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POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Holdup of humanitarian aid food and fuel is as much due to the Muslim-Croatian fighting in central Bosnia as to the Serbs' overtaking of Mt. Igman. All three sides also are to be blamed for the obstruction of convoys.
2. Although the Serbs have been responsible for cutting off some supplies to Sarajevo, the Bosnian government also has ordered the cutoff of electricity, and has obstructed regularly the passage of humanitarian aid (See Reuters #4 from 8-4-93).
3. As soon as any sort of military intervention is mentioned, President Izetbegovic pulls out of negotiations.
4. With the Croats now fighting against the Moslems, the chances for peace--and a negotiated settlement--can only deteriorate. From the standpoint of the Muslims, it would be more advantageous for them to settle now rather than later.
5. Whatever the final settlement, it can be only worse than what all three parties had agreed to in Lisbon in the spring of 1992, before the deaths of approximately 200,000 civilians and the displacement of 3 million Bosnians. And before the U.S. made the mistake of recognizing B-H, prompting Izetbegovic to pull out of the Lisbon talks (called the Carrington-Cuteliero plan).

① We can't get bogged down in protracted discussions about who did what to whom on ~~a~~ what day — We know that atrocities are being committed by all parties.

② Therefore, we must keep our eye focused on the ball — which is **HOW DO WE STOP IT**

③ Now, before we start talking about sending in F-16's and Stealth Bombers - - - - we need to maximize our intelligence gathering assets in order to make a determination as to who is in there and what are they doing?

(4). I have spent considerable time ~~involve~~ in that region and know the politics but even I am confused as to the competing interests inside Bosnia --- On this point I'm sure that the senator would agree.

(5). Once we make that
determination -- we begin
to apply the tourniquet
across the board!

⑥

~~Let's~~ Let's not RUSH into making a decision to send in U.S. forces.

Remember, ~~that~~ ~~this country~~ the terrain of that country is ideally suited for protracted guerrilla warfare -- we've been there before and it was Vietnam!

②

If stories are true
about concentration camps
committing unspeakable acts,
then we must surgically
insert our special
operations-type forces....

that is clear

(8)

The U.N. Commander
on the ground has
actively been pursuing
these stories that
have surfaced and
he has said _____

(9)

Every ~~camp~~ detention camp
should be opened up for
inspection



PATRIARCHAL EXHORTATION

Department of State

July 3, 1990

T O A S T
OF HIS ALL HOLINESS, THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH,
D I M I T R I O S I
DURING THE LUNCHEON GIVEN IN HIS HONOR
BY THE SECRETARY OF VETERAN AFFAIRS, EDWARD DERWINSKI,
AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT
(July 3, 1990)

* * *

Mr. Secretary, Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen,

For my humble self and for the brother hierarchs accompanying me it is a distinct joy and honor to meet at such a festive hour with you and some of the officers of the United States Department of State, which is to say, with those functionaries of a nation whose primary mission is to design and carry out by every means a policy of peace and benevolent relations among nations and peoples.

Your task is certainly among the most difficult, for we all know how changeable peoples' wishes are, especially when economic and political issues are involved, making it difficult for the individual to judge rightly and soberly.

We, as men of the Church and spiritual leaders, know that the world, as the Lord says, "is in the power of the evil one" (1 John 5:19). This means that both you and we are obliged to pursue our calling amid a welter of conflicting claims, wars, and every manner of upheaval. That is why when your occupation is epigrammatically defined as "the art of the possible," you should surely add that this art is to be exercised mainly in an environment of crisis and of critical moments. Even when war is seemingly absent, we cannot always speak of peace, since there are so many antagonisms among peoples which you are called to mediate. The

diplomat's path lies invariably between Scylla and Charybdis, whether the crises you must deal with are minor or major ones, crises of open hostility, or conventional peace.

This is why your honorable work draws the attention, the admiration, and the gratitude of all who truly care about peace in the world and the welfare of people.

On behalf of our Church, and personally, I convey to you warm congratulations, and raising the cup to your health, Mr. Secretary and distinguished fellow guests, I pray ardently that the God of mercies and of infinite love will always illuminate your minds and bless your noble labors for the good of the world.

Π Ρ Ο Π Ο Σ Ι Σ
 ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ, ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ
 κ.κ. Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι Ο Υ
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 ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ EDWARD DERWINSKI ΕΝ ΤΩ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΩ ΤΩΝ
 ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΝ ΓΕΥΜΑ
 (3' Ιουλίου 1990)

Ἐξοχώτατε κύριε Ὑπουργέ,

Ἐξοχώτατοι καί Ἐντιμότατοι κυρίαί καί κύριοι,

Διά τήν Μετριότητα ἡμῶν καί τοῦ συνοδεύοντος ἡμᾶς ἀδελφούς Ἀρχιερεῖς ἀποτελεῖ ἰδιαιτέραν χαράν καί τιμήν νά συναντηθῶμεν εἰς μίαν τοιαύτην πανηγυρικὴν ὥραν μετὰ τῆς Ὑμετέρας ἐριτίμου Ἐξοχότητος καί μετὰ τῶν ἐκπροσώπων τοῦ Ἀμερικανικοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν, τῶν λειτουργῶν δηλαδή ἐκείνων ἑνός ἔθνους, οἱ ὅποιοι ὡς κυρίαν αὐτῶν ἀποστολήν ἔχουν νά ἀρχιτεκτονοῦν καί νά διακονοῦν διὰ παντός μέσου τήν εἰρήνην καί τὰς ἀγαθὰς σχέσεις μεταξύ χωρῶν καί λαῶν.

Ἡ ἀποστολή ὑμῶν αὕτη εἶναι ἀσφαλῶς μεταξύ τῶν δυσχερεστέρων, διότι ὅλοι γνωρίζομεν πόσον εὐμετάβολοι εἶναι αἱ βουλαί τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καί δὴ ὅταν ἐμπλέκονται συμφέροντα οἰκονομικοπολιτικά, τὰ ὅποια δέν ἐπιτρέπουν πάντοτε εἰς τόν ἄνθρωπον νά κρίνη δικαίως καί νηφαλίως.

Ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄνθρωποι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καί πνευματικοὶ ἡγέται, γνωρίζομεν ὅτι ὁ κόσμος, συμφώνως πρὸς τόν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου, "κεῖται ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ" (Α' Ἰωάν. 5, 19). Τοῦτο σημαίνει, ὅτι τό εἰρηνικόν ἔργον σας καλεῖσθε νά ἀσκήσετε τόσον ἑσεῖς, ὅσον καί ἡμεῖς, ἐν μέσῳ ποικίλων ἀντεκδικήσεων, πολέμων καί πάσης μορφῆς ἀναστατώσεων. Διὰ τοῦτο ὅταν ἐπιγραμματικῶς ὀρίζεται τό ἐπάγγελμά σας ὡς "τέχνη τοῦ ἐφικτοῦ" ἀσφαλῶς θά ἔπρεπε νά συμπληρώσετε, ὅτι τήν τέχνην ταύτην καλεῖσθε νά ἀσκήσετε κυρίως ἐν μέσῳ κρίσεων καί κρισίμων στιγμῶν, διότι ἀκόμη καί ὅταν ἐξωτερικῶς ἀπουσιάζει ὁ πόλεμος δέν εἶναι δυνατόν νά ὀμιλῶμεν περὶ εἰρήνης, ἐνῶ ὑπάρχουν τόσοι καί τόσοι πάντοτε ἀνταγωνισμοὶ μεταξύ τῶν λαῶν, τοὺς ὁποίους καλεῖσθε νά ἐξισορροπήσετε. Τοῦτο σημαίνει, ὅτι ἡ πορεία τοῦ διπλωμάτου εἶναι πορεία πάντοτε ἐν μέσῳ συμπληγᾶδων, ἀνεξαρτήτως

έάν αϊ κρίσεις, τās όποιās άντιμετωπίζετε έκάστοτε εΐναι κρίσεις μικραί ή μεγάλαι, κρίσεις έν άνοικτῷ πολέμῳ ή έν συμβατικῇ εΐρήνῃ.

Διά τούς λόγους τούτους τό τίμιον έργον σας έπισπᾶται τήν προσοχήν, τόν θαυμασμόν και τήν εύγνωμοσύνην όλων εκείνων, οϊ όποϊοι ένδιαφέρονται πραγματικῶς διά τήν εΐρήνην του κόσμου και τήν εύημερίαν τῶν άνθρώπων.

Έκ μέρους τῆς καθ'ήμας Έκκλησίας και προσωπικῶς σᾶς άπευθύνομεν θερμά συγχαρητήρια και έγείροντες τό κύπελλον υπέρ τῆς υγείας υμῶν, Έξοχώτατοι και έκλεκτοί συνδαιτυμόνες, εύχόμεθα διαπύρως ό θεός τῶν οϊκτιρμῶν και τῆς άπάτου φιλανθρωπίας νά φωτίζη πάντοτε τās διανοίās σας και νά έπευλογῇ τούς τιμίους μόχθους σας, έπ'άγαθῷ του κόσμου.

Strict Embargo: 14:00 Hrs 1 June 1992

Check Against Delivery.

Speech given by John Kennedy to the "Strategy 92" Conference in London on 01st June 1992 at the Naval & Military Club, Piccadilly London, W1.

Europe's Role in the current Yugoslav crisis

JOHN MAJOR'S COMMITMENT TO THE UNITY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE 1992 GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN, AGAINST THE SIREN VOICES OF MOST OF THE MAIN OPPOSITION PARTIES WAS REWARDED BY THE BRITISH PEOPLE WHO REJECTED NATIONALISM IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS AND GUISES.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY WHO ADVOCATED NOT ONLY A NATIONALIST PROGRAMME BUT A SEPARATIST ONE AS WELL WERE MISTAKEN IN THEIR BELIEF THAT SUCH A RADICAL AGENDA WOULD INSPIRE THE ELECTORATE OF SCOTLAND.

MAJOR UNDERSTOOD THAT SEPARATISM, PARTICULARLY IN SCOTLAND'S CASE, WAS MORE A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THAN OF KILTS AND CABERS.

IT IS NOW CRITICAL FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AS IT PREPARES TO TAKE UP THE EC PRESIDENCY ON 31 JUNE, TO EXAMINE THE COMMUNITIES ROLE AND ATTITUDE TO SUCH ISSUES. IT IS THIS ISSUE MORE THAN ANY OTHER THAT IS FASHIONING THE POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF GREATER EUROPE.

-2-

WHILST IT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED THAT THE "ASPIRATIONS" OF THE BASQUES, THE BRETONS, THE SCOTS THE WELSH AND MANY MORE CANNOT BE ACCEPTED WE HAVE AT THE SAME TIME SIMPLY ASSUMED THAT THE DEMANDS OF SEPARATIST TENDENCIES IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE CONTINENT CAN NOT BE REFUSED.

THE SIMPLE ASSUMPTION THAT SEPARATISM AND SELF DETERMINATION ARE ONE AND THE SAME IS EUROPE'S ORIGINAL MISTAKE. IT HAS CLOUDED THEIR RESPONSE TO EAST EUROPEAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS.

THE EAGERNESS OF A NUMBER OF LEADING EUROPEANS TO DEMONSTRATE A CAPACITY FOR THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMON FOREIGN POLICY, COUPLED WITH A HISTORIC GERMAN OBSESSION WITH THE BALKANS, EMBODIED IN LIVING FORM BY HERR GENSCHER HAS SET AS CHAIN OF FUNDAMENTAL MISTAKES IN MOTION WHICH HAS LEAD TO COMPLETE CHAOS IN MOST OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS.

ALTHOUGH EUROPE HAS, BY ITS OWN DEFINITION, NOW FULFILLED THE ASPIRATIONS OF THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE, THEY ARE ARGUABLE NOW WORSE OFF THAN BEFORE. INDEPENDANCE HAS COME WITHOUT CREDIBLE NATIONAL FRONTIERS, WITHOUT SUSTAINABLE CONSTITUTIONS, WITHOUT ADEQUATE PROTECTION FOR MINORITIES AND MOST SIGNIFICANTLY WITHOUT PEACE.

-3-

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOUND GOVERNMENT AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IS ONE THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN A CORNER STONE FOR RECOGNITION BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS THROUGHOUT MODERN HISTORY.

EUROPE'S FIRST FORAY AS POWER BROKER AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATOR ABANDONED THESE PRINCIPLES, IGNORED THE UNITED NATIONS AND ESTABLISHED A PROGRAMME OF RAPID RATHER THAN LASTING SOLUTIONS.

HIS IS SOMETHING THAT WILL INSTINCTIVELY DISTURB NOT ONLY JOHN MAJOR BUT ALSO DOUGLAS HURD. WHEN THEY TAKE THE EC PRESIDENCY NEXT MONTH THEY WILL BE LEFT WITH THE TASK OF LEADING THE EUROPEAN AGENDA.

