

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

Somalia, June-December 1993 [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

African Affairs-Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer/Steinberg, Donald, et.al.

Original OA/ID Number:

502

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
29	4	8	3	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. note	Re: [Attached Memorandum] (1 page)	10/05/1993	P1/b(1)
001b. memo	Re: [Somalia] (3 pages)	10/05/1993	P1/b(1)
002a. cable	Re: Message from President Clinton to President Mitterrand (2 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
002b. draft	[Draft of 002a] (1 page)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)
003. note	Handwritten notes from Somalia Deputies Committee meeting (2 pages)	09/30/1993	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Re: UNOSOM Troop Strength (3 pages)	09/28/1993	P1/b(1)
005. memo	Marc Grossman to Anthony Lake, re: Foreign Assistance Act Drawdown and Presidential Waiver of Statutory Restrictions on Assistance to Somalia in Order to Support United Nations Efforts to Reestablish a Somali Police Force (4 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
006a. talking points	Talking Points on Somalia (1 page)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
006b. paper	Background Material and Talking Points for Somalia Political Strategy (6 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
006c. paper	Re-Energizing the Political Process in Somalia (3 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
006d. paper	[Duplicate of 006b] (6 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4094

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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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.

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006e. paper	[Duplicate of 006c] (3 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
007a. memo	Marc Grossman to William Itoh, re: The Portion of the Somalia Trust Fund Earmarked to Pay U.S. Bills (1 page)	09/15/1993	P1/b(1)
007b. paper	The Portion of the Somalia Trust Fund Earmarked to Pay U.S. Bills (4 pages)	08/27/1993	P1/b(1)
007c. cable	Re: Somalia Trust Fund (9 pages)	09/03/1993	P1/b(1)
008. cable	Re: Message from Prresident Clinton to President Mubarak (2 pages)	09/15/1993	P1/b(1)
009a. memo	Richard Clarke to Anthony Lake, re: Message to Mubarak on Somalia (1 page)	09/14/1993	P1/b(1)
009b. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Message to Egypt Concerning Somlia (1 page)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
009c. draft	[Draft of 008] (2 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)

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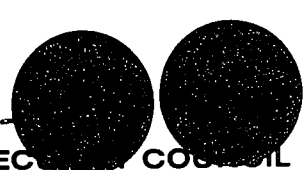
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

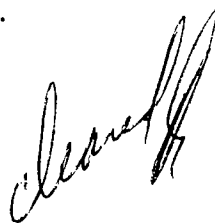
Oct. 7, 1993

TO: DON GROSS
JENNIFER WARD

FROM: NEAL WOLIN

Could you please sign off
on the attached War Powers
letter by 2:00 pm today.

Thanks.

 10/7
1550

Dear Mr. Speaker:

Because of my desire that the Congress be kept fully informed regarding significant deployments of U.S. Armed Forces, I am providing this supplement to my earlier reports on the situation in Somalia. I will also ensure that consultations with Congress continue and intend to provide a full report to Congress on this situation by October 15 as requested in provisions of the Senate and House versions of the FY 1994 Defense Authorization Act.

In my letter to you of June 10, 1993, regarding the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Somalia, I reported on the deplorable June 5 attacks on forces of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) instigated by Mohammed Aideed. On July 1, I provided a supplement to my June 10 report describing further the actions taken by U.S. Armed Forces in response to those events. I am now writing to provide a further report on this situation, consistent with the War Powers Resolution.

Unfortunately, Mohammed Aideed and his followers have not ceased their criminal attacks on UNOSOM personnel and on international relief workers in the Mogadishu area. These have included periodic assaults with mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and other weapons against U.S. forces taking part in UNOSOM II operations and against U.S. and U.N. facilities.

A particularly intense series of encounters with Aideed's forces occurred in Mogadishu on October 3. At one location a U.S. HMMWV light vehicle was destroyed by a command-detonated land mine. At another location a five-ton U.S. Army truck was destroyed by a rocket-propelled grenade.

In the most serious encounter of the day, U.S. Army Rangers launched an operation near the Olympia Hotel for the purpose of arresting and detaining persons in Aideed's organization thought to have committed earlier assaults on U.N. forces. During the course of this operation, two U.S. Blackhawk helicopters were shot down and U.S. Army personnel established a perimeter around one of the crash sites in an attempt to rescue U.S. helicopter crew members. These personnel were subjected to intense small arms fire for most of the night until other UNOSOM forces (including U.S. Army personnel) could reach the crash site and evacuate them. Three other U.S. helicopters were hit and forced to withdraw during these incidents.

Thirteen U.S. personnel were killed, 85 were wounded and four are missing. One U.S. military person is being detained by Aideed's forces. UNOSOM forces of other nationalities suffered losses as

well. Every effort is being made to find and extract the missing personnel, and we have made it clear that Aideed and his followers will be held strictly responsible for their criminal acts and for any mistreatment of our personnel. I deeply regret these tragic deaths and injuries.

I have directed the implementation of several measures to strengthen our ability to protect U.S. and other UNOSOM forces, and to enhance our ability to assist UNOSOM in carrying out its mandate to provide a secure environment for humanitarian relief. I have ordered the deployment to Somalia of additional U.S. military personnel and equipment under U.S. command which are intended to provide force-protection capability for U.S. and U.N. contingents assigned to Mogadishu. The deployment of these forces will lessen the threat to U.S. and other U.N. forces assigned in Somalia.

