

Yugoslavia

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The article deals with the position and nature of the voluntary sector in Yugoslavia, consisting of organisations which emerged as a result of the political pluralisation of society and as an answer to more recent (as well as to older) social problems. After the presentation of historical developments, a description of the present situation is given. In this section the author presents the main types of non-profit organisation, consisting of 8 clusters, and touches upon networks as a separate issue. Legal provisions and tax policy are also described. In the section dealing with an analysis of national and local policies, the reasons for measures used in protecting public (state) property are presented. In a special section, the author touches upon the problem of refugees in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is connected with many new social problems (war invalids, crime and poverty). It has been especially important for voluntary organisations to direct their energies into alleviating these problems. Reasons for their slow development can be found in the gap between the state and civil society, in economic and social collapse as well as in lack of public support, the unstable position of the voluntary organisations and a lack of resources.

Keywords: FR Yugoslavia, voluntary sector, history of the voluntary sector, types of non-profit organisations, networks, refugees in FR Yugoslavia

Introduction

The division of public and private, profit and nonprofit/voluntary sector implies the division of the political state on the one hand and civil society on the other. There is widespread opinion that in East European countries no clear boundary between the life system and the establishment system" exists (Habermas, quoted in Touraine, 1983). The main difference between the third sector in the ex-socialist countries and in capitalistic societies is that "the new movements in these countries do not have the civil society as their basic starting point but have to constitute it and enable it through their activities" (Pavlović, 1987).

The voluntary sector in East European countries emerged as a result of general demands for changes in socio-political and economic life during the 1980's and, at the same time, the voluntary sector initiated these changes.

The development of civil initiative in Yugoslavia was, in this respect, somewhat different from other East-European countries. Yugoslavia did not belong to the Eastern block. In addition, the various types of property (including private property), and the market and competitive economy had existed in Yugoslavia's past system. The government-party's control over the everyday life and work of

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citizens was less oppressive than in other East-European countries (e.g. fairly easy traveling abroad, availability of western material goods and culture).

This kind of "softer" socialism enabled the rise of various groups and associations working at the achievement of a specific interest or demanding changes in society. Some of these groups were formed even in the mid 70's and especially in 80's.

The introduction of the multi-party system and market economy logic further propelled the development of non-profit sector, but the war, disintegration of former Yugoslavia, and UN Sanctions have influenced their structure and social power in today's Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

The History of Voluntary Sector in Yugoslavia

The historical background for voluntary sector development in Yugoslavia can be found in:

1. Traditional patterns of rural solidarity,
2. The influence of orthodox church and its concepts of charity,
3. The activities of various charity, educational and other associations existing in Yugoslavia from the beginning of 20th Century until the World War II.

The roots of the voluntary work and organizations among the Serbs can be traced to the past and to the pronounced solidarity within rural communities. The life in these communities was organized in multi-generational extended families forming economic, cultural and social units. The social functions of these multi-functional communities included education, passing various skills and practical knowledge onto the children, and protection of old and disabled.

Reciprocal help, mainly in work, is the part of Serbian tradition originating from the old Slav custom "moha" (joint, free voluntary work of all community members at one task) which called for the participation of all community members at the large farm works or at the construction of a house. This custom is still present in some forms, particularly in villages, when during the large farm works, in sickness, death, calamity but also in happy events (marriage, child birth, etc.) all of the neighbors and family networks activate and help the family with gifts or voluntary work.

Religious endowments, developing since the early middle ages (the first big foundation is Monastery Hilandar from the 10th Century) had particular significance in the growth and development of the Serbian nation. Feudal Serbian masters built endowments for religious, prestige, and patriotic reasons. One view of Serbian culture is that "the historical awareness of the existence of Serbs is inseparable from rulers' and religious endowments" (Stojiljković, 1987.).

The Serbian orthodox church was, owing to the historical circumstances (five centuries of under the Ottoman Empire yoke), very poor, and mainly the recipient of the help. It consistently applied the early Christian doctrine that followers' duty was to do the charity acts while the duty of the Church itself was to initiate and carry out social actions. But the social protection and welfare function was mainly under the domain of state. Due to these circumstances, accompanied by poverty and political impotency, the Serbian Orthodox Church has never had developed charitable activities like the Catholic Church. The Orthodox Church ac-

tivities were mainly directed to supporting patriarchal-rural culture functioning on the basis of relatives' and neighbors' solidarity.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century the civil state was established in Serbia. It had reached its culmination between two world wars in setting up the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. During this period, the orthodox church had somewhat reformed its role and become an associate and initiator of numerous civil and charity associations and organizations.