THEY SHOULD FASHION THIS, ESPECIALLY CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF NATIONALISM, ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES THEY SOLD TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC AS FIT FOR CONSUMPTION AT HOME. TO DO THIS, BRITAIN MUST URGENTLY DECIDE ON A BALKAN POLICY, A POLICY THAT IT BOTH UNDERSTANDS AND BELIEVES IN AND THAT IS MORE THAN A REACTION TO GERMAN INITIATIVE.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY WILL BE FACED WITH A RAGING WAR IN THE MIDST OF EUROPE, THIS WILL REQUIRE THEM TO USE ALL THEIR SKILLS OF STATESMANSHIP WHICH MUST REPLACE EUROPE'S PRESENT TENDENCY TO ADOPT POLICY, AND WORSE, PRINCIPLE, ON THE HOOF.

-4-

THE EC NEEDS TO QUICKLY UNDERSTAND HOW DANGEROUS THE BALKANS ARE, IT IS DESPERATELY IMPORTANT FOR THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY TO MOVE THE COMMUNITY TOWARDS A POSITION OF CONCILIATION WHICH IT CAN ONLY DO IF IT UNDERSTANDS THE WAY IT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO RAISING THE POLITICAL CLIMATE WITHIN YUGOSLAVIA.

TALK OF SANCTIONS, BLOCKADES AND STRATEGIC MILITARY INTERVENTION ARE EASY BUT THEY WILL SIMPLY INTENSIFY AND INFLAME AN ALREADY EMBATTLED PEOPLE.

TO REALLY SUCCEED THE EC NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND THAT DEMONISING THE SERBS, THE LARGEST ETHNIC GROUP IN THE BALKANS, WILL RESOLVE NOTHING.

UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS GROUP HAVE GENUINE ASPIRATIONS, REAL FEARS AND THEIR OWN RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION, THEIR OWN HISTORY AND REAL TERRITORIAL LINKS IN AREAS WHERE THEY ARE SUDDENLY ASKED TO BECOME MINORITIES CANNOT BE OVERLOOKED.

DURING A LONG CONVERSATION I HAD WITH THE LEADER OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS THREE WEEKS AGO, IMMEDIATELY AFTER HE RETURNED FROM AUSTRIAN TALKS WITH HIS CROAT OPPOSITE NUMBER, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THESE TWO GROUPS HAD AGREED AN INITIATIVE THAT WOULD DEAL WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF BOTH BOSNIAN CROATS AND BOSNIAN SERBS.

-5-

THIS INITIATIVE CALLED FOR THE DIVISION OF BOSNIA IN TO THREE SEPARATE STATES UNDER A LOOSE CONFEDERATION, AND ALTHOUGH NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED ONE ASSUMES THAT EACH CONSTITUENT PART COULD SEEK THE RIGHT OF SUCCESSION SHOULD IT WISH TO USE THIS NEWEST FORM OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION.

THESE TALKS HAVE CAUSED GREAT CONFUSION IN BRUSSELS AND OTHER WESTERN CAPITALS WHERE THERE HAS BEEN AN ASSUMPTION BY SOME THAT THE RECENT 60% VOTE FOR BOSNIAN INDEPENDANCE WOULD BE A 60% VOTE FOR A UNITARY STATE.

ALTHOUGH OUR OWN FOREIGN OFFICE, TOGETHER WITH LORD CARRINGTON, FAVOURED THE CANONISED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, REJECTED BY THE ONE-THIRD MOSLEM POPULATION, BOTH BOSNIAN SERBS AND BOSNIAN CROATS HAVE NOW AGREED THAT A CONFEDERATION OF THREE SEPARATE STATES IS THE PATH THEY WILL INSIST UPON.

EUROPE HAS SET SELF DETERMINATION, BY SIMPLE MAJORITY, AS A GOLDEN RULE IN MODERN GLOBAL POLITICS, THIS MAY MAKE IT HARD FOR THEM TO DENY THE MAJORITY OF BOSNIAN THE TRI-PARTITE CONFEDERATION THEY NOW DEMAND.

IT IS QUITE LIKELY THAT AS SOON ANY TRI-PARTITE STATE IS ESTABLISHED, BOTH BOSNIAN SERBS AND BOSNIAN CROATS WILL PROCEED WITH SEPARATE REFERENDA ON SECESSION AND UNIFICATION WITH A YUGOSLAV AND CROATIAN FEDERATION RESPECTIVELY.

ALTHOUGH THE ATTITUDE OF BELGRADE AND ZAGREB TO SUCH REFERENDA IS NOT YET CLEAR, IT IS THE POLICY OF SUCCESSIONISM, ADOPTED BY THE EC OVER THE BREAK UP YUGOSLAVIA THAT WILL NOW BE USED TO DISMANTLE BOSNIA ONLY WEEKS AFTER IT BECAME EUROPE'S NEWEST STATE.

THE EC MUST SHARE PART OF THE BLAME FOR THIS DISORDER. THEIR HASTE IN RECOGNISING BOSNIA'S INDEPENDANCE AND STATEHOOD BEFORE ANY CONSTITUTION HAD BEEN AGREED, QUITE CONTRARY TO ALL ESTABLISHED PRACTICES, HAS BEEN A MAJOR FACTOR IN ADDING TO THE CURRENT CONFUSION.

IN FUTURE THE EC SHOULD DECIDE THAT IT IS BEST TO ALLOW IN EASTERN EUROPE ONLY THAT IT WOULD TOLERATE IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE CONTINENT FOR SEPARATISM HAS AN INSATIABLE APATITE.

ON THE BASIS OF RECENTLY ESTABLISHED EC PRACTICE, THIS NEW CONSENSUS BETWEEN TWO OF BOSNIA'S ETHNIC GROUPS, CONSTITUTING A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION, WILL LEAD TO INEVITABLE DISINTEGRATION.

-7-

WHEN DOUGLAS HURD LEADS EUROPEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS IN DEBATE AND DISCUSSION NEXT MONTH HE MUST RESIST PRESSURE FROM THOSE WHO IMAGINE THAT DESSERT STORM IS THE BLUE PRINT FOR ALL MODERN CONFLICT.

SUCCESSFUL THOUGH THE POLICY WAS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SERBIA IS NO IRAQ. FOR ALL THE CRITICISM THE WE MAY HAVE OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY, IT WAS A FORCE WHO HAD BORDERS REMOVED FROM UNDER IT, IT WAS A PAPER TIGER THAT SHOWED ITSELF TO BE TOTALLY INCAPABLES OF ASSUMING A DECISIVE ROLE - IRRESPECTIVE OF ITS WILLINGNESS OR THE PROPRIETY OF SUCH ACTION IN RESOLUTION OF THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS.

IF ONE ACCEPTS ALL OF THE CRITICISM OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY, IT CAN NOT COMPARE WITH SADDAMS CONSCRIPT FORCE WHO ROLLED INTO KUWAIT, THREATENED SAUDI ARABIA, BOMBED ISRAEL AND PROMISED WAR AGAINST THE WEST BOTH THROUGH THE DOMINATION OF THE OIL FIELDS AND THROUGH A PROMISE OF BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARHEADS CAPABLE OF REACHING THE CENTRE OF ROME.

WHILST THE YUGOSLAV ARMY HAVE MADE FUNDAMENTAL MISTAKES, THE EC SHOULD NOT HAVE ALLOWED IT SELF TO RESERVE THE LIONS SHARE OF CRITICISM AND SANCTION FOR THE SERBIAN STATE, AND CONSEQUENTIALLY, ITS PEOPLE. BY DOING SO THE CHANCES OF ESSENTIAL COMPROMISE ON THE PART OF THE CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN ECLIPSED.

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THE SERBIAN PEOPLE IN THE ENCLAVES OF CROATIA ARE NOW LEFT FACING A HOSTILE AND NOW WELL ARMED CROATIAN MILITIA WHILST THE WORLD TURNS A BLIND EYE AND A SERBIA, UNDER THE CONTINUING WEIGHT OF EC PRESSURE AND SANCTIONS, IS DRIVEN TOWARDS DISARRAY.

THE SERBIAN NATION WAS BORN AND HAS ALWAYS LIVED UNDER THE MOST OVERWHELMING PRESSURES IN A PART OF EUROPE WASHED WITH BLOOD. THIS IS NOT RESULT OF THE BARBARISM OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE BUT A CONSEQUENCE OF THE NATURAL TENSIONS THAT ARE BOUND ON THE FAULT LINE BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN INFLUENCES.

TODAYS BATTLE GROUND IS REVISITED, THE GREAT ARMIES OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE THE MIGHT OF THE THIRD REICH AND TITO'S COMMUNIST LEGACY WERE ALL UNABLE TO SUSTAIN THE EFFECTIVE CONTROL THAT HAD BEEN ATTEMPTED CENTURIES BEFORE IN SIMILAR BATTLES AND CONQUESTS DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

TO FIND A NEW, REAL AND LASTING SOLUTION FOR THIS PART OF THE BALKANS IS THE REAL CHALLENGE FOR THE NEW WORLD ORDER. PEACE WITHOUT CONSENSUS CAN NOT LAST, PEACE THROUGH PRESSURE WILL NOT WORK. ONLY BY ATTACHING EQUAL VALUE TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL OF YUGOSLAVIA'S PEOPLE CAN WE HOPE TO FIND A LASTING SETTLEMENT.

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TO DO THIS SUCCESSFULLY, WE MAY HAVE TO LOOK AT THE WHOLE QUESTION OF RESETTLEMENT, WHICH IS CURRENTLY HAPPENING DE FACTO, WE WILL CERTAINLY HAVE TO LOOK AT THE QUESTION OF BORDERS AND BOUNDARIES.

PRESS RELEASE PRESS RELEASE

Not for release untill 1 June 1992

John Kennedy today addressed an important meeting in London on the question "Europe's role in the current Yugoslav crisis".

The speech was part of the "Strategy 92" conference attended by judges, genrals and government ministers from over forty countries, including Yugoslavia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia.

The entire text of the speech will be published and was recorded for future broadcast, copies werre delivered to the British Foreign Office in advance.

John Kennedy returned from Yugoslavia this morning and went directly to the Naval & Military Club in Piccadilly where the speech was delivered. He will then be returning to Yugoslavia at the request of Henry Bellingham MP, Chairman of the important Conservative Council for Eastern Europe, in order to prepare an up to date report on the current situation.

-ends-

Serbs Say Muslim Slav and Croatian Gunmen Killed

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, June 3 — In accounts that appeared to confirm that atrocities against civilians are being committed by all sides in the ethnic war here, Serbs from a mountainous area outside Sarajevo said today that Muslim Slav and Croatian gunmen swept through at least six villages in the region last week, executing Serbian men after they had been forced to kneel and recite the Muslim incantation "God is Great."

The Serbs also said the attackers looted and burned their homes, then rounded up large numbers of survivors and forced them to spend three to five days in darkened, damp railroad tunnel.

It was not clear from the accounts what had become of the captives after they were removed from the mile-long Ivan-Sedlo tunnel near the village of Bradina, 70 miles southwest of Sarajevo, but several of the Serbs said that they had heard that the detainees had been placed in internment camps in Muslim controlled villages in the area.

Charges of Atrocities

Much of what the Serbs said could not be verified, although the United Nations military group in Sarajevo said the allegation about people being held in the railroad tunnel had been confirmed when the Muslim-led Government in Sarajevo, responding to United Nations inquiries by the United Nations, had given assurances that the Serbs had been removed from the tunnel.

It remained unclear, from the Serbian accounts and from what the United Nations officers were told, what the Muslim Slav and Croatian captors had intended to do with the detainees in the tunnel before the United Nations intervened. The detainees were said to have included women and children and many elderly people.

It was not clear whether the use of the tunnel would have led to a massacre without the United Nations' help, as the Serbs who relayed accounts of it said they had feared, or whether some of those held in the tunnel died, as the Serbian accounts also maintained. The accounts of merciless killing and mus-

Civilians in 6 Villages



Bosnian volunteers sitting next to an elderly resident of the Sarajevo suburb of Novigrad yesterday during a lull in the fighting.

were put to the United Nations military group stationed in Sarajevo were relayed to the Bosnian Government.

Col. Kari Hoglund, deputy commander of the 120-man United Nations force that is attempting to negotiate a ceasefire in the war and to arrange safe passage for relief convoys, said the Serbian assertions that thousands of people were being held in the tunnel were relayed late last week to senior officials of the Government, which is shared between Muslim Slavs and Croats.

Colonel Hoglund, a Finnish officer, said that the Sarajevo Government had not responded for "two or three days." When it did, he said, it indirectly confirmed that the assertion that the tunnel had been used as a detention center were true.

