC, journalist and publicist

This Veso's book is like wine – there is truth in it! But clokotrists do not understand the truths that Veso mentions, and especially that “*ours is only what we spend in life*”! Transitional cretines, monsters, and demons will “drop dead”, but they will not manage to spend everything that they have gained... I send my congratulations to Profesor Draskovic from the cold, frozen, and hedonistic Moscow, along with attached verses (at the beginning of this book as a motto).

Milan Cvrle KRIVOKAPIC, student

This is an expected intellectual and critical response to vulgarization (former, positive, and ingenious) of clokotrism!

Milojko PUSICA, Professor

For years I have known Professor Veselin Draskovic as a creative and unselfish scientist whose articles, monographs, and overall research are extremely important due to their exceptional objectivity, deep and comprehensive scientific explanations, and attitudes. This absolutely applies to this book, in which the author reveals key development problems and threats of transition, suggesting concrete and real (possible) solutions.

Oleksandr DOROKHOV, Associate Professor

Some may think that criticism is malicious, but it is necessary in nihilistic times! This book, emphasizes true and old values, returning them to the path of truth, through a righteous critique. Every sentence makes us wonder if we are on that path?! The prayers of truthful Montenegrins are heard, this leads us to progress!

Milos KRIVOKAPIC, PhD

These essays, with their strong messages and extraordinary qualities, speak for themselves. That is so unique for my great professor and menthr, a distinguished critic and author of many scientific books and articles, an editor who has through sacrifice, knowledge, international scientific influence and high rating, managed to classify the Montenegrin economic magazine in ESCI, Scopus, DOAJ, Cabell's, RePec, and other leading world scientific

bases. He always spoke authoritatively and philosophically ambiguously: *“The poor can not compete with the rich.”* Everyone who knows a great and internationally renowned Professor Veselin Draskovic, knows that they really can not compete, especially not in science! My dear Professor, please accept my respect and gratitude for all your previous works, and for these new, impressive essay reviews and messages!

Niksa GRGUREVIC, Assistant Professor

Nowadays is very hard to be original in any area, especially in scientific papers. But, as Veselin Draskovic, one of the top Montenegrin intellectuals, but not of those self-proclaiming, says, *“new time produces new paradoxes”*. He managed to rise above clichés and stereotypical which he has analyzed in this book, as evidenced by inventive topics titles. Read the book and enjoy. Again, let me quote the author: *“Contrary to the globalization of economics and society, individualization of the personality is observed. Globalization frees the space for human creativity. It removes chains that hampered the man for centuries: formational, ideological, political, national, organizational, managerial, and the like.”* Is Draskovic not a living example that all of this is possible?

Veseljko KOPRIVICA, journalist and sociologist

Approving Professor Draskovic's thoughts, I will only paraphrase: *“Holidays exist to be celebrated. Publication of this valuable scientific book of lasting importance is a holiday for Montenegrin publishing. I'm happy to be one of the participants in that celebration.”*

Dragan RADOVIC, doctoral student

This impressive collection of essays explains how transition through conscious application of neoliberal clockotrization methods has become an unsuccessful experiment and corrupt tycoonisation. Its "creators" paradoxically ignored the basic postulate of liberal economics - the existence of a perfect market deprived of monopolistic positions of privileged players. They actually affirmed

the market opposition – “*non-market players*” with good positions and connections have become a newly-formed social “elite” in a manipulative way. However, that would not be so tragic if the mentioned metastatic process did not affect the world's higher education.

Mimo DRASKOVIC, Associate Professor

This book is like a double mirror: on one side is the recognition of described cretins and new klokotrists, and, on the other side is the acceptance of the truth for which Veso’s scientific and professor’s soul (and not only his) yearns! Yet, the truth is eternal, and that is the best and the only real mirror.

Milica DELIBASIC, Assistant Professor

Short essays with striking messages and lessons! The author wanted not only to criticize, but also to openly and metaphorically discover the difference between the apparent and the real, that blurred boundary, which often lies below the accumulation of wrong and/or calculated interpretations, misconceptions, dogmas, ignorance, apologetics, false promises and slogans, and everything that professor Veso calls “*economic klokotrism*”. He always reminds us that modern klokotrists are very contrary to klokotrists from the 1970s. He always inspires us to constantly learn and to increase our knowledge. And he always succeeds in that among all opponents of klokotrism!

Vladimir Dado PEROVIC, PhD