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CROATIA - UNPROFOR OUTGOING CODE CABLES

22-31 JAN 1993

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MSC.151

31 Jan 93

CNZ075

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OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
 INFO: VANCE, GENEVA ✓
 FROM: GOULDING, NEW YORK *Hehifan*
 DATE: 31 JANUARY 1993
 NUMBER: MSC 151
 SUBJECT: Continued Fighting: United States démarche

1993 JAN 31 A 11 04

93 JAN 31 16:59

UNOG Forearm Unit
 Palais des Nations

1. United States Permanent Mission called Tharoor Saturday evening to inform him that US Ambassadors/Chargés in Belgrade and Zagreb had been instructed to seek urgent appointments with Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman to express concern about the consequences of the continued fighting, particularly in relation to the risks posed to the Peruca Dam. The United States envoys will urge both parties to withdraw their troops from the area of the Dam and to assist UNPROFOR in demining it. Tharoor took note but recalled that UNPROFOR was not yet in a position to make any commitments regarding the Dam, except in the context of the implementation of resolution 802.

2. Please let us know whether you have received similar approaches at your end, and what action you have undertaken (or propose to undertake) in relation to the Dam itself.

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THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT
Zagreb, Opatička 8
tel. 38 41 445 661, fax. 38 41 433 988

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Statement from the Office of the President

Friday, 29 January, 1993.

Yesterday morning Serbian paramilitary forces, together with a group of Vojislav Šešelj's četniks from Serbia, committed aggression against the Peruća hydroelectric dam near Sinj. At approximately 10 a.m. on Thursday, January 28, members of the Kenyan UNPROFOR battalion were expelled by the aggressor, who succeeded in occupying the dam site. Local authorities sent to hold talks with the aggressor were held hostage and one delegate was brutally murdered. The aggressors assault on the dam has caused a considerable amount of damage; the destruction of machinery at the hydrocenter, the demolition of the access bridge and the setting off of explosions in a number of places.

Croatian defence forces decisively responded and secured control of the dam and surrounding territory. UNPROFOR officials were immediately called to return to their original positions and resume control of the dam, which has hitherto not been fulfilled.

Croatian authorities as early as last night sent a group of experts to assess the current condition of the dam. Their report focused on the imminent real danger that through the build up of water - and damage caused to the dam - further damage and even the complete destruction of the dam could occur. The experts on the spot are putting an enormous amount of effort into preventing this disaster from occurring and have requested that the United Nations send their own experts. Serbian extremists have been warned to desist their assaults so as to enable workers, with the aid of relevant equipment, to repair the damage.

A precise program has been established in the event of a disaster, which includes the evacuation of residents in vulnerable areas. For this reason, people have been requested not to respond to provocations and not to succumb to panic, but to follow strict instructions from relevant authorities who have the situation under control. The Croatian Prime Minister, Mr. Hrvoje Šarinić has personally arrived on the site.



THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

Zagreb, Opatička 8

tel. 38 41 445 661, fax. 38 41 433 988

Ivan Milas

Cabinet of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Croatian Government

telephone statement - Friday, 29 January, 1992, at 9:30 a.m.

From the Peruča dam - Eyewitness account of the most barbarian action in the history of mankind.

The Peruča dam has been mined in several places, threatened to erode with tragic consequences. At this moment experts at the dam site are carefully monitoring the changes and confirm that there is no immediate danger of a monumental catastrophe. Urgent emergency measures are being taken. The residents of Cetina, as far as Omiš, have been instructed of procedures and are prepared to evacuate accordingly. We wish to avoid both the loss of human life and damage to the economic activity in the area, which can be disastrous for Croatia. We have urgently called for world experts in large dams from international organizations to immediately come to Peruča, and we have sent reports to the United Nations and informed the international news agencies, requesting urgent international action. In light of the imminent threat of great damage, which Croatia cannot afford, we request the United Nations and international public to prepare urgent assistance of every kind.

In the name of the Crisis Headquarters:

Ivan Putanec, General Director of Croatian Electro-power Industry.



January 28, 1993

PRESS RELEASE

CROATIAN MILITARY AND POLICE ACTIONS IN THE ZADAR REGION

The recent limited action of the police and military forces of the Republic of Croatia in the region of Zadar was aimed at securing the building site of the Maslenica bridge which forms a vital transportation link between central Croatia and the coastal region in the south of the Croatian republic. The bridge and parts of the highway which cross it were occupied by the Yugoslav army and Serbian paramilitary forces in 1991, effectively cutting off the coastal region of Croatia with the Croatian heartland. Therefore, the Croatian action was necessary in order to economically, logistically and socially reintegrate the coastal region of Croatia with the rest of the Republic, as well as to facilitate the transfer of humanitarian assistance to this region and also to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose sole link to Croatia is the above-mentioned highway. It should be noted that the coastal region of Croatia contains a population of 700,000 along with an added 200,000 refugees who had fled the Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The city of Zadar had been particularly cut off from the rest of Croatia making it difficult not only for its return to normal economic activity, but also in providing assistance to tens of thousands of refugees and displaced persons who had streamed into the city as a result of Serbian ethnic cleansing which was carried out in the areas to the immediate north and east of the city. The Serbian atrocities perpetrated against unarmed elderly Croatian men and women in the towns of Skabrnje and Nadin in the proximity of Zadar, and which were documented in a recent Helsinki Watch report, are still remembered for their exceptional brutality and cold-bloodedness. The actions of the Croatian police and military mentioned above were predominantly carried out in the so-called "pink zone" in the district of Zadar.

The "pink zones" are regions of Croatia which had been occupied by the Yugoslav Army and Serbian paramilitaries during their aggression against Croatia in 1991. The "pink zones" had a pre-war population of 78,045, of which Croats formed the majority (see attached map). These territories should have been returned to the authority of the Government of Croatia as soon as UNPROFOR assumed responsibility within UNPA Sectors South and North and the Croatian Government had issued an Amnesty Act (S/RES/762, op. para. 5; S/24188, para. 16). Although

both of these provisions had been met long ago by the Croatian authorities, these territories were never returned to the administrative system of the Government of Croatia due to the intransigence, lack of cooperation and stalling tactics of illegal Serbian paramilitary forces in this region. These militant Serbian formations, which should have been disbanded by UNPROFOR according to the Vance peace plan, continued to perpetrate acts of terrorism and ethnic cleansing against the remaining Croatian population.

The "pink zone" in the district of Zadar (which has the same name as its largest city) consisted of an area of 135 square kilometers and contained a pre-war population of 11,535 of which the vast majority (8,822 or 76.5%) were Croats (see attached table). In the case of Zadar, the restoration of Croatian authority in the "pink zone" will mean that thousands of refugees who had fled this region from fear of Serbian ethnic cleansing can return to their homes.

The Croatian Government had recently informed the Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia about its intention to establish control over this territory in the "pink zone" located in the district of Zadar. The return of this territory to the authority of the Croatian Government was agreed to in the Vance plan and was a major factor in Croatia's acceptance of this plan. The restoration of this territory to Croatian authority was envisaged by the reports of the Secretary-General concerning Security Council resolution 762 (1992). In paragraph 3 of his report (S/24188) he emphasized that "the Croatian authorities are correct in their interpretation of the plan approved by the Security Council, which does not provide for any change in the UNPA boundaries" and "therefore they were under no obligation to agree to an adjustment of the agreed boundaries in those sectors in order to circumvent the problem".

1993-01-30 03:08

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UNITED NATIONS HQS NEW YORK

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MSC.144

29 JAN '93

CNZ 072 CYZ 052 P1/1

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
 INFO: VANCE, GENEVA ✓
 FROM: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK
 DATE: 29 JANUARY 1993
 NUMBER: MSC-144
 SUBJECT: Peruca Dam

JAN 30 1993

1. The Department of Humanitarian Affairs has advised us that they have a Swiss team of civil engineers which could be made available on short notice in the event that an independent assessment of the damage to the Peruca Dam is considered useful. The team recently provided its expertise on the Mojkovac Dam situation in Northern Montenegro.

2. DHA, in cooperation with UNHCR, is also preparing contingency plans in case an evacuation of the area below the Peruca Dam is required.

3. At this stage, this is for your information only, in case the situation evolves. Our overall guidance remains as our MSC-140.

UNOG Telecomm. Unit

Pais des Nations

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29 JAN 93

UNPROFOR

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

M O S T I M M E D I A T E

Page 1 of 3

TO: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK
INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA
FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
DATE: 29 JANUARY 1993
NUMBER: UNPROFOR Z- 122
SUBJECT: **PERUCA DAM**

Clambail
Mr Gen

29 93 JAN 29 55Z

1. You will by now know the sad story of Peruca. While the indications are, that Serb-placed explosives have caused what may prove an irreparable breach in the dam, we have not arrived at any final conclusions. The conduct of both sides in the area during the past 48 hours has been entirely mendacious and grossly irresponsible, culminating in yesterday's fierce artillery battle around the dam, and the damage it underwent.

2. The Consultants' report of September 1992, para. 3.2.3, deals with "Explosives". It's second sub-paragraph states as follows: -

"Given a sufficiently deep breach the emerging water would wash away the clay, progressively enlarging and deepening the opening until the reservoir was effectively emptied. This process would take some period of time, possibly ranging from a few hours to a few days. Given a peace-time solution with ample earth-moving plant available it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arrest this process."

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UNPROFOR-2122
Palais des Nations
29 JAN 29 21:29

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Sad to say, this appears to be what is happening. A journalist who was at the site today told us tonight that the Croats felt they could no longer save the dam, but might be able to prevent a flood-wall tearing down to the sea.

3. I have debated at length with my colleagues over our appropriate course of action. We are still rather shocked - despite our time here - by the brazenness of lying, at all levels of government. It gravely affects the basis for cooperation, and I am unwilling, even in these grave circumstances, again to place at risk the lives of our troops in what may prove to be Peruca's last hours on the basis of any Croatian government assurance. I have accordingly sent the attached letter tonight to Susak.

4. You will, of course, recall, that item 1 (a) for last week's aborted high-level meeting at Maslenica was Maslenica; item 1 (b) was Peruca. The agenda, mercifully, was short. Perhaps - and it is a big perhaps - the destruction caused by this absurd adventure can still also be limited. They were warned; again and again.

Endall

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

UNPROFOR

C2N-144 P 3/2

29 January 1993

Dear Mr Susak,

1. In the exercise of our good offices, we have been discussing the situation in the Peruca dam area with you and the Knin authorities today without, it would seem, any agreement being reached.

2. In the circumstances which have now arisen, I suggest the following course of action: -

- a. I shall arrange to deploy United Nations observers to the area of the dam as soon as possible;
- b. an immediate ceasefire should be implemented;
- c. all your forces in the area should return to the positions at which they were emplaced prior to 22 January 1993, in compliance with Security Council Resolution 802.

3. Experience during the past few days has made it difficult at this time to accept assurances on any of these matters without some reservation. Accordingly, I feel unable in the exercise of my responsibility as Force Commander, to risk the lives of UNPROFOR troops at this site, unless and until your Government has accepted and implemented the provisions of Resolution 802.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Satish

Lt Gen Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

Mr. Gojko Susak
Minister of Defence
Republic of Croatia

Fax no. 432-415

UNOG Telecommunications Unit
Palais des Nations

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

93 JAN 29 1993 BUILDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK 20K - 20617

INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA

FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB

DATE: 29 January 1993

NUMBER:

UNPROFOR-Z-119

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM GENERAL NOVAKOVIC

MOST IMMEDIATE

(PERUCA)

Subject letter, dated 29 January 1993, is forwarded for information.

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HQ SECTOR SOUTH KNIN

TEL: 8711301443

29. Jan:93 12:22 No.017 P.

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RSK

HQ RSK Serbian Army

No 01-60

Knin 29.01.93

DISRESPECT OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ABOUT PERUCA DAM

UNPROFOR HQ Zagreb (Gen Nambiar)

Sector South HQ

RSK State Committee for Cooperation with UNPROFOR

(RSK Government Bureau in Belgrade)

Even beside our ultimate attempt to take part in security of the dam with our own forces to prevent the dam being damaged and destroy by Croatian Army. On your request we withdrew our Milicija forces yesterday which were in the night 27/28 January engaged in the obstruction of Croatian special units action which as you already know were firing also on UNPROFOR forces.

Withdrawal of our forces from Peruca dam is in accordance with our principle attitude that its status has to be arranged also according to UN Security Council resolutions. However, immediately after withdrawal of our forces, according to your request, Croatian armed forces with incursion of special diversion group and with the action of one brigade in direction Sinj - Vrlika occupied the dam and now keeping it under their control.

We are free, dear gentlemen to draw your attention on your obligation on this situation to, according UN Security Council resolutions, request also the Croatian side to immediately leave Peruca dam and to cede its security to the UNPROFOR forces.

For serious consequences which may appear in further disrespect of UN Security Council resolution, Serbian side will not be responsible of.

Commander
Major General
Mile Novakovic

SEKTOR SOUTH KNIN

TEL: 9711301443

20. Jan. 93 12:22 NO. 017 P. 11

REPUBLIKA SRPSKA KRAJINA
GLAVNI ŠTAB SRPSKE VOJSKE ROK
Broj 01-60
Knin, 29. 01. 1993. godine

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Nepoštovanje Rezolucije
Savjeta bezbednosti UN
o HE "Peruća".

KOMANDI UNPROFOR-a ZACHED (na ličnost gen-ppk Namblaru)
KOMANDI SEKTORA "JUG"
DRŽAVNI KOMITET ROK ZA SARADNJU SA UNPROFOR-om
(Birou Vlade ROK u Beogradu)

I pored naših prvobitne namere da sopstvenim snagama učestvujemo u obezbeđenju HE Peruća radi privlačenja njenog pšćenja i zusenja od strane hrvatske vojske, na naše insistiranje u toku jučerašnjeg dana povukli smo milicijske snage koje su tokom noći 27/28. januara bile angažovane u spročavanju akoija ustaško-hrvatskih specijalnih jedinica koje su kao što vam je poznato, dejstvovala i po snagama UNPROFOR-a.

Povlačenje naših snaga sa HE Peruća u skladu je i s našim principijelnim stavom da se njen status mora urediti i u skladu rezolucijama Saveta bezbednosti UN.

