

FOIA MARKER

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

Folder Title:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

Staff Office-Individual:

Global Affairs-Rice, Susan

Original OA/ID Number:

277

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
35	5	1	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Re: UNOSOM - Talking to Annan About Troop Contributions (4 pages)	10/20/1993	P1/b(1)
002. report	Situation Report No. 6 (1 page)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
003a. cable	Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Mubarak] (2 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
003b. cable	Re: [Message from President Clinton to Prmie Minister Ciampi] (2 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
003c. draft	[Draft of 003a] (1 page)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)
003d. draft	[Draft of 003b] (1 page)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)
004a. cable	Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Mitterrand (2 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
004b. draft	[Draft of 004a] (1 page)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)
005. cable	Re: Rangers Attack - Situation Report 3 (2 pages)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)
006a. fax	Fax Coversheet (1 page)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)
006b. map	Mogadishu: Violent Incidents on 3 and 4 October (1 page)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)
007. report	Somalia: Update (1 page)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F

ke4136

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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. cable	Re: Contingency Demarche to the French (2 pages)	10/02/1993	P1/b(1)
009. paper	US Policy in Somalia (6 pages)	09/16/1993	P1/b(1)
010. list	Table of Contents (1 page)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)
011. cable	Re: Promoting Political Reconciliation in Somalia (4 pages)	09/01/1993	P1/b(1)
012. cable	Re: The Making of a Deal (2 pages)	09/17/1993	P1/b(1)
013a. list	Peacekeeping Core Group [partial] (1 page)	07/22/1993	P3/b(3)
013b. agenda	SVTS - Peacekeeping (1 page)	07/22/1993	P1/b(1)
013c. paper	Interagency Working Group on Liberia Summary and Conclusions (10 pages)	07/01/1993	P1/b(1)

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DRAFT ⁴⁵

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

After 350,000 people had died in the famine and anarchy that gripped Somalia in 1992, the United States intervened militarily to ensure humanitarian relief could make it to the two million who were at risk of death. In May the United States turned this mission over to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) and withdrew over 20,000 troops.

The Mission of the United States Military in Somalia

The U.S. military mission is to assist in providing a secure environment to enable the free flow of humanitarian relief, by providing U.S. military logistical services to UN forces and an U.S. combat unit to act as an interim force protection supplement to UN combat units in emergencies. Thus, the U.S. military mission is supportive of, but more limited than, the overall UN mission (which is described in the report).

o Size of U.S. forces: In conducting this mission, the U.S. will soon have deployed approximately 5,000 Army combat personnel and approximately 2,800 Army logistics troops in Somalia. Off shore will be two Marine Expeditionary Units, with 3,600 Marines on board, an aircraft carrier with 58 strike aircraft, and Air Force gunships stationed nearby.

o Command Structure: All U.S. troops are under U.S. command. [The logistics troops are assigned to the UN's Force Command for operational control only] While US combat troops are under the operational control of Commander-in-Chief, Central Command, US logistics troops are serving under the operational control of UNOSOM II force command through Major General Thomas Montgomery, USA, the U.S. Policy Deputy UNOSOM Force Commander.

The President recently modified US policy in Somalia with the following three decisions:

o Military Force Protection: Due to the increased military threat to U.S. and UN personnel, the President recently deployed more Army personnel and armored equipment, two Marine groups, an aircraft carrier, and Air Force gunships stationed in a nearby country. These forces will provide protection to US personnel.

o Political Process: The President dispatched Ambassador Oakley to meet with leaders in the region to accelerate the achievement by African leaders working with Somalis of a lasting political solution. Ethiopian President Meles has agreed to lead the effort. The U.S. does not seek to dictate or block any African and Somali solution. African leaders will also seek to achieve a solution to this issue in the context of their diplomacy.

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VDE Date: 10/20/93

2012-0059-F

'93 OCT 20 P9:11

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

MESSAGE NO. 107186 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL No. Pages 4 same
FROM: Kirsten Salub IO/PHO 72708 5323
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION URGENT 67575

Revised Draft Demands to UN on troop
contributions for Somalia

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>OSD/RSA/AFR</u>	<u>Maj Charles Ibens</u>	<u>697-8824</u>	<u>4 B 7617</u>
<u>JCS/JS</u>	<u>Lt Col Perry Baltimore</u>	<u>619-897-9413</u>	<u>0255</u>
<u>NSE</u>	<u>Susan Rice</u>	<u>395 7310</u>	

FOR: CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☒ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: URGENT Clearance request
for JCS and OSD by 10am. 10/21
NSE FYI, cross watch to follow. Thank you

S/S Officer: 48

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TO: MUBARAK, HOSNI
CIAMPI, CARLO A

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 07 OCT 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: ITALY
SOMALIA