These deployments have been made pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive. They are consistent with differing versions of a proposed joint resolution adopted separately by the Senate on February 4 and the House on May 25. I welcome the support expressed in these resolutions for our efforts in Somalia, and I look forward to continuing our consultations on this essential humanitarian effort.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: CARTER, JIMMY

DOC DATE: 05 OCT 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM FORMER PRES CARTER RE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 09 OCT 93 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: CLARKE

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
CLARKE

FOR CONCURRENCE
WARD

FOR INFO
BERGER
INDYK
ITOH
KENNEY
LAKE
SATTERFIELD
SODERBERG

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

bce: Boutros-Ghali

Staff w/ advance

Cpy to TL



JIMMY CARTER

October 5, 1993

To President Bill Clinton

I have grieved with you about the increasing loss of life in Mogadishu. Although you probably have much better information than I, there are some thoughts that I'd like to share with you.

As you will remember, I had been encouraged by State and the U.N. to inquire through the countries near Somalia about the situation, and subsequently asked by Aideed to mediate between him and the UN Security Council. He offered, perhaps not sincerely, to accept the findings and recommendations of a commission, all of whose members would be appointed by the U.N.

I have never met Aideed, and have communicated with him only through his delegations and by letter. In my meetings last week with the East African leaders who have had direct contact with him, his supporters, and the other tribal leaders in Mogadishu, they reported opinions totally contrary to those that have been expressed by Admiral Howe and Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali. They are, however, compatible with the policies that were being developed in the State Department, at least prior to the troubling incident of yesterday.

Eritrean emissaries, just back from Mogadishu, reported that Aideed is surrounded by approximately 40,000 of his fervent supporters, most of them women and children. They look upon him as the preeminent leader who led the fight for almost a decade against Siad Barre and helped to bring about what they thought would be freedom for Somalia. To them, he is a hero, and they will give their lives in his support. His 2-3,000 troops are experienced guerrilla fighters, who know every square foot of the area they control. On this last visit, the East Africans met with a number of people of other Somalian tribes and found them now to be strongly supportive of Aideed.

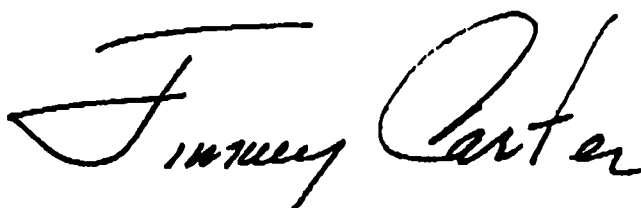
Page 2

During my recent travels in East Africa, I have found the leaders to be unanimous in their belief that Admiral Howe has been a disaster, with an almost fanatical belief that he must win some kind of military victory in Somalia. He has almost personally ratchetted up the level of confrontation, when even Boutros-Ghali would have accepted a more peaceful way.

Increasingly, Somalis see UNISOM forces as having served their original purpose well, but now believe that the U.N. has become, in effect, a colonial power that has taken control of the Somali-an society. For many Somalis, U.S. and other troops have become the hated enemies.

So far, this has only been a summary of information I have received, almost all of which has already been shared with leaders in the State Department. What to do now is the big question. I realize that our nation's honor is at stake, with the brutalization of Americans by Aideed's followers. It is quite possible that we face an escalation of American involvement in what might be a military quagmire, at the same time as the U.S. public and Congress are becoming fed up with our losses there. My own strong hope is that we can find a way to cool the tension and at least try a political solution that doesn't appear to be a capitulation. It won't be easy to find a peaceful way, but Meles Zinawe or Issaias Afwerke might be the key.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed text "Best wishes,".

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

CHRON FILE

TO: MITTERRAND, FRANCOIS

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 07 OCT 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: FRANCE
HS

SOMALIA

PERSONS: MITTERRAND, FRANCOIS

SUBJECT: PRES MSG TO PRES MITTERRAND OF FRANCE RE SOMALIA

ACTION: PRES APPROVED CABLE

DUE DATE: 11 OCT 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DARRAGH

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARKE

DARRAGH

NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By VDE NARA, Date 01/30/16

2012-0659-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY: NSWEA

DOC 2 OF 2

Rec'd 10/7 12:25pm

JWR

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: JB

LOG #

7727

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM

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PHS

A/O

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
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ExecSec			
Staff Director	<u>1</u>	<u>ms</u>	
D/APNSA	<u>2</u>	<u>srh</u>	
APNSA	<u>3</u>		
Situation Room		Nat'l Sec Advisor	
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	has seen	
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>		<u>N</u>
<u>Sit Rm</u>	<u>5</u>		<u>A</u>

A = Action

I = Information

D = Dispatch

R = Retain

N = No Further Action

cc:

VP

McLarty

Other

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

Clear with done
10/7
State also

Exec Sec has disbute

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7727

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

October 7, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *for*
FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SJD*
SUBJECT: Letter from the President to President Mitterrand

Attached is a message from the President to President Mitterrand on Somalia.

Concurrences by: Susan Rice

I've sent a copy over for Charlie Kupchan to clean. JWR

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize the dispatch of the message to President Mitterrand on behalf of the President.