Medjutim, odmah nakon povlačenja naših snaga, izvršenog u skladu sa vašim zahtevom, hrvatske oružane snage upadom specijalne diverzantske grupe i dejstvom jedne brigade sa pravca Sinj - Vrlika, pojele su Uranu i sada je drže pod kontrolom.

Slobodni smo, poštovana gospodo da skrenemo pažnju na vašu obaveznu da u nastaloj situaciji u skladu sa rezolucijama Saveta bezbednosti UN sada naložite i hrvatskoj utrajan da odmah napusti HE "Peruća" i njeno obezbeđenje prepušti snagama UNPROFOR-a.

Za ozbiljne posljedice koje bi moglo proizići u slučaju daljeg nepoštovanja rezolucije Saveta bezbednosti UN Srpska Strana ne može snositi odgovornost.



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Palais des Nations

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29 JAN 93
COMMUNICATIONS
ZAGREB

TO: JAN 29 1993 GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK → OK 201717 29 93 JAN 18 52

INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA

FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB

MOST IMMEDIATE

DATE: 29 January 1993

NUMBER: UNPROFOR Z 118

SUBJECT: **PERUCA DAM - 29 JANUARY 1993**
TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT AS AT 1700 HOURS

Subject report, prepared by Sector Engineer, Sector South,
is faxed herewith for your information.

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UNPROFOR
SECTOR SOUTH

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TO: HQ UNPROFOR		FROM: HQ SECTOR SOUTH	
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INFO : D.C.M. FAX NO. :			
SUBJECT: PERUCA DAM TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT AS OF 291700AJAN			

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MESSAGE

DAMAGE TO PERUCA DAM AS REPORTED BY UNMO AND ECMM ON SITE AT 1130 HRS AND AS OBSERVED ON SKYNEWS IS AS FOLLOWS:

1. 3 MAJOR EXPLOSIONS ON CREST GATE OVERBRIDGE MAIN GALLERY AND CAUSEWAY/ROADWAY ON WEST END OF THE DAM. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT ARTY FIRE DIRECTLY OR THROUGH SYMPATHETIC DETONATION CAUSED THE DAMAGE. IT IS BELIEVED THAT THIS WAS A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE DAM BY THE USE OF DEMOLITION CHARGES.
2. WATER IS FLOWING THROUGH A BREACH IN THE MAIN STRUCTURE OF THE DAM AND THE POWER HOUSE IS PARTIALLY SUBMERGED. WATER LEVEL IN PERUCA RESERVOIR HAS DROPPED BY A MAX OF APPROXIMATELY 1M. CROATIAN CIVIL ENGINEERS ARE CURRENTLY USING HEAVY EARTHMOVING EQUIPMENT TO STOP WATER FLOW. APPROXIMATELY 200 WORKERS ARE ASSISTING IN WORKS PROTECTED BY CA.
3. CROATIAN ENGINEER ASSESSMENT IS THAT THEY HAVE THE DAMAGE UNDER CONTROL AND AS A RESULT CIVILIAN POPULATION DOWNSTREAM OF DAM HAS BEEN WARNED FOR EVACUATION. BUT HAS NOT BEEN EVACUATED YET.

C 21- 140
C 26- 110
3/3

4. CREST GATE OR FLAP GATE OVERBRIDGE STRUCTURE AND PART OF THE MACHINERY HOUSE HAVE BEEN DESTROYED BY THE USE OF CUTTING AND CRATERING DEMOLITION CHARGES. THE CAUSEWAY NEAR THE BANK OF THE RESERVOIR ON THE WEST SIDE HAS BEEN CRATERED USING DEMOLITION CHARGES. THE CRATER IS JUST ABOVE THE WATER LEVEL AND IS NOT CONTRIBUTING TO UNCONTROLLED OUTFLOW OF WATER.

5. APPARENT BREACH IN THE CLAY CORE AT THE MIDWAY POINT BETWEEN THE WEST AND EAST SIDES OF THE DAM HAS CAUSED A DISPLACEMENT OF THE ROAD SURFACE OF APPROX 1 - 2 METRES. THIS DISPLACEMENT AND THE FACT THAT WATER PURCOLATING ON THE DOWN STREAM SIDE OF THE DAM CONTAINS CLAY PARTICLES CONFIRMS THE RUPTURE OF THE CLAY CORE.

6. BASED ON A WATER LEVEL OF 356.20 28 JAN AND THE FACT THAT THE WATER IS FLOWING OVER THE CREST GATE WHICH CEASES TO CONTRIBUTE TO OUTFLOW AT RESERVOIR LEVEL 355.25 THE MAX DROP IN WATER LEVEL POSSIBLE CAUSED BY RUPTURE IS 0.95 METRES WHICH IS A MAX OUTFLOW OF 18.4 MILLION CUBIC METRES. THE CONTRIBUTION OF OUTFLOW BY THE CREST GATE BASED ON A 12 HR PERIOD IS APPROX 0.60 MILLION CUBIC METRES. THEREFORE THE RUPTURE COULD BE PASSING AS A MAX 411 CUBIC METRES OF WATER PER SECOND. SHOULD THE WATER LEVEL IN THE RESERVOIR BE 355.75 METRES THE WATER PASSING THROUGH THE RUPTURE COULD BE AS HIGH AS 208 CUBIC METRES PER SECOND. FROM TELEVISION PICTURES IT WAS DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE THE WATER LEVEL BUT IT APPEARED TO BE JUST ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE FULLY OPENED CREST GATE. THE ABOVE CALCULATIONS ARE PROVIDED TO GIVE A RANGE OF POSSIBLE UNCONTROLLED OUTFLOW THROUGH THE RUPTURE. IT IS HIGHLY LIKELY THAT THIS OUTFLOW WILL CAUSE FURTHER EROSION OF THE CLAY CORE THEREBY CONTRIBUTING TO A COMPLETE BREACH OF THE MAIN DAM STRUCTURE.

7. ESB INTL IN THEIR SAFETY REPORT TO UNPROFOR STATED IN PARAGRAPH 3.2.3 THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO ARREST THE PROCESS OF THE EROSION OF THE CLAY CORE. POSSIBLE OUTFLOW AS CALCULATED IN PARA 6 ABOVE EMPHASIZES THE DIFFICULTY. MR MACAN CHIEF ENGINEER RESPONSIBLE FOR PERUCA DAM DAMAGE CONTROL WILL BE ASSESSING PROGRESS OF REPAIRS LATER THIS EVENING. UNMOS WILL ATTEMPT TO GET INFO AND WILL PASS TO SEC ENGR AS SOON AS AVAILABLE. THIS INFO WILL BE PASSED TO HQ UNPF IF AND WHEN RECEIVED.

C2N-137

C2A-108

UNPROF/93/831

UNUG Telecomm. Unit

Palais des Nations

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29 Jan 93
COMMUNICATIONS
ZAGREB

29 93 JA 13 49Z

TO: '93 JAN 29 0445Z, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA

FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB

MOST IMMEDIATE

DATE: 29 January 1993

NUMBER: UNPROFOR 2-115

SUBJECT: SITUATION IN THE UNPAs -
UPDATE AS AT 1300 HOURS 29 JANUARY 1993

1. Further to our sitrep of today's date, the latest update of events is as given in the succeeding paragraphs.

Sector South

2. Peruca Area. Situation is as follows:-

(a) The CA is in control of the Dam area.

(b) Croatian civil engineers have reported to our UNMOs at Sinj and the ECMM that:

(i) Three explosions had occurred in the Dam area yesterday evening resulting in the destruction of the bridge over the flap gate and the machinery room along side, some damage within the gallery running through the main structure of the dam and destruction of the bottom discharge gate.

(ii) Water is flowing through the main structure of the dam and that the water level has dropped by three metres so far.

(iii) The power house is partially under water.

(iv) Croatian civil engineers, knowledgeable about dam

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structures, are using bulldozers and some 200 workers to stop the flow of water.

- (v) They (the Croatian civil engineers) assess that they have the situation under control and they have NOT recommended any major evacuation in the area.

(c) I had a telephone call from Prime Minister Sarinic and a letter from General Bobetko (attached) requesting UNPROFOR presence at the Dam to provide security for the repair work. I am monitoring the situation closely and am insisting on implementation of SCR-802 before considering the return of our troops to the area. My response to General Bobetko's letter is attached for your information.

2. Drnis Area. The area is still tense. The Serb TDF is reportedly reinforcing its positions at Zitnic.

3. Mali Alan - Nekic Area. There are unconfirmed reports received from Frebat that Nekic area, south of Mali Alan, may have been occupied by the Croatian Army this morning. Frebat also reports that Mali Alan has been reinforced by approximately 100 personnel of the Serb TDF. It is assessed that French troops at Mali Alan are presently not under threat. Negotiations have been conducted to ensure that the French troops are evacuated in case any threat from the CA develops in that area.

4. Kakma (South West of Benkovac). The CA is reported to have commenced shelling of the TDF position at Kakma at 0700 hours this morning. The Serbs retaliated with artillery fire. The exchange of artillery fire stopped at 0930 hours.

Sector North

5. Sector North has reported the build-up of artillery and

CZN-137 C29-108

- 3 -

3/7

other vehicles in the Zagreb-Sisak direction. I have also received a letter from the Serb TDF commander, General Novakovic (also attached), reporting about CA build-up. I have included the aspect in my letter to General Bobetko. Endall.



REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA
MINISTARSTVO OBRANE

FAX 1N-900

C2N-137 C24-108

4/7

Zagreb, January 28th, 1993.

UNPROFOR HEADQUARTERS
Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

Dear General,

- 1.) I am informed that today at 11.00 a.m. the Chetniks will attack the Peruca dam and our forces that are defending the access to Peruca.
- 2.) About the fact that yesterday they mined the bridge and damaged the dam we already informed You, as well as Mr. Vance.
- 3.) Now I beg You and I warn You to take action for the stopping of the aggression on the Peruca dam. At Peruca there are more than 200 workers and civilians whose lives are in danger.
- 4.) Your forces still didn't take their positions on Peruca. I beg You to give the necessary orders to Your units.

Please give us information about the development of the situation and about the actions taken, so that we can make further decisions.

Yours sincerely,

General Janko Bobetko



CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE
CROATIAN ARMY

C2N-137

C2G-108

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

UNPROFOR

5/7

29 January 1993

Dear General Bobetko,

1. Please refer to your letter of date on the subject of the Peruca Dam.
2. As I informed Mr. Susak last night, the security environment in the area does not allow redeployment of UNPROFOR troops at present. We would be in a position to review this aspect on implementation of the provisions of Security Council Resolution 802.
3. I would like to take this opportunity to apprise you of the disturbing reports I am receiving of the build-up of Croatian forces in a number of other areas, particularly Karlovac-Sisak. I ask you not to escalate the conflict any further.
4. I am informing New York and Geneva of your letter and this response.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'S. Nambiar', with a horizontal line drawn through it.

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

FAX NUMBER: 452-279

General Janko Bobetko
Chief of Staff
Croatian Army
Croatian Army Headquarters
Zagreb

C2N-137 C2G-108 4/5

THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA
SERBIAN ARMY HQ
No.01-59
Knin,28.01.93

6/7

Report on the CA units movement
is to be delivered :

Lt General Satish Nambiar (personally)
UNPROFOR HQ -ZAGREB
THE RSK STATE COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATION WITH UNPROFOR
(The RSK Government office in Belgrade)

Last night, from 21:00 hrs up to date, a march of one CA brigade commenced
on the line Zagreb- Karlovac.

The convoy consists of 80 pieces of artillery weapons.

Such convoy could be easily observed by the UNPROFOR members, if it was their
wish. Dear Sir, ten days before the aggression, we were informing you daily
about the CA concentration.

We are informing you again about their further preparation for continuation
of aggression against our territory and the UNPA.

We will be very sorry if you keep on stating that you are surprised and
know nothing about that.

COMMANDER
Brig gen Mile Novakovic

29/01/93 AS



CZIN-137 CZG-108

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

UNPROFOR

7/7

29 January 1993

Dear General Novakovic,

1. I acknowledge receipt of your letters no. 01-58 and 01-59, both dated 28 January 1993.
2. I have yesterday informed New York of the developments in the Peruca Dam area.
3. As regards your information pertaining to CA movement in the Karlovac area, I am taking up the matter with the Croatian authorities and also informing New York.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'S. Nambiar', written over a horizontal line.

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

Brigadier General Mile Novakovic
Knin

CNZ 070 CYZ 051 P1/1

UNOG Telephone Unit
Palais des NationsMSC-140
28 Jan 93

CODE CABLE

'93 JAN 29 -3 :39

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB

INFO: VANCE, GENEVA ✓

FROM: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

DATE: 28 JANUARY 1993

NUMBER: MSC-140

SUBJECT: Peruca Dam

JAN 28 P 9:34

UNATIONS

fx [Signature]

Thank you for your most illuminating UNPROFOR Z-112. We fully support the line taken in your letter of 28 January to Defence Minister Susak. UNPROFOR should only consider resumption of authority in the dam area as part of the arrangements for the full and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 802.

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CZ4-134
CZ6-106

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE
UNPROFOR

OUTGOING CRYPTO-CABLE

MOST IMMEDIATE

UNPROT-7312
28 JAN 1993
20 00 00 0

UNOG Telecomm. Unit
Page 5 of 5
93 JAN 28 20:25
Palais des Nations

TO : GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK → ok 2110
INFO : VANCE, ICFY, UNOG
FROM : NAMBIAR, ZAGREB
DATE : 28 JANUARY 1993
NUMBER : UNPROFOR-Z- 112
SUBJECT: Situation in Peruca Dam Area

Blank
or Gen

1. After 24 hours of disingenuousness which, even by local standards, has been startling, I have just received a letter on Peruca from Defence Minister Susak - copy attached. I have sent him an interim reply, also attached. The message also came from Bobetko/Letica in Zadar to Peterson, who is currently informing Spanovic on the matter. I am awaiting news from her, and clarifications from Rob as to the situation on the ground. So far as we are currently informed, while everyone has left the actual dam itself, they are all milling around in the general vicinity. The Croats have advanced right up to the periphery, and the Serbs have apparently withdrawn some kilometres, but are bringing up armour in support of their infantry. The prior sequence of events has been as follows:

2. At 1500 hours today our reports indicated that a fierce battle was raging in the area of Peruca dam with intense artillery and rocket fire being exchanged by both sides. Allegations and counter-allegations against each other were being presented to us, but what seemed to be happening on the ground was that the CA was attacking the Dam area and the Serbs were fiercely resisting.