The majority of voluntary organizations was patronized by the Royal Family while making donations and establishing endowments had become the matters of social status among the newly formed civil class. The endowments were founded for social, educational, cultural and scientific purposes. Many endowments were managed by the Serbian Royal Academy (64 endowments and funds in 1937) while "endowment founders and donors came from all social ranks, from farmers to the highest government officials" (Serbian Royal Academy, 1937). The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was willingly encouraging the establishment and the work of various voluntary organizations and associations. The Administration for Social Welfare in its 1937 report pointed out "extremely close cooperation with entire private initiative in the area of providing help and shelter to socially impoverished citizens, particularly in child care and protection" (Vidaković, 1937).

Since, at that time, the majority of population lived in the country, the traditional forms of solidarity were very important. Agricultural producers' cooperatives established at the beginning of 20th century were an updated form of the family community. Their main goal was the protection of farmers against economic misfortunes but they also had social-protective functions.

The new class of industrial workers was organized into unions that provided various kinds of help to the members and their families. Craft guilds, like unions, largely contributed to the provision of social security of their members.

The communist revolution and the establishment of a totalitarian political system following the World War II have brought drastic changes to the voluntary sector. The new socialist state wanted to take the responsibility for economic, political, social and even private life of its citizens. Individual freedoms and free associations were banished as useless and dangerous remnants of past, and the state developed a universal system of education, health protection, children and social welfare, culture and recreation. The universal insurance systems were instituted - health, pension, invalid and unemployment insurance funds.

The uniform system of social insurance led to the higher living standards and social security of citizens than ever before, but it has also unified their needs and reduced possible initiatives and demands for changes. The people's interest in self-organizing and activity always diminishes when the state and institutions take in their hands the entire care for the human being and prevent him from deciding for himself. This "imposed" infantile position of Yugoslav citizens prevented "grass roots" initiatives and changes in society. Uniformly and universally designed programs of social policy caused deep and long-lasting economic crisis at the beginning of 80's.

Regardless to the "total" social security, the essential solidarity resting on relatives' and neighbors' relations could not just vanish in spite of fast industrialization and urbanization. Through direct solidarity and by relying on their own resources people continued to solve problems in their local communities, particu-

larly in villages and smaller settlements. Thus, the complete infrastructure of the village (roads, telephone network, water supply network), but also the nursery schools, schools, and health care units were built by voluntary contributions (in work and money). Amenities of civilization and industrialization were slowly coming to the smaller, rural areas and the people were forced to build the necessary buildings and infrastructure employing their work and resources.

After the World War II all private organizations, funds and endowments were nationalized or simply attached to the government property and the money funds devalued. A lot of church's property was confiscated (lands, buildings) and the church was restricted to religious activities only. New government treatment of property and the institution of endowment reflected the spirit of general negation of tradition and individuality (Avramović, 1992.). Yet, some voluntary organizations continued with their work. For example, the Red Cross was practically a part of the state apparatus for its executives were appointed and paid by government. In local communities, although the activities of Red Cross involved large number of volunteers they were supported by and directed through official channels.

There were also some forms of citizens' associations working fairly independently of the state, like professional organizations that had and still have the reputation in society and influence on the development of professions (for example, Serbian Physicians' Society, Serbian Bar Association, etc.). Relatively autonomous were sport-recreational associations and the associations of citizens particularly interested in solving the specific problems, e.g. associations for preventing certain diseases, associations of handicapped children parents, retired persons associations, associations and federation of the establishment. Some of these organization (e.g. organization for disabled children) were financially and otherwise supported by the government, i.e. certain funds from national lottery and budget were allocated to them and the work premises were provided by the government. All social organizations and citizens' associations could work only under the umbrella of SAWP (Socialist Alliance of Working People) a government-party office which controlled and coordinated the operations of voluntary organizations and associations.

The "Spomenica solidarnosti" foundation (Solidarity Memorial) founded in 1967 is a characteristic example. Its task was to raise and distribute the funds for social welfare purposes (i.e. scholarships for parentless children, financial help to the state welfare institutions, community halls and clubs, centers for the old and retired, and specialized institutes and schools for disabled children). This foundation raised funds for additional programs and activities in social welfare area in a cooperation with social work centers which suggested the necessary activities, pointed out the actual needs, and identified the individuals needing help.

In the mid 70's and at the beginning of 1980's, owing to a somewhat more liberal social climate, various new groups and citizens' movements were formed. These groups and movements are the predecessors of the future pluralization of society. Yet, the independent citizens' associations, initiatives, and groups constituted serious a threat to the establishment and were constantly exposed to various government pressures, including legal-police prohibition of work.

The Association for the abolition of death sentence, founded in 1981, serves as an example of the government's attitude towards the civil initiatives. When

this Association applied for registration in the Register of Citizens' Association, the city police department refused to consider the application without the written judgement of the Belgrade Conference of SSRN. This body concluded that: "There was no need for institutionalized movement for the abolition of death sentence." So, the Association's application was refused, the Association appealed and during the legal procedure the court concluded that constituting such association was not constitutional since the possibility of pronouncement of death sentence was provided by law and the Constitution (Janković, 1985). Thus, by this absurd court decision any request for the change of any institution covered by the constitution or laws was officially pronounced illegal.