Approve ☒ *per L/KK conversation* Disapprove ☐

Attachment

Tab I Letter to Mitterrand

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By *KDE* NARA, Date *11/30/16*

2012-0659-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

LR
Q Somalia

For Immediate Release

October 1, 1993

September 30, 1993

Presidential Determination
No. 93-43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Presidential Waiver on Furnishing Assistance to
the United Nations to Support the Reestablishment
of Police Forces in Somalia

Pursuant to the Authority vested in me by sections 552 (c)(2) and 614 (a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2348a (c)(2) and 2364 (a)(1) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that:

- (1) as a result of an unforeseen emergency, the provision of assistance under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act in amounts in excess of funds otherwise available for such assistance is important to the national interests of the United States;
- (2) such unforeseen emergency requires the immediate provision of assistance under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act; and
- (3) it is important to the security interests of the United States to provide commodities and services from the inventory and resources of the Department of Defense, of an aggregate value not to exceed \$25 million, and to furnish up to \$2 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF), to the United Nations for purposes of providing assistance towards the reestablishment of police, prisons, or other law enforcement forces of Somalia, without regard to section 518 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1993 (Public Law 102-391), and sections 620(q) and 660 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), or any other provision of law within the scope of section 614.

Therefore, I hereby direct the drawdown of commodities and services from the inventory and resources of the Department of Defense of an aggregate value not to exceed \$25 million, for the United Nations in support of peacekeeping operations related to the reestablishment of police forces in Somalia, and the furnishing of up to \$2 million in ESF to the United Nations for these purposes.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the Federal Register.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

#

Free SMA 118

DC

9/30/93

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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003. note	Handwritten notes from Somalia Deputies Committee meeting (2 pages)	09/30/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4094

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. cable	Re: UNOSOM Troop Strength (3 pages)	09/28/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

SmAL-A

ANNEX I

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

- 1. On 23 September the Secretary-General met with the World Bank to discuss Somalia's reconstruction.**
- 2. The Secretary-General will travel to the region in the middle of October.**
- 3. A meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Horn of Africa States, prior to Heads of State meeting; possibly in New York or Addis Ababa.**
- 4. A meeting of Horn of Africa States is being contemplated (at the head of State level) for 22-23 October in Addis Ababa. The Secretary-General will participate.**
- 5. On 22 October there will be an informal Meeting of the Somali Donors convened by the World Bank in Paris.**
- 6. A Humanitarian Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation for Somalia has been tentatively scheduled for 2-4 November in Addis Ababa.**
- 7. Efforts are being made to accelerate steps to establish an interim civil authority in Somalia. This is being pursued by Admiral Howe and Ambassador Kouyate on the ground.**
- 8. Good progress is being made on the establishment of the Somali National Police, as well as the reactivation of judicial and penal systems.**

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

SOMALIA
RECORD ID: 9307340
RECEIVED: 27 SEP 93 09

TO: LAKE

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 27 SEP 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA
PD

UN

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: FORN ASSISTANCE ACT DRAWDOWN & PRES WAIVER OF STATUTORY RESTRICTIONS
ON ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 30 SEP 93 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: CLARKE

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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FOR CONCURRENCE
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SATTERFIELD
SCHWARTZ
WOLIN

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

By KDE NARA, Date 11/30/16
2012-0659-F

COMMENTS:

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DATE 9/27

BY HAND

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OPENED BY: NSJEB

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1 OF

1

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. memo	Marc Grossman to Anthony Lake, re: Foreign Assistance Act Drawdown and Presidential Waiver of Statutory Restrictions on Assistance to Somalia in Order to Support United Nations Efforts to Reestablish a Somali Police Force (4 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.



Washington, D.C. 20520

**Memorandum of Justification for a
Presidential Determination to Draw Down
DoD Commodities and Services, and to
Set Aside Legal Restrictions on
Providing Foreign Assistance to Somalia**

The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) now has taken on the difficult and complex tasks of promoting political reconciliation and economic development to ensure that the situation does not revert to the humanitarian crisis of a year ago. It has become increasingly clear that progress on both the political and humanitarian fronts depends on a stable security environment. Reestablishment of an effective police force is key to establishing and maintaining a secure environment in Somalia. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to maintain progress on political reconciliation and economic development in the absence of a secure environment. Without such progress, withdrawal of UN peacemaking forces, including those provided by the United States and the U.S. Quick Reaction Force (QRF), would have a devastating impact on the significant gains that have been made over the past year in this humanitarian effort.

The UN Secretary General's August 17 report on Somalia calls for \$45 million to fund the initial costs of reconstituting a "justice system", comprising police, judicial, and prison components. Implementation requirements include a 16-month police training program to create a 10,000-person Somali police force by the end of 1994, combining the current force with additional police personnel to be recruited. The report proposes the rehabilitation of up to three police training academies and the improvement and renovation of the prison and judicial facilities. Material requirements to meet these objectives, based on the UNOSOM II assessment contained in the Secretary General's report, include:

- 258 4-wheel drive vehicles for the police;
- 100 20-passenger trucks for the police;
- 41 administrative or 4-wheel vehicles for the courts;
 - 16 for the prisons; 25 for UNOSOM staff;
- vehicle maintenance packages (parts, tools, fuel);
- 70 radio base stations (for communication with foot and vehicular patrols);
- 600 handheld radios (for foot and vehicular patrols);
- 10,000 police uniforms plus individual equipment for 70 police stations;
 - 70 electric generators;
 - 70 water supply tanks;
 - 70 police station basic kits;
 - administrative supplies;

- 5,000 pistols for police, 160 for prison personnel;
- 5,000 rifles for police, 160 for prison personnel;
- training ammunition;
- materials and fixtures for one academy restoration;
- supplies, equipment, furnishings for the court system
- 1,000 prison custodial uniforms;
- 1,000 inmates uniforms;
- administrative supplies for 4 prison facilities;
- administrative supplies, equipment, furnishings for the supporting UNOSOM staff elements.