3. Separate UNMO teams were sent out from Sinj to the headquarters of the CA Brigade, and the Serb TDF at Knin and Vrlika, respectively, to try to get a clearer picture of events. The team which visited CA 126 Brigade headquarters at Sinj, at 1600 hours, was told by the CA LO that the CA had captured both sides of the Dam and that they had forced the Serbs to withdraw. He added that they were occupying the area around Dervans 8651, but that the area of the dam itself was not occupied any more by either the Serbs or the CA. He mentioned that they had captured two Belgrade journalists in the Peruca area.

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4. The team which visited the Serb TDF headquarters were told that the CA had captured the Dam area and that the Serbs had withdrawn to Maljkovo. They later visited Maljkovo and saw some soldiers there, in a state of disarray, and they noticed five buses with soldiers which were moving rearwards towards Vrlika. On their way back, between Maljkovo and Vrlika, they met General Lukic, TDF commander, who confirmed that the Dam was under CA control. He added that there were no Serbs left in the Dam area and that it was likely that the CA would destroy the dam in such a manner as to put the blame on the Serbs. On the way back from Vrlika to Knin, the team observed six T-72 tanks and four SA-6 mobile anti-aircraft missile launchers heading towards the Vrlika direction.

5. At 1835 hours, Defence Minister Susak telephoned me to say that the Peruca dam area was under the control of the CA. Earlier, when I had contacted him to protest the CA shelling of the Peruca dam, Susak, like Bobetko the night before, had given a categorical assurance that the information given by the TDF about CA shelling was wrong and that they were not attacking in the area. (Last night, we had again noted Bobetko's histrionic capability, this time solo, for over an hour; evidently sent by Tudjman and Susak to perform for us.) This evening, Susak told me that the CA was holding the area to the sides of the dam but were not occupying the dam itself. He offered to hand over the dam to Kenbat control immediately.

6. Susak's kind offer to return the dam to UNPROFOR control (while still occupying the dominating area around it) has several layers of meaning. For my part, I am at present disinclined to risk our troops' lives on top of it. We would be vastly convenient scapegoats if the place were blown up deliberately, or as a result of shelling. Each has already publicly played the card:- "the other side is going to blow it up and ensure that we are blamed".

7. Peterson has now reported that Spanovic's reaction to this gift horse was also circumspect. They were always, he said, in favour of ceasefires, but there were one or two small clarifications. The Croatian offer made no mention of 802:- when were they ready to withdraw to their previous positions, instead of making continuous advances?

8. He also warned her that they believed that the Croats had not the least intention of abiding by 802. They were, he said, untruthfully stating, tonight, that the Serbs were shelling Zadar again: he had just checked (1830 hours) and no shell had been fired on Zadar. He wanted to warn us, with the utmost seriousness, that he expected the main Croat attack to take place tonight or tomorrow, and that there would be considerable escalation.

C2N-127
C26-106

9. They have evidently decided to try to re-insure themselves with UNPROFOR. They want to make peace with the French battalion today, and on local television to instruct the population on correct behaviour towards UNPROFOR and, especially, the French. They say they are relying on the Security Council to get the Croats out, and Spanovic came up with the idea, tonight, of him doing a joint press conference with UNPROFOR in Knin. Peterson said we would think about it.

10. Guidance on accepting Peruca, once again, would be appreciated.

11. CIVPOL Commissioner Johansen has today brought back to Knin 11 of the 21 police detained in Benkovac. The remaining 10 will come tomorrow. The deal - which suits us, too - is that a new group of 10 will return to run the Benkovac police station. They will have freedom of movement and the right to withdraw if the security situation requires.

Endall.



UNPROFOR

CEN-134
CZG-106

28 January 1993

My dear Mr Susak,

1. Thank you for your letter of date which I have just received.
2. I have asked my colleagues in Sector South to ascertain and apprise me of the status of the situation in the Peruca Dam area. On receipt of details from them, I shall, in consultation with New York, determine the appropriate course of action in the context of Security Council Resolution 802.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Satish

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

FAX NUMBER: 432-415

Mr. Gojko Susak
Minister of Defence
Republic of Croatia
Zagreb



REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA
MINISTARSTVO OBRANE

Zagreb, January 28 th, 1993.

28 93 JAN 17 10Z

FAX-111-872

UNPROFOR HEADQUARTERS
Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

My dear general,

- 1.) Thank You for everything that You and Your associates are doing for trying to establish cease-fire in and near the Peruca dam.
- 2.) I and general Bobetko have been in touch with all our commanders in the area and according to our informations nobody's forces are at Peruca dam at present.
- 3.) I want to assure You that the Croatian army will cease the operation and guarantee from our side security of the UN-troops if they are willing to go back to Peruca dam and take full control of it.
- 4.) If You could inform us about Your decision on this proposal it would be greatly appreciated.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely

DEFENSE MINISTER



Gojko Šušak

41000 ZAGREB, Trg kralja Petra Krešimira IV br. 1 - Tel: 041/443-836, 467-640, Faks: 041/432-415

CROATIA

190/93

UNOG Telecomm. Unit
Palais des NationsUNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE
UNPROFOR

UNPROFOR

COMMUNICATIONS

ZAGREB

OUTGOING CRYPTO CABLES 00 00 10 05 Z

'93 JAN 28 19:12

IMMEDIATE

Page 1 of 1

TO : GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK *204 1940*

INFO : VANCE, ICFY, UNOG

FROM : NAMBIAR, ZAGREB

DATE : 28 JANUARY 1993

NUMBER : UNPROFOR-Z- *110*SUBJECT: MEETING WITH GERMAN AMBASSADOR

DISTRIBUTION:

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German ambassador Weisel is a regular caller and he came today to see DCM for an hour of informal exchange. He made a number of points:- that he had been having "a very stormy" session with Tudjman, who had evidently miscalculated on the Maslenica action. First, he had thought that his army could do it quickly; second, he evidently believed he had received a green light from various persons including Mitterand, the two co-Chairmen, and Cosic (Weisel stated that Tudjman was insistent on this under questioning, the latter telling him that, in diplomatic circles, one did not have precise undertakings but, instead, more muted - but equally unambiguous - signals. I should also say that senior members of the western press say that they have also been briefed to this effect. Weisel volunteered that the Germans had told Croatia that their condemnation of its resort to force was not only token. However, he went on to speak of mandate renewal, and said he thought that there would now be a case for sanctions not being removed against Belgrade until political agreements regarding the sectors had been concluded. (We took the opportunity to respond that we thought that only by a judicious mixture of carrot and stick could anyone hope to get either element in Croatia to behave with necessary moderation.) He spoke (with feeling) about recent Croatian mendacity, saying that nobody should believe a word they said. In this context, it emerged that this morning Susak, before the assembled diplomatic community called in for briefing, had told them that UNPROFOR had arranged an 0600 ceasefire today, and that it was holding. We had to tell him that there was not a word of truth in this statement, either.

I shall be briefing the local diplomats tomorrow afternoon, in the first of a proposed regular series of meetings with them.

Endall

C 2N-130
C 2G-103

UNPROF-2108
186/93
28 Jan 93
(14)

UNPROFOR
COMMUNICATIONS
OUTGOING CODE CABLE ZAGREB

TO: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK 28 93 JA 15 47Z
INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA
FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB MOST IMMEDIATE
DATE: 28 January 1993
NUMBER: UNPROFOR-Z-108 *Clambil*
SUBJECT: SITUATION IN PERUCA - LETTER FROM IVAN MILAS *Mr Gen*

Attached letter from Mr. Ivan Milas, and my response thereto, is forward for information.

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UNOG Telephone Unit
Palais des Nations
93 JAN 28 16:20



UNPROFOR

UNPROFOR
COMMUNICATIONS
ZAGREB

28 January 1993 15:47Z

C2N-130
C2G-103PERUCA DAM*My dear Mr. Milas,*

1. Thank you for your letter No. 5030107-92-145 dated 28 January 1993.
2. According to the latest reports I have, there is a fairly intense battle going on in the Peruca Dam area with heavy shelling by the Croatian Forces, as well as by the Serbs. The question therefore of reintroducing any UNPROFOR troops, who were withdrawn from the dam site this morning, due to the shelling they were being subjected to, does not arise.
3. It is up to the Croatian Army to cease operations in the area if a disaster is to be averted.

*With warm regards,
Yours sincerely,**Mr. D. D.*

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

FAX NO: 38 41 443 735

Mr. Ivan Milas
Vice Prime Minister of the government
of the Republic of Croatia and
President of the Government's Commission
for UNPROFOR
Zagreb



ZEN-130
C26-103

(3/4)

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Government's Commission for UNPROFOR

Cl. 800-01/92-01/05
No. 5030107-92-145

Zagreb, January 28, 1993

MOST IMMEDIATE

Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar

**Chief of Mission
Force Commander
UNPROFOR**

Dear general,

We have learned that the Serbian paramilitary formations penetrated into the area of Peruća Dam, which was under UNPROFOR control, expelled therefrom the members of KENBAT and destroyed the bridge which was the constructive part of the dam system. Apart from the fact that the status of the area was violated and that the coercive act against UNPROFOR was committed, this deed also jeopardized the stability of the dam, which could cause both incalculable ecological and human catastrophe in the whole region under the dam.

We demand the measures to be taken in order to bring the dam under UNPROFOR control and to undertake other measures in order to prevent the threatening disaster.

With respect,

**Vice-president of the Government of the Republic of Croatia
President of the Government's Commission for UNPROFOR**

Ivan Milas



VLADA REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE
Državna komisija za UNPROFOR

Kl. 800-01/92-01/05

No. 5030107-92-145

Zagreb, 28. siječanj, 1993.

VRLO HITNO!

Lt. Gen. Sotish Nambiar

Šef Misije
Zapovjednik snaga
UNPROFOR

Štovani Lt. Gen. Nambiar

Doznali smo da su arapske paravojne formacije ušle na područje brane Peruča, koja je pod kontrolom UNPROFOR-a, protjerale s tog područja Kenijski bataljun i srušile most koji je sastavni dio sustava brane. Osim što je time povrijeđen status tog područja i izvršen nasilni akt protiv UNPROFOR-a, ugrožena je stabilnost brane, što može dovesti do nesagledive ekološke i ljudske katastrofe na cijelom području ispod brane.

Tražimo da poduzmete sve mjere da vratite branu pod kontrolu UNPROFOR-a i da poduzmete druge mjere radi sprečavanja prijetnje katastrofe.

Uz puno štovanje,

Potpredsjednik Vlade Republike Hrvatske
Predsjednik Državne komisije za UNPROFOR

Ivan Milas
Ivan Milas

FLC COS
DFC CAO
DCM CMO
REG
FILE

CTN-129
C26-102

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

UNPROFOR
COMMUNICATIONS
ZAGREB

UNPROFOR 185/93 107

28 Jan 93

1/2

TO: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK *201-1640* 28 93 JA 15 207
INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA
FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
DATE: 28 January 1993
NUMBER: UNPROFOR-2-107 *Chambel*
SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF BH POLITICAL SITUATION - 27 JANUARY 1993

MOST IMMEDIATE

Subject cable from Kiseljak is attached for information.

DISTRIBUTION:	
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93 JAN 28 16:19

UNHCR Telecom. Unit
Palais des Nations

UN RESTRICTED



U NATIONS

CZN-129 2/2
CZG-102

PROTECTION FORCE

HQ BH COMD

To: HQ UNPROFOR ZAGREB
BH COMMAND KISELJAK

Attn: Force Commander
Attn: COS

From: BH COMMAND SARAJEVO

Maj Gen Morillon

Arthur Morillon

Date: 27 Jan 93

File No: BHCS/8060

Subject: ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION - 27 JAN 93.

1. The very tough line taken last week by Prime Minister Akmadzic has predictably led to the conflict between Croats and Muslims developing into our major current concern. I regret to say I have little faith that the agreements and ceasefire announced today will lead to a calmer and more stable situation in Central Bosnia.

2. The message to President Izetbegovic could not be clearer: "Unless you accept the opportunity for peace now on offer at GENEVA, you will be faced not by one, but by two adversaries in this war which you appear bent on pursuing at all costs."

a. I firstly however doubt that the President and his more radical advisors will have the sense to recognize this appeal.

b. This sideshow upon which these two parties have embarked is in grave danger of having serious consequences for the delicate balance between their two communities.

3. Ceasefires have nonetheless been agreed and in some areas they have held after a series of difficult and tough negotiations at GORNJI-VAKUF, BUSOVACA and ZENICA, as well as here at KISELJAK. A Joint Commission co-chaired by UNPROFOR and the ECMM will start tomorrow, 28 Jan 93, in BUSOVACA. Its aim is to arrange and supervise the separation and eventual withdrawal of forces and the reopening of all routes through the area, the latter being the most urgent and pressing objective in order to allow us to continue with our humanitarian task.

4. I will be staying in KISELJAK for my Battalion Commanders seminar which has already been postponed once, until AM Fri 29 Jan 93. We will be discussing the details of contingency plans and the various options open to us.

UN RESTRICTED

2 of 2.

UNOG. Telecom. Unit
Public Affs. Section

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

UNPROFOR
COMMUNICATIONS
SECTION

UNPROF-Z-106
184/93
28 Jan 93

TO: JAN 28 1993, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

28 93 12 15 24Z
163415

INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA

FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB

MOST IMMEDIATE

DATE: 28 January 1993

NUMBER:

UNPROFOR-Z-106


SUBJECT: SITUATION IN PERUCA - LETTERS FROM SPANOVIC

Attached cable from Sector South which includes letters 50 and 51 from Colonel Spanovic, and my response thereto, are forwarded for information.

