

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Somalia 1994 [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

African Affairs-Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur

Original OA/ID Number:

633

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
29	5	1	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Somalia: An Assessment of Short and Medium Term Security (12 pages)	12/13/1994	P1/b(1)
002. email	Rand Beers to Samuel Berger, re: Foreign Policy Meeting: Somalia Withdrawal (1 page)	12/15/1994	P1/b(1)
003. report	Re: [UNOSOM] (9 pages)	12/06/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Re: UNOSOM Withdrawal Timetable and Planning (6 pages)	11/08/1994	P1/b(1)
005. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Providing Military Support for UNOSOM's Withdrawal from Somalia (3 pages)	12/01/1994	P1/b(1)
006a. memo	Sean Darragh to Anthony Lake, re: Briefing Memorandum for Principals Meeting on Somalia (3 pages)	09/30/1994	P1/b(1)
006b. paper	Issues for Discussion (5 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)
006c. memo	Memorandum for the President, re: US Military Support of UNOSOM Withdrawal (3 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)
007. email	Richard Clarke to African Affairs and Global Affairs, re: PC on Somalia (1 page)	10/09/1994	P1/b(1)
008. email	Richard Clarke to Anthony Lake and Samuel Berger, re: Talks at the UN: Haiti, Rwanda, Somalia (1 page)	10/08/1994	P1/b(1)
009a. memo	[Duplicate of 006a] (3 pages)	09/30/1994	P1/b(1)
009b. paper	[Duplicate of 006b] (4 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F

ke4099

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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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009c. memo	[Duplicate of 006c] (3 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)
010a. agenda	NSC Principals Committee Meeting (1 page)	10/03/1994	P1/b(1)
010b. paper	[Duplicate of 006b] (4 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)
010c. memo	[Duplicate of 006c] (3 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)
011. email	Susan Rice to Samuel Berger, re: Urgent - Somalia (1 page)	09/21/1994	P1/b(1)
012. report	Re: [Somalia] (5 pages)	09/07/1994	P1/b(1)
013a. report	Re: [Somalia] (4 pages)	09/15/1994	P1/b(1)
013b. report	Re: [Rwanda] (2 pages)	09/13/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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Battenfield, Pat A.

From: DeShazer, MacArthur
To: Beers, Rand R
Cc: /R, Record at A1; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, December 16, 1994 4:37PM

Randy:

The statement look fine to me -- I also ran it by David Shinn at State. There is one factual item you might want to fix -- 14,000 UN troops is a more accurate number for troops remaining in Mogadishu. You should also know that technically 4,000 of those 14,000 troops (Indians) are actually in Kismaayo vice Mogadishu.

Do you know when this afternoon the statement will be released?

Thanks!

Mac

From: Beers, Rand R
To: @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
CC: /R, Record at A1; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs; @GLOBAL - Global Affairs
Subject: [UNCLASSIFIED]Press Statement: Somalia
Date: Friday, December 16, 1994 03:30 PM

Sandy,

Here is a draft statement for the pentagon to make on Somalia:

At the request of the United Nations, the President has authorized U.S. forces to participate in the final phase of the withdrawal of UN forces from Somalia. 15,000 UN troops remain in Somalia in Mogadishu. Many, including our key friends Egypt and Pakistan, came to Somalia at President Bush's urging and remained following our withdrawal in March at President Clinton's urging. Consequently, we believe that it is important that the U.S. participate to ensure a safe conclusion.

The U.S. will provide a Navy Amphibious Ready Group with an embarked reinforced Marine battalion offshore in mid-January. This force will provide a visible deterrent presence, and the Marines would be prepared to come ashore in the event of an emergency. Attack helicopters and AC-130 gunship aircraft will also be available. As was true when the U.S. withdrew its force from Somalia, the Marines may go ashore during the last week of the withdrawal. U.S. forces will be entirely under U.S. command and will coordinate their efforts with the UN.

The withdrawal from elsewhere in Somalia has been peaceful to date. We hope the situation in Mogadishu will be the same. We will accompany this deployment with a political message delivered to the factions in Mogadishu, indicating as we did last year that interference in the withdrawal would be responded to quickly and forcefully. We believe that the forces we are deploying are entirely sufficient for the situation.

We consulted with Congress about this deployment, and the Hill leadership accepts the need for the U.S. to proceed with this action.