There are clearly areas where a drawdown of DOD commodities, as well as the provision of supporting training and services, could constitute a significant portion of the requirements identified in the Secretary General's report. For example, according to preliminary DOD review, the provision of up to \$25 million in vehicles, communications equipment, ammunition, and troop equipment would contribute some of the most important items needed in this effort. Authorization of this drawdown would provide leverage for the U.S. and UN to induce other donor countries to complete the entire package, including providing associated services and training, or seek UN-funded equipment training and maintenance.

For these purposes, the Administration proposes that the President exercise the special peacekeeping drawdown authority contained in Section 552(c)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended. This provision allows the President to direct the drawdown of commodities and services from the stocks of any agency of the U.S. government if he determines that (1) "as a result of an unforeseen emergency, the provision of assistance under the [the PKO] Chapter in amounts in excess of funds otherwise available for such assistance is important to the national interests of the United States," and (2) that "such unforeseen emergency requires the immediate provision of assistance under [the PKO Chapter]." We believe that the urgent need to reestablish functioning Somali police forces meets the statutory standards, and there are insufficient funds in the PKO account to meet this and other needs worldwide.

In an effort to bolster immediately the Secretary General's program to reconstitute the Somali justice system, the Deputies Committee (DC) agreed on August 16 to recommend a \$6 million grant from AID to UNOSOM II to underwrite initial costs. The issue of Somali police salaries, however, remains unaddressed. We are therefore proposing an additional \$2 million of ESF to pay police salaries. We would also use this contribution to leverage other donor support.

7

The sources of this \$2 million are:

\$1.688 from AID Africa region 517 recoveries "excess to FY 1993 rescission requirements";

\$0.312 million from AID Africa region 517 recoveries "elsewhere in the Agency excess to the FY93 rescission requirements".

No project or country program funds were deobligated to make these funds available for Somalia. These funds were unobligated at the time they were identified for Somalia.

To use ESF as a contribution to the UN to pay police salaries in Somalia, it is necessary to waive two legal restrictions. Somalia is ineligible for assistance under the statutory provisions which forbid assistance to countries that are in default for six months (Section 620(q) of the FAA), or one year (Section 518 of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, 1993), on debt owed the USG. In addition, Section 660 of the FAA prohibits use of foreign assistance funds for training, advice, or financial support for police or law enforcement entities of any foreign government.

In order to make such assistance available, it is necessary to waive the legal restrictions applicable to Somalia or generally to the funds. The Administration proposes to use the Presidential waiver authority in Section 614 to do so, as well as to enable the Section 552(c)(2) drawdown, notwithstanding FAA Section 660 restrictions.

Despite the continuing conflict with the militia of General Aideed in south Mogadishu, UNOSOM II's work elsewhere in the country is moving forward. Outside the capital, political violence is rare, banditry has declined and, despite continued pockets of deprivation, the food emergency has ended. The maintenance of security has been essential to this progress and to the U.S. security interest in seeing that the UN's crucial peace enforcement effort under Chapter VII of the UN charter succeeds. UNOSOM II is a landmark operation. In a world rife with humanitarian crises caused by armed conflict, it is indeed important to U.S. national interests to support multinational efforts that help us by achieving a more equitable sharing of the responsibility for crisis management and relief.

For these reasons, the use of the emergency authority provided by Section 522(c)(2) to provide DOD commodities and services to the UN to support reestablishment of Somali police forces is necessary and important to the national interest. In addition, the use of the President's waiver authority under Section 614 to enable the drawdown and to assist the UN with funds for police salaries is important to the security interests of the United States.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Letter to be transmitted to:

Speaker of the House
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations
Chairman, House Foreign Affairs
Chairman, Senate Appropriations
Chairman, House Appropriations

Dear _____:

I wish to inform you that the President proposes to exercise his authority under Section 552(c)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the "Act"), in order to draw down up to \$25 million in Department of Defense commodities and services to support the United Nations operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) in the reestablishment of Somali police forces. He also proposes to exercise his authority under Section 614(a)(1) of the Act to enable this drawdown and to authorize that \$2 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) be made available to UNOSOM II for use in payment of salaries of Somali police forces.

This assistance is required on an urgent basis to support the UN's objective of reestablishing effective Somali police forces, which is pivotal to the success of the humanitarian operations and contributes to our ability to withdraw U.S. armed forces as soon as possible. The drawdown will allow the U.S. to supply a significant portion of the requirements identified in the Secretary General's report of August 17, 1993. The contribution towards police salaries will assist the UN in meeting immediate needs and will encourage additional support from other member states.