"We were just told that they were now out of the tunnel," Colonel Hoglund said, referring to the Serb villagers. He said that the United Nations had been unable to determine anything else about the incident, including the whereabouts of the tunnel captives after they were moved.

Mr. Gligorevic, the survivor who was interviewed, was red-eyed and sunburned and broke down frequently during his account. He said that he had survived for three days, with about 20 other Bradina villagers, including women and children, in a hole they had dug in the wooded hillsides outside the village and covered with branches and ferns.

He said that he had occasionally climbed a tree to watch what was happening in the village and had seen attackers looting and burning about 150 houses, all of them owned by Serbs. He said he had learned from others of an incident in which a village elder, Pero Mrkajic, a restaurant owner who was 65 years old, had been doused with gasoline and burned to death.

Description of Killings

Mr. Gligorevic said that he had learned of the reported massacre, in which several Bradina men were made to kneel and say Muslim prayers before being shot, during one of the trips he made into the village at times when the attackers withdrew. He said that a woman relative, sheltering in the basement of her home, had told

Croatian militants by eyewitnesses and others were strikingly similar to accounts of Serbian atrocities against Muslim Slavs and Croats that had been given elsewhere in this former Yugoslav republic.

Imposition of United Nations Sanctions

Last week, accounts of Serbian atrocities played a major role in prompting the United Nations Security Council to punish Serbia with the most sweeping economic and other sanctions it has ever imposed, including a trade embargo, a ban on oil sales to the Belgrade Government, and an end to all sports and cultural links.

Senior officials of several Western governments, including Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, cited efforts

by Serb militants to achieve what they call ethnically-cleansed territories, as a major reason for isolating Serbia and forcing its compliance in ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The accounts given today by Serbs from the region around Bradina, a village 25 miles southwest of Sarajevo, appeared to confirm that some Muslim Slav and Croat groups, who have made a loose alliance in the fight against the Serbian forces, have been using similar tactics to clear Serbian civilians from other contested areas in the republic.

The assertion by Zeljko Gligorevic, a 28-year-old clerical worker from Bradina, that Muslim Slav gunmen had executed some men in the village after forcing them to say Muslim prayers also seemed to lend support to Serbian assertions that some Muslim Slavs,

who are the largest ethnic group in the republic, want to turn Bosnia and Herzegovina into an Islamic state.

Journey Over Mountains

Mr. Gligorevic reached the Sarajevo suburb of Ilidza on Tuesday after what he said had been a 50-mile trek across the mountains from Bradina, during which, he said, he was shot twice in the thigh by men he said were Muslim Slav fighters with automatic rifles.

Western reporters who spoke with him at a Serbian home in Ilidza were taken to see him after they had learned of the Bradina incident and of the herding of Serb survivors into the railway tunnel, from other Serbs. These included Col. Tomislav Spicic, the army colonel who commands Serbian forces in the region that includes Bradina, and a Serbian reporter raised in Bradina who said that he had been given details of the tunnel incident by a Croat acquaintance in the region whom he had reached by telephone.

In the Serbian colonel's account, about 3,000 people were held in the tunnel, from Bradina and at least five other villages with Serbian populations in the area, including Brdjani, Donje Selo, Konjic, Pazarcic and Tarcin. The Serbian reporter said the number he had been given was 2,000 to 4,000.

Exaggerated Reports

In dozens of other reports of incidents of terror in the two-month-old war in Bosnia, the numbers of those alleged to have been killed, wounded or otherwise mistreated have sometimes proven exaggerated as the facts emerged. However, the involvement of several villages suggested that the number of people taken to the tunnel could easily have run into the hundreds.

The fact that villagers were held in the railway tunnel was confirmed when Serbian requests for intervention that

him that she had seen the executions.

"She said that she saw the Muslim men going from house to house, pulling out men who were hiding and taking them to an administration building in the village," he said. "She heard them saying these prayers, 'Allah Akhbar,' and then the shots and they were dead."

Like other Serbs who relayed accounts of the attack, Mr. Gligorevic said that he had lost contact with most members of his family, including his father, mother and 23-year-old pregnant sister, and feared that if they had survived they were now in what he called "concentration camps." This is a term used by several of the Serbs to describe two internment camps that they said had been set up by the Muslim Slav and Croat forces in an unused military barracks at Konjic, a town

Corrections

A brief article in Business Day on Monday about Coca-Cola's plans in Eastern and Central Europe misstated its investment intentions. In the next three years the company plans to invest nearly \$1 billion in the region in addition to what it has already committed.

A chart in Business Day yesterday with an article about Bristol-Myers Squibb's stock misstated the day's closing price. It was \$66.875, down \$6.875.

An article in Business Day on Tuesday about Olympia & York's loan troubles misstated the amount of a loan made by the Swedish bank Svenska Handelsbanken. It was \$9.4 million, not \$20 million.

A theater listing on May 17 in the special Summer Arts section mis-

identified a company performing at Guild Hall in East Hampton, L.I., and referred incorrectly to the scheduled plays. The company is the Actors Studio; it will present only one play by Joyce Carol Oates, and the Arthur Miller play to be presented is not a premiere.

Another listing misidentified a theater company in Tucson, Ariz., that will present "Hay Fever" and "Light Up the Sky." It is the University of Arizona theater arts department, not the Arizona Theater Company.

A brief report in The Living Section yesterday about schedules of short-wave programs, with an article on the broadcasts' increasing audience, misstated the frequencies that get the best reception at night. The most useful frequencies after dark are below 9 megahertz (MHz).



The New York Times

Serbs near Bradina told of atrocities by Muslims and Croats.

The Fine Art of French Lu

Become a connoisseur of the best France has to offer, at Bergdorf Goodman on Seventh Avenue.

Thursday, June 11am

ROBERT LYNCH

about 12 miles south of Bradina, and at Butorovic Polje, another town about 10 miles farther south. Other Serbs said that they believed that the people taken from the railway tunnel were also now held at these camps.

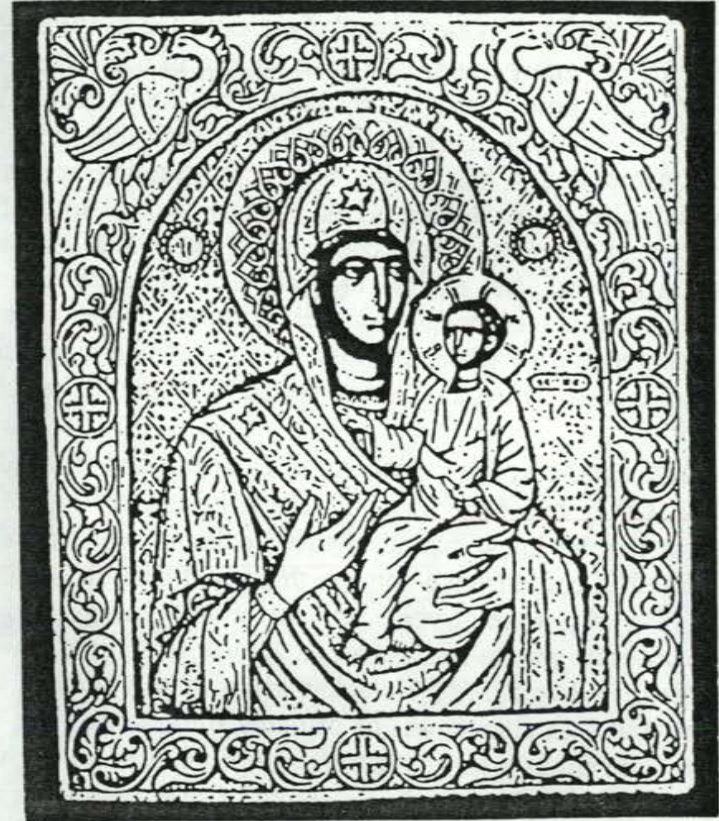
As was the case with Muslim Slavs who survived similar atrocities by Ser-

bian gunmen in areas of eastern Bosnia adjacent to Serbia, Mr. Gligorevic's account was given with a striking lack of bitterness against Muslim Slavs, with whom he said he had played as a child, shared school classrooms with in Bradina and accompanied to local football games.

ST. MARY'S MESSENGER

JUNE, JULY, AUGUST 1992

RECEIVED JUN 17 1992



SAINT MARY'S ORTHODOX CHURCH

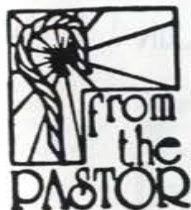
909 SHAWAN ROAD P.O.BOX 594
HUNT VALLEY, MARYLAND 21030
301-785-0909
SUNDAY DIVINE LITURGY 10:30

SAINT MARY'S ORTHODOX CHURCH
909 SHAWAN ROAD
P.O. BOX 594
HUNT VALLEY, MARYLAND 21030

TO:

The Hon. Helen Delich Bentley
408 Chapelwood Ln.
Lutherville,, MD 21093





Recently I was asked to act as a judge in an oratorical festival for Orthodox youth. Although the time limit learned about the young people that spoke as well as in so many cases, where the emphasis was placed in the home.

One young lady proceeded to speak of so many things that were wrong in our society and how it was to be blamed on the parents. You could easily tell from her speech that there was

a strained relationship within her home. She kept stressing how most parents do not listen to their children. Her oration seemed to confirm that in her household there was little communication. She constantly blamed parents in general, but refused to accept or even mention that young people must also be responsible for their actions! Never once did she speak of a shared blame when it comes to lack of communication. It was sort of sad to hear this young person speak and seem to be full of hurt and anger.

In contrast another young person stood to speak and thanked his parents for all that they had done for him. He admitted that he did not always agree, but that he knew that all of their decisions were made out of love. He seemed to come from a home with a great deal of sharing and understanding. Even his tone of voice was different. I might add that the topic of the orations was to be, "As an Orthodox Christian, how can I make Christ Real in My Life?" He acknowledged that prayers were said in his home and that church was of primary importance. He even stated that there were times when he really did not want to go to church and that his parents made him attend. He spoke of how he was thankful for their insistence, because he had through his attendance made lasting friendships and found that coming to church brought him closer to God and to his own parents. The love in this family was evident.

Think of the first orator. She did not even mention Christ or the church in her speech. Imagine that in a church sponsored oratorical contest with the topic pre-determined.

This contrast of orations seemed to confirm that when parents take charge with love and with God as a priority, the child seems to focus in a more proper manner.

THE OFFERING OF HOLY BREAD

ANYONE WITH IN THE CHURCH CAN OFFER THE HOLY BREAD. IT CAN BE OFFERED IN MEMORY OF A LOVED ONE, FOR THE HEALTH OF FAMILY OR FRIENDS, OR FOR A SPECIAL OCCASION SUCH AS A BIRTH DAY OR SPECIAL ANNIVERSARY. IF YOU CHOOSE TO MAKE THE BREAD THAT IS FINE. IF YOU DO NOT KNOW HOW, WE CAN SUPPLY YOU WITH A RECIPE OR WE CAN ARRANGE TO HAVE IT BAKED FOR YOU. THE OFFERING OF HOLY BREAD IS A HOLY AND BEAUTIFUL TRADITION WITHIN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO OFFER THE HOLY BREAD PLEASE CALL THE HOLY BREAD OFFERING COORDINATOR, LORETTA JASMAN, AT 435-6814 OR THE CHURCH OFFICE AT 785-0909

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IN MEMORY OF _____
FOR THE HEALTH OF _____
DATE DESIRED _____

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CHURCH

P.O. BOX 594

HUNT VALLEY, MARYLAND 21030

VOLUNTARY DONATION \$ _____

EDITOR'S NOTES

Well its that time again, our second newsletter. We are sad to report that we are still waiting to here your suggestions. Also those who are responsible for the articles in which we feature in our newsletter and those who submit information please have those in by the 15th. As always thank you for your support and welcomed suggestions.

Dee Jadra-584-2757

Rhonda Kritsings-356-6918

CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

PARISH COUNCIL - MATTI KASSIR...825-8035
LADIES SOCIETY - DIANA ZAMARIC...833-5353
TEEN SOY O - JOSEPH MUFAREH...882-9291
SUNDAY SCHOOL - TERESA ROMLEY...561-1008
CHOIR - JACKIE ORKIN...628-6407
BREAD COORDINATOR - LORETTA JASMAN...435-6814
EDITOR OF NEWSLETTER - DEE JADRA...584-2757
RHONDA KRITSINGS...356-6918
FATHER GEORGE...561-1008

DIRECTIONS TO ST. MARRY'S

TAKE 695 (BALT. BELTWAY) TO I-83 NORTH
(TIMONIUM, YORK, PA) CONTINUE NORTH ABOUT 3
MILES, TO EXIT 20B SHAWAN RD, WEST. FOR
ABOUT 1/2 MILE TO 909 SHAWAN RD. THE CHURCH
IS ON THE LEFT

What's Going On!