Nonprofit Sector in Yugoslavia

During the second half of the 80's the new social protagonists, in the form of various associations, groups, and civil initiative appeared, marking the beginning of social pluralization. These civil initiatives are the predecessors and initiators of the future pluralization of society and establishing of multi-party system.

The legalization of political pluralism in 1990 and 1991 caused the sudden drop of interest in such kinds of organizing and action. This was the period of constituting political parties and party life. During these two years over 100 political parties (in a country with 11 million inhabitants) were constituted. It seems that, during this period, people tried to achieve their diverse interests through political parties, although the majority of these interests had nothing to do with the political struggle for power. Many political parties in Yugoslavia have set up various counselling services, funds, health care and education committees, etc. that usually become active during the pre-election campaigns. (In Serbia, the elections were held in 1990, 1991 and 1993.) The interest in constituting and joining social parties dropped after the second elections.

This period was immediately before the onset of the war in the former Yugoslavia. Various associations and groups against the war, hatred and violence were established. With the war escalation and the growing number of refugees the number of organizations trying to help the refugees and to protect their elementary human rights grew. In this way, beside the existing alternative associations (mostly environmental), many new associations and groups (peace, feminist, charity, for the protection of human rights, civil initiative, etc.) appeared on the public scene.

There are no collected, systematized data on these new and old, but partially or completely reformed organizations. Research conducted so far only partially cover some areas of nonprofit/voluntary sector but these are the sources we shall use in this article.

The Main Types of Nonprofit Organizations

The directory "Nevladine organizacije u Jugoslaviji" (NGOs in Yugoslavia), compiled by Branka Petrović and Žarko Paunović through field research, was published in 1994. This directory only partially covers our area of interest because the authors have observed only NGOs they considered important for develop-

ment of civil society and their various forms. The authors have come up with 198 NGO's in Yugoslavia, divided as follows.

Table 1. NGOs in Yugoslavia (Petrović, Paunović, 1984).

No.	Non-Governmental Organizations	Serbia	Montenegro	Total
1	Peace organizations and groups	16	1	17
2	Autonomous women organizations	15	-	15
3	Ecological organizations	54	18	72
4	Independent trade unions	40	-	40
5	Human rights organizations	5	1	6
6	Humanitarian organizations	16	-	16
7	Alternative ways of life	2	-	2
8	Various civic initiatives	26	4	30
	Total	174	24	198

Peace organizations and groups have emerged with the onset of war in ex Yugoslavia as an organized force resulting from the first peace, anti war actions and protest initially organized by civil organizations and parties. The most active organization is Centar za antiratne akcije (Centre for Anti-War Actions) from Belgrade that has organized a large number of actions and protests against the war and violence.

Autonomous Women Organizations were established prior to peace organizations and provided the basis for their onset (e.g. Women in Black against the war). Besides the emancipation and sexes equality issues, they are also dealing with problems of traditional-patriarchal order through various research and practical projects. The particular characteristic of the new women's organization is providing the services in institutionally not covered areas - SOS telephone for women and children victims of family violence, providing shelter, so-called "safe houses" for women, etc.

Ecological Organizations have originated from ecological initiatives that were the first alternative forms of actions during 1980s in Yugoslavia provoked by imminent ecological dangers. The number and territorial dispersion of these organizations indicate a large infrastructural potential. However, so far they have not managed to combine their efforts and coordinate themselves in solving the larger socio-economic problems. Ecological movements have joined actions in Kosovo and in Montenegro. Recently new associations have appeared, with the YU EKO network led by the Yugoslav Body of Young for Education and Science being the most active.

Autonomous and Independent Workers' Unions emerged as an alternative to State Union Federation as the result of initiative and the needs of workers to protect their interests beside and against the state control. Trade unions are important as the means for accomplishing different, alternative strategies of socio-economic development of society. These organizations have massive membership: United professional trades union "Nezavisnost" (Independence) has 150,000 members, Independent Unions of Serbia 90,000, and the Union of Independent Unions of Kosovo has 254,000 members.

Organizations for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedom have arisen from the need for citizens self organizing in defense against the ideas that the collective (i.e. national) rights are more important than the individual rights. They work as pressure groups, gather documents on crimes and violations of human rights and freedom on ex Yugoslavia territory and issue reports on the human rights violations, appeals etc. Among the active organizations are Fond za humanitarno pravo (Fund for Human Rights), Helsinki komitet za ljudska prava (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights), Demokratski forum za zastitu ljudskih prava i medjunacionalne odnose (Democratic Forum for Protection of Human Rights and Inter-Ethnic Relations), etc.

With the deepening of the economic crises and later war poverty many domestic charity organizations were initiated. They are founded by churches, citizens themselves and other international charity organizations. Some of them are: Kosovo Charity Society "Mother Theresa", Ecumenical Charity Service, Charity organization "Spona" (Link), etc. Their number and activities increased after the introduction of UN sanctions (spring 1992).