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CZM-128
CZG-101

(2/8)

OUTGOING FAX NO.:	DATE/TIME: 281225A JAN 93
TO: HQ UNPROFOR	FROM: HQ SECTOR SOUTH COMD
FAX NO.:	FAX:
ATTN: FC DFC DCM	FILE REF. NO. : DRAFTER : maj. WALUGU TITLE : DSOO RELEASING OFF.: SIGNATURE : 
INFO : FAX NO.:	
SUBJECT: SITUATION IN PERUCA - LETTER FROM SPANOVIC	

MESSAGE

1. ATTACHED PLEASE FIND THE SUBJECT LETTER FROM Mr. SPANOVIC APPEALING FOR UNPROFOR INTERVENTION TO REFRAIN CA ACTION ON THE DAM TO AVOID ECOLOGICAL DISASTERS IN THE AREA.
2. REQUEST YOUR PROMPT ACTION TO CALM THE TENSION. SAME THREAT OF POSSIBLE MILITARY ACTION IS RECEIVED FROM CA SIDE. YOUR PRESSURE AT ZAGREB LEVEL WOULD APPRECIATED.
3. REGARDS.

FC
DFC

CZN-120
C26-101

(3/8)

HO SECTOR SOUTH KNIN

TEL: 8711301443

28.Jan.93 12:10 No.029 P.09

THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA
DEFENSE MINISTRY
No.01-50
Knin,28.01.1993

2/6

VERY URGENT

Demand for intervention through the UNPROFOR HQs
to halt the operations

TO: -General S.Nambiar
-UNPROFOR HQ - ZAGREB
-Brig gen Arap Rob
-SECTOR SOUTH HQ

Dear General,

We are appealing for immediate intervention with CA to halt infantry and
artillery attack which is being carried out on the Peruce Dam, at this very
moment, on Jan 28th at 09:45 hrs, and which commenced last night at 18:00 hrs.
Therefore, we will be forced to take certain radical measures by ourselves in
the mentioned area.

Find attached a detailed information!

DEFENSE MINISTER
Col S.SPANOVIC

CZ4-128
C26-101

(4/8)

3/6

THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA

DEFENSE MINISTRY

No. 01-51

Knin, 28.01.1993

Warning about the intentions of ustashes on the Peruca Dam area
is to delivered to -

UNPROFOR HQ - ZAGREB

SECTOR SOUTH HQ

THE RSK GOVERNMENT OFFICE IN BELGRADE (for information)

On Jan 27th 1993 at 18:00 hrs CA launched a general attack on the Peruca power station. An attack is supported by heavy artillery and being carried out on several routes. Especially heavy operations are on the mountain of Svilaja, where the enemy flanked our positions.

At the same time, there was an attempted infiltration of a group of 40 ustasha-Croatian soldiers, aimed at beating of the UNPROFOR units on the Peruca Dam and committing a sabotage on the Peruca power station by activating of planted explosive.

In order to help the UNPROFOR units, as well as to prevent such a terroristic act with possible serious losses, ecological consequences, we sent out a part of our forces to foil a sabotage plan of the mentioned group.

Several members of the ustasha forces were killed, most of them wounded and one commander captured.

We should mention that the aggressor had carried out preliminary preparations. Apart from mobilization and concentration of forces, evacuation of the population downstream the dam, had been carried out.

It is obvious that the Croatian Authorities are even ready to sacrifice the Peruca Dam, only to justify aggression against the RSK territory and turn the public against Serbs, due to a possible disaster which might ensue after the Dam destruction.

THE BELTOR SOUTH HQ HAVE BEEN ADVISED OF ALL these preparations timely.

C2N-12
C2G-101

(5/8)

HQ SECTOR SOUTH KNIN

TEL: 8711301443

28.Jan.93 12:10 No.029 F.1

24/1

During the operations, three UNPROFOR check points were under the aggressor's artillery fire. The Peruca power station, observation post in Zrnac and observation post in the village of Potravljje, the hamlet of Prolici.

We request you to take immediate measures, by the UNPROFOR through the UN Security Council and to condemn such an act of the ustashe-Croatian side.

Due to the great importance of the Peruca power station, in term of preventing disaster, our forces will keep on defending the Peruca power station.

Sincerely Yours,
Col Stojan Spanovic

28/01/93 AS



REPUBLIKA SRPSKA KRAJINA
MINISTARSTVO ODBRANE
Broj 01-30
Knin 28. 01. 1993. godine

VRLO HITNO

Zahtev za intervenciju
preko komande UNPROFOR-a
za prestanak dejstava, -

- General - pukovnik Slobodan Nambijaru
- Komanda UNPROFOR-a (Zagreb)
- Brigadnom generalu Arapu Robu
- Komandi sektora JUG

Poštovani gospodine generala

Molimo da hitno intervenišate da hrvatska strana prestane sa agresijom
pješadijskim i artiljerijskim napadom koji je u toku na brani Peruća sada
28. januara u 09,45 časova, a isti je otpočeo od sinoć od 18,00 časova.

Bidemo prinudjeni da na tom pravcu sami preduzmemo radikalne mjere.

Sledi detaljnije obaveštenje.

MINISTAR ODBRANE
pukovnik
Slobodan Brancovic



REPUBLIKA SRPSKA KRAJINA
MINISTARSTVO ODBRANE
Broj 01-51
Knin 28. 01. 1993. godine

CZN - 128
CZG - 101

67
7/8

Upozorenje o namjerama
ustaša prema brani HE
Peruća, dostavlja. -

KOMANDI UNPROFOR-a ZAGREB
KOMANDI SEKTORA "JUG"
BIROU VLADE RSK U BEOGRADU (na znanje)

U 18,00 časova 27. januara 1993. godine ustaško-hrvatske snage otpočele su se opštim napadom prema brani HE Peruća. Napad je podržan snažnom artiljerijom, a izvodi se iz više pravaca. Posebno su jaka dejstva sa planina Svilaže u bok našim snagama.

Istovremeno su na HE Peruća pokušali ubaciti OTG jačine oko 40 ustaško-hrvatskih vojnika koji su imali namjeru da razbiju snage UNPROFOR-a i izvrše diverziju na HE Peruća, aktiviranjem postavljene eksplozive.

U cilju porediti snagama UNPROFOR-a kao i sprečavanju svakvog terorističkog akta sa mogućim teškim ljudskim, materijalnim i ekološkim posljedicama angažovali smo dio snaga i osujetili plan OTG.

Likvidirano je nekoliko pripadnika ustaških snaga, više ih je ranjeno, a jedan od komandira je zarobljen.

Napominjemo da je agresor izvršio prethodne pripreme. Porad mobilizacije i grupisanja snaga iselio je stanovništvo nizvodno od brane.

Očito je da su hrvatske vlasti spremne i žrtvovati branu Peruća samo da bi opravdali izvršenu agresiju na teritoriju Republike Srpske Krajine i okrenuli javno mišljenje protiv srpskog naroda zbog moguće katastrofe nastale rušenjem brane.

O svim ovim okolnostima pravovremeno je izvođena komanda sektora "JUG".

Agresor je u toku izvođenja b/d svojom artiljerijom djelovao po tri punkta UNPROFOR-a, i to HE Peruća, snimatrčka stanica na objektu zinač i osmatrački punkt u s. Potravlje, zaseok Prolici.

Molimo da se preduzmu hitne mjere od strane snaga UNPROFOR-a, kao i preko Saveza bezbednosti UN na osudi svakvih postupaka ustaško-hrvatske strane,

Zbog posebnog značaja objektu HE Peruća, posebno sa aspekta sprečavanja katastrofe, našim snagama uporno ćemo braniti HE Peruća.

Poštovanjem

MINISTAR ODBRANE
Pukovnik Božidar Štanić





UNPROFOR

28 January 1993

CZH-128
CZG-101

PERUCA DAM

My dear Colonel Spanovic,

1. Please refer to your letters no. 01-50 and 01-51 of date.
2. I have raised the matter with the Croatian Government who have informed me that their forces are not undertaking operations at the Peruca Dam. They however allege that your artillery is firing towards Sinj and their forces are responding to that fire.
3. I would ask you not to undertake any precipitate measures at the Dam which may cause disaster. The fact that your Armed Forces have forcibly taken over control of the Dam from UNPROFOR troops has been conveyed to New York.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Satish Nambiar

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

Colonel Stojan Spanovic
Knin

UNOG Telecommunications Unit
Palais des Nations

UNOG Telecommunications Unit
OUTGOING CODE CABLE
COMMUNICATIONS
ZAGREB

UNPROF-182/93
28 Jan 93

93 JAN 28 14:01

TO: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK
INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA

FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB

MOST IMMEDIATE

DATE: 28 January 1993

NUMBER:

UNPROFOR-Z-105

Handwritten signature
H. Gen

SUBJECT: **SECTOR SOUTH - SITUATION UPDATE AS AT 1300 HOURS**

1. Further to our sitrep of today's date, the latest information received from Sector South is given in the succeeding paragraphs.

2. Peruca area. The process of occupation and reinforcement of the Peruca area by the Serb TDF continued during the night. Shelling of the area by the CA commenced at 0930 hours today. The Serbs are reported to have retaliated with shelling by artillery and mortars. The Kenbat troops in the area were evacuated to Civljane by 1000 hours. It was reported by the Serb TDF to their UNMO LO at approximately 1030 hours that an access ramp of the Dam has been blown up due to the CA shelling. A threat has also been conveyed by the TDF that if the shelling does not cease immediately, they would blow up the dam. As of 1200 hours, it has been agreed that an UNMO team, under TDF escort, will move to the Dam area to monitor the situation more closely. At 1300 hours, I spoke to Defence Minister Susak and conveyed our concern. His version is that Radio Knin had broadcast that the CA elements are in the Dam area and hence Admiral Letica is in Sinj himself. He has apparently informed President Tudjman that the report is wrong; however, he says the Serbs have fired MBRL towards Sinj and the CA has responded.

3. Evacuation of French troops at Goles. Action to evacuate the French troops at Goles, under TDF escort, commenced this morning. However, they have not been able to move out the French personnel in their APC. As of 1200 hours, it has been accepted

CZG-100

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2/2

by the CO of the Franch battalion to incapacitate the APC and machine gun and evacuate his troops in TDF cars. The operation is underway at the moment.

4. Maslenica-Zemunik area. Sporadic shelling of Biljane, Miranje, Kasic and Islam Groki were reported during the night. It is reported that the Serbs appear to be consolidating their positions along line Zemunik Airport - Goleš - Drace - North of Smilcic - Narandzici (southeast of Novigrad). Shelling is also reported in the Velebit Mountain area.

5. Drnia area.

No new reports have been received.

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27 Jan 93

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

MOST IMMEDIATE 20 56 Z

TO: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK - OK 2215L5 6.5.
INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA
FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
DATE: 27 January 1993
NUMBER: **UNPROFOR. 8-103**
SUBJECT: LETTER HANDED OVER BY BOBETKO
REGARDING SITUATION AT PERUCA DAM

Handil

4 Jan 93
JAN 27 22:34

UNPROF-2.1
Palais des Nations
UNICEF Telecom. Unit

CODED CABLE

1. In response to my attached note faxed to Defence Minister Susak, General Bobetko visited me at 2015 hours. He informed me that the only official information conveyed to Sector South was in a letter from Commander Lukovic at Zadar; he insisted I should send this to you for information.
2. He also categorically denied that the Croatian Army had shelled the Peruca Dam area and stated that 126 CA Bde has been demobilized.

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27/01 '93 20:04

041 170 199

UNPROFOR ZAGREB *** CRO EMMIGRAT MIN

001

UNPROFOR



FORPRONU

FORCE COMMANDER

271825

Dear Mr Susak,

Attached report I have
just received from the Sector
Commander South is forwarded as
discussed on the telephone.

Yours sincerely,

Blambil

lt Gen

27/01 '93 20:04

041 170 199

UNPROFOR ZAGREB *** CRO EMMIGRAT MIN

002

SITUATION

UPDATE

SECTOR SOUTH

3/4

FROM SECTOR COMD SOUTH.

UNMO KNIN HAS RECEIVED INFO FM CA SIDE ADVISING
THAT UNPROFOR WITHDRAW FROM PERUCA DAM
DUE TO AN EXPECTED ATTACK (TIME 1735). ACCORDING
TO CA 126 RDE, EVALUATION IS ONLY POSSIBLE THROUGH EASTERN BANK.

2. CURRENT SITUATION:-

CA SHELLING PERUCA DAM AND SOUTH OF
DRNIS. (TIME 1745)

NB DUE TO DANGER OF MOVING TROOPS AT NIGHT,
SECTOR COMD HAS ORDERED TROOPS (UN)
AT PERUCA TO REMAIN IN THEIR SHELTERS.

TO

MA TO FC

MA TO CUS

(02)

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CEN-125
CZG-098

27/01 '93 19:20 38 41 450824 URED GSHV UN MO-KABINET 000
FROM : URUPH ZH KURU, SH UNPT ZHUKR PHONE NO. : 38 57 312559 Jan. 27 1993 6:01PM P01



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

OFFICE FOR UN AND EC
DEPARTMENT FOR SECTOR SOUTH
Z A D A R

27th January 1993

TO: UNPROFOR
SECTOR SOUTH HQ
K N I N

On the date of 27th January 1993 the irregulars in the area of Vrlika and Potravljje grouped strong forces and took the Alebića Kula GR 8848. That area is under UNPROFOR control and nothing had been done to prevent the Irregulars.

If UNPROFOR is not able to bring Irregulars back to their previous positions, we shall be obliged to take our technical means, which are under UNPROFOR control, and take our positions in order to oppose the Irregulars.

At 16.30 hours UNPROFOR left their positions on Alebića Kula and village Prolići.

CHIEF OF DEPT

Commander

Ivica Luković

CEN. 124
CZG. 097

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

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UNPROF-2.102

27 Jan 93

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TO: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK *ok 220817*
 INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA
 FROM: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
 DATE: 27 January 1993
 NUMBER: **UNPROFOR-2-102**
 SUBJECT: **MEETING WITH KNIN AUTHORITIES**

Clambil

at Gen

93 JAN 27 22:34

UNOG Telecom. Unit
Palate Communications

CODED CABLE

1. Today, accompanied by Gaudreau, Arap Rob, Pellnas, Peterson and Campose, I attended a meeting with the "RSK" authorities at Knin. They were represented by Zecevic, Paspalj, Spanovic, Martinovic and Mandinic.