The UN withdrawal comes at the end of a two year deployment as planned when UNOSOM took over in April 1993. For most of Somalia the effort was a success. Famine has been ended throughout the country, good

harvests have been taken in, and normal life has resumed in most locations. Unfortunately, stability does not exist everywhere, but two years is a reasonable time during which to ask the Somalis to settle their differences with the help of an outside security force.

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003. report	Re: [UNOSOM] (9 pages)	12/06/1994	P1/b(1)
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TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 01 DEC 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA
PEACEKEEPING

UN

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PROVIDING MILITARY SUPPORT FOR UNOSOM W/DRAWAL FM SOMALIA

ACTION: PRESIDENT APPROVED RECOM

DUE DATE: 02 DEC 94 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
DANVERS
DARRAGH
KRECKO
NSC CHRON
RICE
STEINBERG

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By YDE NARA, Date 12/02/16
2012-0659-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 2 OF 2

~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 9409467

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE
002

Z 94120115 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR DECISION
X 94120216 PRESIDENT APPROVED RECOM

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 941201
002 941201

VICE PRESIDENT
WH CHIEF OF STAFF

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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005. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Providing Military Support for UNOSOM's Withdrawal from Somalia (3 pages)	12/01/1994	P1/b(1)

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~~SECRET~~

9467

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 30, 1994



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *RM*

FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SD*

SUBJECT: Providing Military Support for UNOSOM's
Withdrawal from Somalia

Attached at Tab I is the decision memorandum to the President regarding providing military support for UNOSOM's withdrawal from Somalia.

Concurrences by: *LS* Susan Rice, Don Steinberg, Alan Kreczko,
Bill Danvers *12/94*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

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

By *KDE* NARA, Date *12/02/16*
2612-0659-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 9467
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG MBN A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Reed	_____	_____	_____
Sens	_____	_____	_____
Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Lake	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	_____	<u>MBN 12/2</u>	<u>N</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	<u>N</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action I = Inf her Action

cc: _____

COMMENTS:

3 copies, please
Lake
Berger
Wohin
LULU-
I've already done
this.
 Exec Sec Office has diskette _____ *Kan*

rec'd 12/1 7:30am

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: MBN LOG # 9467
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG MBN A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
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Soderberg	<u>2</u>	<u>copy</u>	
<u>h</u> Berger	<u>3</u>	<u>Natl Sec Advisor</u>	
Lake	<u>4</u>	<u>has seen</u>	
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>		<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			<u>Weg</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS:

original + 3 copies w/ Podolsky
copies provided to Lake, Berger
Wolin. Please make
reminders of diskette
if any is needed.
T. G. G. W. S.
revised & send

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

TO: LAKE

FROM: MEUKHAUS, KEN

DOC DATE: 01 OCT 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA

MP

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: RPT RE SITUATION IN RWANDA

Somalia

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 31 OCT 94 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
DESHAZER

FOR INFO
INDYK
SATTERFIELD
SEATON
STEINBERG

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMBN

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

1718-34 MON 04:10 AM CENTER OF CONCERN 202 832 7474 F.02

8753

SOMALIA TASK FORCE

THE SOMALIA TASK FORCE IS A NETWORK OF ACADEMIC SPECIALISTS AND NGO REPRESENTATIVES
WHOSE PURPOSES ARE POLICY DISCUSSION, INFORMATION SHARING AND ADVOCACY.

CRITIQUE OF THE "REPORT" BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA, 17 SEPTEMBER 1994"

The Somalia Task Force
Washington DC
October 1994

Coordinators:

Ken Menkhaus Phone (717) 245-4269 Fax (717) 245-3279 e-mail kmenkhaus@davidson.edu
John Prendergast Phone (202) 635 2757 ext.32 Fax (202) 832 9494 e mail jprender@vita.org

■
■
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The Somalia Task Force is an independent policy discussion group composed of academic specialists and representatives of NGOs, as well as observers from U.S. and U.N. agencies. It serves as a forum for interaction between research specialists and practitioners in Somalia, in order to generate policy proposals that best serve the long-term interests of the Somali people. The following is one of a series of planned critiques and discussion papers regarding the present and future role of the international community in Somalia.

Introduction

The report on Somalia issued by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on September 17, 1994 (S/1994/1068) comes at a critical moment in U.N. policy toward Somalia, as the Security Council deliberates on the future mandate of UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia). The document in question is the first of a two-part report. Part one is intended to give "a factual account of recent developments in Somalia;" part two, to be submitted in mid-October, will provide recommendations for the Security Council, based in large part on the results of the visit to Somalia undertaken from September 15-19 by Mr. Kofi Annan, the Under-Secretary-General for Peace-Keeping Operations.

