



**Third
Anniversary
Issue**

May 1, 1995

SANE News

SANE AND IOM JOIN IN THE MEDICAL EVACUATION PROGRAM

In September, 1993 SANE joined efforts with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to assist with the IOM Medical Evacuation Program for the wounded Serbian victims of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. A number of patients, including Rajko Simeunovic who was originally treated in Boston, came through this program. Another young patient, Stojan Kojic, is soon arriving in the Boston area.

This effort was initiated by Dr. Olga Mucic and spearheaded on behalf of SANE by Rose Kurtigian.

How the program works

Physicians at the IOM office in Belgrade identify and screen potential patients for

placement in the United States for free of charge medical treatment arranged with private doctors, hospitals, and other sponsoring groups for care of these patients while in the United States. All visa and transportation requirements are handled directly by IOM. There must be a sponsoring group or organization in the US to provide assistance to these patients once they have arrived in the States, or these patients are passed up. SANE has agreed to be such an organization.

SANE provides for and monitors patient's care while in the States. This includes obtaining host families, interpreters, transportation, translators of medical histories, and any necessary support or fund raising,

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MESSAGE FROM NEW PRESIDENT

Dear Friends,

As of November 22, 1995. I became the new president of SANE.

It made us very sad that our first president Branislav (Bane) Andjelich could not continue his work due to personal reasons.

Bane was the last of the original founders of SANE to leave the Board. By investing so much of themselves in this effort, each of these pioneers has contributed to the character and direction of SANE, but each of them burned out in the process - one can work 16 hour days only for so long. We are all thankful to Mirjana Kondic, Jovanka Ciric-Scott, Miljana Bovan, Sava Cvek, Dragan Radenovic, Ika Todorovic and Bane not only for their perseverance but also for making sure the transition after their departure was smooth. Each of them continued working with the new Board members who replaced them long after stepping down and Bane continued helping us very generously since his departure from the Board.

I am committed to staying the course and maintaining an active organization which will be socially and intellectually stimulating for all of its members and which will also help preserve our culture.

As it was in the past, many of our activities will continue to be oriented towards helping our people, from trying to explain the Serbian perspective of the tragic conflict in Yugoslavia to different forms of humanitarian activities.

I hope to have your cooperation and support in this effort.

Gordana Todorov.

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"TRUTH IS THE VICTIM IN BOSNIA"

On January 18, 1995 Serbian-Americans and their friends came together for a fund raiser on behalf of SerbNet and the video project of George Bogdanich. The prize winning documentary "Truth is the Victim in Bosnia" was shown and George spoke of his plans for updating this critical public information piece.

At the event, which Mimi Gregory organized in the posh, downtown Meridien Hotel, over \$3,000.00 was raised. Greek Orthodox Bishop Methodius sent a letter of greetings and support which was read by our own Father Aleksandar, and members of the Greek community contributed generously for this project.

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LAST WORDS *by Bane Andjelich*

It has been three long, hard, but satisfying years since we founded SANE on May 1, 1992. The odds against succeeding were enormous. We were a small and scattered community and we came from all walks of life and all political persuasions. In larger communities they can allow these differences to divide them, but as we are so few, this would have been disastrous.

We constantly had to walk the fine line, to balance participation in events, attribution of accomplishments and statements about our work. There could have always been someone who might have been offended and we really wanted to include everyone. So instead of making swift, decisive moves, we deliberated for hours, days, taking everyone's opinion into account, asking for everyone's advice.

It was grueling. But it was worth it. Over the first year or so we learned the ground rules, we established what was acceptable and what was not, and from then on we went forward being sure that we were right.

SANE goals are set in its charter. They are the product of hard work. They are clear. Past SANE actions speak for themselves. We have proven over and over again that we have no ulterior motives.

Oh, yes, there will always be a few who will not be satisfied by what we do, or how we do it, or why. But this is more their fault than ours. These are the kind of

people who always criticize for the sake of criticizing, who always say they could have done it better, or faster, or less expensively, but who never actually do anything.

If I had one parting advice for the new Board and new president, it would be: ignore these people and carry on.

As for myself, my departure in no way means that I am out of the action. With SANE in firm hands I can now turn to other projects.

I am working with SRNA to computerize and modernize their news reporting and put them on the Internet. I will be visiting Pale shortly to see what concrete steps can be taken to help them. I am also a member of the Coordinating Committee in Washington D.C. which is attempting to focus the activity of all Serbian organizations and movements and establish sources of reliable information so that Serbian actions can be timely and effective.

My tenure in SANE was my first brush with politics, for leading an organization in those circumstances was pure politics. I cannot say that I liked it very much, but I am not sorry I did it. I met hundreds of people I wouldn't have otherwise, all across the country, and I made scores of dear, true friends.

And I am absolutely convinced that what we did made the difference.

GLOGOVAC FAMILY FINALLY REUNITED

Everybody knows Stana, Mara and Milos. They are here with us longer than any of the families who came for eye surgery.

They left Bosnia before the war started and when the surgery was performed on young Milos they didn't have a home to go back to. Zenica, Stana's home, is under muslim occupation. Part of Sarajevo where Mara's home is located is under muslim government. Their aged parents still live there.

While Stana was here with Milos, her husband Danilo was in Zenica with another son, Nikola, four years old at the time. Stana and Milos were waiting for the war to be over to go home but Milos became more and more sick, to the point that we were afraid for his life. At the same time the situation in Zenica was also worsening. The question came: are they ever going to see each other? Milos might never have a father to care for him. Stana was constantly worrying about Danilo and Nikola trapped in Zenica. It was heartbreaking seeing this family fighting for life every day both here and in Bosnia.

They didn't ask for help, thinking that only God could help. But good people care and thanks to the heroic effort by the Greek Orthodox Diocese and His Grace, Bishop Methodios personally, the Glogovac family is now reunited. Many others have helped. Greeks and Serbs from the area, SANE, UNHCR, IOM, Congressmen and Senators Moakley, Delich, Snow and Kennedy, all contributed in Danilo and Nikola's rescue.

It was a battle on different fronts. The most difficult task was to get Danilo out of Zenica. He is an engineer, useful to the authorities as an expert and also young, good for the first order of battle in the draft. After several failed attempts international organizations finally managed to get him and Nikola out of Zenica, but only as far as Zagreb. Living there was not safe and the goal was to get reunited with the rest of the family in Boston. The relentless pressure from here got them a "humanitarian visa" to come to the United States to be together with the rest of the family.