2. At the outset, I repeated our standpoint on various allegations made against us by their side over the last few days, as had been expressed by me in a letter to Hadzic yesterday (attached).

3. I stated that the main aim of calling for this meeting was to discuss arrangements for a cease-fire and the implementation of SCR-802. I also highlighted the fact that restrictions had been placed on the movement of UNPROFOR personnel and insisted that unrestricted freedom of movement be guaranteed to enable us to carry out our duties.

4. In his response, Paspalj, "President of the Parliament", started off by expressing dissatisfaction with the actions of UNPROFOR, stating that our main mission was not just the maintenance of peace but to protect the Serb population. He added that the developments over the last few days had convinced them that nobody would protect them from the Croats, and that they would have to take on this task themselves in the interests of their survival. He said that the local population were quite incensed due to UNPROFOR not having done anything to protect them

CZ N-124
CZ 6-097

2/8

- 2 -

and alluded to the ambush incident of 22 January, which had resulted in 22 Serbs dead. He asserted that their response to the call for a cease-fire and implementation of SCR-802 was that the Croats would first have to cease all offensive operations and withdraw to pre-22 January positions as well as implement SCR-762 with regard to withdrawal from the Milijevci plateau before they (the Serbs) would implement their part of the resolution. This aspect was later reiterated by Zecevic, Spanovic and Martinovic. Martinovic felt that a deadline should be given to the Croatian Army to complete withdrawal. Paspalj mentioned that many women and children who could not be evacuated from Smokovic on 23 January were "slaughtered" by the Croatian Army and "bodies of some children hung on trees". (I had later checked from our troops whether they had seen any evidence of such slaughter and was told that though they had got reports, they had not been able to go into the area and hence could not confirm these reports.) He added that of the 22 men who were killed in the Croatian Army ambush, many had been beheaded after being wounded. He felt that we should bring to the notice of the world community their report on these atrocities.

5. At this stage, Spanovic wanted to know the background to the French Government reports of intervention in the area to assist in the evacuation of French troops who reportedly were being held hostage by his forces. When I told him that this referred to the French troops at Drace and Goles, he went out, apparently to check out this report. On his return a few minutes later, he told us that he had spoken to the Brigade Commander in the area who had assured him that there were no French troops in those two posts and that we could verify this by sending two APCs under their escort. (It was later confirmed by the French that their troops were still in their shelters at Drace and Goles. They could be evacuated by our APCs only at approximately 1430 hours. Though the Drace troops have since arrived at Benkovac, it is reported that the return of those from Goles are being blocked by the local population. Negotiations are underway for enabling

CEN-124
CBG-097

- 3 -

3/8

their early return.)

6. When I asked whether they wanted UNPROFOR to stay on and continue with implementation of its mandate, Paspalj stated that UNPROFOR must stay but with a changed mandate which would enable protection of the Serbs as was envisaged in the Vance Plan. He said that UNPROFOR should not be deployed in a dispersed manner all over the UNPAs but must assume a protective role by being deployed on the confrontation line. He also alluded to the requirement for the Knin authorities to be signatories to any future agreement enabling continued deployment of UNPROFOR in their areas.

7. When I once again brought up the matter of restrictions on freedom of movement of our personnel, giving reference to the 21 CIVPOL monitors confined to their hotel in Benkovac, Spanovic assured us that our personnel did have full freedom of movement. However, they would have to give advance notice to enable proper coordination. I must mention that at one stage Zecevic, in a very excited state, stated that Kenbat troops and CIVPOL would continue to be confined to Benkovac "to prevent air strikes". The others tried to restrain him straightaway, with Martinovic clarifying once again that the restrictions on movement in the Benkovac area was only related to security of our personnel.

8. At the end, Paspalj and Spanovic gave me their unqualified assurance that they would do all that is possible to ensure the security of our personnel.

Assessment

9. The Croatian response to SCR-802 was conveyed to you yesterday. Their proposal as conveyed at the local level in Zadar is attached.

10. As evident from the above resume of discussions at Knin this

CEN-124
C26-097

- 4 -

4/8

morning, anything short of an immediate, unconditional withdrawal by all Croatian forces is unacceptable to the Serbs.

11. At present there appears to be no meeting ground at all in the respective positions adopted. The Croatians are riding the crest of a military success. Serbs appear to be getting better organized, and have categorically stated that they would counter-attack Croatian positions to regain lost ground. They already feel totally isolated insofar as the international community is concerned and now consider they have been betrayed by UNPROFOR in that their heavy weapons were placed in storage and they were left defenceless to deal with a Croatian Army attack.

12. Emotions are running very high at the moment with stories of massacres by the Croatian Army in villages that were overrun, of children having been crucified and so on. As a result, UNPROFOR is in a rather fragile position in the area. However, we are taking precautions in Sector South and continuing with our operations in other sectors, notwithstanding increasing harassment and restrictions on freedom of movement.

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

UNPROFOR

26 January 1993

5/8

C2N-124
C2G-097

My dear Mr Hadzic,

1. I am writing to you in connection with the developments over the last few days which have been a severe setback to all our efforts in the past months and have also affected our credibility in many ways. My colleagues and I have understandably been addressed on a number of issues by many of your colleagues, to which subjects I shall also try and respond.

2. Let me first deal with accusations that UNPROFOR was aware of the Croatian Army attack as we were informed of the proposed actions. I am sure you and your colleagues have no real doubt that this is totally untrue. We were taken as much by surprise as you were. Of course we had often been told by President Tudjman and many of his colleagues, that they are not prepared to wait for prolonged discussions and that if UNPROFOR could not arrange for early work on the Maslenica Bridge, the Croatian Government would take action on its own. On all such occasions we had always insisted with President Tudjman and his colleagues, that they should not resort to unilateral use of force. It was in that spirit, in fact, that we were making arrangements for a joint meeting when the Croatian Army action took place.

3. I am therefore very concerned with the anti-UNPROFOR statements and rhetoric being allowed, thus putting our personnel in considerable danger of harassment and physical injury. Notwithstanding the various allegations and rhetoric, I get the impression that you and your people want UNPROFOR to remain and carry out its given mandate. Allow me to assure you that it is our intention to stay, and try our best to bring peace and stability to the region. For this we require more understanding and co-operation from all of you. We must be allowed full freedom of movement both in order to carry out our duties, and for logistics. Please therefore issue instructions not to obstruct UNPROFOR movement.

4. I would also like to ask you to refrain from accusations against the French Battalion. They are doing their best and, as you are aware, have even suffered a number of casualties in the process. It must be remembered that UNPROFOR is deployed to implement an agreement, and not to defend a border as in the case of war. Hence you cannot expect isolated posts to fight a classic defensive or offensive battle.

5. Colonel Spanovic has asked me to provide assurances of security in Sector West. This I am in a position to provide, as

Mr. Goran Hadzic
Knin

C2N-174
C26-097

c/8

the Vance Plan has been well implemented in that Sector in terms of demilitarization. However, such assurance is qualified to the extent that it is subject to your people not provoking any incidents themselves. If this happens, or if weaponry is removed from storage, the assurances cannot stand.

6. Major General Novakovic has enquired what mandate UNPROFOR would now implement. We will continue to implement the Vance Plan as now reinforced by Security Council resolution 802. A lot of work will need to be done, and you and your colleagues also have great responsibilities in this regard - all aspects of the Vance Plan and SCR 802 have to be fulfilled, and progress made on socio-economic issues.

7. Insofar as the Peruca Dam is concerned, I believe the Sector Commander has already assured you that we will protect it against attack.

*With warm regards,
Yours sincerely,*

Satish

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

Copies to:

Colonel Stojan Spanovic
Mr Milan Martić
Major-General Mile Novakovic

SECTOR SOUTH KNIN

TEL: 8711301443

26 Jan. 93 23:55 No.058 P.02

C2N-124
C26-097

2157

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STATEMENT AND PROPOSALS OF CROATIAN SIDE:
26 JANUARY 1993, 2200 (approximately)
ZADAR

1) CA STOPPED ON THE ALREADY REACHED LINES, ACCORDING TO THE ORDERS OF PRES. TUDJMAN. CA DOES NOT AND WILL NOT ENGAGE IN FURTHER OFFENSIVE ACTIONS AND FULLY HONOURS THE CEASE FIRE.

2) WE EXPECT THAT THE OPPOSITE SIDE FULLY STOPS ALL HOSTILE ACTIVITIES AND ALSO TO ANNOUNCE A CEASE FIRE.

3) THE UNITS OF CROATIAN ARMY WILL WITHDRAW FROM LIBERATED TERRITORIES BY IMPLEMENTING THE CONDITIONS OF RESOLUTION 802 OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, AND THE FORCES OF ORDER OF THE CROATIAN POLICE WILL REMAIN IN THE AREA TO SECURE IT AS WELL AS TO REESTABLISH CROATIAN AUTHORITY IN THE AREA.

4) WE DO NOT WANT FURTHER ESCALATION, BUT THE CONTINUATION OF THE WORK OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES AND TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS BY PEACEFUL MEANS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DOCUMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ALREADY ISSUED.

5) AND WE ACCEPT IN FULL THE MEDIATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS FORCES IN MAKING CONTACTS BETWEEN THE SIDES IN CONFLICT, AS WELL AS STARTING THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WERE OFFERED.

SIGNED
ADMIRAL SVETO LETICA

CZN-124
CZG-997

2157

[Handwritten signature]

STAJALIŠTA I PRIJEDLOZI HRVATSKE STRANE

1. Hrvatska vojska se zaustavila na dobignutim linijama. Na temelju Zapovjedi predsjednika Tužnana, ne vrši niti će vršiti daljnja ofenzivna djelovanja i u potpunosti poštuje prekid vatre.
2. Očekujemo da suprotna strana potpuno obustavi sva borbena djelovanja i isto tako objavi prekid vatre.
3. Postojeća Hrvatska vojska će se povući na naloženog područja ispunjenjem uvjeta iz Rezolucije broj 802, Valjom sigurnosti UN a ostati će redarstvena snaga Hrvatske policije zbog osiguranja područja i ponovne uspostave hrvatske vlasti na ovom području.
4. Ne želimo daljnju eskalaciju sukoba već nastavak rada mirovnih snaga i rješavanje problema mirnim putem, u skladu sa svim do sada donesenim dokumentima Organizacije UN.
5. U potpunosti prihvaćamo posredovanje pripadnika snaga UN u ostvarivanju kontakta između strana u sukobu, radi razgovora koji su ponudeni.

U Zadru, 26. siječnja 1993.

Zapovjednik HRM.

[Handwritten signature]
Sveto Letica - Barta

CNZ 067 CYZ 048 P1/5

17/20/35

27 Jan 93

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

UNTS
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'93 JAN 28 -5 :07

TO: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
INFO: VANCE, ICFY, GENEVA ✓
FROM: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK
DATE: 27 January 1993
NUMBER: MSC-135

for [signature]

JAN 27 1993

SUBJECT: Continued Fighting: Security Council action

CODED CABLE

1. On basis telcon Nambiar/Tharoor, SecGen delivered the attached statement to the Security Council this afternoon. Council, after some discussion, unanimously adopted Presidential statement (also attached) at formal session this evening.
2. In view of the gravity of the situation, it might be necessary to provide the Security Council daily situation reports. I would therefore appreciate if you could submit such reports on a timely basis (about 1300 hours your time) to permit us to brief the Council.

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Statement by the Secretary-General
to Informal Consultations of the Security Council

27 January, 1993

I regret to have to inform the Security Council that, despite the passage of Security Council resolution 802 on 25 January, hostilities are continuing within and adjacent to Sector South of the United Nations Protected Area in Croatia.

The Force Commander of UNPROFOR, Lt-Gen. Satish Nambiar, has just returned from the area. He reports a situation which cannot but cause me grave concern. Croatian forces have continued their offensive and are now shelling new targets in the area of the Peruca Dam and the town of Drnis. The Croatian authorities insist that they will not comply with the Security Council directive to cease hostilities and withdraw their armed forces until the Serb militias disarm, demobilize and return the heavy weapons taken from United Nations-controlled storage depots in response to the offensive. Even if the Serbs comply, the President of Croatia has declared his intention to replace his Army in this area with armed police, despite the unambiguous demand by the Security Council that all armed forces be withdrawn from these areas. For their part, the Serb side demands that the Security Council impose a deadline upon Croatia to comply with resolution 802 and withdraw completely, following which they are prepared to enter into talks under UNPROFOR mediation. Since the two positions are mutually irreconcilable, the Force Commander assesses the risk of a serious escalation of the conflict to be extremely high. UNPROFOR is not in a position to confirm or deny

Croatian allegations that a Serb counter-offensive has already begun.

I am particularly concerned about the grave danger in which UNPROFOR personnel in the area have been placed. The Force Commander reports success in arranging the evacuation of a French UNPROFOR unit of some 13 soldiers from Drace, where they had been trapped by the fighting. However, another French UNPROFOR unit of some ten to fifteen persons remains under fire in the Sector at Goles. Yesterday I issued an appeal to the authorities of both sides to cease hostilities in order to permit their evacuation. UNPROFOR continues to negotiate the evacuation of this group and that of a further 21 United Nations civilian police monitors of various nationalities who are being denied permission by Serb militia to leave a hotel in Benkovac.

The fact is that the Serb side sees the presence of the UNPROFOR personnel as an insurance for their safety against continued Croatian attack. But it is clearly inadmissible for peace-keepers to be held in this way, as it is unacceptable that the Croatian Government should shell areas where United Nations peace-keepers are deployed. In the case of Peruca, the Croatian Army asked UNPROFOR at 1735 hours to withdraw from the Dam there, stating that it would commence shelling in 30 minutes. In fact shelling commenced at 1745, within ten minutes. UNPROFOR personnel remain at their posts at the Dam, behind shelters. When the Force Commander vigorously protested this development to the Defence Minister of Croatia, Mr Gojko Susak, the Defence Minister

CNZ 067 CYZ 048 P4/5

expressed surprise and claimed ignorance of the attack on Peruca. To add to the extreme gravity of the situation, the Force Commander reports that Serb feelings are running high against UNPROFOR since the Serbs blame the heavy casualties incurred at the start of the Croatian offensive on the fact that they had been deprived of their heavy weapons under the United Nations peace-keeping Plan.