Dr. & Mrs. Tawfig Chami, Congradulations on the birth of a new baby daughter, Laila. May god grant her many happy and healthy years.

Congradulations to Andrew M^c Iver on his graduation from Dulaney High School.

Joseph Barrouh, graduating from Calvert Hall on May 30. Entering Towson State in the fall.

Linda Kfoury and Scott Hetherington married at paca house in Annapolis on May 2

Jasman, Our granddaughters

Patricia Brozik, Graduating from Towson State University with a degree of Bachelor of Science in Visual Communications arts on May 24

Valerie Brozik, graduating from High School. Will attend Villa Julie College in September

Congradulations to Joseph Mufareh, our head alter server and son of Jacob and Suad Mufareh on his recent election victory as Student Council President of Calvert Hall. Good Luck Joseph and we are all proud of you!!!

Dr. Samir Zamaria announces the opening of his office at 61E. Padonia Road in Timonium Maryland. Dr. Zamaria has taken over the OB-GYN practice of Dr. Ann Panayis. For more information please call 252-1319. We wish Samis all the best!!!

Congradulations to Linda Sawiris on the recent marrage of her daughter Jack to Mr. Andrew Burnet. We wish them many healthy, happy and prosperous years together.

The Nabih Jabaji Family is proud to announce the opening of their new store on Broadway in Fells Point. The store known as Ofamia, and feature gift items from the Holy Land.

Recently baptized and received into the Holy Orthodox faith are Pamela Wahbe wife of Sam Wahbe and thei8r two twin daughters Nada and Elizabeth, as well as their son Paul Nicholas.

Also recently brought into the Orthodox faith on Holy Easter eventing was Mark Cservenyak. May God bless him and Welcome him to our Saint Mary Community.

Special thanks to Dr. David and Steven Mc Carus for selling 90 Bull and Oyster Roast ticket.

Thanks are also in order to David Rudovsky who donated an entire Saturday to make needed carpentry repair and general maintenance.

Our thanks and appreciation to Dr. and Mrs. Truman Soudah and Family for the beautiful icon of the Virgin Mary that hangs in our conference and Sunday school room. We know that she will watch over our dear children as they study their lessons.

Jennifer Stika graduates Hereford High School and will be attending pre-school at Elon College in North Carolina. Good Luck Jennifer and we are all proud of you!!!

LADIES SOCIETY NEWS

The ladies society would like to thank all the parishness who participated in the Arabic Pastry Sale. As usual we can count on your support.

These events are important to the church as a means of fund raising to ensure the survival and growth of our parish.

Our next event is a bake sale following the liturgy on June 7, 1992. Home baked goods will be offered for sale, a delicious way to end morning prayers.

The ladies society is also having a flea market-white elephant sale on Saturday June 20, 1992. A variety of items as well as refreshments will be sold. The event takes place in the church parking lot from 9:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. **ALL ARE WELCOME.**

Anyone that has any donations (no clothing please) can call Diana Zamaria at 833-5353.

A costume jewelry sale is also on the agenda featuring the up to the minute designs of Mira Zebagy and creations from New York.

Our annual Hafli will take place on Saturday September 26, 1992. Ladies get your high heels ready and your men polish your shoes. A good time will be had by all.

Sponsors are needed for the coffee hour following Sunday liturgies. Refreshments can be arranged if you are unable to provide them - a donation to cover the costs is requested. For further information contact Diana Zamaria at 833-5353.

We appreciate your support and help in this matter. Sponsors will be mentioned in the church bulletin in recognition for their thoughtfulness.

Holy bread offerings are not related to the coffee hour refreshments. And those offerings should be brought to the attention of Father George.

Again we thank you for your support in helping us help our church. God bless you.

1992		AUGUST							1992	
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY				
2	3	4	5	6	7	8			1	
9	10	11	12 COUNCIL	13	14	15				
16	17 LADIES MEETING	18	19	20	21	22				
23/30	24/31	25	26	27	28	29				

1992		JULY						1992	
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY			
			1	2	3	4			
5	6	7	8 COUNCIL	9	10	11			
12	13	14	15	16	17	18			
19	20 NO LADIES	21	22	23	24	25			
26	27	28	29	30	31				

MENS FELLOWSHIP

7th Annual Men's Fellowship Club Bull and Oyster Roast

On Sunday, May 17, 1992, a record crowd in excess of 200 people attended the 7th Annual Men's Fellowship Club Bull and Oyster Roast. As usual the food was plentiful and delicious, thanks to our famous caterer, Jerry Di.

Dance music was provided by our great DJ, Jim Kelly and all in attendance enjoyed great songs of years gone by as well as the latest hit tunes.

The event has been such an overwhelming success for seven years in a row, that we are considering possibly hosting two next year.

A special thanks is extended to all of those who helped with set-up, clean-up, booth manning and many other unseen tasks.

For those who missed this years event, you truly missed out on a great afternoon of fun and fellowship. Those who were fortunate enough to be there, now know why this event has become known as, "The Best Roast From Coast to Coast!"

SUNDAY SCHOOL

Another year of Sunday School has come to a close and the children that attended regularly not only learned about their Holy Orthodox Faith, but made new freinds and became closer to Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I Would like to take this opportunity to thank our dedicated teachers, Lena Mroz, Cheryl McCarus, Hala Jabaji, hala Karkar and Tereasa Romley. We also are in need of additional teachers next year due to the growing numbers of children in our Sunday. Not only do we need teachers, but also a group of substitutes to fill in on Sundays when a member of our regular teaching staff will not be in.

Again thanks to our staff and the parents of our students. More information will follow on our new session that begins in mid September.

Teresa Romley

CHOIR NOTES

The choir continues to improve and I want to take this chance to thank all of our dedicated and hardworking choir members. We will soon be learning some new music and again striving to perfect the standard music that we use each Sunday.

In order for the choir to continue to improve, it is crucial that we recruit more voices. We know that we have many capable singers because we hear them singing along with us each Sunday. Help your church, sing praises to God and have a good time; join the choir! You may see me for details after church services.

Jackie Orkin
Choir Director

1992		JUNE							1992	
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY				
	1	2	3	4	5	6				
7 BAKE SALE	8	9	10 COUNCIL	11	12	13				
14	15 LADIES	16	17	18	19	20 FLEA MARKET 9-3				
21	22 MEETING	23	24	25	26	27				
28	29	30								

ST. MARY'S ORTHODOX CHURCH

PARISH COUNCIL HIGHLIGHTS March - May

1. The Council elected its officers for 1992 at the February and March meetings. The five officers were all re-elected: Matti Kassir as Council Chairman, Jerry Sackleh as Vice-Chairman, Greg Saba as Treasurer, Ed Berman as Recording Secretary, and Ramon Jadra as Corresponding Secretary. Also Cheryl McCarus was asked to serve on the Council as Sunday School Director in addition to serving by election of the parish.
2. A new parish membership list has been developed which contains the names of 58 families which have pledged to our church. A copy of this list is available from Fr. George.
3. The Council agreed to plan ahead to celebrate our 25th anniversary as a parish in 1993. A date in September or October was suggested so that it could be celebrated in conjunction with our Annual Hafli. Fr. said that he would write to Metropolitan Philip in order to request his attendance.
4. The March 9 hearing date for the Special Exception for our property's zoning has been postponed. This Exception is necessary in order to allow tenants to hold catered affairs at our Hall. Our tenant Chef's Expressions catering service would like to renew his lease for our Hall, but the Council cannot negotiate such a renewal until the Exception matter is resolved.
5. Ladies Society President Diane Zamaria noted that the Ladies had a \$200 deficit last year in providing the Church refreshments after Liturgy. The Ladies believe that this should not be their sole responsibility, but should basically be provided by members of the Congregation. It was agreed that a greater effort needs to be made in getting people to sign up both to offer the Holy Bread and/or provide the refreshments after Liturgy. Sign-ups boards will be set up.

Respectfully submitted,

Ed Berman, Recording Secretary

THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIA

Political status: Declared independence June 1991; recognized by U.S. and EC; member of U.N. and CSCE

Capital: Ljubljana

Government: Parliamentary system with President Milan Kucan and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek

Population: 2.0 million

Ethnicity: 91% Slovene; 3% Croat; 2% Serb; also Italians and Hungarians

Religion: Primarily Roman Catholic

Refugees: 65,000

Military situation: Serbian-led federal army intervened after secession, but withdrew following cease-fire; monitored by U.N. peacekeepers

CROATIA

Political status: Declared independence June 1991; recognized by U.S. and EC; member of U.N. and CSCE

Capital: Zagreb

Government: Presidential system with President Franjo Tudjman

Population: 4.8 million

Ethnicity: 79% Croat; 12% Serb; 2% Yugoslav

Religion: Primarily Roman Catholic, with Eastern Orthodox

Refugees: 650,000

Military situation: One-third of territory controlled by Serbian irregular forces; cease-fire observed by approx. 14,000 U.N. peacekeeping forces (Croatian forces control about one-third of Bosnian territory)

Refugees leaving Yugoslavia (in addition to those moving within Yugoslavia) have fled to Germany (275,000), Hungary (60,000), Austria (50,000), Sweden (40,000), Switzerland (40,000), and Italy (1,700)

YUGOSLAVIA

Political status: The "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," formed in April 1992, is composed of Serbia and Montenegro, and Serbia's two autonomous provinces (Kosovo has declared independence). The "rump" state is represented in U.N. by the pre-war Yugoslav ambassador, but is not recognized by the U.N., U.S. or EC, and is subject to U.N. sanctions.

Capital: Belgrade

Population: 10.3 million

Government: Federation with Prime Minister Milan Panic and President Dobrica Cosic

Military situation: Serbia has announced that all federal forces are being withdrawn into Serbian territory, although Belgrade continues to exert power over Serb irregular forces in Bosnia and Croatia

SERBIA

Capital: Belgrade

Government: Presidential system with President Slobodan Milosevic

Population: 5.8 million

Ethnicity: 85% Serb; 5% Yugoslav; 3% Muslim; 2% Montenegrin; 2% Gypsy

Religion: Primarily Eastern Orthodox

Refugees: 350,000

Vojvodina

Political status: Autonomous province controlled by Serbia; no independence movement

Capital: Novi Sad

Population: 1.9 million

Ethnicity: 65% Serb; 20% Hungarian; 5% Croat; 3% Slovak; 2% Romanian

Religion: Primarily Eastern Orthodox, with Roman Catholic

Kosovo

Political status: Autonomous province controlled by Serbia; declared independence September 1991, but not recognized by world community

Capital: Pristina

Government: President Ibrahim Rugova elected to head ethnic Albanian government; Serbs dominate institutions

Population: 2.0 million

Ethnicity: 82% Albanian; 10% Serb; 3% Muslim; 2% Gypsy

Religion: Primarily Muslim

MONTENEGRO

Political status: Montenegrins voted in February 1992 to join Serbia in new federation

Capital: Titograd

Government: Presidential system with President Momir Bulatovic

Population: 610,000

Ethnicity: 69% Montenegrin; 13% Muslim; 7% Albanian; 5% Yugoslav; 3% Serb

Religion: Primarily Eastern Orthodox, with Muslim

Refugees: 50,000

Notes: Population and ethnic data is from preliminary 1991 census, from CIA and U.S. Census Bureau. Yugoslavians were given choice in 1981 census of listing their ethnicity "Muslim," although it is technically not an ethnic group; and were given choice of "Yugoslav" if they didn't want to list Serb, Croat, etc. Refugees in country are from all areas of the former Yugoslavia, as taken from UNHCR data as reported in the press. Other data is from CRS, the U.N., Helsinki Watch, the Helsinki Commission, and press reports.

