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Memorandum

From: HDB

To: Prime Minister Milan Panic

Date: August 10, 1992.

Several important developments took place today, and I want to bring them to your attention:

- 1. The Senate will vote tomorrow on a very serious resolution concerning the situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina.
- 2. Understand you are invited to Brussels.
- 3. People who want to work with you and help are concerned that you are gaining the perception that you talk too much and do not listen to others enough; that this deters from the efforts you are trying to accomplish.

4. You need to call Senatar Cranston Who in Justing Mary aret Heat Cher as being on target. Cranston print said he supports the resolution.

DEX EXPRESS 2000

DIRECT LINE: 410-561-1777

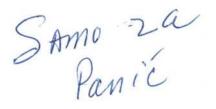
FACSIMILE TELEPHONE NUMBER: 410-561-1868

DATE:	August 12, 1992 PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
TO:	The Hon Milan Panic
(-	Prime Minister - Yugoslavia
	Read this before you begin your trip to Sarajevo
-	
-	
-	
-	
FROM:	HDB
TOTAL	NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE 5
TIME :	RECEIVED:
TIME	SENT:
OPERA	TORS INITIALS:

Memorandum -- August 12, 1992

To: The Hon. Milan Panic

From: HDB



This is a two part memo -- the first part, offering you an excellent opportunity to bring about a scoop while you are with Donaldson. The second is about him.

1. After receiving several phone calls and reading Tanjug, we have learned that the so-called "POW" who allegedly has been mistreated -- in a Serbian-controlled detention center -- the one whose photograph is on the cover of Time and Newsweek this week and who was in the forefront of all of the television shots of "the camps," is a Serb. His sister, Miroslava Prilisauer, lives in Vienna. I talked with her this evening. She said that she recognized him when she saw the photos about 10 PM Aug 6 and they were later confirmed by her mother and sister. She says that he had lung and kidney problems two years ago, and a lung operation 10 years ago.

She also recognized another brother, Zoran Konjević, sitting down with the group eating. I am not certain that it was in the same camp. He also is Serb.

Slobodan Konjevic is the front cover hero.

The big questions to be answered today are:

- If they are Serb as their sister says, why are Serbs being held in a Serb-controlled camp?
- 2. Was this truly a Serb-controlled camp?
- 3. Why don't you ask to get them out so we can have them interrogated directly?

Slobodan is supposed to be the one with the beard and the lungs showing who appeared in the front of all the shots.

If you could get that story out immediately, if it is true, it would help considerably in the UN Council vote.

The sister's phone number in Vienna is 43-1-424 8274.

She said she did not know ewhere their third brother, Dushko, is, nor where their aunts are. She had moved from Sarajevo 18 years ago when she got married, but has seen her family frequently until lately. She is very emotional.

Samoza milan

2. The resolutions passed by both the House and the Senate today are not binding, but are not helpful. The Senate had 22 against it. The House was by a voice vote because we were concerned about an overwhelming defeat.

They, of course, will help spin the UN along -- but proof of that phony camp could help stap it

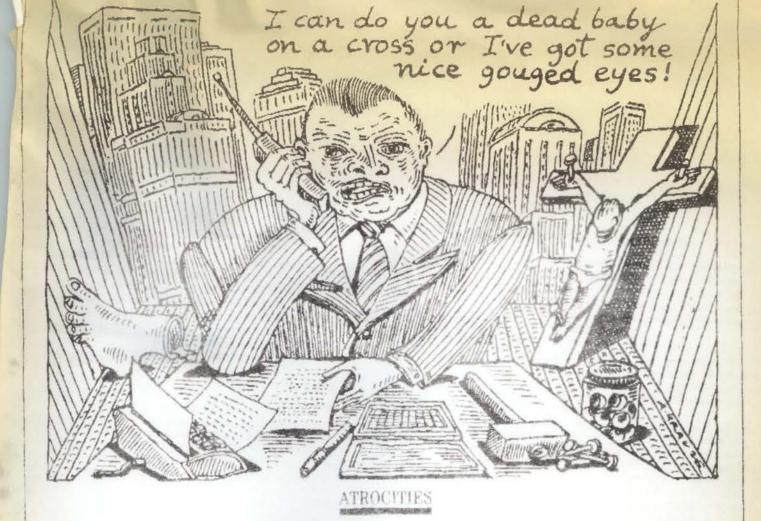
 Please read this enclosed article carefully -- as it also explains some of the above. appeared in the New Statesman today.