Disturbingly, the September 17 report to the Security Council contains some inaccurate and misleading analyses of the situation on the ground in Somalia. While distortions in earlier UN reporting on Somalia have been cause for concern, the inaccuracies in the section "Political Developments" of the most recent report are especially egregious and require clarification. In the critique which follows, the Somalia Task Force attempts to correct some of the most serious misreadings contained in the Secretary-General's report.

We also raise more general concerns about the need for honest, depoliticized, and accurate reporting by the UN administration to its member-states. The criticism we level at the reporting of the UN Secretariat is intended to be constructive, based on our collective desire to see the UN function more effectively, in Somalia and elsewhere. To be effective as it takes on new and complex challenges, the organization must, at a minimum, build and maintain a reputation for truthful and transparent reporting.

The Making of a Secretary-General's Report

Routinely, the Security Council requests of the office of the Secretary-General progress reports on the growing number of U.N. peacekeeping missions. The report is generally due one month prior to the Security Council's decision to renew the mandate of the mission in question -- usually once every six months. The Secretary-General's report carries both a factual account and analysis of the situation and a set of recommendations regarding the mandate of the peace operation. While key member-states lobby for their own proposals during the drafting of the report, the UN Secretariat clearly is able to protect its own

organizational interests as well. Once the final report is submitted, it is unusual for the Security Council to deviate significantly from the recommendations made by the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General's report is, therefore, of considerable importance.

In the case of Somalia and UNOSOM, the first drafts of the Secretary-General's many progress reports to the Security Council have been written by UN officials in Mogadishu. Though the document reflects continuous dialogue with New York, the officials in Mogadishu have considerable influence in shaping both the analysis of the current situation and the recommendations submitted for the Security Council's consideration. Yet the officials in Mogadishu also have the strongest personal and organizational interests to protect the mission from criticism, budget reductions, and premature closure. As a result, UNOSOM officials have been tempted to cleanse reports of unpleasant realities facing the mission. It is likely that this dynamic affects the reporting practices of other UN field operations as well. For a number of reasons outlined below, it is a corrupting and potentially dangerous practice.

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This summary of the situation in the Juba/Kismayo region is misleading and omits important contrary information:

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-- Recently the Habr Gedr have withdrawn their militia and representatives from the lower Jubba valley, leaving the "administration" of the region in the hands of Ogadeni Col. Omar Jess, who rejected the lower Jubba accord. This very likely means that the lower Jubba accord is dead in the water.

-- UNOSOM's own internal reports acknowledge that the Absame reconciliation meeting, far from representing another successful local peace, essentially broke up without resolving most of the differences still dividing the clan.

-- Fighting has broken out in two locations in the Juba region. In Jilib, armed clashes have taken place on several occasions between the Habr Gedr and their former allies, the Ogadenis, with numerous casualties; and fighting between the Aulihan (Ogadenis) and the Ajuraan clan in Buale has led to casualties and

instability.

- Tensions in Kismayo are extremely high, as the Marohan clan and most of the Dolbahanto clan have broken ranks with General Morgan over the signing of the peace treaty with the Habr Gedr. This tension was especially high during the meeting between Sayid Hussein, Liqiqato and Morgan, which was not successful, contrary to UNOSOM's assessment.
- Virtually all international NGOs and UN agencies have withdrawn from Kismayo and the Jubba region due to continued security problems and extortion.

In sum, the situation in the Jubba region is much more troubled than the Secretary-General's report portrays it.

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This assessment of the political situation in the north-east of Somalia is extremely deceptive. In reality, there is considerable confusion over the leadership of the SSDF and the Mijerteen clan. After the committee of sultans nominated Abdirazak -- a surprise choice -- Abdullahi Yusuf rejected their nomination and convened his own congress, which named him Chairman of SSDF. This meeting was by no means representative of all of the Mijerteen, however, who remain divided over leadership of the SSDF. Abdirazak left the north-east under physical threat by the Yusuf militia, which does not, as UNOSOM falsely implies, constitute an endorsement of Yusuf on the part of Abdirazak. Gen. Mohamed Abshir Moussa, Abdullahi Yusuf's rival, did not participate in the conference which selected Yusuf, and rejects the outcome. Most observers fear that tensions within the Mijerteen clan may soon spill over into armed clashes, which would be especially tragic since the northeast has been the one region to escape armed conflict during the Somali civil war. But nowhere does the Secretary-General's report reflect this concern. Nor does it adequately capture the level of complexity and flux which now characterizes politics in the northeast of Somalia.

