

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Question about Somalia (1 page)	11/16/1993	P1/b(1)
001b. cable	Re: [The Making of a Deal] (2 pages)	09/17/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel Office
Gergen, David
OA/Box Number: 3868

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia

2012-0659-F
ke4082

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 11/22/93

TO: Dave Gergen
Mark Gearan
Dee Dee Myers
George S.

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 11/25/16

2012-0659-F

SOMALIA

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WASHINGTON

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/12

Ben
What is the deal
here?

What is the deal here?

Parties Not Eligible for Russian Parliamentary Election

Fred Hiatt
Post Package Service

10--Eight political parties off the Dec. 12 ballot for parliament today, including groups opposed to Pres-

picture was not one-al Election Commission participation a strongly in certifying some of the strongest opponents, in-ust Party.

all the parties removed ill be able to run for in-al districts if they can-ures. But their parties-ompete for 225 seats-half of the total—that-0 parties on the basis of

their nationwide election showing. The eight parties stricken were among 21 that, seeking to participate in the parliamentary elections, had submitted petitions Saturday

Thirteen parties have met qualifications to participate in the Dec. 12 voting.

ostensibly containing 100,000 or more signatures of support. The commission, after examining the petitions for three days, concluded that only 13 had submitted enough legitimate voters' signatures.

Today's action is likely to revive charges from Yeltsin's opponents that free and fair elections cannot take place. Since dissolving parliament Sept. 21 and routing its hard-line hokkouts in bloody battle on Oct. 3-4, Yeltsin has ruled the country with little challenge from any quarter.

Today, he fired the rebellious leader of his home region of Sverdlovsk who had failed to heed Kremlin warnings against setting up a "Urals Republic" to increase the region's political clout.

A statement from Yeltsin's office said Eduard Roussel, whom Yeltsin had appointed, was fired for exceeding his authority. Tuesday, Yeltsin nullified a vote by local authorities to create a new internal republic, saying such moves would unacceptably increase separatist pressures in the country.

Nikolai Ryabov, an ally of Yeltsin who heads the election commission, denied any political motivation in the commission's work and said the parties that were disqualified had simply failed to meet requirements set for all. The 13 parties eligible to participate reflect "the whole spectrum of political forces" and thus guarantee a truly democratic election, he said.

The 13 include the three largest pro-reform democratic groups, two centrist blocs, the Communists, the pro-Communist Agrarian Party, the nationalist Liberal Democratic Party, an environmentalist group and a women's party.

Among those eliminated was the Russian National Union, led by radical nationalist Sergei Baburin, a leading Yeltsin opponent in the parliament the Russian leader dissolved last September. Baburin charged

Saturday that Interior Ministry troops raided his party headquarters and seized petitions containing 22,000 names.

The Interior Ministry has acknowledged that some of its people were at the union headquarters then but officials denied lists were taken. Ryabov said today that an investigation confirms Baburin's charge his party may be reinstated. But even without such disruption, many Yeltsin opponents have charged that not enough time remained before the election to prepare properly.

Among parties stricken by the electoral commission was the Association of Independent Professionals, led by a strong Yeltsin supporter, Pyotr Filippov. But most of those stricken were anti-Yeltsin, including the neo-fascist National-Republican Party of Russia and the pro-Communist Constitutional Democratic Party.

Somalia Envoy Urged Policy Shift Before 18 GIs Died

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according to diplomatic and military sources.

The Sept. 17 cable apparently failed to generate a change in policy at the highest levels of the Clinton administration, however, and diplomats in Mogadishu said they were surprised and frustrated when they did not receive an immediate response.

The administration eventually did shift policy in the direction urged in the cable, but only after the Oct. 3 raid by U.S. Army Rangers that left

18 American soldiers dead and 75 wounded.

The cable was sent out over the signature of then-U.S. ambassador Robert Gossende. Gossende, considered a hard-liner in pushing the hunt for Aided, was removed from his post and replaced by career diplomat Richard Bogosian, a former ambassador to Niger and Chad who is scheduled to arrive here Friday.

Gossende's allies expressed belief that he has unfairly become a victim of the administration's earlier, failed

Somalia policy. Many journalists here remember Gosende as a passionate advocate for the U.S. and U.N. policy of arresting Aideed. But Gosende's supporters said the cable shows that the ambassador became an advocate for a new approach to Aideed in September, after the Rangers dispatched here in August botched several attempts to catch the warlord, and that more senior administration officials did not focus on Somalia until disaster struck.

The cable was marked NIACT.

one of the most urgent priorities for messages from the field, and diplomats said it would have been seen at the assistant secretary's office of the State Department, as well as at the National Security Council, the U.S. mission to the United Nations, and the U.S. military's Central Command.

U.S. Embassy diplomats here were so certain their cable—which they said resembled a position paper—would lead to an immediate turnaround in administration policy

on Somalia that they drafted a press release to explain the shift to reporters. The cable was sent on a Friday, and diplomats said they expected a response after senior officials in Washington used the weekend to consider it.

But another diplomat here said, "We got no response—none. Not even a cable back."