Danilo is now looking for work and Nikola has started going to school.

SANE SPRING PICNIC

We are planning to organize at the end of May a Spring Picnic for all our friends. If you are interested in helping organize the picnic in any way, please contact: SANE at 617-928-1235 or send a fax at 617-965-1463 or call Sasha Velickovic at 617-265-0960.

"MILEVA MARIC AND ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLABORATORS AND COUPLE"

May 18, 7 p.m.

A lecture by Professor Shulman, author of "Collected Papers on Einstein" MIT Green Hall, 320 Memorial Drive (entrance from Amherst Street).

For details call 789-5401.

MARKO IS RECOVERING

Wednesday, April 27, 1995 was the day that Marko Vujakovic was reborn. It was on this day that this 11 year old boy went through an extremely long and difficult surgery at Children's Hospital. A team of top surgeons, after an 20 hour operation, were successful in removing a large tumor from his face.

Marko's parents Krstan and Dragana spent the entire time in the hospital waiting for news from the operating room. Father Aleksandar and his wife Vera Vljakovic spent many hours with them, and a host of other wellwishers came to the hospital during that time to offer their support. Dr. Mladjen Stankovic was there to give his expert medical translations and comfort the family.

Monks from the Holly Transfiguration Monastery prayed for Marko and also came to visit him and many people prayed at home and called regularly to send Marko their best wishes.

BELGRADE AMONG THE SERBS

On March 7, 1995 writer Flora Levinson came to the Serbian Cultural Club at Harvard University and talked about her new book "Belgrade - Among the Serbs."

Flora Levinson spent a half hour discussing her efforts to write, publish and then publicize her new book. Then she read several passages from the book. The audience was impressed with the careful methodical way in which she investigated primary sources such as journalists and editors and documented the deliberate distortion of the news coverage.

Afterwards she answered friendly questions from the audience. There were two sympathetic Japanese men including our own Kiyoshi.

Bata Mucic presented Ms. Levinson with a bouquet of flowers from SANE. After a wine and cheese reception most of the audience bought autographed copies of Ms. Levinson's book.

"Truth is the Victim in Bosnia"

continued from the first page

Since then George has completed most of the filming and part of the editing. His report follows:

The following report outlines efforts to date to produce an expanded updated hour long version of the video documentary "Truth is the Victim in Bosnia" which we hope to air on PBS.

European trip - A great deal was achieved on our return trip to Europe. We obtained footage in four countries - England, France, Germany and Yugoslavia. In London we obtained excellent interviews with: Lord Peter Carrington, the distinguished diplomat who served as negotiator for the European Community regarding Yugoslavia and warned against the premature recognition of separatist republics; Nora Beloff, perhaps the leading journalist authority on the Balkans; Nik Gowing, foreign editor of the ITN news network, which has supplied much of the world media with footage from the conflict; Greg Copley, Editor of Strategic Policy; Srdja Trifkovic; and columnist Edward Pearce of the Guardian who talked about the failure of the media to relate the events of World War II in the present conflict.

In Paris, we interviewed General Pierre Gallois, strategic analyst (and father of

the French nuclear weapons program) who critiqued the American role in the former Yugoslavia and explained US accommodations with Middle Eastern states. We also interviewed Miriam Fleischman who is translating Tudjman's book for American Jewish groups and who provided insight into the anti-Semitic nature of the current Croatian government.

In Yugoslavia, we shot footage in Vukovar and in Borovo Selo where the war effectively began after a Croatian attack on the predominantly Serbian suburb.

We also reviewed archival footage at Filmske Novosti and made arrangements to obtain (World War II and Tito era footage) from there and from the Kinoteka.

In Frankfurt, Germany, we shot an excellent interview with Thomas Deichman, who exposed the fraudulent nature of much of the war crimes reporting, including unreliable witnesses utilized by Pulitzer prize-winning reporter Roy Gutman.

The Next Step - Several more crucial interviews are now in the process of being arranged. If we are able to raise adequate funds, we will be able to keep our schedule for beginning production by May. Post production (on-line and off-line editing) is the largest component and will cost from \$25,000 to \$30,000.

SANE Annual Meeting

Annual Meeting of the Serbian-American Alliance of New England was held on March 3, 1995. The meeting accepted the retirement of Bane Andjelich from his post as SANE president and confirmed the Board's selection of Gordana Todorov as his replacement. The meeting also approved election of Sasa Velickovic and Mimi Gregory as new members of the SANE Board.

The new president Gordana Todorov gave an impressive summary of past accomplishments and laid out SANE plans for the future.

She recounted letter writing campaigns

where, with the help of our church, we sent 11 thousand letters. She also mentioned the panel discussions that had been organized by our members. Mike Pravica, our vice-president for education and information presented several of the 40odd letters to the editor that he had published in major newspapers around the world and Kiyoshi Igusa, our treasurer gave a report on our financial situation.

There was a discussion about the continuation of our humanitarian effort of bringing sick and wounded from Yugoslavia and Bosnia and it was decided to proceed cautiously given our limited resources.

There were several new faces at the SANE meeting and they told us that they were happy that they joined the organization.

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as most arrive with only the clothes on their backs. IOM also expects the sponsoring group to help locate free medical care for the cases as they are screened in Belgrade.

It is important for the SANE members and the Serbian Community at large, to understand that once the patients are discharged, having received the specific medical care designated on the IOM form that was agreed to in writing by the donating hospital and physician, they are to be returned to their homeland. This is emphasized because in the past some good meaning people attempted to keep some patients in the United States after they have been discharged. This, however compassionate to that one patient, is very unfair towards others who are waiting in Yugoslavia to come here for the medical treatment. This jeopardizes the entire program, and places the providing physician and hospital in a most difficult position by taking advantage of their generous participation. Those free medical care providers then become very reluctant to accept additional patients.

The Patients

SANE was originally requested to assist with total of 11 Serbian medical cases through this program. Two Serbian children and one Serbian adult were to arrive in the New England area. The remaining cases were to go elsewhere in the States, with SANE asked to assist and help locate donor medical facilities for those not assigned to donor hospitals.