4. This paragraph is for your eyes alone. Since Sam Donaldson is accompanying you to do a story for Prime Time, I urge you to be careful sto ti reces njemu. Do not shoot from the hip about "getting rid of this guy" or that or whatever. You only say you are striving diligently to try to turn things around, to get rid of all Communists as fast as possible, end the war, have peace and push the economy forward.

The hip-shooting statements have caused eyebrows to be raised over your competency in the political executive world -- that position. I have to tell you this because I am your friend and I want you to succeed. Radarwas in and we talked about this and she has heard some of it from other sources. Cuvaj se, eli onaj novinar estvrag ko naj volje da putsa nekoga, or da metne nekoga na nozu....molim te da cuvas se. Svaki rec trebas mislit prije nego reces pred njega.

Will be anxious to heard about your success on the trip.. If the road stays bpen, it will be a great success. There was not much hope here believing that it would. Now is the time to fool them.

Best regards



Spin doctors of war

In a civil war, as in any marketing campaign, it's important to get third-party endorsement for your story. Karl Waldron reports on the PR of conflict

t would have been perhaps the worst atrocity so far in a war where horror follows on horror: Serbian uregular snipers paid the equivalent of £200 for every child-kill they achieve. The story was related by Stove Watt, a volunteer aid

"They target the children," he said, "because of the money and because they are easier to kill. With their small size, the bul-

lets make a bigger mess

Mr Watt's words were transmitted-along with his claimed statistic for 11,000 child injuries from gunshot wounds and some 400 child-deaths-on Sunday, the BBC a morning radio news service. The World This Weekend and, perhaps most importantly, on News Hour, the World Service Bagship news programme the following day. They were thus read into the record for a potential English language audience of 300 million listeners worldwide.

And the story is almost certainly not true. No one imputes any ulterior motive in Mr Watt's relating what he had been told by Crouts and Bosnians in his brave journey in a truck convoy on the road to Sarajevo; but one does have to question the BBC's editorial judgment in the manner of its transmission.

Like many others of its guare, this story had its origins in Bosnia Hercegovina, but owes more than a little in its passage to Croat/Bosnian, and now international, folk-love to the outpourings of a PR company a fax machine in Washington DC.

While origins of strocity stories are frequently difficult to discern in war, the history of this one, unusually, can be traced. It first gained its credence in the Croatian media and, like many others from both sides of the conflict, it has little or no first-hand substantiation

It made an appearance in an article written by little Zortic, a Rosnian Muslim journalist working for a Crnatian newspaper, the con-tents of which were subsequently repeated in other Croatian newspapers and formed

part of a news broadcast transmitted by Radio Crostia International.

The service, which peppers its broadcast with items of blatant propaganda passing as "news", is treated with disdain by the western media. But like all international broadcasts, it is monitored by the BBC at Caversham, whose operators hear its other tayoured subjects—Serbian salt mines operated with Crost and Bosnian slave labour and Kurdish militia fighting, for huge sums of money, for the Serbian cause.

The Caversham monitors record important information from the airwaves in the Summary of World Broadcasts. One said recently: "Frankly, much of what we get from all sides in this conflict is unusable, useless. Unless it is a speech or something like that, it usually finds its way to the bin." Which is it usually finds its way to the bin," what happened to Zortic's story.

Zortic stands by his story, but admitted last week that he was given it by the Croatian Information Ministry, in a private interview, and that he made no further checks. "Who

12 31 JULY 1992

could I ask?" he says. "You can't expect us to ring them (the Serbs) and believe them when they say it isn't true." But the tale, which is so widely accepted as fact in Croatia as to be described as an "old chostnut" by a senior western journalist covering the Yugoslav conflict, owes much to an earlier communication from the fax machine in the offices of Ruder and Finn in Washington.