As indicated in the course of informal consultations with interested committee staff, and as described in detail in the attached memorandum of justification, we believe that the drawdown and use of ESF funds for these purposes will make an important contribution to the crucial efforts of the United

-2-

Nations to reestablish effective Somali police forces. This, in turn, will serve important U.S. interests by contributing towards improved security and facilitating the fulfillment of UNOSOM II's mission.

Sincerely,

Wendy R. Sherman
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

Enclosure:

1. Memorandum of Justification

'93 SEP 27 A8:48

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

C

MESSAGE NO. 105827 CLASSIFICATION Confidential No. Pages 10

FROM: R. Witsan S/S mny _____
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>NSC</u>	<u>Will Itch</u>	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
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FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: URGENT

S/S Officer: CCH

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED A ATTACHMENT
Initials: KDE Date: 11/16/01
2612 0689-5

209/27

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**SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S TRIP TO
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 26, - OCTOBER 1, 1993**

DATE/TIME SENT:

DATE/TIME RECEIVED:

FROM:

Ross Wilson

Name

s/s

Office

TO:

① Mark Grossman

s/s

② Will Lisk Name - NSC Executive Secretary of White House Office of the President

FAX #:

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION:

Grossman - Lake Memo on Azerbaijan & Somalia

Number of pages to follow:

REMARKS:

Urgent. Original of memo plus one copy delivered
9/27/93 to NSC/New York. Approved by the Secretary per
AM s/s 9322093.

lew

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9307339
RECEIVED: 27 SEP 93 08

TO: LAKE

Somalia

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 25 SEP 93
SOURCE REF: 9322127

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA
PEACEKEEPING

UN
AP

PERSONS: BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS

ANNAN, KOFI

SUBJECT: PROPOSED TALKING POINT ON SOMALIA FOR PRES MTG W/ UN SEC GEN
BOUTROS-GHALI & POLITICAL STRATEGY UN SEC GEN FOR PEACEKEEPING KOFI

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 30 SEP 93 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: CLARKE

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

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White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 10/30/16

2612-0659-F

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Washington, D.C. 20520

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DECL:OADR

September 25, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Proposed Talking Points on Somalia for the President's Meeting with Secretary General Boutros-Ghali and a Political Strategy on Somalia for Presentation to U.N. Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations Kofi Annan

Attached are proposed talking points on Somalia for the President's use with U.N. Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. Also attached are background material, talking points, and a nonpaper on political strategy for Somalia for use in the planned meeting between Messrs. Berger, Tarnoff, and Wisner and U.N. Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations Kofi Annan.

Thank you for your assistance.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

Allen A. Malloy
for Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

By VDE NARA, Date 11/30/16
002-0659-F

Attachments:

- A. Proposed Talking Points on Somalia for the President
- B. Background Material, Talking Points, and Nonpaper on Somali Political Strategy

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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006a. talking points	Talking Points on Somalia (1 page)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
kc4094

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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006b. paper	Background Material and Talking Points for Somalia Political Strategy (6 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

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2012-0659-F
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006c. paper	Re-Energizing the Political Process in Somalia (3 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006d. paper	[Duplicate of 006b] (6 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006e. paper	[Duplicate of 006c] (3 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4094

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 25, 1993

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The United States condemns the attack on United Nations forces in Mogadishu last night which resulted in the death of three American soldiers and injuries to several other American and Pakistani soldiers. The President offers his deepest condolences to the families and friends of these brave men who were performing a vital humanitarian mission in Somalia.

This attack underscores the need to re-establish security in Mogadishu to prevent the international humanitarian efforts from being undermined. At times like this, it is essential to remember the reasons for our engagement in the 25-nation U.N. mission in Somalia. The UN's goal is to prevent the recurrence of the famine and anarchy that resulted in the deaths of 350,000 Somalis last year. We are working to create a peaceful environment in which the UN's mission can be assumed by a Somali authority.

Since 28,000 U.S. troops went to Somalia last December, we have withdrawn eighty percent of our forces. Today, our troops number less than 5,000 and make up less than twenty percent of the remaining UN forces from over two dozen nations. As UN forces continue to take up the burden, the American role can continue to diminish.

Today, Somalia is on the road to recovery, especially outside of Mogadishu: district councils are re-establishing the rule of law in much of the country, hospitals and schools are operating and crops are being planted and harvested. On Wednesday, the United Nations took important steps forward to support the reconstruction of Somalia's judicial, security and penal systems.

We must not allow this substantial yet fragile progress to be threatened by the brutality of warlords who would profit from the suffering of others and thwart the will of the overwhelming majority of Somalis who seek peace and reconciliation.

#

TO: FURSE, ELIZABETH

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 24 SEP 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PRES REPLY TO REP FURSE RE TROOP WITHDRAWAL FM SOMALIA

ACTION: PRES SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 18 SEP 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: CLARKE

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARKE
DARRAGH
NSC CHRON
RICE
ROSNER
WARD

Q Somalia

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY  DATE 9/24 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY: NSKDB

DOC 4 OF 4

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1993

Dear Elizabeth:

Thank you for your letter expressing concern about the role our troops are playing in Somalia. I could not be more proud of our American servicemen and women in Somalia. They are making an extraordinary humanitarian contribution in trying circumstances. I do not believe that they should be withdrawn too quickly.

There are approximately 4,700 U.S. troops of a current total of 20,000 in UNOSOM II. This is significantly down from the 28,000 U.S. troops that were in Somalia in January. Most of these remaining U.S. personnel are providing logistical support but there is also a U.S. Quick Reaction Force augmented by a small U.S. Army Ranger unit available to assist other UNOSOM II troops, if necessary.