Two Serbian children were placed in care of the Veterans for Peace Organization based in Portland, Maine. Daniela Djokic went to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Svetlana Miljkovic to Lewiston, Maine.

The Very Rev. Angelo Pappas of St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church in Portsmouth, NH, and SANE's Michael Cavic, Dr. Mirjana Kondic, Dr. Lily Grkovich and Bojan Pomorisac, along with Mr. & Mrs. Brujic and their daughter Vera Hess, visited and assisted Daniela and her mother. Daniela remains in rehabilitation program in New Hampshire with the Jewel host family while attending High School.

Svetlana Miljkovic returned to her homeland on 9/29/94 after almost a year at St. Mary's Hospital in Lewiston, Maine. Professor Dusan Bjelic of the University of Maine served as interpreter and assisted the Veterans for Peace Organization with the wounded children in Maine. Ms. Mia Massey of Maine Public TV visited Svetlana

and her mother at the hospital. Rose Kurtigian and Branislav Andielich went to visit Svetlana and her mother in Lewiston and kept in contact by phone. In January, 1994 Svetlana was transferred to Springfield, MA., for spinal surgery. Dr. and Mr. Savich of Springfield graciously aided them during their stay at Shriners Hospital.

Rajko Simeunovic was accepted by the Lahey Clinic in Burlington, Ma. for probable urological surgery. Rajko arrived in Boston on December 15, 1993 requiring full, assistance. SANE is grateful to Himmer Ambulance, St. Vincent Hospital and Hope Lodge of Worcester, Ma., for donating their services until Rajko's scheduled appointment with Dr. Zinman, the donating surgeon at Lahey Clinic's Dept. of Urology, who did everything humanly possible to help Rajko.

SANE acknowledges the time and effort by Dr. Mirjana Kondic, Alex Grkovich and Michael Jovanovich in translating Rajko's extensive medical history for the Clinic. To Rajko, Dr. Kondic's help was invaluable - the many hours she took from her private practice to interpret and discuss Rajko's condition and options with Dr. Zinman and staff physicians, and to support Rajko through this trying time. Dr. Lazich visited Rajko to explain the complicated surgical procedure. SANE express gratitude to Slavko and Nada Stojanov who made regular visits to Rajko. Mr. Stojanov served not only as a friend, but was 'on call' as interpreter for the hospital staff as situations developed. Mr. Stojanov also handled the PR at New England Rehab in, Woburn, Mass, during the few weeks Rajko spent there prior to his surgery performed on February 24, 1994.

In early May the Lahey Clinic informed SANE that Rajko would be discharged. SANE's search for a local host family was to no avail. The Clinic had completed their agreement with IOM, extending services to evaluation of his spinal cord injury. IOM was asked if an exception could be made in Rajko's case and IOM agreed subject to locating a free medical facility and a host family.

On August 12, 1994 Rajko was flown by IOM to Cleveland, and after some expected adjusting difficulties to out-patient care he had settled in nicely with the host family. Raiko did especially well with his physical therapy. The metal braces donated by Ortho-East of Reading, Ma., were being used for the purpose intended. SANE extends it gratitude to MetroHealth in Cleveland and their fine staff for their efforts. The Lahey Clinic's exemplary care of Rajko Simeunovic gave true meaning to the phrase "in the humani-

tarian spirit."

After completing his rehabilitation Rajko Simeunovic went back to Yugoslavia but because of the war in the Brcko area he is staying with his aunt and uncle in Novi Sad. Contacted by phone a few days ago Rajko said he was doing very well.

Boban Stankovic went to Shriners Hospital in Chicago. Boban Stankovic was well assisted by the Chicago Serbian Community and returned to his homeland in mid-January, 1994.

Miodrag Todorovic was discharged on January 14, 1994 from the University of Maryland, Crawley Shock Trauma Center in Baltimore, MD, and was hosted by Alexandra Brkic of Congresswoman Bentley's office. Currently he is at the Ronald McDonald House in Baltimore.

Nedeljko Prodic, Zivan Maksimovic and Dragisa Sekulic were all scheduled for the Baptist Hospital in Lynchburg, Virginia. Mr. & Mrs. Stepanovic accepted to host all three! This was a herculean task, as all three had considerable reconstruction surgery, with many out-patient visits. The Baptist Hospital was 150 miles from the Stepanovic home in West Virginia. These three arrived on January, 7, 1994. Two returned toward the end of March, 1994 and the last one returned to Serbia in June, 1994.

Current efforts

Our newest patient, Stojan Kojic, arrived in Chicago on Wednesday, April 19, 1995. Stojan will be coming to Boston on May 21st. During the time that he is in Chicago his hosts there will be raising money for him in order to cover all the medical expenses which are not donated.

As many of you may remember we sent a letter about Stojan Kojic, a 24 year old man from Brcko who lost one eye and a leg in the war. Rose Kurtigian succeeded in getting probono medical treatment for Stojan at Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary. Father Aleksandar and his wife Vera Vljakovic, David and Milica Manoogian and Kiyoshi Igusa and Gordana Todorov offered to be Stojan's hosts during his stay in Boston. Several people offered to drive and translate for Stojan and we thank them all very much.



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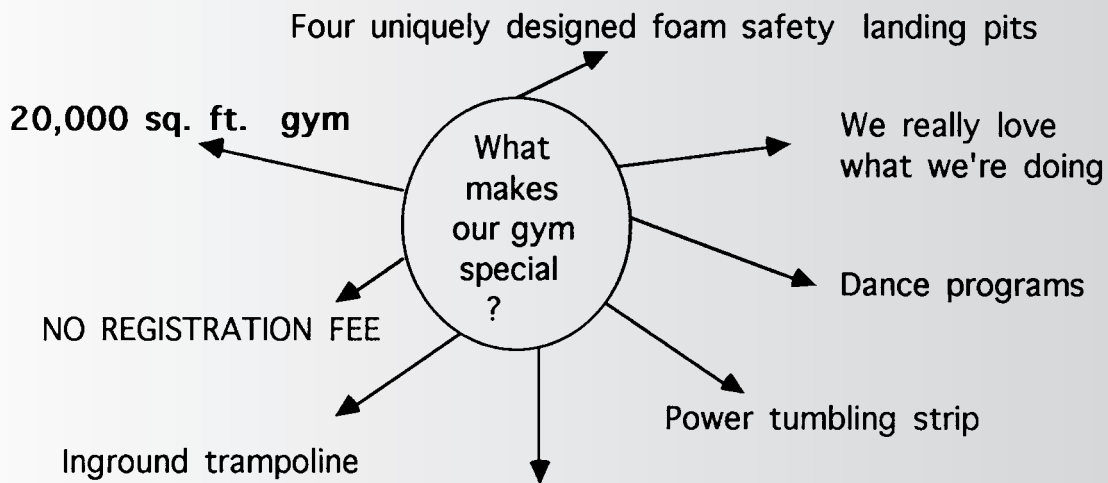
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It is six years, now, since I last visited "the former Yugoslavia" and today I will enter "Serbia". The name rings in my head, shattering the myth of unity- reminding me of my mother's admonition "you are not of Yugoslavian extraction, you are a Serb". We wept together last summer, just before she died, at what had become of Serbia, hers, mine, all who bear her nationality; the pain of loss is significant.