Last week. Rhoda Paget from the company admitted to assisting in disseminating the "Cash for a Corpse" story, "We were fold it by a minister in the Croatian government. We merely informed them of its importance and have never checked its honesty. Neither do we have the resources to do so. Frankly, it's just not our job. It's the journalist's job to check them out... but it came to notice by a surprising route." Ruder and Finn's "job" is to handle the PR account for the governments of Cruatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina at a cost of US\$18,000 (£9,700) a month, while British lobbying company, Ian Greer Associates, act in a similar regard "on behalf of Scrbian interests", their undisclosed fee paid by a "syndicate of Serbian businessmen".

According to John MacArthur, publisher of Harpers magazine, and nother of a book, Second Front, on the subject of public relations and propaganda in the Gulf war, it is the American company that is currently doing the better. "The relative success of those companies in getting hor ror stories into print is critical to the setting of the international political agenda," he says: "They affect votes in both the Security Council and the Conference on Security and Congration in Europe by altering the mind are of an electorate who would never dream of reading a UN resultation. They establish the conditions which make it prescribe to be involved in a war."

MacArthur points to the success of PR company Hill and Knowlton in promoting the "Dead Kuwaiti Babies" story, in which Iraqi troops were alieged to have taken Kuwaiti babics out of their incubators and left them to die on the hospital floor. The story relied on the testimony of an eye witness who subsequently gave televised testimony to the Congressional Human Rights Concess the "eye witness" was subsequently revealed to be the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to Washington who had been "told" about the killings by witnesses who have never since been produced.

"If this had been known at the time," John Edward Potter, senior Republican on the caucus said, "she would have not been allowed to testify". But the story of the story was not published until January this year, nine months after the end of Desert Storm. "Nayirah's testimony was critical for establishing the conditions where the American public would accept the deaths—any death—of their own," says MacArthur. "It is ironic and immoral that such changes should have brought about misinformation, perhaps even a downright fake."

According to Tom O'Sullivan, a journalist at PR Week, both Steve Watt's and Nayirah's testimony provide what is called in PR-speak, "a classic third-party endorsement", although Nayirah's was not revealed as such at the time. A story is told, someone else

Body

eporting on the claims and counterclaims of the numerous atrocities in Bosnia and Serbia has become a journalistic minefield. Both sides have long since embraced propagands, accusing the other of orgies of violence that hark back to the atrocities committed in Yugoslavia during the second world war.

I saw similarly exaggerated claims during the Romardan revolution of 1989, when disembowelled bodies of pregnant women were paraded in front of the pross in Timosoura. In fact, these women had died of natural causes and had been cut open for autopsies—not butchered by Ceausesco's Securitate.

For the first time last week, one sale in the Yugoslav conflict retracted an acceptly claim. A thousand Bosnian Serba were alleged to have been massacred in Odzak in northern Bosnia, which had been captured by the Crosta for three months. The Boignade news agency, Tanjug, withdrew the claims when commandors from the Bosnian Serb army said there was no evidence of any graves. It then emerged that the reporter had picked up the claim from Glas, a paper published to a Serb stronghold. This rare retraction could alignal a new brend, sparked off by the real-section that false reports only escalar, the scale of the sectarian-style atrochies on either ado.

The Crustions have produced a 500 page book with pictures and eye-witness statements of Serbian strocities. I saw pictures of burnt bodies with their hands tied and their genitals out off and forced down their throats. When I was in Split last month, re-

ports came through of a massacre of 15 Croatian soldiers in western Bosnia. Their faces had been shot to pieces, they had been castrated, and two fingers from each hand had been cut off, leaving the three-fingered Serbian salute.

Serbians tell similar stories of mass torture. The strongly partisan paper, Politika, has accused the Crosts' track Ustashe force of "ethnic cleansing" in eastern Bosnia, and of razing Serb villages with modern German wesponry.