THE WAR AT A GLANCE

Since June 1991, what was one nation of 24 million people has broken into at least five new states and seen almost 10 secessionist movements. The violent Croatian and Bosnian conflicts, as well as sporadic violence in all other republics, have left more than 50,000 dead, brought hundreds of thousands to the brink of starvation, and caused the flight of over two million refugees.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Political status: Declared independence March 1992; recognized by U.S. and EC; member of U.N. and CSCE

Capital: Sarajevo

Government: Parliamentary system with President Alija Izetbegovic

Population: 4.4 million

Ethnicity: 44% Muslim; 31% Serb; 17% Croat

Religion: Muslim, Eastern Orthodox, and Roman Catholic

Refugees: 600,000

Military situation: Two-thirds of territory controlled by Serbian irregular forces; one-third controlled by Croatian forces; Izetbegovic government essentially controls only four cities (Sarajevo, Gorozde, Tuzla and Bihac); about 1,000 U.N. peacekeepers in Sarajevo protect relief operations

MACEDONIA

Political status: Declared independence September 1991; not recognized by U.S., EC or U.N., due to Greece's objection to the republic's name; is recognized by Turkey and Bulgaria, of countries in the region

Capital: Skopje

Government: Presidential system with President Kiro Gligorov and Prime Minister Petar Gosev

Population: 2.0 million

Ethnicity: 69% Macedonian; 20% Albanian; 5% Turk; 2% Muslim; 2% Gypsy; 2% Serb

Religion: Primarily Eastern Orthodox, with Muslim

Refugees: 30,000

Military situation: Serbian-led federal army withdrew April 1992; republic forming own 10,000-man force; Albanians threatening to secede

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TASK FORCE ON TERRORISM &
UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE
HOUSE REPUBLICAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

Executive Summary
IRAN, SYRIA AND THE
TRAIL OF COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS
July 1, 1992

VAUGHN S. FORREST
CHIEF OF STAFF
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DIRECTOR
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LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
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EDITOR
SCOTT BRENNER
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

1622 LONGWORTH BUILDING
202/225-0871

- The Iranian Government, in cooperation with Syria, has undertaken a massive counterfeiting campaign in order to alleviate their financial difficulties and pursue economic warfare against the West.
- The origins of this strategy go back to Iran's efforts to rebuild its economy in the wake of the Iran-Iraq War. When it became apparent that Iran's exports could not meet its hard currency needs, the plan for a counterfeiting operation was devised.
- As Iran's counterfeiting campaign was expanded, Teheran began to look toward Syria and its terrorist and drug connections for other outlets with which to circulate its counterfeit dollars.
- Utilizing the expertise that Iran had developed during the Shah's Government for the manufacture of currency, the Khomeyni regime was able to develop sophisticated printing techniques that generated nearly perfect duplicates of American currency.
- The counterfeit currency distributed by Iran, Syria and their agents, is infiltrated into the international marketplace through drug money laundering by banks. The currency is first tested locally in the Middle East and is then expanded to Europe, and ultimately, with the aid of HizbAllah networks, the United States.
- In addition to circulating counterfeit currency through the drug network, Iran also passes the currency throughout the former Soviet Central Asian Republics, often by offering it as bribe money to local officials.
- It is estimated that the potential is there for billions of dollars in counterfeit currency to soon be in circulation, mainly outside the US banking system. Evidence in this report supports estimates that such sums may already be in circulation. Although the exact figure cannot be determined, the implications for the dollar's role as the international medium of exchange could be serious.

BILL McCOLLUM, FLORIDA
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1622 LONGWORTH BUILDING
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IRAN, SYRIA AND THE TRAIL
OF COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS

July 1, 1992

Evidence has recently come to light that the governments of Iran and Syria are actively engaged in economic warfare against the United States through the production and dissemination of high quality counterfeit dollar bills, primarily in \$100 denominations. The objective of this campaign is twofold: (1) To alleviate the dire financial crises in both Iran and Syria, and (2) To destabilize the United States' economy by undermining confidence in the dollar. In executing this strategy, the actual smuggling of the bogus currency and its distribution to international financial centers has been carried out via the international terrorist networks that Iran and Syria control.

The decision to embark on a campaign of counterfeiting high quality dollar bills was reached in Syria and Iran in 1989-1990, as both governments became aware of an impending shortage of hard currency. Both Damascus and Teheran realized that the shortfall in hard currency assets could not be made up through the conventional export of goods, and since both typically were not granted easy credit and loans in the international market, there was no way to meet the crisis.

In the meantime, by the late 1980's, Syria and Iran were already involved in the international drug trade, with revenues from illicit activities constituting a sizeable fraction of their GDPs. For example, in the period running from 1987 to 1990, the average direct annual income to various Syrian government agencies from the illegal drug trade was about \$500 - \$700 million. With other indirect and complementary income included, a total of up to \$1 billion reached the Syrian Treasury in 1991 alone. This sum constitutes about 10% of the Syrian GDP. In addition, key Syrian officials have derived immense personal fortunes from skimming off of the top the assets brought in by drug transactions. Thus, Damascus and Teheran began to realize

that criminal activity would be profitable to their national treasuries.

This fact fit neatly with the Iranian view that the United States was a land preoccupied with the adulation and worship of money. Thus, Majid Anaraki, an Iranian Hizbollahi who had lived several years in southern California, described the United States as "a collection of casinos, supermarkets and whore-houses linked together by endless highways passing through nowhere," all dominated and motivated by the lust for money. "Those people in the West will put their own mothers on auction for profit," explained Behzad Nabavi, then Iran's Minister of Heavy Industries. Indeed, Khomeyni himself pointed out that the Western preoccupation with the quest for money makes "prostitution a community's way of life."

Little wonder, therefore, that in the aftermath of years of intense propaganda of this type, itself an outgrowth of Iran's ideological crusade against the West, several Iranian officials came to believe that, by hurting the American financial system, they would be striking at the very soul of the United States.

In any case, by the late 1980's, Iran was facing a severe financial crisis. In the aftermath of the war with Iraq, Iran was faced with a massive rebuilding effort. The direct and indirect costs of the Iran-Iraq War came to more than \$600 billion. Thus, Teheran embarked on a "Reconstruction Jihad" as its primary national goal. In this context, the Iranian assessment of foreign currency needs for the 1989-1993 five year plan called for a foreign currency budget of \$22.4 billion a year, including \$6.5 billion for industrial rejuvenation, \$3 to \$4 billion for security costs, \$4.5 billion for food imports, and \$1 billion for scholarships and diplomatic expenditures. This came to a total of \$15 to \$16 billion in declared expenditures.

Meanwhile, a continued decline in oil prices further complicated the Iranian financial situation. In its 5 year plan, Teheran had already anticipated only \$13 billion in annual oil revenues on the basis of a price of \$19 a barrel. However, by 1992, oil prices had dropped to \$16 a barrel, further aggravating Teheran's financial difficulties.

Consequently, Teheran was anticipating an annual deficit of \$9.4 billion in its hard currency requirements. (The non-oil hard currency revenues, officially some \$1 to \$1.5 billion comes mainly from servicing foreign debt to Iran by Islamic and Third World countries - money that Iran does not really receive.) Thus, it appeared to Teheran that there would be no getting around having to borrow under harsh terms. Indeed, by early 1992, Iran's foreign debt reached

some \$34 billion, with no indication of a reduction in the growth of the national deficit.

In the meantime, Teheran was developing an even more ambitious hidden agenda, namely the resurrection of Iran as a regional power. Toward that end, Iran embarked on a multitude of national strategic projects ranging from the development and acquisition of nuclear and other strategic weapons, to a massive modernization and build-up of conventional forces, to a marked increase in the financing of Islamist revolutionary activities, including terrorism and subversion. Taken together, in order to expedite this strategic build-up, Teheran allocated vast hard currency sums, estimated at \$10 billion between March 1990 and November 1991. This money was appropriated outside the official budget.

Furthermore, Iran simultaneously undertook a major campaign to win over the former Soviet Central Asian Republics to its diplomatic and economic orbit, a project requiring massive financial commitments. A large portion of this money, already estimated at several billion dollars, was also appropriated outside the national budget.

Thus, as of 1989, Teheran was in dire need of large quantities of hard currency for the pursuit of its national strategic agenda, as well as for the Reconstruction Jihad. Teheran's financial needs exceeded \$10 billion a year, and there no viable source for this money seemed forthcoming, especially not for the funds needed to further Iran's overall grand strategy.

Little wonder, therefore, that the Iranian leadership, including President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, reached the conclusion that only drastic and unconventional steps could bring about a solution to Iran's financial problems. Thus, the Iranian government's decision was to print high quality counterfeit American currency. Such a step would both provide Iran with some desperately needed hard currency while, at the same time, causing tremendous damage to the American economy.

Thus, Teheran committed itself to undertake this project by early 1990, and almost immediately, the IRGC Intelligence and SAVAMA began dispatching senior operatives to the West to search for and buy needed items to implement the plan. Meanwhile, high level negotiations began with Syria to obtain the use and expansion of their drug smuggling networks and connections in order to distribute some of the counterfeit money.

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Iran and its allies produce and distribute the counterfeit US banknotes in three qualities ranging from extremely high quality to medium and to low, the last of which is, despite its designation, quite good. Special attention is paid to the high quality \$100 bills because these are employed directly against the American banking system. (Smaller quantities of \$20 bills are also being produced.) The low and medium quality bills, both \$100's and \$20's, also constitute a strategic threat to the United States because of the nature of their use.

The difference in the quality of the forgeries is also reflected in their price. In Beirut, the last safe distribution point to the West, the price of the high quality counterfeits is 40 cents on the dollar for on-site delivery, and 60 cents on the dollar for delivery to the ultimate destination. These prices apply to key Lebanese distributors, such as Abdul Annan, operating under the direct patronage of Syrian Intelligence. Despite their relatively high price, the high quality counterfeit dollars are most popular because of the ease with which they can be deposited in major banks in the West, including the United States.

The high quality counterfeit \$100 bills are printed in the Iranian official mint in Teheran, using equipment and know-how purchased from the United States during the reign of the Shah. Seeking to establish the Iranian currency, the rial, as the region's hard currency, the Shah acquired from the United States quality equipment for currency printing and sent its experts to study the latest money making techniques with the United States Treasury Department. Consequently, Iran had developed a cadre of experts familiar with Western currency printing techniques by the late 1970's.

After the Khomeyni revolution, these experts continued to serve Teheran. Needless to say, the expertise acquired by Teheran during the Shah's government is reflected in the quality of the Iranian banknotes that were issued both before and after the revolution. These notes clearly show a high order of workmanship. The Iranian experts were also able to remove water marks and other US-style safety precautions and instead introduce fine calligraphy and complex graphics to Iran's currency. Indeed, the quality and technical complexity of Iran's banknotes testifies to the fact that from the very beginning, the Khomeyni regime has retained highly skilled Iranian print technicians and artists at its national mint.

These artists and other experts are now employed in the printing and production of American \$100 bills. Indeed, Israeli officials stated that these "dollars" are being

printed on "high tech, state owned presses with paper acquired only by governments." These are made with US built high speed precision printing machines located in the Central Bank Print Installation on Shohada street in Tehran, and the handling of the notes is completed in a secure compound just outside Teheran on the road to Merhabad airport.

In addition, since early 1990, IRGC Intelligence has sent some of its senior operatives to shop for specialized items, primarily paper, in Western Europe. For example, Hassan Mashhadi Ahawashi, who is currently Iran's ambassador to the disarmament talks in Geneva, is also a senior official of IRGC Intelligence. In 1990, he was in charge of the purchase of high quality paper in Europe and made one deal for very specific paper. However, although the paper fit the official specifications given to the producer, IRGC Intelligence rejected the deal because the paper was found not suitable "for the real objective/mission for which [it was] purchased." (Teheran, needless to say, was angry that Ahawashi had not paid attention to the hidden, yet highly important, agenda in paper acquisition.)

Nevertheless, by the end of 1990, Iran had acquired sufficient quantities of specialized paper to permit a complex process of reverse engineering. Consequently, some of the paper, primarily for the medium quality counterfeits, is now being produced in a large factory just outside Teheran. The high quality notes are printed on a combination of imported and locally produced paper, with the local paper gradually becoming the dominant material.

The plates used for the \$100 bills are virtually perfect and are used for all the counterfeits. The ink is almost always of extremely high quality, and the specialized ink is mixed in the laboratories of the national mint in Teheran by chemists who had studied in the United States. The design, engraving, ink mixing and other preparatory activities are conducted in a central facility between Takhte-e Tavoos Street and Takhte-e Jamshid Street in Teheran.

The main difference in counterfeit quality as compared to genuine dollars can be seen in the thickness of the paper and the strength of the press of the crown and series-letter on the bill. These differences are mainly felt on brand new bills, but are less apparent on much used bills. In addition, low quality \$100 and \$20 bills are also printed on thin and flat paper. These counterfeits are produced in the Bekkaa valley of Lebanon for operational use in the Middle East and the Third World, mainly sub-Saharan Africa, to supplement the demand for bribery cash whenever Iranian high quality paper is not available. (The HizbAllah developed and currently runs this "forgery industry" in the Bekkaa.)

The initial distribution of the counterfeit money is centrally controlled by the highest levels of the Syrian Government, with the actual handling of the currency being conducted by Military Intelligence from Lebanon.

The direct supervision over the counterfeit dollars can be traced to General Muhammad al-Khouli, the head of the Syrian Presidential Security Council. Since General Khouli is the senior confidant and special messenger of President Hafiz al-Assad, it is unlikely that he would undertake even the smallest move without direct approval from the President. (Until recently, General Khouli was the all-powerful head of Air Force Intelligence and was in direct control of international terrorist operations in the West, especially Europe. In particular, Khouli has directed such key operations as the bombing of the LaBelle Disco, the attempted bombing of an El Al Boeing 747 in London, and the destruction of Pan Am Flight 103. Further, by January 1986, Khouli had already claimed to have directed 29 terrorist operations in the West.)