My journey begins in Budapest, the airport in Belgrade deserted, closed to all those would-be travelers by order of the Western nations who punish Serbia, their ally through two world wars, for its transgressions. How will it be to roll across these fertile Hungarian plains to reach the frontier of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? My cousin reaches me in Budapest at 1.30 p.m. He had left Novi Sad at 4.00 a.m. for the reunion; tearful, joyous nonetheless. We will leave immediately because the border is a nightmare; lines of Hungarian cars filled with jugs of all sizes loaded with gasoline to feed the voracious appetites of sanctions-deprived Serbs whose mobility is severely limited. It will be eight+ hours before we reach his home, but we will have the closeness to share the pain of these last years and to exchange the news of friends and family alike.

We drive smoothly through endless fields of wheat, the magpies cruising low, their graceful black and white tails dipping over the wheat. Brilliant poppies show their scarlet heads all along the route, their seeds will adorn the wonderful pastries and breads of Hungary. The European stork is nesting now, her home atop the telegraph poles, frequently aided by the addition of abandoned wagon wheels placed by the local residents inviting their return. Small heads appear above the straw, peering up at their majestic parents. Can we be so close to war?

The frontier is announced by a line of cars, 9 Km in length, the daily bread of gasoline vendors! We begin the long wait. Emboldened by other vehicles with YU plates, we pull out of the Hungarian queue and speed closer to the barrier. At last we are faced with border control. I am carrying medicines, vitamins, computer parts, books, shampoo, coffee; will it all be confiscated? Money is nestled under my arm, a burden I wish to discharge, but to the designees, not to border guards! My pass-

port is the new U.S. design, as yet unseen by the FRJ authorities. We wait and wait, tension building, at last (with a laugh on their part; *iso pretty-new pass!*) we are in Serbia.

My cousin is a civil engineer, his wife a professor at the local gymnasium. Together they have been paid \$1.50/month for these last two years. Surely you will think I am using hyperbole for effect, but it is not so; it really matters not at all; there is nothing to buy! Shelves remain bare, electricity is limited, heating fuel nearly non-existent, the black-market a feeding frenzy upon the crumbs of sanctions. These are a proud people whose Balkan heritage gives them boundless courage; they have survived before, and will again.

The next morning we decide to cross the interior border separating the Vojvodina from the Krajina. These are lands that once belonged to Serbia and were given to Croatia by Tito following World War II. We are going to Vukovar, scene of one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War. The vegetation is lush here, thickly wooded lands, rolling fields bursting with flowers as we approach the Danube. We encounter the presence of UNPROFOR and the interior border crossing, on the bridge over the Danube, brings us face-to-face with both Croatian and UN forces. It is an uneventful transit.

We enter Ilok; the roads are all new, unblemished (built by UNPROFOR). There are vineyards everywhere as this region is famous for its white wine. The population mix was 60% Croatian, 40% Serbian. They lived in harmony and faced no difficulty until the Roman Catholic priest led his flock from Ilok, saying they would return in two days, but were pressured to exodus by the Catholic hierarchy. While Ilok survived a large battle, there was no real destruction of property, and it remains a Serbian enclave, as the Croatian population never returned.

Saregrad comes next; a town of equally divided population. The first signs of battle began with the siege of the Serbian Orthodox church which was destroyed by the Croats. Following the struggle for control, gained by the Serbs, the Croatian population fled. The roads from Saregrad to Mohovo are dotted with many graves, the only visible sign of tragedy that meets the eye enroute to Vukovar. The Serbian (always) village of Mohovo announces the greater tragedy to come as bunkers appear along the highway

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and fields lie barren as 20K hectares (approx-

CONFERENCE AT HARVARD

On April 6, there was a forum held in the Center for European Studies at Harvard University entitled "Gender and War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia." The panelists included Stanley Hoffman (Prof. of the Civilization of France at Harvard), Kemal Kurspahic (former editor in chief of *Oslobodjenje*), and Svetlana Slapsak (Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis, Ljubljana). Present in the audience were Michael Pravica, Bette Denich, Branka Milosevic, and Stevan Radojev.

As can only be expected, the conference was heavily biased against the Serbs and the racism against them was transparent. Svetlana Slapsak spoke about oral epic folk poetry as being a source of Serbian 'patriarchal' behavior and spoke about the myth of the rape of Serbian woman by Albanian man in Kosovo. After she concluded, Michael Pravica contested Mrs. Slapsak's assertion of the rape "myth" by stating that he had himself been to Kosovo in 1988 and had witnessed the terror experienced by Serbians living in this province.

Kemal Kurspahic discussed the horrors of "life under siege" in Sarajevo conveniently not mentioning the horrors experienced by Bosnian Serbs throughout Bosnia. He spoke of specific individual examples of Muslim suffering.

Finally, Jennifer Green from Harvard Law School spoke about the International War Crimes Tribunal and the need to "punish genocide." After her speech, Michael Pravica asked as to whether or not Serbs could ever expect a fair trial and if Serbian victims of brutality could ever expect their sufferings to be heard and gave some examples of the anti-Serb bias in prosecuting war crimes. A heated debate ensued between Mrs. Green, Mr. Kurspahic, and Mr. Pravica, but ultimately, all agreed that the philosophy of the Tribunal must be that all crimes against innocent human beings no matter their race or creed must be punished. Bette Denich also asked a rhetorical question whether Serbs could ever expect true justice. No one chose to argue.