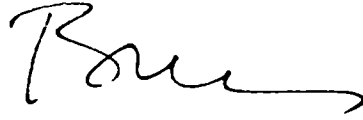
American forces have been instrumental in bringing about order and stability throughout most of Somalia. This has enabled the UN to continue and extend relief activities bringing peace and hope to the vast majority of Somalis. As a result, there is greater calm and security in such important cities as Kismayo and Baidoa than at any time in recent months. In many places, the Somali people are also making significant progress in establishing representative political institutions.

Only in parts of Mogadishu has the security situation deteriorated. This is due to the violence directed by the brutal warlord Aideed. I do not believe that the appropriate response is to withdraw too precipitously in the face of adversity. The UN has a vital humanitarian and peace-building mission to fulfill. We must not allow a self-aggrandizing warlord to flout the will of the international community and deny food and peace to the people of Somalia.

Aideed has used women and children as human shields and has orchestrated the killing of many brave UN Peacekeepers. These actions are intolerable.

I can assure you that the remaining U.S. troops will stay in Somalia only as long as they are required and can usefully fulfill the mandate of the UN Security Council. Their presence in Somalia is a key element in our pursuit of the peaceful outcome the people so justly deserve.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Elizabeth Furse
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

I agree that there must
be a political solution —
and we are working on that

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 23, 1993

SEP 23 PM 12:37

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from Congresswoman Elizabeth Furse

Purpose

To reply to a letter from Congresswoman Elizabeth Furse.

Background

Congresswoman Furse (D-Oregon) wrote to you to request the immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Somalia and to urge you to bring the Somalia issue before Congress at your earliest convenience.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Presidential Letter to Congresswoman Furse
Tab B Letter from Congresswoman Furse

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D C 20506

September 16, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE
FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SD*
SUBJECT: Reply to Letter to the President from
Congresswoman Elizabeth Furse

Congresswoman Furse wrote to the President asking that he withdraw US troops from Somalia. At Tab A is the President's reply highlighting the valuable contributions being made by US forces in Somalia and reiterating our commitment to support the UN operation.

Concurrences by: Susan *Rice*, Jennifer *Ward*, Jeremy *Rosen*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Presidential Letter to Congresswoman Furse
Tab B Letter from Congresswoman Furse

ELIZABETH FURSE
1ST DISTRICT, OREGON

COMMITTEES:
BANKING, FINANCE
AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
CONSUMER CREDIT AND INSURANCE

MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

SUBCOMMITTEES:
ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES
MERCHANT MARINE

ARMED SERVICES

SUBCOMMITTEE:
RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-3701

93 SEP 13 P 2:30

OREGON OFFICE:

MONTGOMERY PARK
2701 NW VAUGHN #860
PORTLAND, OR 97210
(503) 328-2901

WASHINGTON OFFICE:

316 CANNON BUILDING
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-0855

September 9, 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

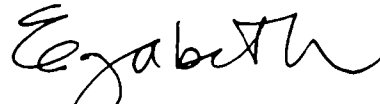
I am extremely disturbed by recent events in Somalia. I am outraged that United States troops are engaged in aggressive actions against Somali citizens. It is not in the United States' interest to interfere with the sovereignty of another nation.

We went to Somalia to assure the delivery of humanitarian aid. Now that we have completed that mission, it is my strong belief that the responsibility for bringing about political stability should lie solely with the Somali people.

My personal experience in Africa convinces me that a protracted and ill-defined mission in Somalia is fraught with problems both moral and logistical. We are on the wrong track and the United Nations and the U.S. should cease their militarily aggressive actions forthwith.

I strongly encourage you to bring the Somali issue to Congress at your earliest convenience. As a member of the House Armed Services Committee I am interested in reasoned determination of the proper international role for the United States in the post-Cold War era. I am, however, convinced that our presence in Somalia is misguided and dangerous.

Sincerely,



Elizabeth Furse
Member of Congress

cc: Representative Ronald V. Dellums,
Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 13, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH

FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER *HP*
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Attached are copies of letters sent to the President from several members of Congress.

Since these letters address national security issues, I would appreciate your assistance in drafting a response. The letters are as follows:

- 1) Toby Roth (R-WI), concerning the crash of the C123 in Nicaragua in 1986;
- 2) Eliot Engel (D-NY), concerning Bosnia;
- ✓ 3) Elizabeth Furse (D-OR), concerning Somalia;
- 4) Ike Skelton (D-MO), concerning Bosnia; and
- 5) Bob Kerrey (D-NE), concerning Vietnam.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn Inadomi at x7500.