I thought it necessary to bring the above developments to the attention of the Security Council immediately. I deeply deplore the continued military action by the Croatian armed forces, which has placed the entire peace process in the region in jeopardy, and renew my appeal to both sides to cease military action forthwith in compliance with resolution 802. In my public appeal last night I reminded the political and military leaders involved in the conflict that the Security Council holds them responsible and accountable for the safety of United Nations peace-keeping troops deployed in the area. ^{Call for decision by SC.} I need hardly add that the ongoing conflict has serious implications for the Security Council's consideration of the renewal of UNPROFOR's mandate, which becomes due in a little over three weeks' time.

*will be diffic. to recommend renewal
in ^{any} midst of conflict.
(lien de combat).*

New York, 27 January 1993

Draft Presidential Statement on Croatia

The Security Council is deeply concerned to learn from the Secretary-General that the offensive by the Croatian armed forces continues unabated in flagrant violation of resolution 802 (1993) of 25 January 1993, at a crucial time in the peace process.

The Council demands that the Croatian authorities cease immediately their military action. It further demands that all parties and others concerned comply fully and immediately with all the provisions of resolution 802 (1993) and with other relevant Security Council resolutions.

The Council once again demands that all parties and others concerned respect fully the safety of United Nations personnel. The Council reiterates that it will hold the political and military leaders involved in the conflict responsible and accountable for the safety of the United Nations peace-keeping personnel in the area.

The Security Council will remain actively seized of the matter, in particular with a view to considering what further steps might be necessary to ensure that resolution 802 (1993) and other relevant Security Council resolutions are fully implemented.

C2N-123
C26-096

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE
UNPROFOR

OUTGOING CRYPTO CABLE

I M M E D I A T E

UNPROFOR/93/101

27 Jan 93

27 93 JA 19 152Z

TO : GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK → Z100LT
INFO : VANCE, ICFY, UNOG
FROM : NAMBIAR, ZAGREB
DATE : 27 JANUARY 1993
NUMBER : UNPROFOR-Z- 101
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH RUSSIAN DEPUTY FM CHURKIN

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JAN 27	MW
20:02	FE

1. This afternoon, as I was in Sector South, DCM received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin, who had been visiting Belgrade and, today, Tudjman in Zagreb, and was about to leave for Moscow. They discussed the current situation for 45 minutes.

2. Churkin's basic query was, what did we believe the Croats thought they had been doing? He said even Tudjman seemed a bit mystified. Matters were slowly going their way, especially in BH. He felt that Tudjman had been wholly misled by his advisors, in thinking this was something that would be shrugged off. 802, he thought, had come as a real shock to them. Perhaps, he said, election time was not good for big decisions (the Croatians have local elections in two weeks, and their action has, almost for the first time since we came, earned the president unanimous local encomia). He could not quite find the link between their action at Maslenica and their BH policy, but felt there had to be one. He said that he had told Tudjman it would be very inadvisable to try to negotiate 802:- they simply had to implement it. He mentioned that he had also been counselling maximum restraint in Belgrade and, through them, in Knin; he felt Cosic's position had been especially imperilled by the Croatian foolishness. He was perturbed when we said that MIG-21s had been seen, the previous day, over Ilok; evidently believing that the JA was being held back with some difficulty. We referred to the very tense situation currently obtaining in Sector East. He highlighted the unanimous position of the international community, which had developed over last weekend, and which, we agreed, was most important. DCM hoped that it would maintain an active interest in and support for the implementation of 802, which would not be easy. Churkin said that Secretary Vance and Lord Owen's work had their total support -

2/2

"they, and UNPROFOR, are now our only hope". He also mentioned the Croatian Deputy FM's attitude during the meeting with Tudjman:- "We have shown that if UNPROFOR can't do the job, we will do it ourselves"; referring to this attitude with incredulity.

3. DCM had conveyed our perplexity over the Croatian action, saying that we just could not see, in practical terms, what they hoped to achieve, because the Maslenica project could not be achieved unilaterally. We said we understood Croatian exasperation, but that, only through effective talks between Zagreb and Knin could the underlying problem, which had made UNPROFOR's work so difficult, namely, intra-Croatian relations between Croats and Serbs, begin to be dealt with, however slowly and painfully. We recalled that the Vance Plan made it explicitly clear that such problems would also be dealt with in the context of an international conference, but that, of course, the recent horror of BH had tended to overshadow the inherent explosiveness of the Krajina situation. He said that he fully agreed.

4. In general, Churkin expressed his satisfaction with the visit and with the various analyses he and we had made of the situation. DCM was accompanied by Shannon Boyd and Mohamed Abdul-Aziz.

Endall

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CEG-096

UNOG Telecomm. Unit

Palais des Nations

CZM-121

CZG-095

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE

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P1/3

27 Jan 93

27 93 JAN 14

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Page 1 of 3

TO : GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

INFO : VANCE, ICFY, UNOG

FROM : NAMBIAR, ZAGREB

DATE : 27 JANUARY 1993

NUMBER : UNPROFOR-Z- 99

SUBJECT: ATTACHED LETTER FROM CROATIAN GOVERNMENT

27 93 JAN 14 36Z

1. The attached letter was hand-delivered this morning. It was preceded by an oral communication by a CA-MLO to Thornberry. Both have been sent most immediately to the FC, DFC and Sector South Commander in Knin. FC conveyed the oral communication to Spanovic in Knin who, instead of replying to the allegation, emphasised that the Croats had been attacking continuously since yesterday.

2. We have no information at this time to confirm or deny these allegations. We have, however, heard from Sector South that shelling from the CA side towards Benkovac and Biljani began at 0725 this morning. It is reported that the TDF responded with fire from two attack helicopters each of which flew five sorties. I should add, however, that our communications within the Sector have been seriously affected by the hostilities and by resultant Serb action.

3. There are conflicting reports about French soldiers caught near Drace and Goles - as to whether or not they are still there. FC is now flying to Gracac to visit French battalion HQ. Kenyan APCs moving towards Drace and Goles to make in situ enquiry and conduct any necessary action.

4. We have raised with Knin authorities the situation of approx. 21 UNCIVPOL currently held at the Benkovac Hotel, on the top floor, by the TDF. CIVPOL believes they are being retained as a "shield", as the TDF occupies the rest of the building. The centre of Benkovac is not at present under attack. The police were yesterday provided with resupplies including medicine. We are issuing a

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press statement on this matter. Ostensibly, they are being held for "their own security". They are well treated. They are from a number of countries.

5. FC has just (1420 LT) spoken with Thornberry. At the meeting with Spanovic the latter stated that they wanted a ceasefire and withdrawal which would be complete and unconditional. After that, discussions could begin. Peterson added that their position was sombre: they wanted a ceasefire but were now ready to return to war.

Endall



REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA
MINISTARSTVO OBRANE
ZAGREB

CROATIAN ARMY HEADQUARTERS

Class: 018-04/93-01/

No.: 3101-93-43

Zagreb, 27 January 1993

LT. GEN. SATISH NAMBIAR
FORCE COMMANDER
UNPROFOR

Dear Mr General,

According to our reports, at 09.45 hrs. the aggressor commenced a heavy combined tank-infantry attack with artillery support, from Smilčić towards Kašić.

As you know, the Croatian Army halted all combat actions yesterday, in accordance with the agreement that you have initiated. The aggressor did not comply with the agreement, but had continued with armed provocations. And so, at 23.56 hrs, they attacked Prkos with 10 MRI missiles from Biljani Donji, at 00.05 hrs. a repeated attack with 5 missiles, and at 09.07 hrs. 5 120 mm mortar grenades on Zemunik Donji from Zemunik Gornji.

During the night, the aggressor undertook two infantry attacks from Velika Bobija on Mala Bobija, and from Bobija on the road to Sv. Roko (on Velebit).

The CA formations refrained from returning, despite the material damage the aggressor had caused with these attacks.

I demand that you immediately undertake necessary actions and halt the latest attack, because otherwise we shall be forced to return.

Please. intervene urgently and send me a reply.

Yours sincerely,

GENERAL JANKO BOBETKO
CHIEF OF STAFF

DCM
COS

C2N-121
C2C-095

P3/3

CNZ 065 CYZ 047 F1/1

OUTGOING CODE CABLE
Pala

26 Jan 93

TO: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB

VANCE, GENEVA ✓

'93 JAN 27 -4 51

FROM: GOULDING, NEW YORK

DATE: 26 JANUARY 1993

NUMBER: MSC-132

SUBJECT: Continued Fighting

1. Mr Milos Strugar of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia called Tharoor this afternoon to convey a message from the Chef de Cabinet of President Cosic. The President wanted to inform the Secretariat that six new brigades, including tanks and heavy artillery, were allegedly advancing into the Krajina, where Serbs had suffered "huge losses" of both civilian and military personnel. The Government in Belgrade was under great pressure from the Knin authorities to "do something" in response to these attacks.

2. Tharoor took note of the message and stressed that UNPROFOR was actively pursuing the implementation of Security Council resolution 802. He counselled patience and expressed the hope that President Cosic would continue to show the restraint for which he had been thanked by the co-Chairmen on Sunday.

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CNZ 064 CYZ 046 P1/1
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26 Jan '93

OUTGOING CODE CABLE '93 JAN 27 -4 :51

CGI 13 CABLE

TO: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB
INFO: VANCE, GENEVA ✓
FROM: GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK
DATE: 26 JANUARY 1993
NUMBER: MSC-131
SUBJECT: Tudjman's position

for [Signature]

1. Re your UNPROFOR Z-95 and Z-97, Resolution 802, as we read it, is unambiguous in requiring "the withdrawal of the Croatian armed forces" from areas "within or adjacent to the UNPAs". This would include both army as well as armed police.

2. However, if the withdrawal of the Croatian Army is conditional upon the disarming of Serb para-military forces, the debate on this question may be academic. We imagine it will be necessary to initiate talks as soon as practicable between the two sides if either is to be persuaded to comply with the relevant provisions of Resolution 802.

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CZG-093

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE
UNPROFOR

OUTGOING CRYPTO CABLE

26 93 JAN 21 502

MOST IMMEDIATE**CODED CABLE**

Page 1 of 7

TO : GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

INFO : VANCE, ICFY, UNOG

FROM : NAMBIAR, ZAGREB

DATE : 26 JANUARY 1993

NUMBER : UNPROFOR-Z-097

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH TUDJMAN:
CONSEQUENT NEED FOR URGENT INSTRUCTIONS

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1. Tudjman, who had Seks, Susak, Minister of Interior Jarnjak, Bobetko and four others, civilian and military, with him, stated that the operation was now over. All police and military action was concluded. Today, there had been "just a few Serb attacks to which they had merely responded". He had issued orders. I said I had heard that before, several times. He emphasised that the present line was the final one, not Letica's proposed objective. Once the Serbs' arms had been restored to storage and their paramilitary had been disbanded and demobilized, they would withdraw their military, leaving the police behind. They had no plans for the Drnis or Peruca areas though they had been provoked by Serb shelling there. It would be up to UNPROFOR, now, to negotiate the implementation of this agreement. In answer to our direct question, he stated that Croatia intended to retain all the territory it had gained by its military advance.

2. He expressed condolences on yesterday's French casualties. However, it was not possible that this could have been done by Croatian forces. He asked us to have a full enquiry. They had been in touch with the French unit before the attack so that it would have been impossible for the Croats to have hit the French. He had been in touch with President Mitterand who had said, we were told, that he had no intention of accusing Croatia in respect of this incident.

3. At this point, I drew his attention to a report just received through BHC from the French helicopter unit based in Split, giving details of firing by AAA on the 3 French helicopters which had conducted the medevac after the Karin Plaza tragedy. On this, we

..... have now written to the Croats (copy attached) and a press
..... statement has now been issued (copy also attached). Bobetko denied the possibility of this coming from the Croatian Army: he had, he said, been watching the radar screens all the time. Susak said it might have been an agent provocateur masquerading as CA: they had had such an experience. They agreed to conduct an immediate enquiry.

4. I also mentioned the case of two Russian CIVPOL, returning from leave, who had been beaten up and stripped of their IDs, etc., by Croatian soldiers in Zadar. Bobetko said this was impossible.

5. Tudjman said they would now prepare to start work on Maslenica bridge, as all (naming them) were in agreement on the matter. He said that they looked forward eagerly also to a similar outcome on such matters as Peruca, the highway, etc. He said that would assist with UNPROFOR's mandate renewal. We did not say anything.

6. As I shall be seeing the Serbs tomorrow in Knin, and Tudjman's interesting interpretation of 802 will certainly be known to them (Hina), and as they are in an excitable and emotional condition, I should like to have written instructions as to whether the Croatian interpretation is correct. Should it be impossible to have such authoritative Council view by the morning, I shall say that I am awaiting the Secretary-General's instructions on the matter. Were I to authenticate Tudjman's view tomorrow, I cannot really predict the outcome. They might go into orbit; alternatively, ballistic.

..... 7. I also attach copy of a just-received cable from Zadar, which gives more detail on the Croatian form of compliance with SCR 802.

Endall



UNPROFOR

26 January 1993

Dear Mr. Milas,

Firing on UNPROFOR Medevac Helicopters

I regret to bring to your attention the following incident which we cannot but view as of utmost seriousness. It is particularly disturbing in view of the painstaking efforts UNPROFOR puts in advising the Croatian authorities of all of its flights.

During a night medical evacuation operation yesterday, 25 January 1993, at 1825 hours, while three (3) UN helicopters were flying over the sea at 3 minutes' interval, 10 kilometres off the coast, south of PAKOSTANE (43°55' - 15°31'E) (GRID WJ 4061) from SPLIT to ZADAR, they were fired upon. The firing consisted of three bursts of gunfire, four rounds each - Total: twelve rounds, presumably 40 mm anti-aircraft gun. None of the helicopters was hit, no UN crew were injured.

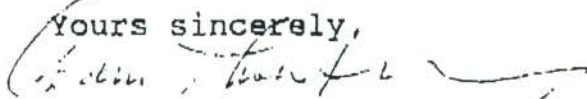
The flight was announced as agreed with the Croatian authorities and duly authorized.