Alternative Ways of Life (communes) are units with a certain number of permanent and larger number of temporary guest members seeking alternative ways of life and work in defense against the progressive technology and fast, unhealthy and unnatural way of life and consumers' civilization.

Various Civil Associations, Initiatives, and Groups deal with diverse problems (media, ethnic relations, intellectual groups, culture, integration of Europe, and city and local movements) by their activities, programs, and influence on the public opinion. The most prominent are: European Movement in Serbia, Belgrade Circle, Foundation for Peace and Crisis Resolution, European Civil Conflict Resolution Center, etc.

This classification does not include organizations and groups whose activities, in the authors' opinion, are directed to "generating hatred, fear and violence not essentially different from the currently dominant influences" (Petrović, Paunović, 1994). It includes only the organizations and associations promoting the areas of human freedom and democracy by their ideas and activities.

Various nationalistic-jingoistic groups operating as national, ethnic, and homeland societies and fostering ideas opposite to the concept of liberal-democratic open society are, nevertheless, very active in Yugoslavia. They have strong media support, particularly at the times of war escalation when the nations should be homogenized. Their main activities are enlisting volunteers for fighting in war areas and collecting humanitarian aid for the families of killed and wounded warriors (Association of Serbs from Croatia, Homeland Club "Milići" from Stara Pazova, etc.). During the last two years the organization protesting against the large

flow of refugees from ex Yugoslav Republics are operating in Serbia (e.g. Association of Autochthonous Serbs).

International, Foreign, Government and Nongovernment Organizations started to work in Yugoslavia in 1990/91 by the beginning of war and at a time of great influx of refugees to the country. They supply many means for charity purposes and thus contribute to diminishing of the consequences of the war and great economic crisis.

Before the pluralization of society many organizations concerned with art and culture, sport, and recreation, education and science as well as numerous professional, expert and academic associations existed in Yugoslavia. Their activities were more or less autonomous under the title of social organizations and civil associations. They have continued with their scope of work in the new social circumstances and today constitute the majority of nonprofit/voluntary organizations in Yugoslavia.

Network

The existence of a network within the nonprofit voluntary sector in Yugoslavia can be discussed only conditionally. It partially operates within ecological and independent unions' movements. In this respect, the most significant undertaking is the establishing of YU EKO network led by the Yugoslav Forum of Young for Education and Science. This organization has managed to organize the first conference of Yugoslav ecological non government organizations and informal groups. The conference was held in March, 1994 and an agreement to establish stronger connections, at least on the level of information exchange, was reached. The direct result was the publishing of Bulletin "YU EKO Network" which contains news and information on the actions and plans of ecological organizations. The establishment of a computer information exchange network is now under way.

Charity organizations working with refugees in Yugoslavia today (International and domestic, government and nongovernment) still did not succeed in coordinating their work. Therefore, some refugee centers receive help regularly from more than one organization while others frequently receive no assistance (for example, because they are far away). It was only by the end of 1993 (the 3rd year of war) that UNHCR succeeded to put together some charity organizations. Their representatives meet once a week and inform each other on their activities and plans since then.

UN Sanctions have, to some extent, prevented the cooperation between Yugoslav and foreign voluntary and nongovernment organizations. The existing communications are isolated, more private and informal than formal. Good cooperation (financial, educational, information exchange) exists only among women's groups, both in Yugoslavia and abroad. In March 1995, fifteen women's association officially formed the network, "Belgrade Network Against Male Violence".

SOROS YU FUND financed the research and publishing directory of NGOs in Yugoslavia. The purpose of this project was to collect information for the requirements of different users and thus encourage development of various forms and segments of civil society and education in civil practice (Petrović, Paunović, 1994.)

This project, resulting in the compilation of a database at Soros foundation is really noteworthy.

The activities of this foundation include programs of support to charity, children, medical, media, education and science works. It also finances or gives technical aid and support to many projects and actions of various voluntary organizations. This, organizationally and financially, strong organization is an important and influential factor in functioning of voluntary sector and development of civil society. The government and pro-government media reacted, however, with an extreme animosity against the SOROS-program by accusing the foundation and its local partners as spies and traitors. Even the foundation legal status was questioned.

The war and UN sanctions have caused a major economic crises in Yugoslavia and resulted in impoverishment of vast layers of population. It was estimated that 80% of population live at the brink of or below the poverty line: "Only 1,800,000 persons are beyond the poverty line and about 700,000 of them are war profiteers" (Sefer, 1993). In May, 1994 (at the time of stopping the inflation) a four member family needed about four average monthly salaries for nutritionally standardized feeding (Posarac, Bogosavljević, Kovačević, 1994.). For many families, the black marketing (illegal import and sale of gasoline, some scarce foreign articles, cigarettes, etc.) was the main, or only source of income. Unemployment is enormous: in April 1994, there were 2.2 million employed and 713,000 unemployed people. However, between 800,000 and 1,000,000 persons have been, since the introduction of UN sanctions, on the paid leave. That proves that the hidden unemployment is also extremely high (Posarac, Bogosavljević, Kovačević, 1994).