"BOSNIA, WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?"

On Sunday, February 5, 1995, Westboro Jewish Community Center, a division of the Worcester JCC and Congregation B'nai Shalom, organized a panel discussion with the above title. It was announced that a panel of three experts was going to discuss the current situation in Bosnia, the causes of the conflict and what can be done to help.

Ms. Sharon Machlis Gartenberg's presentation consisted mostly of the dates and statements that she obtained from her HAM radio operator friend from Sarajevo. (Ms. Gartenberg is a member of the Framingham Amateur Radio Association.)

Ms. Hahn first described humanitarian work of the organization La Benevolencija. However, she finished her speech with advocating lifting off the arms embargo and by asking people to write letters to their representatives with that message.

Mr. Andrash Riedlmayer gave his standard slide show about cultural genocide in Bosnia with the total emphasis on the

destroyed mosques and Sarajevo library, while ignoring other destroyed cultural and religious objects. Serbs were mostly blamed, however he did mention Croatian activities in Mostar (the bridge).

The message of the lecture was: "Muslims want multiethnic tolerant society and they need arms to defend themselves".

In the audience were present: Sasha Velickovic, Branka Milosevic, Igor Najfeld, Dr. Ilijevski, Professor Milatov and Gordana Todorov.

When the discussion started Branka introduced herself as Sarajevo Jew and an architect. She gave a very impressive account of her living experience in Sarajevo, pointing out nontolerant behavior of Muslims in Bosnia even twenty years ago. She also mentioned and very clearly explained what "handzar divizije" were.

Igor introduced himself as a Jew from Belgrade, and after mentioning Jasenovac, he pointed out that many Jews were killed there, but that it was a small number comparing to the number of Serbs who were killed by Croats and Muslims during the WWII.

Dr. Ilijevski, wonderfully emotional, made clear that he was neither Serb, nor Croat, nor Muslim, but Macedonian and then he showed a great disappointment in the low quality of the presentations and even more in the fact that people were asked at the door to sign petitions for lifting off the arms embargo.

Last person from the audience to speak was Prof. Milatov from Sarajevo. He lived in Sarajevo during this war, and he also spent some time in Muslim prison. His main message was: more arms will mean more killing for the people who live there. He also expressed surprise at the lack of knowledge of the speakers who are supposed to be experts.

After the discussion was closed a number of people from the audience expressed their interest in this other point of view. They said that they were glad that they had a chance to hear it.

LECTURES INFO

If you would like to be informed about lectures (some of them very unpleasant), please let us know. Indicate which way you can be informed: E-mail, fax, telephone.

If you hear of any lectures which might be of interest to our community, please call SANE at 617-928-1235, fax to 617-965-1463 or e-mail to todorov@neu.edu.

We need a volunteer for both e-mail and telephone who would accept to spread the information about the lecture events.

TELEGRAM & GAZETTE

The lecture at Westboro Jewish Community Center inspired a number of articles in the local paper Telegram and Gazette.

After one editorial there was a response by Rabbi Debra R. Hachen of Congregation B'nai Shalom who wrote "Our institutions sponsored this forum as an opportunity for open discussion and education about the history of the conflict in Bosnia. We took no particular point of view, though individual speakers certainly expressed their own opinion. We did not advocate a lifting of the arms embargo, nor did we support its continuance. . ."

Soon after that there was a letter by Mat Tolic from Oxford who wrote "Their statement that they took no particular point of view regarding Bosnia state of affairs is a flagrant lie. Upon entering the hallways of the premises, they had set up a long table with literature, buttons and a book to sign your name condemning Serbian 'atrocities.' Three speakers have taken a turn, verbally and visually painting 'the facts' of their experiences regarding so called 'Serbian atrocities.' I was present, although I did not speak. I heard enough of the misinformation and lack of understanding of the history of the region to make me ill...."

VISIT WITH BISHOP IRINEJ

SANE Board members were invited to the reception in Honor of His Grace Dr. Irinej Backi, Bishop of Backa and Mr. Dragan Dragojlovic, Minister for Religion in the Government of Republic Serbia at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Washington on Saturday, February 11 at 6:00 pm.

Bishop Irinej in his speech indicated how pleased he was that the reception was organized at the Yugoslav Embassy and he also mentioned his sadness for the many years when he could not have expected to be invited to the same Embassy. His message was that we should all be together, not against anyone but together for the good of the people.

Mr. Dragojlovic talked about the difficult situation in Yugoslavia. He asked people to help those they knew: help for each person is help for the nation.

SACERBEY AT NORTHEASTERN

On April 10, 1994, the same day that NATO planes bombed Serbian positions around Gorazde, Mohammed Sacerbey, Bosnian UN Ambassador, gave a very provocative presentation at Northeastern University. This talk was sponsored by the Islamic organization of New England.

His main theme was that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a multi-ethnic state and that all his government wants is to preserve this unique country in the Europe. According to him everything wrong that happened in Yugoslavia since 1991 was done by "Serbian fascists and nationalists". He said that Bosnians were unprepared for the Serbian aggression and they are only trying to defend themselves. In addition, he continuously, talked about 'fascist' Serbs as peasants (seljaci), who do not understand what a multi-ethnic state means.

After presentation there was a discussion that lasted almost an hour and a half and was taped by Cable News Network.

Questions were predominantly asked by Serbs in the audience and although all unpleasant, there were only a few where he showed any confusion and unease.

But when Sasa Velickovic asked about the "Islamic declaration" which he had in his hand, Ambassador Sacerbey went red in the face. Sasa asked how is it possible to have such writings fifteen years before any of the current "Serbian fascist and nationalists" came to the scene and claim that the muslims were for a multi-ethnic society. Mr. Sacerbey lost the temper while replying: "You are trying to legitimize genocide against innocent people, with bunch of nonsense!" Sasa calmly replied that he is not legitimizing anything, just asking the question to which Mr. Sacerbey did not answer.

In all, thanks to our members being there in force and asking many tough questions, the audience had a balanced presentation.

A.A.A.S.S. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) held its 24th annual conference from November 17-20, 1994 in Philadelphia. Within AAASS there is an academic organization dedicated exclusively to the Serbian studies - NASSS - which held its annual conference simultaneously.

