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Movement “Enough is Enough” – A New Political Subject as an Actor of Breaking Up Cartelization of Party System in Serbia

Movement “Enough is Enough” was founded in 2014 when, together with his associates in the ministry, founded by former economy minister (Sasa Radulović) in the Government of the Republic of Serbia who was set up on that position as an independent expert. On early elections in 2014 (March) which was followed immediately after the minister resigned, the movement won 74.973 votes (2.09 %) with rather poorly developed organization and a small number of members. After the elections, the movement has begun develop their organization.

In terms of the program, a movement based on the principles of complete transparency, and above all - transparency of public finances, dismantling of party parasitic state and of the public sector (elimination of the practice in which parties serve as employment agencies, elimination of the practice of clientelism), the struggle against corruption (subsidies, secret contracts, jobs with the state) and relieving of business (tax reduction, solving problems of state enterprises that make losses), but also the universal social and health care².

In organizational terms, this movement insist on clean biographies of candidates, supports the professional success. Also, the movement has the highest membership fees from which the movement is funded and based on transparency financing of the movement.

This political subject in the absence of space in traditional media (TV, Press)³ has created their strategy on two levels: (1) Developing intensive communication with voters through social networks (Facebook, Twitter), direct communication and through online forums and interviews; 2) Direct contact with the voters on the field (door to door campaign)

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² Program: <http://dostajebilo.rs/program/?lang=lat>

³ The Serbian government has imposed tight controls over both public and private media organizations, and Vučić has been criticized for his tough media stance. The E.U. also expressed concerns about the attacks on media freedom in its “Serbia 2015” report (Stojanović, Bertoa, 2016). <https://mappingmediafreedom.org/plus/index.php/2015/09/16/you-have-to-be-brave-to-be-a-journalist-in-serbia/>

and a tour of cities and municipalities in which they are organized meetings and discussions with members and voters.

Serbian Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić decided to go to new early elections⁴ together with local elections in April 2016. Despite assault by all political actors on this movement, they made a great election result considering that rest of the opposition is quite discredited and had no serious chance in the elections. They were the only ones new political subject on the political market in Serbia and they have used the crisis of political and party system in Serbia.⁵ In those elections, the movement won 227,626 votes (6.02%), got 16 seats in parliament, which represents a triple growth in the number of votes compared to the election of only two years ago.⁶

Movement is recognized as a new political subject, with their aim to dismantle the party state which is product of institutionalized parties in the party system of Serbia and breaking party cartel⁷. The movement announced that it will evolve into a political party and try to change the system from within. Movement “Enough is Enough” definitely has the potential to grow in terms of voter support in the future, through their activities in the parliament, they will have access to traditional media (TV, Press) and will become a lot more recognizable, which has the opportunity to completely change the party system in Serbia and directly affects the relations between the traditional parties.

The movement has won a number of seats in local assemblies (especially good results in the city municipalities in the capital - Belgrade) and did not enter in the government in any local self-government, which fulfilled the promise given to voters that they will not be part of the government with the ruling parties on the national level which maintain no transparency and which are part of the party parasitic state.

This paper will be based on empirical data gathered through interviews with the leaders of the movement and membership.

⁴ Boban Stojanović and Fernando Casal Bértoa (2016), There are 4 reasons countries dissolve their parliaments. Here's why Serbia did. *Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/04/22/there-are-4-reasons-countries-dissolve-their-parliaments-heres-why-serbia-did/>

⁵ Which it would have predict given the increasing support they received from voters who are disappointed with the mainstream parties. See: <http://www.vice.com/rs/read/pitao-sam-strucnjaka-sta-na-izborima-mozemo-da-ocekujemo-od-ostalih-stranaka> and <http://www.politico.eu/article/5-takeaways-analysis-from-serbian-election-aleksandar-vucic/>

⁶ See: Dušan Pavlović (2016), Serbian Elections 2016 - Election Analysis. *Contemporary Southeastern Europe*, 3(1), 2016, 53-58.

⁷ Richard Katz and Peter Mair (1995), Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party, *Party Politics*, January 1995 1: 5-28.