This situation has caused the destruction of old and new middle class that is the social substance of voluntary sector. It has direct consequences upon the economy of nonprofit sector - the impoverished population is not able to give financial contribution, and so-called "the new rich" (war profiteers, black market bosses) have their own, special interests. They are more inclined to sponsor some attractive sport manifestation or Miss election than to invest in humanitarian action.

On the other hand, the UN sanctions, which are the strictest ever imposed on any country, prevent financial help from abroad. The impoverished state is unable to finance even its legally stipulated obligation and programs. Concerning the financial support to voluntary organizations, the political suitability became a key criterion.

Legal Provisions

By Law, the citizens can freely and voluntary join, associate and establish their associations and social organizations of various organizational forms and character. The organizations' headquarters can be anywhere on the territory of Yugoslavia and they can be registered on the local, republic or federal level.

Civil associations or social organizations can be established by at least ten citizens holding voting right. The constitution procedure is fairly simple: organizations submit their statutes and by-laws formally accepted by members. The Register of Civil Associations is kept by the federal body in charge of justice and administration.

The Law does not allow constituting organizations and associations whose programs, statutory goals and methods of accomplishing the said programs and goals violate the Constitutional system, jeopardize the territorial integrity of the state, break Constitutionally guaranteed rights and freedoms, and spread racial, religious and national hatred and animosity (Official Gazette of SFRJ 42/90).

Endowments, funds and foundations can be constituted by government and private parties provided they have financial resources for carrying out the designed activities. The Ministry of Culture controls such organizations and issues approval for their establishment and activities (Official Gazette of SR Serbia, 59/89).

Taxes and Tax Facilities

According to the Law on Corporate Income Tax (Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, 43/94), the expenses for charity, cultural, health, educational, scientific and sports purposes are accepted as expenditures in the balance sheet and can amount to maximum of 1% of total corporate income. The cultural expenditures are the contributions for the protection of cultural assets, issuing art and culture publications and creative art development given to the budgeted institutions doing these works. This regulation clearly shows that Government favors its non-profit sector.

Sponsorship has a somewhat different treatment: it includes donations and other expenses for the purpose of direct or indirect promotion of corporate business not exceeding 2% of the total income.

Law on Tax on Personal Income stipulates tax relief for financial or other (food, clothing, etc.) contributions given in charity, cultural, educational, religious, scientific and sports purposes. The total amount of relief cannot exceed 10% of tax liable income.

Law on excise and value added taxes doesn't apply for the products imported as humanitarian aid. It is valid, however, only for the products administered exclusively by the Red Cross and Commissariat for Refugees of Republic of Serbia as well as the products given to them in the country free of charge as a humanitarian help.

Services provided by the Red Cross, and medical, scientific, culture, educational and social welfare services provided by budgeted (state) institutions are exempted from turnover tax on services.

In addition to the above, import facilities have been introduced for the goods imported in humanitarian purposes - these goods are excused from duty and other import taxes but the customs procedure is very long and the quality check of food and medicines too expensive for the majority of charity organizations.

National and Local Policy

The current economic and political system guarantees ownership, freedom of work and business activities. Yet, the majority of production and services is still under the state ownership while the private sector is weak and underdeveloped.

The laws of market are still not observed while the prices are, directly or indirectly, controlled. The Government blames the war broken trade lines between ex Yugoslav countries (Serbian export to ex Yugoslav countries was three times larger than its export to other foreign countries) and UN Sanctions for this situation. Because of great economic difficulties the Government supports the concept of "peaceful transition" and gradual transformation of public into private property.

These are the official reasons for the measures used for protecting the public (state) property. Since the Government's treatment of public and private profit sector is not equal, the same applies to nonprofit sector. The Government favors the nonprofit organizations under its control. It is clearly seen in the regulations of Taxes Law: state institutions providing health, scientific, cultural, educational and social welfare services do not pay tax on turnover of services which is paid by private agencies doing the same services. Red Cross, as a "state adopted" voluntary organization enjoys various tax facilities not given to private voluntary organizations.

State controlled voluntary organizations, particularly the ones established as junior partners of state agencies during socialist period, enjoy numerous facilities for their work. The new initiative of Serbian Ministry of Culture (March, 1995) is concerned with the revitalization of the work of certain funds and endowments nationalized after the 2nd World War by putting at their disposal and management a part of remaining (preserved) endowment's property. For example, the "Solidarity Memorial" foundation was given a task of making the inventory of properties belonging to pre-war endowments established for welfare purposes. The earnings by these properties will than be included into "Solidarity Memorial" funds. In this way, the purpose of former endowments is renewed but their private character denied.