Speaking to some Chetniks (crack Bosnian Serb troops) in a Serb stronghold near Sarajevo, prejudice and propaganda was very apparent. The Chetniks, many of them teenagers, told me that during their ethnic cleansing operations, they had been attacked by drug-crazed Muslim Bosnians, and had rescued Serb children who had been raped by Muslims. They said that they had proof that Libyans, African and Iranian mercenaries were fighting for the Bosnians. In the same breath, they said that all Muslims were "dirty Arabs who wipe their bottoms with their hands".

The atrocities inflicted on Bosnian Muskins have been documented in a report called Save the Humanity, which was published last month by Bosnian peace and nongovernmental organisations based in Surajevo, it draws on 20 statements made by eye-witnesses, who said they would be willing to stand up in an international court and repeat their statements.

These factual accounts seem credible, but some of the stories I heard in Sarajevo could easily have been exaggerations or pure myth. As the war in Bosnia continues new atrocity stories come to light every day, increasing the stakes, and the hitterness on all sides. Such horror stories, whether true or false—and some certainly are true—will divide communities in Bosnia and the other Yugoslav republics for years to come.

Kevin Weaver

retells it and in the retelling it often gets embroidered. Watt says he was told the child-killings story on the road to Sarajevo and has no first-hand knowledge. That means the real, true story is that someone, preferably English or an English speaker and a non-combatant, believes in its authenticity. "But the listener doesn't take it in as hearsay—instead they hear it as recorded fact," says Sullivan, "You could argue, that is what the PR industry is all about,"

According to an executive at Hill and Knowlton who, although not acting for any Balkan interests, refused to be named, the fact that Croatia is not subjected to any embargo, even for weaponry, while Serbia faces sanctions, may itself be due to better PR. A recent investigation of reported atrocities showed that the number of substantiated incidents was similar four perpetrated by Scrbs, two by Croats, one by Muslims, and two by Muslims and Croats together.

John Kennedy, a Conservative parliamentary candidate at the last election, now a PR consultant with Ian Greer Associates who has worked on the Serbian account, says that the Serbian government in its support for Scrbian irregulars is "faced with losing battles on the second (propaganda) front precisely because they have been winning the war. The public relations defeats do not bother the fighters, of course, but they have an indirect effect on their ability to prosecute their war."

Mr Kennedy, usually labelled by BBC radio—and without further qualification—as "an expert on Serbian affairs", feels Greer's way is more subtle than that favoured by the American companies. "We use the press," he said "but it is behind the scenes lobbying, and the use of governmental opinion to sway international governmental opinion where we are the most effective. The Serbs will now have more opportunity for pressing their cause. Milan Panic, prime minister of the rump Yugoslavia, numbers Lawrence Fagleburger, US assistant secretary of state among his closest friends.

13

NEW STATESMAN & SOCIETY

HELEN DELICH BENTLEY

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1610 LONGWORTH BUILDING WASHINGTON, DC 20515 202-225-3061

DISTRICT OFFICES: 200 East Joppa Road Towson, MD 21204 301-337-7222

7458 GERMAN HILL ROAD DUNDALK, MD 21222 301-285-2747

6 NORTH MAIN STREET BEL AIR, MD 21014 301-879-2517

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515

PITNEY BOWES-SERIES 8100 DIRECT LINE - (202) 225-3061

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

TO: PRIME MINISTER MILAN PANIC
FROM: CONGRESSWOMAN HELEN DELICH BENTLEY
TOTAL PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET:
MESSAGE: PLEASE DELIVER TO MR. PANIC.
WE COULDN'T GET THROUGH ON
THE OTHER LINE.
TIME REC'D:
OPERATORS INITIALS: MILAN PAVLOVIC
TIME SENT:
OPERATORS INITIALS:
If any questions, or illegible, please call: 225-3061. Thank you.