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This paragraph is also extremely misleading, as it falsely implies that there is broad support in the northwest, or "Somaliland," to rescind the declaration of secession and rejoin efforts at national reconciliation in the south. In reality, Abdirahman Ahmed Ali "Tour" represents very few of his Isaaq clanmen and has been repeatedly and explicitly rejected as a representative of the people of the northwest by the "government" of Somaliland. UNOSOM is aware that Tour possesses almost no constituency and therefore does not meaningfully represent anyone in these meetings. Indeed, it was in part because of its continued dealings with Tour that UNOSOM was expelled from "Somaliland" by the Egal government in August, a serious setback that the Secretary-General's report fails to discuss, referring only once to the lack of any UNOSOM presence throughout northern Somalia. This section of the report thus bears very little resemblance to political reality in the northwest of Somalia. In this instance UNOSOM seems to be willfully misleading the Security Council, and in the process raising false expectations of an impending political settlement of the northwest issue.

Furthermore, since the issuing of the September 17 report, Tour has publicly distanced himself from this initiative and denounced the possibilities of reaching a southern reconciliation. Therefore, the UNOSOM initiative with Tour is no longer relevant to national reconciliation efforts in Somalia.

III. Military and Security Aspects

[Paragraphs 17-27 review the first steps of the UNOSOM military drawdown, and comments on recent security problems, including the attacks on UNOSOM forces at Beled Weyn (29 July) and Bale Dogle (22 August), in which a total of eight UN soldiers were killed. These incidents are reported as follows:]

26. "On 29 July, in Beled Weyn, troops of the Zimbabwean contingent were completely overrun by a strong militia force. . . . On 22 August, an Indian unit escorting a supply convoy was ambushed by armed militia. . . ."

The report omits a critical aspect of these and several other security incidents that have resulted in UNOSOM casualties -- that they were unprovoked attacks by the militia of the Habr-Godr, the clan of General Aidood. This fact has been a major political complication for UNOSOM in its dealings with Aideed, and should be an important factor in the Security Council's deliberations over UNOSOM's relationship with the Somali faction/militia leaders and its current negotiating strategy.

Conclusions

There is ample evidence to suggest that the September 17, 1994, Secretary-General's report on Somalia bears little resemblance to actual political developments on the ground. Moreover, while some of the inaccuracies in the report are the result of changing circumstances in the months of August and September, many appear to be willful misreadings and misrepresentations, designed to portray the situation in Somalia in a much more positive light than the

situation warrants.

There are a number of dangers inherent in misleading and possibly politicized reporting within the UN. First, it is possible that the Security Council will act on faulty information, issuing resolutions that do not serve the best interests of either the host population (in this case, the Somali people) or the international community. More realistically, however, most of the Security Council members have their own independent sources of analysis and will not be misled by poor reporting on the part of the Secretariat. But that presents a different kind of danger to the office of the Secretary-General -- namely, the erosion of the credibility of the institution. In the case of Somalia, UN agencies, non-governmental organizations, member-states, the media, and the Somali people are all well aware of the actual political situation in Somalia. The UN only damages its own credibility by issuing reports that distort or omit the truth.

The Somalia Task Force appeals to the office of the Secretary-General to insure that its reporting to the Security Council, and, by extension, the international community, reflects the highest levels of integrity and accuracy. In particular, we appeal to the Secretary-General's office to insure that the upcoming October 15 report on Somalia, which will contain important policy recommendations on the future of UNOSOM, reflect a realistic assessment of the situation in Somalia rather than the largely illusory one presented in the September 17 report. To this end, the Somalia Task Force will commit itself to the task of critically reviewing future UN reports on Somalia and, if necessary, issuing public rejoinders. Finally, we call on academic area specialists and NGOs working in other countries in which the UN has major operations to assume a similar "watch-dog" role in order to hold the UN to the highest standards of accurate and depoliticized reporting.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Danvers, William C.
To: @UP - APNSA Special Assistants; @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
Cc: /R, Record at A1; @LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs; @GLOBAL - Global Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs; @NESASIA - NE/South Asia
Subject: Somalia and Middle East ~~SECRET~~
Date: Monday, October 17, 1994 1:48PM

Note for Tony and Sandy:

I have spoken to State about the Hill and Somalia. There is real concern about the impact that a decision to move ahead on supporting UNISOM and getting equipment out could have on the Hill. The Kempthorne amendment and before it the Byrd amendment are clear expressions of this concern. In addition, our ongoing involvement in Haiti and the sending of troops to Kuwait-- rightly or wrongly-- have some Members concerned that we are trying to do too many things at once. I also understand that Pat Griffin may have some problems with us moving ahead for the aforementioned reasons. Therefore, is it possible to hold off on a decision on a Somalia until after the elections, or at the very least to have a broader discussion with Pat about the potential impact a decision could have on the Hill leading up to the elections. Please advise.