Given range and location, only the Croatian Armed Forces could possibly open fire on those UN helicopters.

Under the Agreement for Facilitation of Aerial Movement for UNPROFOR (FAIRMOV) which was concluded with the Government of Croatia, UNPROFOR was given guarantees for secure and complete freedom of movement of its aircraft and helicopters.

This incident is very similar to the one dated from 28 September 1992, which was swiftly and professionally handled by the Croatian Authorities.

We would appreciate receiving, on an urgent basis, the conclusions of an enquiry about this incident.

Yours sincerely,

Cedric Thornberry
Deputy Chief of Mission

Mr. Ivan Milas
Vice-President of the Government of
the Republic of Croatia and
President, Government's Commission
for UNPROFOR, Zagreb



UNPROFOR

PRESS RELEASE

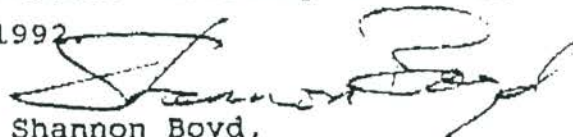
26 January 1993

UNPROFOR FRENCH MEDEVAC HELICOPTER UNDER FIRE IN CROATIA

Three unarmed French UNPROFOR helicopters were fired upon during a night medical evacuation on 25 January 1993. The helicopters were airborne in connexion with fatal and other casualties incurred yesterday by the French battalion at Karin Plaza which was under Croatian army attack. The attack occurred 10 kilometres off the Croatian coast south of Pakostane as the aircraft were flying from Split to Zadar at three minute intervals. The firing consisted of twelve rounds, presumably from 40 mm anti-aircraft weapons. None of the helicopters was hit; none of the UNPROFOR crew were injured.

The flights were announced, as agreed, to the Croatian authorities and were duly authorized by them. UNPROFOR has agreements with the Croatian Government which guarantees secure and complete freedom of movement of its aircraft and helicopters.

Yesterday's incident marked the fourth time a United Nations helicopter has come under fire over Croatian territory since the first violation occurred in September 1992.


Shannon Boyd,

Acting Chief, Press & Information,
UNPROFOR, HQ, Zagreb
Telephone: 180053

NL BURUM LES 492041280- ECMM X 26-JAN-1993 16:48:13 126882

MASLENICA ATTACK -- MESSAGE #9 FROM ZADAR

XXX DO NOT HOLD THIS MESSAGE. PASS IMMEDIATELY TO CIVIL AFFAIRS AND INFORM
SECTOR COMMANDER. THANK YOU. XXX

BEGIN MESSAGE #9.

TO: JEANNIE PETERSON, CAC KNIN

--PARAGRAPH F FOR OPERATIONS ONLY --

FROM: ED JOSEPH, CAO (ZADAR)
LCL ALAIN PERIGNON, COS

DATE: 26 JAN 93, 1430

SUBJECT: JOSEPH/PERIGNON MEETING WITH LETICA/LUKOVIC (1200) ON

-- REACTION TO FRENCH TRAGEDY
-- CURRENT CA FIGHTING POSTURE
-- REACTION TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 802
-- PERUCA DAM DEVELOPMENTS
-- EARLY REPORT FROM UNMO/ECMM TRIP WITH CA ESCORT
-- SITUATION IN GOLES-DRACE (PARAGRAPH F)

HIGHLIGHTS:

LETICA ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HIS FORCES ARE SHORT OF THE LINE, INDICATES
WHERE AND HOW SHORT OF THE LINE.

CA CURRENT FIGHTING POSTURE CHARACTERIZED AS SELF-DEFENSE. LETICA
SAYS IF TUDJMAN ORDERED A CEASE-FIRE, INCLUDING CEASING REARGUARD CLEANING
OPERATIONS, CA WOULD RESPECT IT.

LETICA ISSUES CONDOLENCES FOR FRENCH TRAGEDY (WITHOUT ADDRESSING
QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY), SAYS INVESTIGATION WILL ESTABLISH FACTS.

A. REACTION TO FRENCH TRAGEDY

LETICA BEGAN BY EXPRESSING CONDOLENCES IN THE NAME OF THE CROATIAN
ARMED FORCES FOR THE LOSS OF LIFE THAT OCCURRED YESTERDAY. HE SAID CA SIDE
WAS SORRY IT HAPPENED AND INTENDS TO COLLECT ALL RELEVANT FACTS.

UNPROFOR POINTED OUT THAT UNCONFIRMED INFORMATION INDICATED 1 FRENCH
SOLDIER ARRIVED IN KNIN WITH SHRAPNEL IN HIS FLAK JACKET APPARENTLY FROM A
122MM GUN. LETICA WOULD NOT COMMENT ON THIS BUT REPEATED INTENTION TO
ESTABLISH FACTS. HE SAID REPORT WOULD BE PROVIDED TO UNPROFOR EITHER THROUGH
ZAGREB OR ZADAR BUT WOULD NOT SAY WHEN.

ON GENERAL BOBETKO'S STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT UNPROFOR KNEW ABOUT
THE ATTACK AND SHOULD HAVE GOTTEN OUT OF THE WAY, LETICA ACKNOWLEDGED THE
STATEMENT AND SAID IT REFERRED ONLY TO THE INITIAL WARNING ALLEGEDLY
PROVIDED ON 22 JANUARY BEFORE THE ATTACK. HE COULD NOT SAY WHO OR HOW
UNPROFOR WAS NOTIFIED, IN PARTICULAR WHETHER SECTOR SOUTH WAS TO HAVE BEEN
NOTIFIED.

61
ON UNPROFOR'S PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT THE DEATHS OF THE FRENCH SOLDIERS WERE QUOTE PROBABLY DUE TO CROATIAN FIRE UNQUOTE, LETICA SAID HE WAS UNAWARE OF THE STATEMENT.

ON EVACUATION OF REMAINING FRENCH TROOPS, CA SIDE INDICATED FULL INTENTION TO COOPERATE TO ACHIEVE THIS, INCLUDING BY APPROVING A QUOTE LOCAL CEASE-FIRE UNQUOTE.

B. ON CURRENT FIGHTING POSTURE

UNPROFOR INFORMED LETICA THAT KNIN HAS SAID NO FOR THE TIME BEING TO THE CEASE-FIRE PROPOSAL. UNPROFOR WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO MEET WITH KNIN AUTHORITIES.

LETICA BROUGHT UP THAT CA SIDE HAD (ON EVENING OF 23 JAN) BEEN GLAD TO HEAR THAT KNIN HAD ACCEPTED NEGOTIATIONS IN PRINCIPLE. HE SAID HIS SIDE HAD ONLY BEEN WAITING TO HEAR ON THE AGENDA, PLACE AND TIME. HE SAID CA SIDE HAD BEEN READY FOR A CEASE-FIRE QUOTE IMMEDIATELY AFTER ITS PROPOSALS WERE ACCEPTED UNQUOTE.

LETICA CONTINUED THAT AS HE SAID YESTERDAY, THERE ARE POCKETS CONTAINING GROUPS OF (SERB) INDIVIDUALS. HE SAID CA IS QUOTE CLEANING TERRAIN UNQUOTE TO ENSURE SECURITY.

HE THEN SAID THAT CA FORCES ARE STOPPED SHORT OF THE BLUE LINE. (NOTE: AFTER COL ODAK INDICATED IMPRECISION OVER THE TERM LINE, IT WAS AGREED TO USE THE TERM BLUE LINE FOR THE FULL LINE EXPRESSED AS CA MILITARY OBJECTIVE.) LETICA SAID HIS FORCES ARE NOT MOVING FORWARD FROM THEIR PRESENT POSITIONS.

WHEN ASKED IF CA FORCES INTEND TO MOVE FORWARD FROM PRESENT POSITIONS TO REACH THE BLUE LINE, LETICA SAID NO. CA ACCEPTS THE ORDER OF THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY (TUDJMAN.)

WHEN ASKED WHAT IF TUDJMAN SAYS TO STOP ALL ATTACK, INCLUDING SO-CALLED CLEANING ACTIONS, LETICA CA WOULD STOP. HE REITERATED CA CURRENT POSITION IS TO STOP ON QUOTE ALREADY REACHED POSITIONS UNQUOTE, NOT GO FORWARD.

WHEN ASKED HOW FAR HIS FORCES WERE FROM THE LINE, LETICA AND LUKOVIC SAID CA FORCES ARE ON A CURVE BEHIND THE BLUE LINE. WHEN ASKED FOR A MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM, THEY POINTED ON THE MAP AND SAID WEST OF NADIN THEY ARE 2 TO 3 KILOMETERS FROM THE BLUE LINE, WEST OF NOVIGRAD AREA THEY ARE 3 AND ONE HALF KILOMETERS FROM THE BLUE LINE.

LETICA AND LUKOVIC DESCRIBED CURRENT BATTLE ACTIVITY AS STOPPED. THEY SAID CA FORCES ARE OBEYING ORDERS AND NOT ADVANCING. WHEN ASKED WHAT IS THE CURRENT QUOTE FIGHTING POSTURE UNQUOTE OF CA FORCES, LUKOVIC SAID THAT THEY ARE NOT MAKING ANY OFFENSIVE MOVEMENT IN ANY DIRECTION. HE SAID THEY HAVE NO NEW TARGETS. HOWEVER, IF THEY ARE ATTACKED THEY WILL PROTECT THEMSELVES. HE SAID THIS POSTURE COULD BE CHARACTERIZED AS SELF-DEFENSE.

24

C. PERUCA DAM

LETICA/LUKOVIC DENIED ANY CA ACTIVITY IN OR AROUND THE DAM THAT WOULD RAISE TENSIONS.

D. SC RESOLUTION 802

CA SIDE SAID IT WAS AWARE OF RES 802, BUT DID NOT HAVE A COPY IN ENGLISH. (CORRECT COPY OF SAME WAS PROVIDED.) LETICA SAID HE HAD NO REACTION NOW.

E. MOVEMENT/OBSERVATIONS OF UNMO/ECMM

LUKOVIC SAID AN UNMO/ECMM PATROL WITH CA ESCORT WOULD BE PERMITTED TO THE FOLLOWING AREAS -- ZEMUNIK, SMOKOVIC, MURVIC, AND ALONG THE LINE TO MASLENICA.

EARLY REPORTS FROM THOSE JUST NOW RETURNING SHOW CALM SITUATION WITH CA IN TOTAL CONTROL AROUND AIRPORT, ZEMUNIK AREA, SMOKOVIC, AND PALEKA. SOLDIERS WERE RELAXING WITH HELMETS OFF. SEVERAL HOUSES WERE ABLAZE, APPARENTLY FROM DELIBERATE FIRES, NOT WAR DAMAGE. SHEEP AND CATTLE WERE BEING ROUNDED UP IN SMOKOVIC.

IN AREA WEST OF ISLAM LATINSKI, 1 CA T-55 TANK AND 1 APC WERE SPOTTED.

AT MASLENICA BRIDGE (ON WESTERN SIDE), OBSERVERS COULD HEAR EXPLOSIONS AT CLOSE RANGE. CA VAN WITH 4 SNIPERS AND HEAVY-BARRELED SNIPER RIFLES IN ADDITION TO AD-47S WERE TAKING POSITIONS ON WESTERN SIDE. 1 KILOMETER WEST OF BRIDGE SHELLING WAS TAKING PLACE, HITTING WATER AND NEAR MONITORING VEHICLES (NEAR POSEDARJE.) CIVILIANS WERE EVACUATING AREA IN VEHICLES.

F. (OPERATIONS ONLY) SITUATION IN GOLES AND DRACE

THESE TWO POINTS (WHERE UNPROFOR STILL HAS TROOPS) ARE STILL CONTROLLED BY SERBS. SERBS ARE IN CONTACT WITH FRENCH SOLDIERS. THE ATTITUDE OF SERB SOLDIERS IS DESCRIBED AS VERY FRIENDLY, BUT IT IS NOT TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT THEY WOULD ACCEPT ANY FRENCH PULLOUT.

PRESENT DECISION OF FRENCH COMPANY COMMANDER IS TO WAIT FOR A CLEAR SIGN FROM THE SERBS THAT THEY CAN LEAVE FREELY TO ZADAR. MORALE IS GOOD AND SUPPLY OK, EXCEPT FOR BATTERIES.

COS IS SORRY TO DISTURB OVER-HEATED SSHQ WITH QUESTIONS, BUT EFFECTIVE LIAISON IN ZADAR, ESPECIALLY ON THIS CRITICAL ISSUE, IS DEPENDENT ON TIMELY AND ACCURATE FEEDBACK. COS MUST INSIST THAT ALL EFFORTS BE MADE TO MINIMIZE THE SEVERE DANGER FACING THESE TROOPS. IN PARTICULAR, COS CRITICALLY NEEDS REAL-TIME KNOWLEDGE OF WHETHER CA CEASE-FIRE GUARANTEES ARE BEING RESPECTED IN THE FIELD.

END MESSAGE #9.

IN.471

CZN-117

CZG-092. UNPROF-295
26 Jan 93UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE
UNPROFOR

OUTGOING CRYPTO CABLE

26 93 JA 18 351-10

MOST IMMEDIATE

Page 1 of 2

TO : GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK → OK

INFO : VANCE, ICFY, UNOG

FROM : NAMBIAR, ZAGREB

DATE : 26 JANUARY 1993

NUMBER : UNPROFOR-Z- **95.**

SUBJECT: TUDJMAN'S POSITION

Handwritten signature
at Gen

CODED CABLE

93 JAN 26 20:37

UNPROFOR-Z-295
Pater and sections

.....

1. Prior to my meeting tonight at 2015 hours with Tudjman, we have just seen a Hina summary of a Tudjman statement on their position. As, of course, you know, SCR 802 differs in wording from SCR 762, which latter related in part to Miljeveci, and referred to the withdrawal of the Croatian Army. 802 refers to the withdrawal of Croatian "armed forces". The Croats always refused to withdraw their "police" from Miljeveci on the ground that they were not part of the army. They nevertheless deviated from what we ourselves believed was the intent of 762 by holding onto the area gained in that incursion through their police. We were, at the time, told not to object to this apparent deviation because it was not clearly in breach of the Resolution. After much huffing and puffing on our part at the Croats, we subsided. But the Serbs did not; and the continued presence of their police, holding militarily-gained territory, really poisoned the water for the implementation of 762. This looks like repetition of a fairly transparent device, and we shall appreciate instructions should, as we anticipate, Tudjman come out again with the idea. (We shall report after the meeting.) I might add that, this time, the Croats, for the first few days, insisted that their invading force was a police force.