The conferences attracted several thousand participants and guests from around the world: historians, linguists, anthropologists, economists, political scientists, philosophers, ethnologists, journalists, diplomats, writers and artists. Traditionally interest was centered on former Soviet Union, but the war and disintegration in Yugoslavia have shifted the focus to the Balkans.

The four days of conferences were filled with panel discussions and lectures from morning to evening. A separate book exposition was organized to coincide with the main event. A string of informal meetings helped establish significant contacts for SANE members who attended.

The first day of the conference a panel discussion was held titled "The Media and Yugoslavia: Modes of Presenting in Civil War". The distinguished panel was chaired by David Binder, veteran columnist of the New York Times and panelists Radmila Gorup from the University of California at Berkeley, Anita Lekic from the State University of New York, Ljubica Popovic from Vanderbilt University, Sean Gervasi from the Institute of International Politics and Economics and our own Stevan Radojev from Boston College.

The panelists voiced an unanimous opinion that the media coverage was biased against the Serbs. They presented careful analytical studies of linguistics as well as editorial cartoons in major publications and Steva presented analysis of the short wave radio coverage of the BBC.

After returning to Boston, Steva gave a presentation to SANE members in which he detailed the proceedings from the conference.

Letter to the Editor

The Northeastern Voice
April 28, 1994

Does Bosnian ambassador really seek tolerant society?

Mohamed Sacirbey, the Bosnian Ambassador to the United Nations, gave a lecture at Ford Hall Forum Series at Northeastern University, on April 10, 1994. Very eloquently, he had explained the main goal of his government: tolerant multiethnic society.

In the same breath and the same sentence he used the term, which I heard that evening for the first time: "so called Bosnian Serbs". I cannot help but wonder what kind of tolerant multiethnic society he and his government are proposing if they cannot tolerate even the mere name of Bosnian Serbs.

Incidentally, in front of me was sitting a young woman from Sarajevo. She was a Yugoslav, but Sarajevo is no more in Yugoslavia. And now, the official representative of the new country to which Sarajevo belongs, was even denying her the right to be called a Bosnian Serb. What is she now?

She is a woman without a country. Or, perhaps, she is a member of a multiethnic country of Muslims, Croats and "so called Serbs".

Gordana Todorov
Associate Professor of Mathematics
Northeastern University

YOU CAN OWN THIS SPACE

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Members enjoy special discount.

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For pricing and schedule of publishing contact our Treasurer Kiyoshi Igusa at 617-928-1235.

OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV POINT OF VIEW

We were pleased to welcome Mr. Nebojsa Vujovic, Counselor for Press and Political Affairs of the Yugoslav Embassy, to Boston on January 19, 1995. Mr. Vujovic addressed a breakfast meeting of members of the World Affairs Council of Boston and later that morning spoke at the Fletcher School of Diplomacy at Tufts University.

His presentation of the official Yugoslav point of view was thoughtful, well documented and generally well received. A briefing packet of pertinent press releases was made available to attendees. (SANE has tapes of Mr. Vujovic's presentation)

ZIMMERMAN AND LASTAVICA AT THE UNION CLUB

The last American Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmerman, and John Lastavica were panelists at the Union Club in Boston on December 2, 1994. Ambassador Zimmerman gave an introductory speech in which he described the story of Yugoslavia as a play in three acts, with no heroes, and nationalism as the villain.

Act 1 World War 2 until 1989

Tito helped the West by tying down 20 German divisions in Yugoslavia during the war, but his legacy included poison gifts: he decentralized the decision making process so that Belgrade could not remain as the center of power, and he did not want the 40% Serbian population to control the country as they had before the war.

The result was an uprising of nationalism.

Act 2 1989-1991

Ambassador Zimmerman described nationalism as having three forms; Slovenian nationalism was non-threatening to other national groups, but the Slovenians selfishness in pursuing it precipitated similar actions by other groups. He said that it was inevitable that Serbian nationalism would arise and it was a tragedy that it was focused by Milosevic, whom he described as an evil man, aggressive towards minorities and neighbors. Serbia's neighbors were threatened. Zimmerman said that the US policy was to continue to support unity at this stage, but the problem was how to achieve it in the democratic environment that Tito had not faced. Markovic was seen as the right choice, as a man dedicated to economic, and later political reform, but all three of the nationalist groups rejected him; Slovenia rejected rule from Belgrade; Croatia rejected that, and his proposed economic reform, and the Serbs rejected reform. The republics then voted their fears rather than their hopes; nationalism ruled and Markovic was rejected, leaving Milosevic in control.

Act 3 1991- present

The first war was the Croatian war, which lasted six months. Its motivation was simpler, in that the Serbs had a grievance with Tudjman, who had initiated the abuse and harassment of the 12% Serbian minority in Croatia. The war was conducted by Serbian troops, who sealed off

a large area of Croatian territory.

In the Bosnian war that followed Ambassador Zimmerman felt that there was no Serbian grievance. Izetbegovic had promised in 1990 a multi-ethnic community and had delivered it. Milosevic had confirmed in discussion with Zimmerman that there was no threat to the Serbs in Bosnia. Zimmerman described the Bosnian war as a war of aggression.

He said that Secretary Perry was wrong to say that the war is essentially over. The goal of the Serbs is to capture Sarajevo and turn this historically famous, multi-ethnic, city into the capital of a Serbian state. Zimmerman said that Karadjic had told him three years ago that Sarajevo was their objective, and he would create multiple Berlin walls to fence off the national communities. The question is "what will the US do when the real battle for Sarajevo starts?"

Remarks by John Lastavica

His perspective starts long before World War 2. In the 17th. century the Serbs were invited to populate the Krajina, and it was they who started the Croatian war. The Serb nation started in the 19th. century when they rose up to liberate themselves from the Turks. In the 20th. century the Serbs had, in four campaigns and wars, fought to stop the penetration of the Germanic people into the Balkans. He was in Zagreb when the Germans entered it in 1941 to be welcomed with flowers; within half an hour the first warnings were broadcast to the Serbs in Croatia, and the following years produced a holocaust of the Croatian Serbian community.

Tito repressed the Serbs because they uniquely believed in individual liberty, and as a peasant people, they resisted the implementation of traditional communism in Yugoslavia.