There is no cooperation between government and new, alternative voluntary organizations; rather, these are two parallel worlds. The State favors the organizations under its control. For example, at the beginning of war, there were attempts to distribute entire international and domestic humanitarian aid through Red Cross. This plan did not work out because the international organizations first refused such a method of work and the donors from various countries were addressing their contributions to the church and newly founded charity organizations.

Voluntary organizations outside government control, particularly those active and attractive to media, easily become accused of hostility toward the country and people, disruptions, espionage, and similar activities. Furthermore, permissions are often withheld for protests and gatherings, and some of their volunteers are taken to police headquarters for "information hearings" or mistreated at their regular jobs and elsewhere (Petrović, Paunović, 1994). The prohibitions and limitation of activities are not imposed directly (through legal institutions courts, police), but through the nominally voluntary organizations and group serving as "the extended state hand" within society - various nationalistic and authoritarian-populist groups and movements. This is the way how the new "grass root totalitarianism" originates and grows by preventing society to democratize, and to control the government.

The State attack against Soros Yu Fund was the longest and the most persistent (it started with the pro-government media campaign, and with the financial

police search). In May 1995 this organization was simply erased from the Register of organizations for allegedly not fulfilling the formal conditions at the time of registration (this foundation was present in Yugoslavia since 1990) Soros Yu Fund has appealed and the appellation procedure is on at the time of writing this text.

As far as the local policy towards the voluntary sector is concerned, there is a new centralization trend by which the local autonomy is drastically reduced (the 1974 SFRJ Constitution granted a fairly large degree of autonomy to local community). Local authorities now practically have no decision-making power at all; every program or action has to be approved from "above".

Special Section: Problem of Refugees in FR Yugoslavia

The war and UN Sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro have, during the past four years, caused dramatic changes in the population. Rapid impoverishment of vast layers of people occurred so that the middle class practically vanished. The old social problems - unemployment, juvenile delinquency, poverty - have escalated beyond all limits and the new ones have appeared. The large number of refugees from the areas of ex Yugoslavia (at one time the figure was 800,000), new invalids of war ("Vietnamese Syndrome"), and, above all, the crime is rampant.

Poverty has become overwhelming - in only three years (1990 - 1993) the gross national product has descended by more than 50% (Bogosavljević, 1995) moving Serbia from a middle developed to a third world country. During 1994, however, the economic decline was stopped, and a slight and uncertain growth was achieved.

The most critical year was 1993: the average salary was less than 1 (one) US Dollar, inflation reached the rate of 2% per hour, and the money was worthless. People were forced to do anything for the survival. Neighbors' and relatives' networks were activated with the full speed and the solutions were found in traditional forms of solidarity.

Under such dramatic circumstances, the refugees were housed with relatives, friends, and totally unknown but sympathetic people - something unique in the modern world. About 95% of refugees were accommodated with families and only 5% in collective refugee centers. Another particularity is the duration of such accommodation (four years) that caused certain problems, most notably the exhaustion of domestic resources and weariness of foreign donators (Todorović, 1994).

Particularities and dilemmas of refugees in 1991 (can somebody be refugee in his own country, how long is this status going to last, etc.) delayed enactment of relevant regulations. Therefore, for the entire year, the Red Cross, partially with international help, was sheltering the refugees without any regulations concerning refugees or Government institution responsible for them.

When the number of refugees was at its peak, the refugees represented 6 per cent of the entire population in Serbia, in Montenegro the refugees made 12 per cent of the population. Registered refugee corps consist mainly of women, children, and the old. Children (below 18 years) make 42% of refugees in Serbia, and among adults, 85% are women and 14% are people over 60. The structure of unregistered refugees is probably different. The males between the age of 18 and 60 don't want to apply for the refugee status in order to avoid to be drafted and send to war zones. In spite of all international regulations that prevent this practice,

Republic of Serbia from used to "delivers" draft-age males to the military authorities of Serbian Republic and Republic of Serbian Krajina.

According to the data obtained by research: "Potrebe i perspektive izbeglica i problemi, mogućnosti porodica koje ih prihvataju" (Needs, Prospective and Problems of Refugees and Capacities of Families Sheltering Them), the motives of families hosting refugees were: close family ties (54%); distant relatives (15%); close earlier friendships with the refugee's families (9%), general sympathy and solidarity with the families in trouble (20%) (Todorović, 1994.) These data clearly illustrate the voluntary potential of Yugoslav people.

Past experiences with accommodation within the families show its positive and negative sides. Its basic advantage over collective centers is that it compensates for lost homes and facilitate communication with the new environment. On the other hand, such accommodation obscures certain problems of refugees themselves, delays their solving such problems, and creates a burden for the host families that gets heavier and heavier as the time goes by. The help given to refugees and, during the past two years, to the host families is not sufficient to compensate the expenses of such accommodation. Prolonged hospitality and worsening of hosts' financial situation put their solidarity on trial. Therefore, international and domestic charity organizations have initiated various projects of material and psychological help to the families bearing the main load of the refugee problem in Yugoslavia.