On the Middle East, if there is a decision to have an official delegation go next week, then some consideration ought to be given to asking Members of Congress/the Senate to accompany the official delegation. This is particularly important in light of the fact that we may have to go the Hill for a supplemental next year.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 12/02/16
2012-0659-F

**CENTER OF CONCERN**

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Please pass the attached material to:

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Organization: Center of Concern

City/State/Country: Washington DC, USA

FAX Phone: (202) 832-9494

Regular Phone: (202) 635-2757

Total Pages sent including cover sheet: 8Additional Notes: Re: Somalia_____

SOMALIA TASK FORCE

THE SOMALIA TASK FORCE IS A NETWORK OF ACADEMIC SPECIALISTS AND NGO REPRESENTATIVES
WHOSE PURPOSES ARE POLICY DISCUSSION, INFORMATION SHARING AND ADVOCACY.

CRITIQUE OF THE "REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA." 17 SEPTEMBER 1994"

The Somalia Task Force
Washington DC
October 1994

Coordinators:

Ken Menkhaus Phone (717) 245-4269 Fax (717) 245-3279 e-mail kmenkhaus@davidson.edu
John Prendergast Phone (202) 635-2757 ext 32 Fax (202) 832-9494 e-mail jprender@vita.org

The Somalia Task Force is an independent policy discussion group composed of academic specialists and representatives of NGOs, as well as observers from U.S. and U.N. agencies. It serves as a forum for interaction between research specialists and practitioners in Somalia, in order to generate policy proposals that best serve the long-term interests of the Somali people. The following is one of a series of planned critiques and discussion papers regarding the present and future role of the international community in Somalia.

Introduction

The report on Somalia issued by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on September 17, 1994 (S/1994/1088) comes at a critical moment in U.N. policy toward Somalia, as the Security Council deliberates on the future mandate of UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia). The document in question is the first of a two-part report. Part one is intended to give "a factual account of recent developments in Somalia;" part two, to be submitted in mid-October, will provide recommendations for the Security Council, based in large part on the results of the visit to Somalia undertaken from September 15-19 by Mr. Kofi Annan, the Under-Secretary-General for Peace-Keeping Operations.

Disturbingly, the September 17 report to the Security Council contains some inaccurate and misleading analyses of the situation on the ground in Somalia. While distortions in earlier UN reporting on Somalia have been cause for concern, the inaccuracies in the section "Political Developments" of the most recent report are especially egregious and require clarification. In the critique which follows, the Somalia Task Force attempts to correct some of the most serious misreadings contained in the Secretary-General's report.

We also raise more general concerns about the need for honest, depoliticized, and accurate reporting by the UN administration to its member-states. The criticism we level at the reporting of the UN Secretariat is intended to be constructive, based on our collective desire to see the UN function more effectively, in Somalia and elsewhere. To be effective as it takes on new and complex challenges, the organization must, at a minimum, build and maintain a reputation for truthful and transparent reporting.

The Making of a Secretary-General's Report

Routinely, the Security Council requests of the office of the Secretary-General progress reports on the growing number of U.N. peacekeeping missions. The report is generally due one month prior to the Security Council's decision to renew the mandate of the mission in question -- usually once every six months. The Secretary-General's report carries both a factual account and analysis of the situation and a set of recommendations regarding the mandate of the peace operation. While key member-states lobby for their own proposals during the drafting of the report, the UN Secretariat clearly is able to protect its own

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In reality, top UNOSOM officials in Mogadishu have acknowledged in interviews that they never believed that a pan-Hawiye peace conference was possible in the short-term. Moreover, virtually no one in New York, either in the Secretariat or among Security Council member-states, believed it either, as UN officials admit. Throughout the summer and into September of 1994, heavy intra-Hawiye clashes occurred outside the walls of UNOSOM in south Mogadishu, making the proposition that a Hawiye reconciliation was within grasp seem unlikely. Yet that was the premise on which UNOSOM sought, and secured, justification for the renewal of its mandate.