Enclosure

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9306996
RECEIVED: 16 SEP 93 08

TO: ITOH

SOMALIA

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 15 SEP 93
SOURCE REF: 9320631

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA

UN

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PORTION OF SOMALIA TRUST FUND EARMARKED TO PAY US BILLS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ITOH

DUE DATE: 20 SEP 93 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: CLARKE

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
CLARKE

FOR CONCURRENCE
BEERS
RICE
WARD

FOR INFO
GROSS
INDYK
ROSNER
ROSSIN
SATTEFIELD

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

By KDE NARA, Date 11/30/16
2012-0659-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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007a. memo	Marc Grossman to William Itoh, re: The Portion of the Somalia Trust Fund Earmarked to Pay U.S. Bills (1 page)	09/15/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
kc4094

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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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.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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007b. paper	The Portion of the Somalia Trust Fund Earmarked to Pay U.S. Bills (4 pages)	08/27/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4094

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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007c. cable	Re: Somalia Trust Fund (9 pages)	09/03/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F

ke4094

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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008. cable	Re: Message from Prresident Clinton to President Mubarak (2 pages)	09/15/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4094

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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009a. memo	Richard Clarke to Anthony Lake, re: Message to Mubarak on Somalia (1 page)	09/14/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

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2012-0659-F
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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009b. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Message to Egypt Concerning Somalia (1 page)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4094

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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009c. draft	[Draft of 008] (2 pages)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer, Steinberg, Donald, et al.)
OA/Box Number: 502

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, June - December 1993 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4094

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Jennifer Ward

FAX TRANSMITTAL

Number of Pages: 1

To: <i>D. Sternberg</i>	From: <i>J. Ward</i>
Dept./Agency	Phone #
Fax #	Fax #

Frie

Remarks Prepared for Delivery

Honorable Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense
CSIS

August 27, 1993

NSN 7540 01 317-7168 5099-101 GENERAL SERVICES AC

The President's decision to deploy an additional 400 U.S. troops to Somalia has focused renewed attention on the security aspect -- indeed on the U.S. military aspect -- of what is happening there. That focus is much too narrow. There is much more to what is happening in Somalia than the story of military conflict in Mogadishu. And if there is to be a solution to Somalia's problems, it must be much more than a military solution.

Somalia was a tragedy that touched America and the world. We went there to save a people and we succeeded. We are staying there to help those same people rebuild their nation. To understand how we intend to achieve this, let's briefly recall the circumstances that prompted this international outpouring.

By the early 1990s, Somalia had seen years of brutal civil war. Bloody fighting raged between warlords who used not only arms but also food and famine as weapons against each other and a helpless population. The result was chaos and lawlessness on a massive scale. Drought made the famine worse. An estimated 1,000 a day were dying. Nearly 800,000 refugees were forced into exile.

Official sources and voluntary relief organizations estimated that as many as half a million people, largely women and children, had perished by the end of 1992. Two million more -- a quarter of Somalia's population -- were at risk.

Somalia's political institutions had crumbled, its fragile economy was virtually destroyed, and its people were almost entirely dependent on outside assistance for their survival.

The chaos and violence blunted international donor relief efforts. Many of the organizations curtailed their operations or left entirely after their food convoys were attacked, their warehouses looted, and their personnel assaulted.

U.S. involvement in Somalia began in August of 1992 and has gone through three stages in the last year. The first lasted from August to December and focused on providing food. The United States first provided large amounts of food but soon found, as other donors did, that the chaos and lawlessness in the country prevented overland delivery. The U.S. military then joined in a military airlift -- Operation Provide

Relief -- to bring food into the heart of the country. From August 1992 until February 1993 more than 30,000 metric tons of urgently needed food and other relief supplies were delivered to Somalia, 70% by the United States.

It soon became clear, however, that air delivery of food would not be enough. Violence and theft still impeded -- in some cases prevented -- deliveries within the country. Better security was needed if food supplies were to reach starving Somalis.

When we helped transport a Pakistani battalion to protect the food convoys under U.N. auspices, the forces of Mohammed Farah Aided pinned the battalion down in the Mogadishu airport and conditions in Somalia worsened.

That ushered in the second stage -- the UNITAF stage -- of U.S. involvement that lasted from December of 1992 until May of 1993. The focus now was on providing security as well as food. The United States offered to lead a military effort to provide sufficient security to deal with the famine, and the United Nations accepted in Security Council Resolution 794 on December 3, 1992.

This stage of U.S. involvement would eventually see 26,000 U.S. troops in Somalia for Operation Restore Hope. Those forces, along with 13,000 troops from twenty-one other countries, operated under the U.S.-led Unified Task Force, or UNITAF. UNITAF's 39,000 troops brought about a radical change in the Somali situation.

Sufficient order was restored to permit food to reach the needy through over a thousand feeding centers. Markets reopened and the first crops in many years were planted. By the Spring of 1993, chaos and banditry throughout much of Somalia had been greatly reduced.

To sum up, UNITAF had achieved its goal of improving the security situation and feeding the population in central and southern Somalia. What remained was the task of institutionalizing the gains -- preventing the country from backsliding into the chaos that had caused the famine in the first place.

The third stage -- the UNOSOM II stage -- began in May of 1993 and extends to the present. Its focus is to create conditions whereby the Somali people can rebuild their country. Under UNOSOM II the U.N. broadened its efforts under a new Security Council resolution, UNSCR 814, passed on March 26, 1993. It called for the U.N. to begin the work of rebuilding the government, reestablishing the essential elements of a national economy and developing an adequate system of justice and police to maintain order. As agreed, the United States quickly reduced our troop contingent of more than 25,000 to about 4,000.

So where are we now? Over the course of our involvement, our objectives fell

in four categories: food, security, economics and political rebuilding. How did we do?

On food, we have done very well. The food emergency that galvanized international efforts on behalf of the Somali people effectively is over. As a direct result of United Nations humanitarian effort, catastrophic mass starvation was averted.