In Bosnia Izetbegovic has reneged on his writing, but his Islamic Declaration of 1984 states "...those opposed to the establishment of an Islamic state must be restrained and eliminated...". Are the Serbs supposed to be unable to read?

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He talked at length about the Ruder Finn PR agency that is paid by the Croatian Government and its misrepresentation of the war, noting also that in contrast to Jewish opinion in the US, the Jerusalem press supports the Serbs.

He talked about the Serbian's native generosity, and the fact that there are hundreds of thousands of refugees from the war being supported in Serbia.

He commented that Tito was not such a major contributor in the war; he only faced 120K German troops for a few weeks, for the rest of the war he ran from the Muslim division that the Germans raised.

He asked Ambassador Zimmerman to comment on the Lisbon Agreement; it seemed that Itzebegovic had reneged on this agreement after a meeting with Ambassador Zimmerman; was this his initiative. In response Zimmerman said that this story was the subject of a NY Times article, and that he had written to the paper to deny it. He said that Itzebegovic had said to him that he felt that he had made a mistake in Lisbon and that he was being criticized for giving away too much, but Zimmerman said that he had supported the US position that the agreement should be upheld.

He felt that it was sad that this discussion had to go back 50 years or more for the Serbs, and that if other European countries had also failed to move beyond their old grievances modern Europe would not have been possible.

Ambassador Zimmerman said that he was concerned those in the US who supported the ending of the arms embargo had not thought through the conse-

quences. The Bosnians are getting weapons, but not heavy weapons, and if the embargo was lifted, the US would be expected to ensure that these were not only made available, but were delivered, and that the Bosnians would have to be trained in their use. How would the US deliver heavy weapons in the presence of Serbian ground control without being drawn into a ground war? As the lifting of the embargo would lead to an immediate escalation by the Serbs in order to capture ground as quickly as possible, the net effect would probably be to worsen the situation for the Bosnians.

Revisiting Zimmerman

The World Affairs Council invited former Ambassador Zimmerman to speak on April 3rd at the Meridien Hotel. He devoted a good part of his speech to the definition (his) of Nationalism and stated that he saw Yugoslavia as the battleground for competing nationalisms. His assessment of the various republics showed his antagonism towards Serbia, although he condemned Slovenia for their precipitous declaration of independence taken with total disregard for the remaining population of 22 million.

Despite his effort at "self rehabilitation," SANE members present were able to "nail" him on his misguided advice to Alija Izetbegovic following the Lisbon Agreement. He also had no answer to a question about his seeming inability to have grasped the furor wrought by the recognition of BiH as a sovereign state. (The war began 2h 15min later).

CONVERTING TAPES FROM YUGOSLAVIA

SANE is in possession of a video converter which can convert PAL (Yugoslav) videotapes into NTSC (American) tapes. We do this as a service to our members for a small contribution. Please contact Kiyoshi Igusa for further details.

RESPIRATORS FOR SERBIA AND BOSNIA

In cooperation with the Serbian Unity Congress and H.R.H. Princess Catherine, SANE arranged for the two respirators, valued over \$100,000 to be shipped from Boston to Belgrade. They were donated by Dr. Paul Jameson, a retired Serbian physician from the Boston area, and are installed one in Bosnia and the other in Novi Sad hospital.

Pera Velickovic, Michael Pravica, Bane Andjelich and Steva Jordan with his truck and crew hauled the instruments to the Virgin Atlantic terminal at Boston Logan airport. SANE provided for crating at the cost of over \$300 and Virgin agreed to ship them free of charge to London from where Princess Catherine's organization forwarded them to Belgrade.

From the Desk of

Date 2-26-95

Dushica B. Protic

Dear Bane

The respirators arrived in Belgrade with no problems and were picked up by the recipients. Dr. Karadzic and Dr. Borovcanin asked me to thank your organization personally for your help. Novi Sad also picked up their respirator.

Thank you so much again and let me know if there is anything else we can send. Dushica

SANE PUBLISHES!

Members of SANE have shown that getting published in the major media is not impossible if the letters are well written, courteous, informed and if they address something of interest to the readers. Our Mike Pravica published 43 letters in newspapers from London to Toronto. Others, though less prolific, have also had success. Here are two that may serve as an example of what works:

The Globe and Mail
April 5, 1995

I enjoyed reading the article, "Crees want their own referendum," (March 14). If we're going to rewrite Canada's borders ignoring its national sovereignty because of ethnic/cultural reasons, then the borders of Quebec are going to have to be just as flexible and altered to reflect the will of all of the different ethnic groups existing in its current administrative borders. When borders are redefined, there is almost always conflict.

Consider how a solution to the problems in the former Yugoslavia has still not been found after three years of civil war. The borders of the six republics of that country, drawn up by Tito in 1945, were based not on ethnic demographics but based on his philosophies of rule. So, as the country unravelled ethnically, minority groups in each of the republics began to feel threatened and a civil war ensued because of competing ethnic hegemonies and claims on the lands of this former country.

As the Cree Indians are small numerically compared to the Quebecois, their concerns will probably be steamrolled over but their desire for self determination will not die. Thus, Quebec, like each of the former republics of the former Yugoslavia, will have a festering national problem that not only leaves its "democratic" institutions in serious doubt in the eyes of the world, but will set the stage for future conflict when that opportunity presents itself.

Michael Pravica
Cambridge, Mass.

New York Times
June 10, 1994

Does the Truth Lie in the Former Yugoslavia?

To the editor:

In "The Hatred of Memory" (OpEd, May 28), Ivan Lovrenovic writes of the burning of the National Library in Sarajevo. He gives a moving account of how the people of Sarajevo tried in vain to rescue the precious books in their library. However this version does not agree with either the Serbian or Muslim official account of the incident, both of which claim that the books had been saved.

First, the Serbian version. The Serbs state that the Bosnian Muslims burned down their own library after removing most of the books. I saw on Belgrade television people taking boxes of books out of the Sarajevo library reportedly a month before it burned. On CNN, I saw a burning library but no burning books and no burning pages flying through the air.

The official Muslim position is that the brave people of Sarajevo came to the rescue of their library and succeeded in saving most of their books, even in the midst of constant sniper fire as the library burned.

Mr. Lovrenovic's version is probably the most convincing. He sounds as if he was an actual witness. He didn't use the buzz words "cultural genocide," which mark this particular campaign to vilify the Serbian nation. This indicates to me that he is probably not directly related to the Bosnian Muslim government. The entire article indicates that he is ethnically Croatian.