The actual control of the smuggling operations, as well as related drug affairs, are conducted through Military Intelligence, under the personal supervision of its commander, General 'Ali Duba. General Duba, the head of the Syrian Military Intelligence and Security Forces, and a close Assad associate, runs a very tight organization. (For example, it was Duba who determined the extent of the involvement of Syrian Intelligence personnel in all criminal activities in Lebanon and Syria.) Moreover, for several years now, General Duba has directly coordinated the main financial transactions of drug money for the benefit of the Syrian Treasury and his own pocket book. This responsibility was expanded in 1990-1991 to include the handling of profits from the counterfeiting operations.

Thus, boxes full of Teheran-made counterfeit dollar bills are flown to Damascus on the Iran Air special weekly flights that also bring equipment and other goods for Syrian Intelligence, the HizbAllah, and other terrorist organizations. The Boeing 747 is unloaded in a secluded area of the Damascus airport. From there, the counterfeit money is delivered in bulk to Zabadani, the Iranian forward base in Syria that is being jointly run with Syrian Intelligence. After this, the counterfeit cash is packed in small quantities and prepared for further delivery overseas via Lebanon based networks. (See Figure 1.)

It is in Zabadani that Syrian Military Intelligence assumes direct control over the operation. The Syrians orchestrate and oversee the delivery of the counterfeit money from Zabadani to the smuggling networks in the Bekkaa and Beirut.

These networks are already tightly controlled by Syrian intelligence and are committed to drug smuggling, as well as weapons and other smuggling operations for Syrian and Iranian international terrorist groups.

The man who actually runs the counterfeit money smuggling operations in and out of Lebanon is Brigadier General Ghazi Kan'an, officially the head of the Syrian Security and Intelligence branch in Lebanon, and in effect the Syrian viceroy in Lebanon. Ghazi essentially controls all activities on the ground through political patronage and the issuing of passes, some personally signed by him, from Syrian security authorities in Lebanon. Such a pass permits the bearer "to pass freely, with his personal weapon and merchandise, within the physical area of Lebanon, for security reasons." (See Figure 2.) Although sanctioned by Damascus to insure tight control over the smuggling operations, these passes still cost the smugglers large sums of cash, the proceeds from which go both to the Syrian Government and to the official signing the pass.

In any case, the most important Lebanon based networks smuggling the counterfeit dollars have evolved from the international networks that are already involved in the smuggling heroin and cocaine. These networks operate under the tight control of, and with extensive assistance from, Syrian Military Intelligence. Indeed, senior officers take direct part in facilitating the safe shipment of counterfeit bills from Lebanon.

For example, the operations of Muhammad Rahal of West Beirut and his overseas agent, Jamal Muhammad al-Marsi, a.k.a. Senegal, could not have taken place without Syrian assistance. Rahal smuggles large quantities of counterfeit dollars that are hidden inside Italian furniture he imports to Beirut. After modifications are made to the furniture to transport the counterfeit money, Rahal exports the furniture to the United Arab Emirates, from where al-Marsi reships both the money and the furniture to their final destination. The entire Beirut operation is run and coordinated by Syrian Intelligence.

Al-Marsi has close relations with Rustum Ghazalah, the commander of Syrian Intelligence in the Beirut area, who acts as a patron to the Rahal activities. Indeed, Colonel Hani al-Ali, Ghazalah's special aid, personally supervises the safe loading and shipment of the Rahal furniture in Beirut International Airport, making sure that there are no inspections or other interference.

Another major player involved in large-scale high quality counterfeit dollar distribution is the Keyrouz clan of Dir

al-Ahmar, long notorious as a major drug dealer and personal protege of Gens. Tlass, Duba, and Kan'an. Recently, two members of the Keyrouz clan, Hanna and Georges (Giryas), offered to sell \$100,000 in high quality fake \$100 bills for a lump sum of \$50,000. The involvement of the Keyrouz clan is of crucial significance because the heads of the clan were among the Lebanese mediators responsible for the first contacts leading to a deal between Syria and the Medelline drug cartel. (For details, see the GOP Task Force Report on Narco-terrorism.) Thus, the Keyrouz clan now capitalizes on its contacts with international drug cartels to assist in the distribution and laundering of large sums of high quality counterfeit money, especially in Latin America and the United States.

A significant portion of the counterfeit dollar bills are being distributed on behalf of Iran by HizbAllah networks as part of their smuggling and logistical efforts. HizbAllah uses well established networks with proven records of success in smuggling drugs, weapons and explosives, as well as intelligence operatives and terrorists.

For example, Ali Yaghi of Ba'albak, long affiliated with the HizbAllah, is responsible for the supply of \$100 and \$20 counterfeit bills for distribution in southern Europe. The Yaghi clan operates with direct assistance from Syrian intelligence, for whom they also smuggle drugs.

Another example is that of Mahmud Hassan al-Irani, a senior HizbAllah intelligence official, who operates from a Beirut bakery. He is responsible for arranging the use and/or distribution of fake \$100 and \$20 bills in the West, as well as for obtaining forged visas for HizbAllah operatives going overseas.

Also active is Imad Fadlallah, a relative of Ayatollah Muhammad Hussayn Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of the HizbAllah, who coordinates a major portion of the smuggling of counterfeit dollar bills from West Beirut to and via west Africa. His two half brothers, Fayiz and Adham, live in Ivory Coast where they handle the African side of the operation. This method of communication is mainly used for smuggling counterfeit money and drugs into Western Europe, especially France.

The expansion of the drug smuggling operations to include the distribution of counterfeit dollar bills immediately increased the importance of the relations between Syrian Military Intelligence and their proteges among the Lebanese political elite. A country immersed in patronage politics and the drug culture, Lebanon is extremely vulnerable to the ruthless power plays of General Kan'an on behalf of Damascus.

The intimate and direct involvement of Syria in both the smuggling process and Lebanese politics make the distribution of counterfeit money a state affair, and, at the same time, strengthens the Syrian hold over Lebanon.

Indeed, one of the first Lebanese political clans to throw in its lot with Damascus is the Mansur clan, under the leadership of Albert Mansur. A Member of Parliament from the Bekkaa since 1972, representing the local Greek Catholic community, Albert Mansur is currently Minister of Information in the Lebanese Government. Although the head of a traditional power family, Mansur owes much of his political power to purges conducted by Syrian Intelligence and Commando forces under the command of Rifat Assad and Ghazi Kan'an soon after the 1976 Syrian invasion of Lebanon. The Syrian forces removed Mansur's potential enemies, thus consolidating both his power and his dependence on General Kan'an.

Meanwhile, the Mansur clan has been processing poppies to extract opium and heroin in the Ba'albak area, being one of the primary clans overseeing local laboratories. Albert Mansur himself uses his close relations with the Syrian authorities, mainly General Kan'an and President Hrawi, to provide patronage and protection for the drug processing labs in the Hermel and Ras-Ba'albak areas on Kan'an's behalf. Mansur also arranges for his proteges to have access to the lucrative counterfeit distribution network, including required documents like safe passage certificates, from Syrian Military Intelligence. Mansur is paid handsomely for all of these services on behalf of his constituents. (A few weeks ago, Albert Mansur escaped to Paris, where he now hides.)

Additionally, the Jaffar clan, one of the major smugglers of counterfeit dollar bills and drugs to France and Western Europe, is also thriving as a direct result of relations with Syrian Military Intelligence. Ali Hamad Jaafar, the head of the clan, is a Member of Parliament from Ba'albak. Ghazi Kan'an is a close ally, political patron, and personal friend of Jaafar. Under Syrian protection, Jaafar's son, Yassin Jaafar, smuggles high quality counterfeit dollar bills and heroin to Europe.

Another major counterfeit money and drug smuggling operation directly dependent on Kan'an's patronage is run by Mohammad Deeb Awada, the mayor of Ba'albak. (Awada was appointed to his position by Kan'an himself.) Awada's heroin processing lab is located in a building adjacent to the headquarters of Syrian Intelligence in Talya, in the Bekkaa. The main storage facility of the drugs and counterfeit money produced by Awada's operation is in Ouzai, west Beirut. Mustafa Assaf and Hajj Abbas Chamas are the main export agents and partners

of Awada. In addition, two of the Chamas brothers, Ali Hussayn Chamas and Muhammad Hussayn Chamas, are in charge of storage site security. Ali Narsi Chamas, the brother in law of the Chamas brothers and a German citizen, is the main courier to Europe.

Awada's close relations with Syrian Military Intelligence are reflected in his smuggling operations. Awada ships his goods via Beirut International Airport and Tripoli harbor, both tightly controlled by the Syrian forces. Lt. Col. Muhsin Salman, the Syrian commander at the airport, oversees air smuggling operations to Western Europe and has direct business relations with several major drug smugglers. In addition, he personally assists in the Awada shipments and regularly sends his aid, Lt. Col. Suleiman, to ensure the smoothness of the shipments. Syrian Military Intelligence is currently using the Awada smuggling operations to improve and expand their networks in Western Europe, especially Germany.

* * *

Teheran and Damascus are very prudent in distributing their high quality counterfeit dollar bills. For the first 18 months of their concentrated distribution efforts, the Iranians and Syrians gradually expand the circle of financial institutions and banks infiltrated by large quantities of counterfeit money in order to insure that they will not be detected. The high quality counterfeit bills first emerge in the Middle East, where they are tested on local branches of foreign banks. When it is clear that large quantities of the counterfeit cash have not been detected, the distribution efforts expand into Western Europe, primarily France, again to both local and foreign banks. Only when Teheran and Damascus are convinced that their high quality counterfeits will pass the scrutiny of sophisticated banks will they begin large scale distribution to the United States and Canada.

HizbAllah officials are responsible for the distribution of the counterfeit \$100 bills in the US and Canada on behalf of Iranian Intelligence. Quantities of counterfeit money are smuggled into the US and Canada along the routes that have been found to be secure by HizbAllah and other terrorist organizations for the smuggling of explosives, weapons, drugs and terrorist operatives. Additionally, the chiefs of IRGC Intelligence and the SAVAMA assure that the modes and avenues of entry into the United States are safe, and thus can sustain a high volume of shipments without being detected.

The HizbAllah and its associates use several methods to disperse large quantities of counterfeit dollars in the United States. The most effective method of dispersal is to capitalize on the massive laundering of drug related cash by

major banks and financial institutions. High-quality counterfeit dollars are mixed with large cash deposits in narco-money laundering banks, making up as much, at times, as 10 to 30% of the deposited money. Only a small fraction of the counterfeit money is discovered by the banks. The masters of narco-terrorism know that money laundering banks are too mesmerized by the lure of easy profits from drug money, (and are too afraid of retaliation by drug dealers), to complain to the authorities about the counterfeit money they discover. Instead, the banks quietly absorb the losses and continue laundering the entire deposited sum.

The HizbAllah is also using counterfeit money for one-time purchases of "forbidden goods," such as equipment needed by Iran, in the black market. They also use counterfeit money as excess cash for intelligence operations, for one-time bribes, as well as for obtaining special services from local criminals. The success of these uses of counterfeit money is dependent upon the assumption that the victims will not complain to the police for fear of being accused of being accessories to the crime and because the authorities cannot effectively punish the HizbAllah terrorists.

In addition to this, large quantities of high quality counterfeit dollars, several tens of millions, are stored by the HizbAllah as cash for emergency uses. Indeed, Teheran is correct in its assumption that there is no logic in storing millions in real cash if cheaper bogus money can be stored instead. The money in question will be used to obtain services illegally from the underworld in the aftermath of a major crisis, such as a major terrorist attack.

In addition to the networks described, Iran and Syria have other major avenues for the distribution of their counterfeit money, including the medium quality bills.

For example, the new republics in ex-Soviet Central Asia are a bottomless pit for counterfeit dollars. Local officials, and virtually everybody else, seek cash payments, especially for bribes, in dollars. However, these individuals do not know the shape of American dollar bills well enough to notice the counterfeits. Thus, even as the cost of subverting Central Asia rises, Iran can overcome many of its financial difficulties by distributing counterfeit money.

Similarly, counterfeit dollars are useful in financing illegal and semi-legal weapons acquisition efforts in Russia and Eastern Europe, especially the payments to, and bribing of, key individuals. In many cases, large quantities of weapons become available quite suddenly when a few senior officials decide to sell them for large amounts of hard currency. With cash being delivered in large suitcases and

crates, it is not difficult to include a large portion of counterfeit bills inside the stacks. This form of weapons acquisition is becoming very popular in Eastern Europe and the Ukraine.

For example, since May 1992, Syrian military representatives have been traveling in Czechia, Slovakia and the Ukraine with some \$800 million in cash trying to buy strategic weapons, including nuclear warheads and high performance weapons systems for immediate delivery.