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In sum, the situation in the Juba region is much more troubled than the Secretary-General's report portrays it.

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Furthermore, since the issuing of the September 17 report, Tour has publicly distanced himself from this initiative and denounced the possibilities of reaching a southern reconciliation. Therefore, the UNOSOM initiative with Tour is no longer relevant to national reconciliation efforts in Somalia.

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[Paragraphs 17-27 review the first steps of the UNOSOM military drawdown, and comments on recent security problems, including the attacks on UNOSOM forces at Beled Weyn (29 July) and Bale Dogle (22 August), in which a total of eight UN soldiers were killed. These incidents are reported as follows:]
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The Somalia Task Force appeals to the office of the Secretary-General to insure that its reporting to the Security Council, and, by extension, the international community, reflects the highest levels of integrity and accuracy. In particular, we appeal to the Secretary-General's office to insure that the upcoming October 15 report on Somalia, which will contain important policy recommendations on the future of UNOSOM, reflect a realistic assessment of the situation in Somalia rather than the largely illusory one presented in the September 17 report. To this end, the Somalia Task Force will commit itself to the task of critically reviewing future UN reports on Somalia and, if necessary, issuing public rejoinders. Finally, we call on academic area specialists and NGOs working in other countries in which the UN has major operations to assume a similar "watch-dog" role in order to hold the UN to the highest standards of accurate and depoliticized reporting.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006b. paper	Issues for Discussion (5 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

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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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006c. memo	Memorandum for the President, re: US Military Support of UNOSOM Withdrawal (3 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. email	Richard Clarke to African Affairs and Global Affairs, re: PC on Somalia (1 page)	10/09/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. email	Richard Clarke to Anthony Lake and Samuel Berger, re: Talks at the UN: Haiti, Rwanda, Somalia (1 page)	10/08/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009a. memo	[Duplicate of 006a] (3 pages)	09/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009b. paper	[Duplicate of 006b] (4 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009c. memo	[Duplicate of 006c] (3 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
kc4099

RESTRICTION CODES

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

21138

September 30, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH RICHARD A. CLARKE *RAC*
FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SJD*
SUBJECT: Principals Meeting on Somalia

Attached is a discussion paper and agenda for the Principals Committee meeting which will be held on Monday, October 3 at 2 p.m. This meeting will be used to decide how much support the U.S. military will provide for UNOSOM's withdrawal from Somalia.

Concurrences by: Susan Rice, MacArthur *MacArthur* Deshaizer *Deshaizer*

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Will Itoh to send the attached agenda and discussion paper to his agency counterparts.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to Agency Counterparts
Tab A Principal's Committee Agenda
Tab B Discussion Paper
Tab C JCS Withdrawal Plan

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

By KDE NARA, Date 12/02/2016

2012-0659-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21138

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice
President for National
Security Affairs

MR. LEON PANETTA
Chief of Staff to the
President
The White House

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

COL T. R. PATRICK
Secretary
Joint Chiefs of Staff

AMB. RICK INDERFURTH
Office of the Representative
of the United States
to the United Nations

MR. AARON WILLIAMS
Executive Secretary
Agency for International
Development

SUBJECT: Principals Meeting on Somalia

Attached at Tab A is the Agenda for the Principals meeting on Somalia on Monday, October 3 from 2:00 - 2:30 p.m. in the White House Situation Room. NSC Discussion Paper is at Tab B. Attendance is limited to Principals plus one.

William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

Attachments
Tab A Agenda
Tab B Discussion Paper
Tab C JCS Withdrawal Plan

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

By KDE NARA, Date 12/02/16
2012-0659-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010a. agenda	NSC Principals Committee Meeting (1 page)	10/03/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010b. paper	[Duplicate of 006b] (4 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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010c. memo	[Duplicate of 006c] (3 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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011. email	Susan Rice to Samuel Berger, re: Urgent - Somalia (1 page)	09/21/1994	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. report	Re: [Somalia] (5 pages)	09/07/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
kc4099

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013a. report	Re: [Somalia] (4 pages)	09/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/DeShazer, MacArthur)
OA/Box Number: 633

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia 1994 [1]

2012-0659-F
ke4099

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]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013b. report	Re: [Rwanda] (2 pages)	09/13/1994	P1/b(1)

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