This year's agricultural production was good. There are still pockets of hunger but reports we receive from Mogadishu say that there is more than enough food to feed the Somali people.

U.N. officials on the scene feel confident enough to bring the emergency food supply effort to a close. Emergency food deliveries are scheduled to end this month. On security, we have made progress. Banditry has been significantly reduced throughout Somalia and in some places eliminated. Somalia is generally peaceful except for south Mogadishu, which is a very significant exception as we shall see. But it is important to understand that -- compared to what existed when UNITAF arrived in December -- progress has been dramatic.

In south Mogadishu, the Aideed stronghold, we have a major challenge to the whole U.N. enterprise. I believe the current crisis there was initiated because Aideed's power base was being eroded politically and militarily by UNOSOM. It may be small comfort today, but our present difficulty is the result of our previous success. The danger now is that unless we return security to south Mogadishu, political chaos will follow the U.N. withdrawal. Other warlords will follow Aideed's example. Fighting between the warlords will ensue, which is what brought the famine to massive proportions in the first place. The danger is that the situation will return to what existed before the United States sent in the troops.

On economics and the political reconstitution of the country, some progress has been made but more work needs to be done. Some small shops are reopening, some schools and orphanages have reopened, and in central Somalia, former government employees are back on the job providing health and education services to the population. Overall, however, economic conditions remain dire and progress towards political reconciliation has been stalled by the deteriorating security situation in the southern part of the capital. More successful work is being done in the countryside, but greater effort must be devoted to push this along. From this we see that the current situation in Somalia is mixed, and that we have some pressing problems yet to deal with.

This afternoon I want to suggest how we might go about the next phase of work in Somalia. Put another way, what are the elements of the end game in Somalia for the international community? We had goals for UNOSOM I and they were not met. That prompted us to move to UNITAF. We had goals for UNITAF and they were met, creating the conditions for a turnover to UNOSOM II. How will we know when

UNOSOM II has succeeded?

Our overall criteria for success should include progress in economic, political and security elements of the Somali problem. On security. Clearly, UNOSOM has to establish reasonable security in south Mogadishu, but it does not end there. Real progress must be made in reducing the heavy weapons in the hands of warlords and effective police forces must be created. The overall effect must be such that no group of armed Somalis should be able to take over the country by force to impose their political will and loot the markets.

On economics. The country should be sufficiently open and secure so that its markets are functioning, goods and services can flow and basic services like water and electricity are provided.

On political rebuilding. There should be a political process that reflects clan interests, regional interests, and the interests of the people of Somalia whatever their clan or region. The question remaining, of course, is how do we get from here to there? I'm going to propose here a series of specific action items that could bring real progress.

First, we should bring U.N. combined troop strength up to planned levels. The United States has recently added 400 more combat troops to its Quick Reaction Force. UNOSOM II, however, is approximately 5,000 troops short of its planned complement of 28,000. We fully expect others to do their share, as they have promised.

Second, additional efforts to set up a police force should begin immediately. Credible, neutral police forces in major population centers are critical to success in establishing security.

Third, we should continue removing heavy weapons from the militias and begin planning for implementation -- in conjunction with Somali police -- of a consistent weapons control policy. Such a policy will give those willing to cooperate some confidence that their enemies cannot rearm. The policy could begin in areas of the country where some disarmament success has been achieved.

Fourth, the United Nations must develop a detailed plan with concrete steps that will pull together its economic, political and security activities into an overall strategy. And it must provide adequate staff and budget to make progress on its political and economic objectives in Somalia.

Fifth, the United Nations should draw on the experience of its success in Cambodia to form a core group of nations to support and speed its work in Somalia. Such a group might consist of African countries as well as other members of the

United Nations that have a special interest in assisting in the political and economic reconstruction of the country.

Sixth, the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity should act now to bring the parties back together on the peace track. They might use the promising model of two previous conferences on Somali national reconciliation held in Addis Ababa.

Those are concrete steps that could be taken now to put us on the path to success in Somalia. There is also another, related question that is closer to home for us. President Clinton has directed that U.S. forces remain long enough to complete their mission and no longer. The completion of the mission chiefly concerns security in Somalia.

For U.S. combat troops, I think there are three items on the checklist. First, the security issue in south Mogadishu must be settled. Second, we must make real progress toward taking the heavy weapons out of the hands of the warlords. Third, there must be credible police forces in major population centers. When these three conditions are met, I believe we can remove the U.S. Quick Reaction Force from Mogadishu.

We can reduce U.S. logistics troops supporting other UNOSOM II forces when the security situation in Mogadishu permits larger scale hiring of civilian contract employees to provide the support functions.

When we consider Somalia just a year ago, we can be proud of what the United States has achieved, particularly our men and women in uniform. We should also take considerable interest in the success of the United Nations in Somalia. Without the United Nations as a first-rate peacekeeping and peace enforcing organization, we could be called upon to shoulder much more of the load. And we should also note that the most important element of any lasting solution in Somalia must be the Somali people. Just as the international community has invested greatly in creating conditions for political and economic growth in Somalia, so too must the people of Somalia invest themselves in the reconstruction of their own country.

In the meantime, President Clinton has given us clear direction to stay the course with other nations to help Somalia once again provide for its people. This is what the new world asks of American leadership and American partnership.

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