(State Department officials said Gosende's advice was not ignored, but contributed to a shift toward lo-

See SOMALIA, A44, Col 1

Mogadishu Embassy Urged Policy Shift

SOMALIA, From AP

cusing on political talks, staff writer Daniel Williams reported in Washington. Secretary of State Warren Christopher discussed the altered approach with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Sept. 20, the officials said.

[But the new policy, they said, was not worked out fully until after the Oct. 3 firefight, which speeded up U.S. pressure on the United Nations to stop chasing Audeed and begin talking with his representatives.]

According to the sources here, the cable outlined a series of diplomatic initiatives close to the approach the Clinton administration embraced later, after the 18 deaths. The embassy suggested a halt to military activities and an offer for Audeed to do the same; an independent commission to investigate Audeed's involvement in the June 5 ambush of Pakistani peace keepers; a return to the March Addis Ababa accords as the basis for a political settlement in Somalia; and a suggestion that Audeed consider leaving Somalia for exile to a third country, like Ethiopia, until the commission delivered its findings.

The cable was entitled "The Making of a Deal: Getting Off Dead Center With the Habr Gedir and Audeed." The Habr Gedir is Audeed's subclan.

The existence of the cable was made known last month by some of Gosende's supporters. It was confirmed today that the cable had been sent.

Diplomatic sources said the cable reflected a growing realization by Gosende and other U.S. diplomats here that the campaign to capture Audeed was not working, because casualty levels on both sides were becoming unacceptable and the administration was unwilling to commit the needed manpower and political capital.

An earlier, Sept. 6 cable from the embassy had argued for a hard-line approach and requested more U.S. troops because, in the words of one diplomat, "If we're going to take the military approach, we should take it and not pussyfoot around." Portions of that Sept. 6 cable were leaked in Washington by officials who apparently wanted to discredit the embassy, diplomats here said.

By the middle of September, said one diplomat involved in the policy debate, "We sat down and agreed that the military option wasn't going to work—that the gloves were never going to be taken all the way off, but they'd be off just enough to get us in trouble."

One main element outlined in the Sept. 17 cable was the idea that American-led U.N. troops should seize the public relations initiative by

declaring a unilateral cease-fire in the destructive war in Audeed-controlled south Mogadishu, sources said. "We declare some kind of cease-fire and ask them to respond," one diplomat said.

Eventually, Audeed called his own unilateral cease-fire on Oct. 9, forcing the United States and the United Nations to respond by halting their forces' offensive operations.

U.S. Soldier Shoots Somali Loading Heavy Weapons

Associated Press

MOGADISHU, Somalia, Nov. 10—An American sharpshooter shot two Somalis who were loading heavy weapons into a van today, military officials said. Somali witnesses claimed two were killed and four wounded.

The shootings occurred near the Kilometer Four traffic circle shortly before 5 p.m. An American soldier atop a former soap factory spotted two men loading a rocket-propelled grenade launcher and a heavy machine gun into a van, said an American military spokesman.

The Somalis did not shoot, but the spokesman said the rules of engagement in Somalia allowed the soldier to fire because of the weaponry involved.

Uzbek Dissidents Beaten in Moscow

2 Journalists, Poet Accuse Agents of Central Asian Government

By Fred Hiatt
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Nov. 10—Repressive Central Asian governments are reaching beyond their borders to beat up and intimidate dissidents and journalists living here, human rights activists alleged today.

Three dissidents from Uzbekistan, two journalists and a poet, said they were tied up, clubbed and threatened with a gun last week by six men who ransacked their apartment and stole their passports and some antigovernment literature. The head of the band, an Uzbek, concluded the four-hour intrusion by saying, "If you want to live, say nothing about this," the dissidents claimed. The intruders did not take money or other valuables.

Human rights activists criticized the Russian government for providing little protection to dissidents from former Soviet republics.

bert Musin, Abdurashid Sharipov and Yadgar Abid—offered no proof that the Uzbek secret service was involved in last week's attack, and a spokesman for Uzbekistan's embassy here said he knew nothing about it. The spokesman, Fakhritdin Parpiev, also criticized human rights activists for missing the big picture—the calm and stability in his Central Asian country.

"We have no fratricidal wars and no bloodshed," he said. "I don't know what they really want, these human rights defenders. So one man was shoved around, while blood is being shed everywhere, and they are shouting about just one single person. Everything is normal in Uzbekistan."

Oleg Panfilov, head of the Committee for the Defense of Journalists, said last Thursday's attack represents part of a pattern. Panfilov, who writes frequently about Tajikistan's human rights record, was

chaotically. A vicious civil war in Tajikistan has produced mass killings of political opponents, while Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have argued that democratization and human rights must be embraced gingerly, so as not to jeopardize social peace.

Human rights groups have charged that, as a result, opposition newspapers have been banned, opposition parties shut and government critics jailed, fired and otherwise harassed. Alexei Smirnov of the Center for Human Rights here said the atmosphere in those nations is "even worse and more dangerous" than in the Soviet Union before the liberalization and reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev.

As a result, many government opponents have taken refuge in Moscow. But the Uzbek activists and their defenders said Central Asian dissidents are particularly at risk now because of Russian

TAB B

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