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION (ON LEAVE)

COMMITTEE ON
MERCHANT MARINE
AND FISHERIES
SUBCOMMITTEES:
MERCHANT MARINE
PANAMA CANAL/OUTER
CONTINENTAL SHELF
COAST GUARD & NAVIGATION
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND LONG TERM CARE TASK FORCE ON WOMEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY HELEN DELICH BENTLEY
2ND DISTRICT, MARYLAND

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515-2002

Memorandum

CAUCUSES:
STEEL
ART
TRADE AND TOURISM
MARITIME
HUMAN RIGHTS

ENERGY TASK FORCE

To: The Hon. Milan Panic

From: HDB

Date: Aug. 12, 1992.

- 1. CNN had a 15 minute segment on Yugoslavia tonight. Compared to its reporting in the past week of the Yugoslav civil war, the report was almost more balanced than any have ever been. Among other things, the footage included pictures of barbed wire having been taken down in one camp a positive sign.
- I have done more investigating on Slobodan Konjevic today. His sister says that he is 37 years old, and I also received a photocopy (via fax) of his picture which was taken last year. He resembles the image of the skinny figure portrayed on the CNN footage of a detention camp in Bosnia.

Slobodan Konjevic is the skinny man pictured on page 16 (enclosed) of the latest "Newsweek" and on the front page of the "N.Y. Times" of August 7. However, I have not seen him in the fresh footage of detention camps shown on CNN today.

It would be a tremendous achievement for you if you could track down this man, and his brother Zoran (who was also identified by their sister as being a prisoner in the camp), and re-unite them with her in Vienna. I am certain that you would get much positive press coverage for that, as well as raise some questions about the validity of the report which stated that the camp shown last week was Serb-run.

- 2. While we are on the subject of publicity, a woman is interested in writing a book about you. She is willing to write objectively, and at length, about what has happened to the Serbs in the past and what is happening to Yugoslavia these days, by tying this background in with your life. Would you be agreeable?
- 3. The all-for-all exchange of prisoners has raised some questions for fear that many Serbian POWs have been killed by their captors and therefore the exchange would be one sided.

PLEASE REPLY TO:

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1610 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-2002
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-3061
FAX: (202) 225-4251

DISTRICT OFFICE:
200 EAST JOPPA ROAD
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TELEPHONE: (410) 337-7222
FAX: (410) 337-0021

DISTRICT OFFICE:
7458 GERMAN HILL ROAD
DUNDALK, MD 21222
TELEPHONE: (410) 285–2747

DISTRICT OFFICE:

6 NORTH MAIN STREET

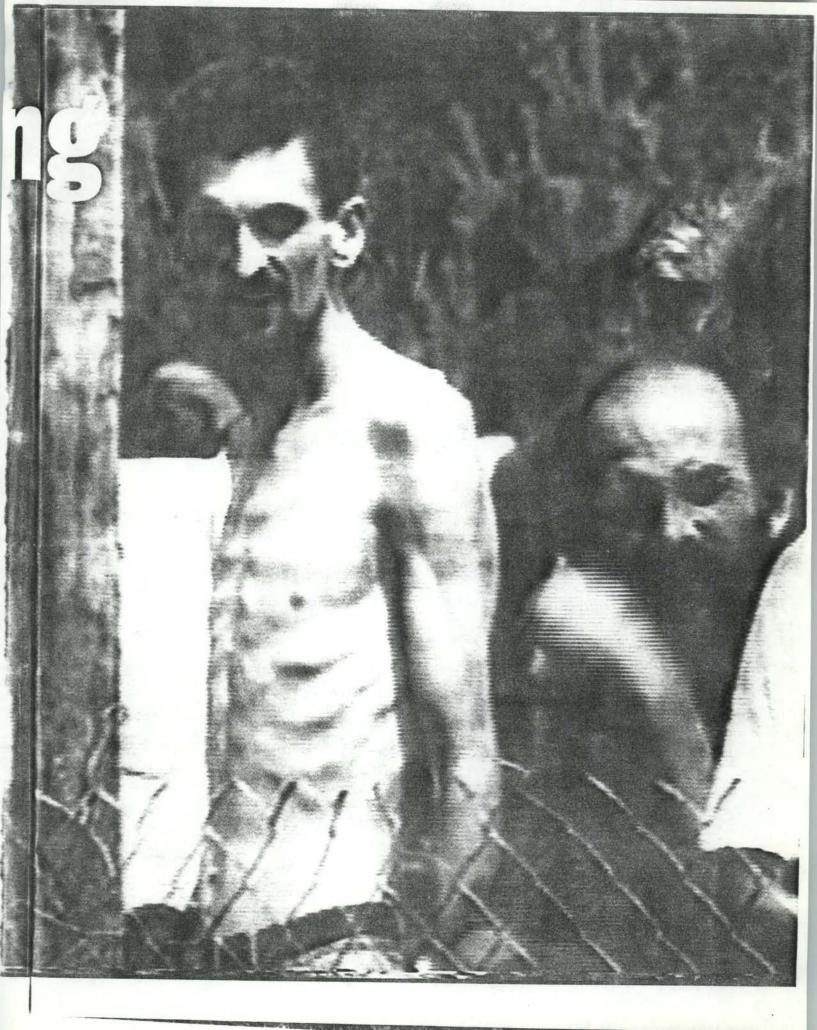
BEL AIR, MD 21014

TELEPHONE: (410) 879-2517

4. Also some questions as to Yugoslavia's recognition of the state of Bosnia and Hercegovina within its present borders. What happens to Western Hercegovina which Croatia controls? Various newspapers say there should be a return to the negotiations of cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as the three nationalities started to do. Maybe you could call for this to happen.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Delich Bentley Member of Congress



FACSIMILE COVER PAGE
DIRECT LINE: 410-561-1777
DIRECT LINE: 410-561-1777
FACSIMILE TELEPHONE NUMBER: 410-561-1868
DATE: Sept 81992 TRGENT
To: Prime Minister Milan Panic
Yugoslavia -
Pls hr Finance Minister Fax me toda Wed before
8 Am at above # Letails re IMFrequest + whys-
. I do not remember details. After 8 Am - to D.C. 202
225-42510 Earlier better -
FROM: Helen Beutlen
TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE
TIME RECEIVED:
TIME SENT:
OPERATORS INITIALS:

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE DEX EXPRESS 2000

DIRECT LINE: 410-561-1777

FACSIMILE TELEPHONE NUMBER: 410-561-1868

DATE:	September 8, 1992
	*
TO:	Prime Minister Milan Panic URGENT
	Please read the attached carefully. There are only
	two weeks left. It is urgent we get this material.
_	If the material can't be secured from UDBA we will
_	have to try another source, but I believe that UDBA has
_	the information.
_	URGENT URGENT URGENT
FROM:	Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley
TOTAL	NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE
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TIME S	SENT:
OPERAT	TORS INITIALS:

To: Milan Panich

From: Helen Delich Bentley

Date: August 26, 1992

RE: URGENT REQUEST FOR HOLOCAUST MUSEUM

The Serbian Community stands a good chance of being forever excluded from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, but there is still a way of preventing this from happening.

This Washington Museum -- only one of three like it in the world (the others are Yad Vashem in Tel Aviv, and in Los Angeles) -- is completing its permanent displays within the next 30 days. Despite numerous requests to the Yugoslav Government for help, to date there is little or nothing among these displays pertaining to Yugoslavia.

We have 30 days to supply the Museum with these materials, and preserve this vital history for posterity. Otherwise, nothing that we may ever contribute in the future will be made part of the permanent displays. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. Dr. Radu Ioanid, Director of the Photo Research Department, asserts that the permanent displays will be expanded to include film and pictures from Yugoslavia if received in time.

Dr. Ioanid believes that such materials are available from UDBA, the Yugoslav Secret Police, but that they have not been released so far because of the former, Titoist policy making this subject a taboo. As noted above, the Museum has approached the Yugoslav Government on many occasions for these materials but with no success. The Yugoslavs, aside from some artifacts obtained by Clara Mandich, have been nonresponsive.