2. I am planning to visit the sector tomorrow, having what I should like to be a brief meeting with the authorities, but basically spending the day - at Knin, Benkovac and Gracac - with the Sector personnel. Gaudreau is back there since this afternoon. Should we get into substantive talks in a day or so, I shall send Thornberry down to try to negotiate. But I think we may be a little way from that.

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Endall

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PRESIDENT TUDJMAN ON LATEST U.N. RESOLUTION

ZAGREB, Jan 26 (Hina) - Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman met Tuesday with the Defense and Interior Ministers Gojko Surak and Ivan Jarnjak, Croatian Army Chief-of-Staff Gen. Janko Bobetko, the UN Split operative zone Commander Brigadier Anto Gotovina, Gen. Anto Rosa and the Assistant to the Interior Minister Zeljko Tomljenovic.

At the end of the meeting, President Tudjman gave a statement for Hina and Croatian TV in which he said that he had met the senior Croatian officials who were involved in the operations of the police and military formations in the Maslenica area on completion of the job of securing the building of the pontoon bridge firstly, and subsequently a permanent one, as well as securing the road between Maslenica and Zadar.

President Tudjman went on to say that, as it has already been made public, the operation has been completed, that the building of the bridge and the road has been secured, and that the high officials are to return to Zagreb and resume their duties in the Ministries and the Main Headquarters.

"In today's circumstances, following the UN Security Council resolution, the Croatian police and army forces were given the task of securing the areas that were so far under the occupation of the Serbian paramilitary formations," said President Tudjman.

"Our army forces will leave the areas they liberated during the operation in accordance with the disarmament of Serbian paramilitary forces and the return of the heavy weaponry they had seized from the UNPROFOR controlled storages, while the entire area will be secured by the Croatian police forces. All this is aimed at the reestablishment of the civil authorities and the normalization of life in the entire area," concluded Croatian President.

(Hina - The End)

CRN-113
626-092

UNOG International Unit
Palais des Nations

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE
(UNPROFOR)
'93 JAN 26 13:20

OUTGOING CRYPTO CABLE

MOST IMMEDIATE

TO : GOULDING, UNATIONS NEW YORK -OK
INFO : VANCE, ICFY GENEVA
FROM : NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR ZAGREB
DATE : 26 JANUARY 1993
NUMBER : 94.
SUBJECT : Continuance of Hostilities

Blambert
H. Gen

I attach copy of my letter to President Tudjman for your information.

I understand Mr. Vance is seeking to have my appointment brought forward.

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ENDALL



UNPROFOR

26 January 1993

Y- 2.11.93

As you know, I had requested earlier this morning the privilege of an immediate meeting with you to discuss the implementation of Security Council resolution 802 (1993), which was adopted by the Security Council last evening, and the text of which I attach for Your Excellency's ease of reference. In the circumstances, I much regret that your schedule does not permit you to receive me until tonight,

May I, therefore, communicate in advance the matters upon which I shall seek to consult with you. The Council has, inter alia, demanded the immediate cessation of hostile activities by Croatian armed forces within or adjacent to the United Nations Protected Areas and withdrawal of the Croatian armed forces from these areas.

It has also strongly condemned those forces' attacks upon UNPROFOR in the conduct of its duty and has demanded their immediate cessation. Other provisions of the Resolution include a call for cooperation with UNPROFOR in resolving all remaining issues connected with implementation of the peace-keeping plan.

I shall also wish to mention the disparity between the positions which you and Minister Susak have, on several occasions since Friday, communicated to the United Nations, and those repeated, also several times, to my representatives by your military commanders in Zadar.

I am especially concerned, because UNPROFOR has confirmed that your forces, despite the Security Council Resolution, have continued this morning to shell various locations, and are persisting in their attempts to move forward. I am also perturbed by reports which I have been receiving today of unusual movements of Croatian troops in the Drnis area.

In view of this situation, I am informing the Secretary-General that the conflict is continuing.

*With warm regards,**Yours sincerely,*

Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar
Force Commander

His Excellency
Dr. Franjo Tudjman
President
Republic of Croatia

UNOS' INFO CY2-042 7

25 Jan 93 1/7

OUTGOING CODE CAP DE VINS

TO: NAMBIAR, UNPROFOR, ZAGREB '93 JAN 26 -5
VANCE, GENEVA ✓
FROM: GOULDING, NEW YORK
DATE: 25 JANUARY 1993
NUMBER: MSC-126
SUBJECT: Continued Fighting: Security Council Action

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1. Many thanks for Nambiar's UNPROFOR-Z-90 and Vance's CZY-008, which were most useful in preparing the attached Information Note for the Security Council. The killing of the two French soldiers considerably influenced the mood of the debate, resulting in the unanimous passage of resolution 802 (also attached). The handwritten changes to operative paragraph 4 were inserted, after a delay for consultations with Washington, by the United States.
2. At the formal meeting, the French Ambassador made reference to the 11 fatalities suffered by the French UNPROFOR contingent and stressed the paramount importance of ensuring the security of UN peace-keeping personnel. The Russian Ambassador described the Croatian offensive as "a direct challenge to United Nations peace-keeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia" and urged that the Security Council impose sanctions on Croatia in the event of non-compliance with the resolution.
3. At a separate meeting the Security Council adopted, without debate, a Presidential statement on humanitarian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is also enclosed.

CYZ 42 2/7

Croatian Offensive (22-25 January 1993)Note by the Secretariat

In the early morning hours of Friday, 22 January 1993, the Croatian Army launched an attack in the area of Maslenica and the airport of Zemunik in the "Pink Zones" adjacent to Sector South of the United Nations Protected Area in Croatia.

This violation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 762 (1992) commenced at 07:30 hours on 22 January with the shelling of Serb positions at Rovanjaska from Starigrad by Croat forces. Since then, fighting has continued in areas North and South of Maslenica with heavy artillery shelling and tank battles. As of 18:00 hours local time on Monday 25 January, fighting was still going on in the area of Jasenice, Drace, Smilcic, Biljane and Zemunik. According to an assessment by UNPROFOR, the Croatian Army so far has committed five to six brigades to the operation. Croatian Army forces are now in control of Maslenica and Rovanjaska. They have entered the United Nations Protected Areas in the opstine of Gracac and Obrovac.

Two French soldiers of UNPROFOR were killed as a result of Croatian shelling, and three have been wounded. The Force Commander of UNPROFOR, Lieutenant-General Satish Nambiar, on Saturday initiated negotiations with the Croatian and Serb sides for a local truce in order to permit the withdrawal of the exposed UNPROFOR units (French and Kenyan troops) from the fighting zone.

When the fighting began, on Friday, 22 January, at 13:30 hours, Lt.-Gen. Nambiar called on the Croatian President, Mr. Franjo Tudjman, conveying his serious concern over the unilateral action by the Croatian Army which could result in the destabilization of the situation in the area. He requested that the offensive be halted immediately and that the forces concerned be withdrawn to their previous positions. In response, President Tudjman stated that the action by the Croatian Army was caused by Serb intransigence on the issue of the Maslenica bridge and that the objective of his forces was to provide security for the reconstruction of the bridge. He asserted that Croatian forces would not attack in other areas, if the Serbs refrained from retaliating. He stressed, however, that his forces would not withdraw from the areas captured around Maslenica.

On Friday afternoon, the co-chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), Mr. Cyrus Vance, also contacted President Tudjman and urged him to stop the fighting immediately. Mr. Vance further contacted the President of Serbia, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, and urged him to assist in the containment of the present fighting. On Saturday, 23 January, in Geneva, the co-chairmen met with Presidents Bulatovic, Cosic,

Milosevic and Tudjman in order to attempt to bring the situation under control. However, assurances provided by the Croatian leadership to the co-chairmen have not so far been fulfilled.

Since early January, UNPROFOR has held meetings with the highest levels of the Croatian Government to address the issue of rebuilding the Maslenica bridge, the vital road link to Croatia's Dalmatian coastal areas. In these meetings, UNPROFOR conveyed to the Croatian authorities that any unilateral action on their part could lead to renewed hostilities in the region and that it was essential to meet with the authorities in Knin to negotiate an agreement before commencing construction work for the bridge.

The Croatian Army, these efforts notwithstanding, began building up its forces along the cease-fire line. On 18 January, UNPROFOR protested this military build-up to the Chief of Staff of the Croatian Army, General Bobetko.

UNPROFOR made several attempts to arrange for a high-level meeting between the Croatian Government and the Knin authorities. Both sides agreed to a meeting to be held at Maslenica on 21 January, but the Knin authorities wanted the meeting postponed to 22 January, which was not acceptable to the Croatian Government at the time. However, subsequently, on 21 January, the Vice-Prime Minister of Croatia conveyed his Government's willingness to participate in a meeting on 23 January. This offer was overtaken by the Croatian offensive of 22 January.

According to Admiral Letica, Commander of the Croatian forces in the area, who met with UNPROFOR representatives on 23 January, the objective of the offensive is limited to establishing a security line southwards from the Zrmanja river - west of Obrovac - Krusevo - along the UNPA boundary - Smilicic - Skabrnje - Nadin with a view to protecting the Maslenica bridge and the highway running through it.

As a result of the Croatian offensive, the Serb authorities in Knin have declared a state of war and begun mobilizing the male population between the ages of 18 and 60 in the UNPAs and the Pink Zones. UNPROFOR-controlled weapons storage areas have been broken into and heavy weaponry, including tanks, artillery, armoured personnel carriers and anti-aircraft guns have been removed and moved towards the former cease-fire lines. In the afternoon of 22 January, a convoy of Serb Territorial Defence Forces moving through the UNPA in Sector South was ambushed by Croatian Army units which had infiltrated into that area, resulting in 21 Serb dead and several wounded.

The city of Zadar has been shelled by Serb forces for some time on 24 January, but shelling has now ceased. Earlier, the Croatian Army threatened to retaliate by shelling Knin, Benkovac and Obrovac in the event that shelling of Zadar was not stopped. The potential for a grave escalation of the conflict therefore exists. A particular cause of concern is the Paruca Dam, which

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is currently under UNPROFOR control but is alleged by each side to be a target of the other. Destruction of the dam, which is extensively mined, would unleash an ecological catastrophe.

On Sunday January 24, the co-chairmen of the ICFY met with President Cosic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. During the meeting the President received a call from General Zivota Panic, Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army (JA), requesting authority to use JA forces in the Maslenica area, which President Cosic refused to grant. The co-chairman expressed appreciation for the President's restraint. The President responded that it was vital that the Security Council take action against Croatia. Mr. Vance again contacted the Defence Minister of Croatia, Mr. Gojko Susak, who repeated assurances that he had given explicit orders to stop the fighting. This does not, however, appear to be borne out by events on the ground.

The current Geneva talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina have failed to make progress today with respect to the maps. It appears that events on the ground have had a negative effect on the peace process led by the co-chairmen of the ICFY.

United Nations
25 January 1993

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/25160
25 January 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH~~draft~~ Resolution 802 (1993)The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 713 (1991) of 25 September 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

Reaffirming in particular its commitment to the United Nations peace-keeping plan (S/23280, annex III),

Deeply concerned by the information provided by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on 25 January 1993 on the rapid and violent deterioration of the situation in Croatia as a result of military attack by Croatian armed forces on the areas under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR),

Strongly condemning those attacks which have led to casualties and loss of life in UNPROFOR, as well as among the civilian population,

Deeply concerned also by the lack of cooperation in recent months by the Serb local authorities in the areas under the protection of UNPROFOR, by the recent seizure by them of heavy weapons under UNPROFOR control, and by threats to widen the conflict,

1. Demands the immediate cessation of hostile activities by Croatian armed forces within or adjacent to the United Nations Protected Areas and the withdrawal of the Croatian armed forces from these areas;

2. Strongly condemns the attacks by these forces against UNPROFOR and the conduct of its duty of protecting civilians in the United Nations Protected Areas and demands their immediate cessation;

3. Demands also that the heavy weapons seized from the UNPROFOR-controlled storage areas be returned immediately to UNPROFOR;

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Demands that

4. Urges all parties and others concerned to comply strictly with the cease-fire arrangements already agreed and to cooperate fully and unconditionally in the implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan (S/23280, Annex II) including the disbanding and demobilization of the Serb Territorial Defence Units or other units of similar function;
5. Expresses its condolences to the families of the UNPROFOR personnel who have lost their lives;
6. Demands that all parties and others concerned respect fully the safety of United Nations personnel;
7. Invites the Secretary-General to take all necessary steps to ensure the safety of the UNPROFOR personnel concerned;
8. Calls upon all parties and others concerned to cooperate with UNPROFOR in resolving all remaining issues connected with the implementation of the peace-keeping plan, including allowing civilian traffic freely to use the Maslenica crossing;
9. Calls again upon all parties and others concerned to cooperate fully with the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and to refrain from any actions or threats which might undermine the current efforts aimed at reaching a political settlement;
10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

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The Security Council notes with appreciation the efforts of the international community to alleviate the plight of the civilian population in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose lives have been severely affected by the fighting there. The Council has the highest regard for the efforts of the brave people who have undertaken to deliver urgently needed humanitarian assistance under extremely trying conditions to the civilian population in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular, the efforts of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, the Council deeply regrets that the situation there has imposed great limits on the international community in the fulfilment of its humanitarian mandate.

The Council reaffirms its demand that all parties and others concerned, in particular Serb paramilitary units, cease and desist forthwith from all violations of international humanitarian law being committed in the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including in particular the deliberate interference with humanitarian convoys. The Council warns the parties concerned of serious consequences, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the Security Council, if they continue to impede the delivery of humanitarian relief assistance.

The Council invites the Secretary-General to keep under continuous review the possibility of air-dropping humanitarian assistance to areas isolated by the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.