Furthermore, low and medium quality counterfeit dollar bills are used to support deals in central and west Africa conducted by local Shiite Lebanese and activist Muslim communities. The counterfeit money is used for various purposes ranging from the "greasing" of deals to special services rendered to fueling rampant local corruption. The corruption in central and west Africa is estimated at several hundreds of millions of dollars a year, and at least 25% of the money is counterfeit.

* * *

Iraq is an excellent example of Teheran's methodical and calculated use of counterfeit money as both strategic weapon - i.e. to destabilize the Iraqi economy - and as a secondary route for confronting the West - since Iraq uses hard currency to get around UN trade sanctions. Teheran is aware that those in the West who violate the UN sanctions, selling forbidden goods at exorbitant prices, are unlikely to complain if they discover that a fraction of the illegal payments they received are high quality counterfeits.

Thus, since the Spring of 1992, Iran has flooded Iraq with both high and medium quality counterfeit 100 and 20 dollar bills. The Iranians direct this money to the underworld and black market circles associated with Iraqi Intelligence. For example, they include counterfeit dollars in payment for "stolen" cars and other mechanical equipment that is sold across the Iranian border. The hard currency collected in this way is used for the purchase of black market consumer goods, mainly in and via Jordan, as well as to finance some of the illegal acquisition of goods for the Iraqi military system.

Baghdad tacitly permits the importation of black market goods in return for the smugglers acquiring materials to help in the national rebuilding effort. For its part, Teheran is determined to consolidate its hegemony over Iraq by, among other methods, developing dependence on violations of the UN sanctions across the Iranian border. Thus, by undermining confidence in Iraqi cash purchases in Jordan and the West,

Iran forces Baghdad, both the government and the black marketeers, into a greater reliance on Iran. In the meantime, additional quantities of counterfeit dollars are put into circulation in the West.

Teheran and Damascus also use the counterfeit dollar bills for the financing of terrorist operations in the Third World, Western Europe and the United States. The use of counterfeit dollars is intended to hurt the economy of the West, inflicting damage upon it by attacking its essential store of value.

* * *

What are the implications for the United States' economy of this effort by Iran and Syria to distribute high quality counterfeit \$100 bills? The real effect depends upon just how much counterfeit money is in circulation.

As a rule, US currency is difficult to counterfeit because of the intricacies of the engraving process, the unique paper, and the printing process. However, once counterfeit notes of quality are printed, it is extremely easy to circulate and disseminate large volumes of them. Moreover, when the distribution of such counterfeit money is conducted within the context of the large scale money laundering that goes on as a result of the drug trade, there is little or no restraint on the volume of counterfeit money that can be put into circulation and laundered.

This raises the question of just how much money is involved in the distribution effort. There is no way of determining how many counterfeit bills were printed in Teheran and distributed by Syria and Iran. In early 1992, press reports estimated on the basis of the quantities of high quality bills discovered that some \$100 million were already in circulation in the West. Because offshore and foreign banks absorb their losses and do not report the counterfeits discovered in the drug money they are handling an accurate picture of the volume of counterfeit currency in circulation cannot be based on the normal reporting procedures available to the U.S. Treasury. The probability is that previously published estimates of Iranian produced counterfeit bills in circulation are grossly low.

In reality, in 1991, the first year of the all out dissemination effort by Syria and Iran, the dissemination efforts could not have possibly reached full capacity. However, in 1992, there is no reason to believe that marked expansion of the flow will not take place. The potential is there for billions of dollars of counterfeit U.S. currency to soon be in circulation, mainly outside the U.S. banking

system. Evidence in this report supports estimates that such sums may already be in circulation from the Iranian counterfeit operation.

If the Iranian/Syrian counterfeit operation is not stopped the continued spread of counterfeit dollars throughout the world could ultimately erode the unique position of the dollar as the world's medium of exchange. Such a situation could have very serious implications for the American economy, and indeed for the world's. Quite possibly, several holders of large quantities of US dollars, such as Third World national banks and leaders, might decide to cash in their dollars for gold or other commodities.

Thus, taken together, the unchecked circulation of high quality counterfeit dollars by Syria, Iran, and their agents could end up having a ripple effect of adverse implications for the US economy. With the counterfeit bills themselves so difficult to locate and identify, the only viable solution may be to go after the sources of production and circulation for this fraudulent currency, namely Teheran and Damascus.

by Yossef Bodansky
& Vaughn S. Forrest

(This paper may not necessarily reflect the views of all of the Members of the Republican Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare. It is intended to provoke discussion and debate.)

The Money Trail

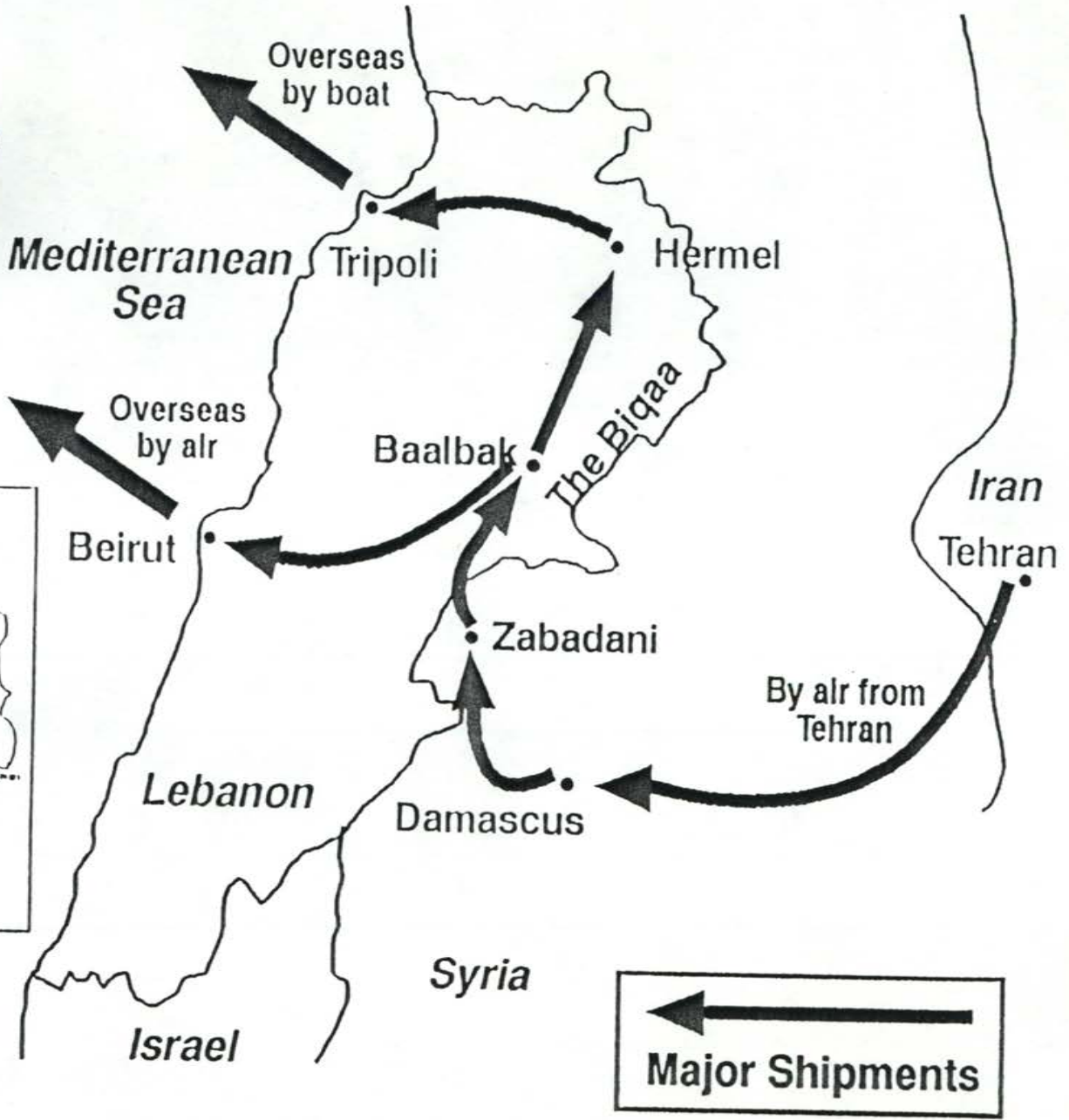
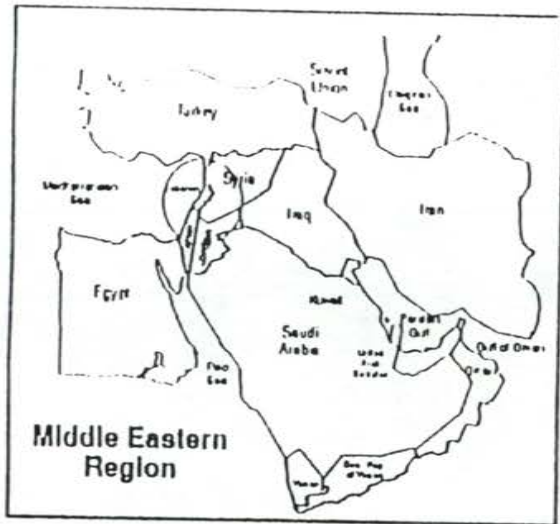
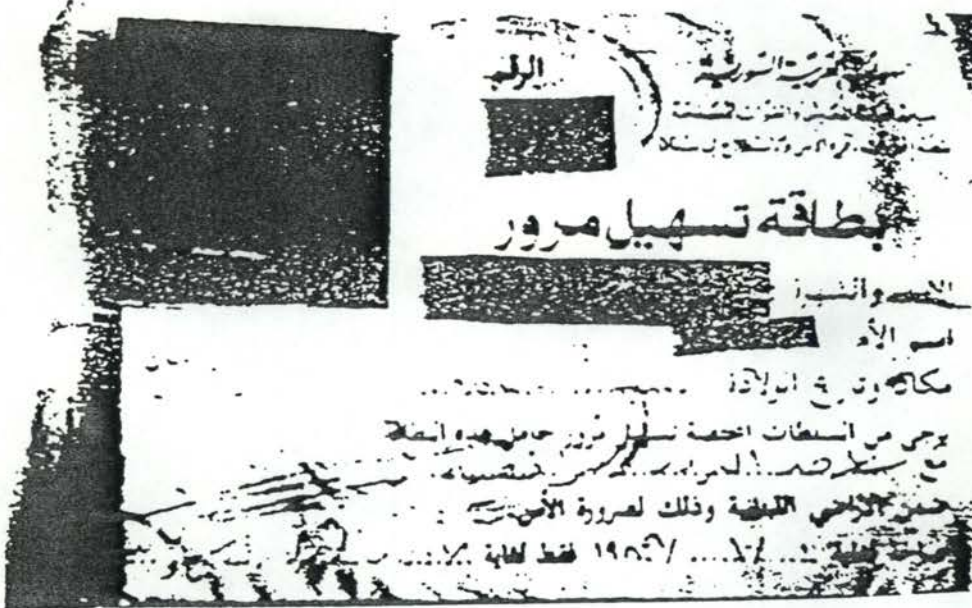


FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2



TRAVEL DOCUMENT (FRONT)

Photograph

The Syrian Arab Republic
General Army Headquarters
Intelligence Division
Security and Intelligence Branch
in Lebanon

PASSAGE PERMIT

First and last name
Father's name
Security Branch, Lebanon
Date/Place of birth

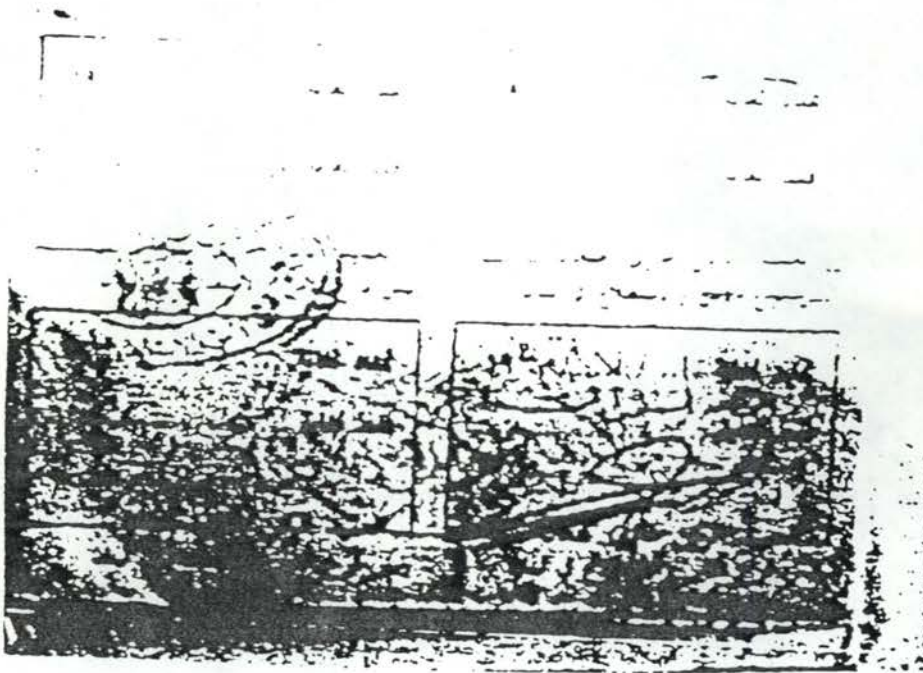
Brig.-General Ghazi Kan'an
Head, Intelligence and

The government (force) is requested to allow bearer to pass freely, with his personal weapon and merchandise, within the physical area of Lebanon, for security reasons.