How can you tell who is telling the truth? I still remember the answer given to me by one expert on Yugoslavia (in relation to a similar question). "They are all lying," she said. And in that lies the key to understanding Balkan politics.

Kiyoshi Igusa
Newton, Mass.

TRASHING "PIECE OF TRASH"

In February 1994, Newton TAB published an article by one Victoria Poupko in which she portrayed the situation in Bosnia based on her conversation with some muslim women she met in Croatia. The article was so inaccurate and hateful that it prompted an avalanche of letters to the TAB from our community. Total of seven letters were published in which Ms. Poupko's arguments were completely destroyed. Here is one:

THE TAB
March 15, 1994

Bosnia story was a "piece of trash"

At the suggestion of Mr. Rick Manning in a phone conversation with him today, I am addressing this letter to you.

I am Jewish, originally from Sarajevo, an architect by profession.

The article "Witness to Bosnian horror" could have passed two years ago as a sensational piece of news. Today, with the facts known from official sources like UN, professional world reporting agencies etc., you can challenge every single line and apply it to all warring sides. How did Ms. Victoria Poupko get the information from Serbian prisons, the aggressor side in this article, that there were 12,000 Serbian prisoners released from Serbian prisons? Did the writer have connections with Serbian prisons? Furthermore, a year before the Old Bridge in Mostar was blown apart, all the Serbs were ethnically cleansed from the area. (And by the way, there were only five bridges in Mostar, not nine as Ms. Poupko claims.)

The entire article was not worth the paper that it was published on.

The other thing that caught my eye was that the article was written by a Mathematics professor from Northeastern University. I wonder how a math professor with a full schedule has time in the middle of the school year for field reporting in such a distant place, about a subject so widely publicized by experts.

At a time when everybody is talking about peace, I wonder what motivates a mathematics professor to write such a piece of trash. Where is the wisdom in spreading this type of journalism?

A trip to Bosna (this is the correct spelling of Bosnia) must be expensive. The writer would do much better with the money spent on this trip by helping the people with parcels etc., as I am helping people in Bosna, instead of spending all this money for such a lousy reporting.

Branka Weisz Milosevic

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mately 50K acres) will bear only a harvest of mines. We drive through Opatovac, where there is little destruction and where, again, the Croatian population left peacefully under the auspices of the Church. At Sotin, the signs of war become apparent. Heavy damage to homes from both Serbs and Croats has occurred here. We are aware that there is no traffic on the roads. Bicycles make their spotty appearance, their riders weathered, elderly residents of the community often balancing carefully as they hold an umbrella overhead or a bundle of sticks. From afar the huge water tower of Vukovar comes in view.

Vukovar bears the scars of enormous pain and suffering. This is a region of some 600 square kilometers; rich soil, oil producing, thickly wooded. The population was 84,000 before the war. On the

banks of the Danube and Vuka rivers, Vukovar was also the site of several important archaeological digs of the Neolithic period. The population was mixed with ethnic Hungarians, Slovaks, and an almost equal mix of Serbs and Croats. Famous for its wines, fruits, and vegetables the company VUPIK was enormously important in food production, packaging, animal raising, natural medications, etc. Borovo, adjacent to Vukovar, is the home of BATA shoes, with huge exports worldwide, and employing 20,000 workers. Luka, important enough to be the second largest port on the Danube, is also in this area.

In 1991, when Franjo Tudjman's political party lost the election to the Yugoslav party in the Vukovar area, he was faced with the need to resort to force in order to secure political control of the area. Early

on, the steps taken were more subtle; Serbs were forced out of jobs given to Croats, radio and television stations were controlled by Croats, the Press came under their control, and the system of "thirds" came into being once again, as in WW II:

- "We will convert 1/3 to Catholicism"
- "We will send 1/3 out of Vukovar"
- "We will kill the remaining 1/3"

A campaign of terror began as the Croatian military broke down the doors of homes in the night, threatened families with death, burned Serbian shops and businesses, and torched kiosks in the marketplace.

We met with Djordje Prokic, Director of VUPIK, in his makeshift offices. His story is riveting and his pain obvious. In May of 1991, a busload of Croatian soldiers descended upon Borovo Selo and attacked the Serbs; peasants working in the fields; professionals; factory workers; and thus began the siege of the Vukovar region.

On July 31st. of 1991, Djordje Prokic and his colleague were in a meeting when Djordje decided to retrieve some archives from the cellar. When he returned to his office, his colleague had been kidnapped, and has never been seen again. Djordje was harassed and threatened, and was finally hidden by a Hungarian for several months until he could escape. In August and September, 1991, the real battle for Vukovar began, and the town suffered total destruction. Public buildings, schools, the hospital, the museum which housed the 760-year history of the region, all fell in the barrage for victory. The destruction of the water tower brought the savage reality of death and disease that this single loss meant to all.

Vukovar's agony lasted three months; 14,000 houses were destroyed, more than 10,000 people were killed in the area, and as a winter with no fuel, no electricity, and no food approached only 2,500 people were left out of the 84,000 previous inhabitants of the area.

Documentation in the records of Helsinki Watch bears witness to atrocities committed by the Croats but never reported by the Western media. Kidnappings, killings, and more than 40 infants who were used as shields for live bombs in the destruction of Serbian families. Italian journalists who broke the story were advised to *kill it*. The offices of Vukovar Press are hopping, filled with news seekers, UNPROFOR representatives, translators, all recounting the terrible battle and its consequences. Today this area of the Krajina has a Serbian population of 20,000, all slowly trying to rebuild their lives. Depression is significant, sleep comes rarely as nighttime revisits the terror. Partition will determine whether Serbs rebuild all that they have lost in Vukovar; it will be a magnum opus!

We walked through Vukovar in a cold drizzle, adding to our melancholy. The charred beams of homes in stark contrast against the gray skies; we picked our way carefully through the rubble along the Danube where once stood museums, parks, homes. The Serbian Orthodox church has no roof; the Paunovic mausoleum is in ruins, a solitary stork nesting there now, amidst history (Dabojanka Paunovic was Tito's mistress). Where will this history end? Somehow Serbia's story must be told; it is a legacy for all who bear her blood.