WE NEED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER (OR WHATEVER OTHER PAPERS ARE APPROPRIATE ACCORDING TO YUGOSLAVIA'S FEDERAL RULES OF PROCEDURE) FROM YOU TO UDBA AND ANY AND ALL OTHER APPROPRIATE GROUPS OR PARTIES DIRECTING THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL WAR-ERA FILM FOOTAGE AND PHOTO STILLS PERTAINING TO SERB VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST. Radio Television Belgrade may also be able to help. I will speak to you about transport and other details — in the future we will also need books, articles, records of personal stories, private pictures, etc...

We also need to arrange funding for Dr. Jovan Mirkovic, former director of the Holocaust Museum in Jasenovac (now a refugee in Belgrade), to come to Washington and make sure that all these materials are correctly identified.

For now, the release of this film footage and pictures is the only detail which requires IMMEDIATE ATTENTION.

I think that you will agree that this is of vital importance.

DEX EXPRESS 2000

DIRECT LINE: 410-561-1777

FACSIMILE TELEPHONE NUMBER: 410-561-1868

DATE: Sep114 1992
TO: John Kennedy
he passed along Karadjoic letter after reading it to proper source - have mappined your phone number - at 410-561-1777 for one hour - and early townson
after reading it to proper source -
have misplaced your shake newher-
at 410-561-1777 for one have - and early
famouros 1
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TIME SENT:
OPERATORS INITIALS:

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

DEX EXPRESS 2000

DIRECT LINE: 410-561-1777

FACSIMILE TELEPHONE NUMBER: 410-561-1868

	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
DATE:	September 19 1992
TO:	Prime Minister Milan Panic
	Cannot connect by phone anymore today. Hope this goes thru.
	Do not know where you will be staying in NY. Pls advise.
	URGENT. You must prepare a letter to Sec Genl UN, outlining potential horrors of winter to the people, schools, hospitals, refugees etc. Emphasize both the cold, people unable to get medical care, that Serbian citizens who have taken 400,000 refugees in their homes including 90,000 muslims are goin to have to put them out as they cannot feed them any longer and heat is scarce. Everything you can must be included.
	Send copies to each member of the Sec Council, the EC Members, the USA etc.
FROM:	Will discuss more when you phone me early Mon am from NY. This VERY VERY VITAL.
	HDB
TOTAL	NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE
TIME 1	RECEIVED:
TIME :	SENT:
OPERA!	TORS INITIALS:

ry of transmitting equipment:

Summary of transmitting equipment	price	(USD)
	unit	total
item		
TV transmitter UHF band CCIR PAL G, 1 kW peak sync power (power supply 220/380 V, 50 Hz)4	80000	320000
TV transmitter UHF band CCIR PAL G, 0.5 kW peak sync power (power supply 220/380 V, 50 Hz)	60000	60000
TV transmitter UHF band CCIR PAL G, 100 W peak sync power (power supply 220/380 V, 50 H3)4	40000	160000
TV transmitter UHF band CCTR PAL G, 50 W peak sync power (power supply 220/380 V, 50 Hz)1	35000	35000
TV translator HHF hand CCIR PAL G. 250 W peak sync power, receiving channel UHF band (power supply 220/360 v, 30 hz)	שטטפב	, 55000
TV transmitter VHF band CCIR PAL B, 25 W peak sync power, (power supply 220/380 V, 50 Hz)		35000
transmitting equipment		665000

Instalation material

	price (USD	
item quantity		total
dipole array antennas; 50 ohm, 11-12 dBd gain each, UHF band, horizontally polarized, 61		
dipole array antennas, 50 ohm, 10-11 dBd gain each, VHF band, horizontally polarized, 2		
power dividers, UHF band, 1:1:1:1		
power dividers, UHF band, 1:1		
power dividers, VHF band, 1:1,1		
550 m cable		
connectors		
total instalation material:		95000

Microwave links:

	AND DATE:				9.0			price	(USD)
item				quantity				unit	total
microwave	link,	pair	TX-RX,	10	GHz		6	30000	180000
mlcrowave	link,	Patr	TH-RH,	2.4	GILB		6	35000	310000
total microwave links:					390000				

TOTAL (USD)......1150000