Date of issue

Valid until - as extended

FIGURE 2 continued



TRAVEL DOCUMENT (BACK)

Valid from
Valid until

Brig.-Gen. Ghazi Kan'an
Head, Intelligence and
Security Branch, Lebanon

Valid from
Valid until

Brig.-Gen. Ghazi Kan'an
Head, Intelligence and
Security Branch, Lebanon

Valid from
Valid until

Brig.-Gen. Ghazi Kan'an
Head, Intelligence and
Security Branch, Lebanon

Valid from
Valid until

Brig.-Gen. Ghazi Kan'an
Head, Intelligence and
Security Branch, Lebanon

From : KZMESARIJAT ZA IZBEGLICE

PHONE No. : 3811 2351 761

Aug. 05 1992 12:16PM P02

BELGRADE (UNHCR) 27JUL92 12:40Z

R-MATI

Domestic

YUG/UCR/ORG

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

REFUGEES FROM CROATIA AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

ACCOMMODATION IN SERBIA

27 JULY 1992

1. GENERAL

- 1.1 ALTHOUGH UP TO NOW CITIZENS OF SERBIA HAVE SHOWN A TREMENDOUS DEGREE OF SOLIDARITY AND ACCOMMODATED 96% OF REFUGEES FROM CROATIA AND BOSNIA/HERZEGOVINA IN THEIR PRIVATE HOMES, THE SITUATION HAS DRAMATICALLY CHANGED IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS. DUE TO THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS, THE NEAR TOTAL LACK OF BILATERAL AID TO SERBIA, RAMPANT INFLATION, THE CLOSURE OF INDUSTRIES AND CONSEQUENT LOSS OF JOBS FOR LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE, THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE UP TO PRESENT AND THE POSSIBILITY FOR PRIVATE CITIZENS TO ACCOMMODATE REFUGEES HAS DRASTICALLY DIMINISHED. THESE RESOURCES WILL SOON BE EXHAUSTED AND THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY ACCOMMODATED WITH HOST FAMILIES MUST FIND ALTERNATIVE ACCOMMODATION SOLUTIONS.

IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT UHCR HAS BEEN APPROACHED BY THE SERBIAN RED CROSS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SERBIA WITH A URGENT APPEAL TO ASSIST AND CONTRIBUTE IN PREPARING AND CONSTRUCTING FACILITIES TO ACCOMMODATE THESE REFUGEES WHO ARE THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

- 1.2 SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA HAS BEEN A FIRST ASYLUM COUNTRY FOR REFUGEES FROM CROATIA AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THE PRESENT NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN SERBIA IS ESTIMATED TO BE:

- FROM CROATIA:	210,000
- FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA:	285,000

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN SERBIA: 495,000

ii.

- 1.3 OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF 495,000 REFUGEES, THE FOLLOWING REFUGEES HAVE REGISTERED THEMSELVES WITH THE SERBIAN RED CROSS AND RECEIVE ASSISTANCE:

- FROM CROATIA:	182,500
- FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA:	228,500

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES ASSISTED BY THE SERBIAN RED CROSS: 380,000

From : KZMESARIJAT ZA IZBEGLICE

PHONE No. : 3811 2351 761

Aug. 25 1992 18:17:01 P03

1.4 TOTAL ESTIMATED REFUGEE POPULATION IN SERBIA:

- REGISTERED AND ASSISTED BY THE SERBIAN RED CROSS:	380,000
- NOT REGISTERED AND NOT ASSISTED BY THE SERBIAN RED CROSS (ESTIMATE):	115,000
	<u>505,000</u>

2. PRESENT ACCOMMODATION

2.1 THE GENERAL PUBLIC IN SERBIA HAS RECEIVED THE REFUGEES IN AN EXTRAORDINARY GENEROUS MANNER. THE MAJORITY OF THE ESTIMATED 115,000 REFUGEES NOT REGISTERED AND ASSISTED BY THE SERBIAN RED CROSS ARE BELIEVED TO BE ACCOMMODATED BY RELATIVES AND FRIENDS.

OF THE 380,000 REGISTERED REFUGEES:

- 374,400 (98%) IS ACCOMMODATED BY HOST FAMILIES
- 15,600 (4%) IS ACCOMMODATED IN COLLECTIVE CENTRES.

2.2 DUE TO SEVERELY DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION (40% DECREASE IN PRODUCTION), HUGE UNEMPLOYMENT/LAY-OFFS, THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS, OVERCROWDING IN THE OFTEN MODEST HOUSES OF HOST FAMILIES AND EXHAUSTION OF AVAILABLE PRIVATE RESOURCES, A MUCH LARGER PERCENTAGE THAN THE PRESENT 4% WILL HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATED OUTSIDE HOST FAMILIES.

MORE AND MORE REFUGEES HAVE TO LEAVE THE HOMES OF THEIR HOST FAMILIES WHERE THEY SOMETIMES HAVE LIVED FOR A YEAR. WHILE MANY PEOPLE ARE STILL COMMITTED TO ACCOMMODATE REFUGEES, THIS COMMITMENT IS IN MOST CASES LIMITED TO A CERTAIN PERIOD OF TIME. THE SERBIAN RED CROSS ESTIMATES THAT BY 31 DECEMBER 1992, SOME 100,000 TO 120,000 REFUGEES PRESENTLY ACCOMMODATED BY HOST FAMILIES, WILL HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATED ELSEWHERE.

2.3 WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES THAT WILL ARRIVE IN THE COMING MONTHS, THE PLANNING FIGURE ON NEWLY ARRIVING REFUGEES UNTIL 31 DECEMBER 1992 IS 65,000 ADDITIONAL REFUGEES. THE SERBIAN RED CROSS ESTIMATES THAT OF THE 65,000 NEW ARRIVALS:

- 52,000 CAN BE ACCOMMODATED, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, BY HOST FAMILIES,
- 13,000 WILL HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATED ELSEWHERE.

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2.4 THE TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES PLACED/TO BE PLACED OUTSIDE HOST FAMILIES IS AS FOLLOWS:

- ALREADY IN COLLECTIVE CENTRES (PARA 2.1) 12,800
- WILL HAVE TO LEAVE HOST FAMILIES (PARA 2.2) 100,000-120,000
- NEW ARRIVALS (PARA 2.3) 12,000

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES PLACED OR TO BE PLACED OUTSIDE HOST FAMILIES BY 31/12/92: 128,800-148,800

(PLANNING FIGURE: 148,800)

3. SHORTFALL IN COLLECTIVE CENTRES

3.1 THE SERBIAN RED CROSS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA HAVE IDENTIFIED HOTELS (BOTH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC OWNED), CHILDREN AND WORKERS' VACATION CENTRES, SPORT-CENTRES, BARRACKS AND VACATED SCHOOL BUILDINGS AS COLLECTIVE CENTRES. THOSE PROPERTIES THAT HAVE PRIVATE OWNERS ARE RENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA.

3.2 THE FOLLOWING NUMBER OF COLLECTIVE CENTRES ARE AT PRESENT IN USE, OR ARE EXPECTED TO BE IN USE BEFORE THE END OF 1992:

- 158 ARE ALREADY IN USE
 - 88 HAVE ALREADY BEEN IDENTIFIED, BUT ARE NOT YET IN USE
 - 120 ARE EXPECTED TO BE IDENTIFIED AND IN USE BEFORE THE END OF 1992
- TOTAL OF 320 COLLECTIVE CENTRES.

3.3 AN AVERAGE COLLECTIVE CENTRE ACCOMMODATES 100 REFUGEES. THE 320 COLLECTIVE CENTRES WILL ACCOMMODATE, THEREFORE, 32,000 REFUGEES.

- 3.4 - TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES PLACED OR TO BE PLACED OUTSIDE HOST FAMILIES (PARA 2.4) 148,800
- TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES (EXPECTED TO BE) PLACED IN COLLECTIVE CENTRES (PARA 3.3) 32,000

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES FOR WHOM ACCOMMODATION HAS TO BE CONSTRUCTED BEFORE THE WINTER BEGINS: 116,800

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4. PRE-FABRICATED HOUSES

- 4.1 IT HAS BEEN THE POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA AND UNHCR, PENDING POSSIBLE RETURN OF REFUGEES TO THEIR HOMES, TO AVOID REFUGEES BEING ISOLATED FROM THE COMMUNITY. THEREFORE THE GOVERNMENT AND UNHCR HAVE DISCOURAGED THE CONSTRUCTION OF LARGE REFUGEE CAMPS FOR THE 110,000 REFUGEES WITHOUT ACCOMMODATION AND ENCOURAGED THE CONSTRUCTION OF SMALLER COLLECTIVE ACCOMMODATION. ALTHOUGH WE ENCOURAGE THE USE OF EXISTING STRUCTURES, NEVERTHELESS IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO CONSTRUCT SOME SMALLER COLLECTIVE ACCOMMODATIONS. DUE TO TIME CONSTRAINTS, THE SEVERE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, AND THE SANCTIONS, IT WOULD NOT BE FEASIBLE TO BUILD ENOUGH APARTMENTS PRIOR TO THE WINTER. IT IS, THEREFORE, PROPOSED TO APPEAL TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY FOR PREFABRICATED HOUSES.
- 4.2 CLUSTERS OF 65 TO 200 PREFABS WOULD BE PLACED IN (ADJACENT TO) EXISTING TOWNS. THE REFUGEES WOULD MAKE USE OF THE EXISTING SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE (SCHOOLS, CLINICS, RED CROSS SERVICES, ETC.) OF THE TOWNS WHERE THE CLUSTERS OF PREFABS ARE LOCATED. THERE WOULD, THEREFORE, BE NO NEED TO CONSTRUCT COMMUNAL FACILITIES IN THE CLUSTERS OF PREFABS. WHERE THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN A CLUSTER OF PREFABS WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE USING THE EXISTING SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE IN A CERTAIN TOWN, CONSIDERATION MAY BE GIVEN TO FUNDING OF PROJECTS TO ENHANCE THE CAPACITY OF THIS SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE (ADDITIONAL CLASSROOMS TO AN EXISTING SCHOOL, EXPANSION OF A HEALTH CLINIC, ETC.)
- 4.3 SOME 116,600 REFUGEES WILL HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATED IN PREFABS. AS THE AVERAGE FAMILY SIZE IS 5 PERSONS, SOME 23,320 PREFABS WOULD BE REQUIRED BEFORE THE WINTER BEGINS.
- 4.4 THERE WILL BE APPROXIMATELY 230 CLUSTERS WITH A MINIMUM OF 65 AND A MAXIMUM OF 200 PREFABS IN TOWNS ACROSS THE ENTIRE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA. THERE WILL BE AN AVERAGE OF ABOUT 100 PREFABS PER CLUSTER.
- 4.5 WHILE THE PREFABS WILL HAVE TOILET/SHOWER AND COOKING/HEATING FACILITIES, THEY WILL NOT BE FURNISHED. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE 60% OF THE TOTAL REQUIREMENTS IN BASIC FURNITURE. AS THE CLUSTERS OF PREFABS WILL BE PART OF EXISTING COMMUNITIES, THE SERBIAN RED CROSS WILL BE ABLE TO APPEAL TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC TO PROVIDE THE REMAINING 40% OF THE REQUIRED BASIC FURNITURE.
- 4.6 THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA WILL IDENTIFY 230 PLOTS OF LAND IN (OR ADJACENT TO) TOWNS ACROSS SERBIA AND WILL ARRANGE FOR BUILDING PERMITS AS WELL FOR PERMITS FOR LINK-UP WITH ELECTRICITY, WATER AND SEWAGE SYSTEMS. UNHCR WILL APPEAL TO DONOR-COUNTRIES FOR FUNDS FOR THE PROCUREMENT OF 23,320 PREFABS AND FOR INSTALLATION COSTS.