National Red Cross organization was among the first in helping refugees. Even during 1991, when the political situation was completely confused, the Red Cross began, with the help of a huge number of volunteers, to register and take care of refugees. Some big companies and some local administrations also started their support to refugees. The Serbian Orthodox Church, through its agency the Philanthropy (Dobročinstvo) began to be active in collecting and distributing food, cloths and other material. A few domestic protestant churches were also extremely engaged (ADRA). Several newly established nonreligious organizations (such as Grana, Spona, Vox Humana and alike) were key actors as well.

Domestic charity organizations mostly founded and operating during the critical refugee period have provided significant help. Some of them have specialized in providing services not given by state organizations. For example, "Fond Kapetan Dragan" (Captain Dragan Fund) looks after the families of the soldiers killed in the war on the territory of ex Yugoslavia and helps the invalids of war and their families. The helped persons are mainly refugees, the former members of different para-military units, and often people not having Serbian/Montenegrin citizenship, that is, persons with no legal status in F.R. of Yugoslavia.

At the beginning of the war, the international help mostly came in the form of voluntary donations from some countries, and national and international organizations. The most visible were: International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC), United Nations High Committee for Refugees (UNHCR), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and International Organization for Migrations (IOM). Significant help was given by international non government organizations, like, Doctors Without Borders (MSF), Swiss Humanitarian Organization for Help in Catastrophes (SDR), Save the Children Fund (SCF), International Rescue Committee (IRC), Swiss NGO Causes Communes, Soros

YU Fund, British NGO OXFAM, French National Help (SPF), Japanese Humanitarian Organization (JEN), etc.

Important help also came from the Yugoslav citizens working and living in foreign countries, from their foundations and emigrant organizations, friendship organizations of Yugoslav and other countries' citizens, individuals and groups of donors from some countries, particularly from Greece.

It is very difficult to estimate the actual scope, and importance of the international help for the refugee sheltering and care requirements. It seems that the kind, scope and the way of distribution of assistance over the past four years were not appropriate. There were many complaints that the contents packages were uniform, and that the quality of ingredients was poor. Nearly 66 per cent of the refugee families stated that the package contents did not suit their needs (Milošavljević, 1993).

It looks as if the international voluntary organizations became lost in the Yugoslav crises and underestimated the extent of the problems met with. Their actions are directed to the immediate help while neglecting the development projects. Also, the international organizations do not utilize the potential of domestic institutions and experts. One gets the impression that large amounts of money "get lost" in bureaucratic channels and that only small quantities reach those for whom the help was intended - the refugees and impoverished citizens of Yugoslavia.

The Potential of Voluntary Sector in Yugoslavia

During the past five years, the space between the public institutions network and informal social networks was filled with new organizations and groups working on voluntary basis.

Table 2. Number of Social Organizations and Citizens' Associations, 1989-1994 (Federal Statistics Institute).

Year	State/Federation	Soc.Org.	Cit.Assns.	Total
1989	Serbia	14,046	704	14,750
	Montenegro	927	132	1,059
	Yugoslavia	14,973	836	15,809
1994	Serbia	16,726	1,122	17,848
	Montenegro	1,894	182	2,076
	Yugoslavia	18,620	1,304	19,924

These organizations emerged as the result of the political pluralization of society and as an answer to the new (and old) people's living problems. In contrast to the similar organizations in the West, they did not arise from the civil society domain and in the democratic political environment; rather, voluntary organizations simply created the footings, prerequisites and foundations for building of civil society.

The reasons for slow development of the voluntary sector in Yugoslavia can be found in the gap between the state and civil society. Government tends to impose control over voluntary organizations and associations. The voluntary sector is trying, however, to avoid this control in any possible way. The communication and contacts between the government and the voluntary sector are missing: the state does not consider the voluntary sector organizations serious partners in solving people's living problems while voluntary organizations want government support and encouragement but not with interference. The government finances "suitable" organizations and treats the others as competitors unnecessarily duplicating the public services.

Economic and social collapse of the country caused by the long-lasting economic crisis from 1980s followed by the war and UN sanctions, induced the government to use restrictive measures and reductions in social policy. In spite of a tremendous budget crisis when the government's available funds were not able to cover the entitlement programs, the government did not give "its" space to non-profit and voluntary organizations. The aspirations to establish the control over this important area of life are great and the state is devising various means to do it.

In a such atmosphere, the traditional networks of help and self-help are readily called in. These kinds of direct solidarity and relying on themselves are tokens of scantiness, helplessness and insecurity within the society. Voluntary potentiality of Yugoslav citizens is impressive (remember 95% refugees living with host families) but inarticulate and unable to grow into more organized forms of voluntary work because of the gap between the state and civil society.

On the other hand, the public support is missing (Petrović, Punović, 1994) due to the competitive and oppositional relationship between voluntary sector and the state. The traditional patriarchal environments are known to be afraid of everything spontaneous, informal, not in accordance with the institutional procedures and not coming from the groups officially authorized to initiate or suggest something. Thus, many initiatives are blocked at their very beginning for not being able to reveal themselves properly. The state, through mass media, encourages such public attitude towards voluntary organizations: they are generally ignored by media largely under the government control and thus many organizations remain unknown in many parts of the country. The organizations "known" to general public are usually labelled as disruptive and as foreign espionage agents (e.g. Soros Fund). This opinion is easily passed onto a nation having a 50 year history of political persecutions and the war.

Besides these general reasons for poor development and unstable positions of voluntary organizations and associations there are other difficulties and certain subjective weaknesses encountered by voluntary organizations. The data from Petrović and Paunović are instructive.

Table 3. Problems and Help Necessary for the Further Operations of NGOs in Yugoslavia (Petrović, Paunović, 1994).

No.	Nongovernmental Organizations		Serbia	Montenegro	Total
1	Number of organizations		174	24	198
2	Problems	Financial	77	11	88
		Political	45	6	51
		Lack of community understanding and support	32	6	38
		No problems	42	7	49
	Help needed	Financial	125	17	142
		Education and Counseling	53	7	60
		Moral support	15	-	15
		Help not needed	19	6	25

Financial difficulties, lack of necessary equipment and means for the work are the most frequently noted problems (88 organizations). 51 organizations have the political problems (accusations for espionage, treason, prohibitions of protests, etc.). Lack of understanding and interest in the environment are seen as problems in 38 organizations. Remaining 49 organizations claim that they have no problems in their work.

Fund raising is the biggest problem for voluntary organizations because no substantial help can be expected from the impoverished population and the "new rich" tend to sponsor popular and attractive organizations and activities ignoring other possible donation. The taxation system is far from being stimulative in this field. The cooperation with foreign NGOs is prevented or very sporadic due to the UN sanctions. Voluntary organizations complain on the lack of premises, technical equipment, communication facilities, inability to finance projects, publications, inability to pay the rent, etc.

In addition to the above, the aims and the needs to solve the same problems are interwoven and similar in the work of these organizations, so that they do not have explicit interests and activities and do everything and anything. This causes the distribution, and thus dissipation of power and energy, on to the various things in which only tiny achievements are made while the work on the basic programs for which the organization was initially founded is neglected. For example, peace, women and civil organization and groups, besides realization of their primary programs, deal with charity work, refugees, human rights, etc.

The lack of networks joining similar organizations (except in ecological movement), the lack of coordination, cooperation and mutual strategy makes these organizations even weaker and more impotent in the society. There are the exam-

ples of the united activities but they are organized ad hoc, for a single, particular goal that is still far away from consistent cooperation and advancement.

When questioned about the kind of help they need for the further work, 142 organizations asked for financial and technical help and 60 wanted various advice and education. Both kinds of help can be expected only if the organizations join and form networks and particularly if they establish stronger ties with international government and nongovernment organizations. After the alleviation of sanctions in September, 1994 the communication increased. The establishment of stronger and more stable ties might be expected upon the complete abolition of UN sanctions. Without such ties the domestic voluntary organizations can hardly survive.

Knowing the ground from which the nonprofit/voluntary organizations emerge (undeveloped and not rooted civil society), the problems caused by the state/government and public attitude toward them, financial and technical problems and subjective weaknesses, it is encouraging to know that they exist at all in such great number and in almost all relevant forms within the entire Yugoslav territory.

Conclusion

Voluntary organizations and civil associations in Yugoslavia have appeared in large numbers during the past five years as the outcome of political changes and society pluralization. These changes coincide with the disintegration of ex Yugoslavia, the war and the UN Sanctions against Serbia and Monte Negro. All this has caused the particularities of their development, activities and social power they have.

The government does not recognize the nonprofit sector as its partner in solving the people's living problems but tries to place it under the control. The measures applied by government in tax facilities and financial help hinder rather than stimulate for the development of this sector. In fact, the state supports only the organizations that were indirectly founded by itself during the socialist period. The government tries to adjust and use them for its current political goals ignoring or indirectly discouraging the others.

Owing to such government attitude and lack of media recognition and presentation, the voluntary organizations are not sufficiently known among the general public and, consequently, do not have the general public support.

The potential for the development of the nonprofit/voluntary sector in Yugoslavia can and must be looked to in the revival and modernizing of traditional patterns of help and self help. There is no stable society without a stable intermediate structure: developed and active social, union, professional, cultural, sport and similar organizations and associations. Such organizations exist for the fulfillment of needs of their and other society members and through this play an integrative role in the society structure. The future development of Yugoslav society depends on the balance between the state and nonprofit sector and between market logic and the logic of individual and social needs. The problem is how this balance should be established.

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