EGYPT

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS IN SOMALIA

ACTION: LAKE APPROVED CABLE

DUE DATE: 09 OCT 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RICE

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

BEERS
CLARKE
NSC CHRON
RICE

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By VDE NARA, Date 12/29/16
2012-0659-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB

CLOSED BY: NSASK

DOC 2 OF 2

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003a. cable	Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Mubarak] (2 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
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003b. cable	Re: [Message from President Clinton to Pmie Minister Ciampi] (2 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F
ke4136

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~~SECRET~~

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7708

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 6, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE

FROM: SUSAN E. RICE/RAND BEERS

SUBJECT: Letters from the President to Prime Minister
Ciampi and President Mubarak

Attached are messages from the President to Prime Minister Ciampi
and President Mubarak on Somalia.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Ciampi
Tab II Letter to Mubarak

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 12/29/16
2016-039-F

SECRET

Declassify on: OADR

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

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FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARKE
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NSC CHRON

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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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7727

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 7, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *mc*
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 *VDE* NARA, Date *12/27/16*
2012-069-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. cable	Re: Rangers Attack - Situation Report 3 (2 pages)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F
ke4136

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006a. fax	Fax Coversheet (1 page)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F

ke4136

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006b. map	Mogadishu: Violent Incidents on 3 and 4 October (1 page)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F
ke4136

RESTRICTION CODES

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TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: DELLUMS, RONALD V

DOC DATE: 30 SEP 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA
UN

PEACEKEEPING
CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM CHMN DELLUMS RE US ROLE WITHIN UNOSOM II

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 08 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
BEERS
RICE
ROSNER
WARD

FOR INFO
GROSS
ITOH
KENNEY
ROSSIN
SCHWARTZ

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

CV. SONNY MONTGOMERY MISSISSIPPI
PATRICIA SCHROEDER COLORADO
EARL HUTTO FLORIDA
IRE SKELTON MISSOURI
DAVE MCCURDY OKLAHOMA
MARILYN LLOYD TENNESSEE
NORMAN SISISKY VIRGINIA
JOHN W. SPATT JR. SOUTH CAROLINA
FRANK MCCLOSKEY INDIANA
SOLOMON P. ORTIZ TEXAS
GEORGE J. HOCHBRUECKNER NEW YORK
DAVEN B. PICKETT VIRGINIA
MARTIN LANCASTER NORTH CAROLINA
LANE EVANS ILLINOIS
JAMES H. BILBRAY NEVADA
JOHN S. TANNER TENNESSEE
GLEN BROWDER ALABAMA
GENE TAYLOR MISSISSIPPI
NEIL ABERCROMBIE HAWAII
THOMAS H. ANDREWS MAINE
CHET EDWARDS TEXAS
DON JOHNSON GEORGIA
FRANK MUEDE TEXAS
DAVID MANN OHIO
BART STUPAK MICHIGAN
MARTIN T. WEEHAN MASSACHUSETTS
ROBERT A. UNDERWOOD GUAM
JANE HARMAN CALIFORNIA
PAUL MCMALE PENNSYLVANIA
TIM HOLDEN PENNSYLVANIA
PETE GEREN TEXAS
ELIZABETH FURSE OREGON
SAM FARR CALIFORNIA

U.S. House of Representatives
930 COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
Washington, DC 20515-6035

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

RONALD V. DELLUMS, CALIFORNIA, CHAIRMAN

September 30, 1993

MARILYN A. ELROD, STAFF DIRECTOR

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write with a profound sense of urgency in reference to the growing debate over the United Nations' role in Somalia in general, and the U.S. role within UNOSOM II in particular.

The near-jubilance associated with Operation Restore Hope is now a distant memory - U.N. peacekeepers and journalists have been killed by Somalis, Mogadishu has been attacked by helicopter gunships, and the lines between perpetrator and victim in Mogadishu have become tragically blurred. As a result, many have begun to call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from UNOSOM II. The Congress awaits with great interest the report on our Somalia mission which both the House and Senate Defense Authorization bills request.

I commend you for your decision, thus far, not to accommodate those who urge a hasty withdrawal from Somalia. It is my hope also, however, that not only will you not withdraw U.S. troops from Somalia at this time, but that you will resist any emergent recommendations to withdraw U.S. Army logistics troops while leaving combat troops in place.

The logistical support that the United States has provided to UNOSOM II has been invaluable. No other UNOSOM participant has the wherewithal to assume this task, and because of the nature of the crisis in Mogadishu, it will be quite difficult to attract private sector interests to this role. At the same time, even though our military is the best trained and most dedicated anywhere in the world, the unnecessarily militaristic thrust we have been demanding of our soldiers in Mogadishu has been a major cause of the escalation of mistrust, hostility, and violence that has gripped that city.

7624

FLOYD SPENCE SOUTH CAROLINA
BOB STUMP ARIZONA
DUNCAN HUNTER CALIFORNIA
JOHN R. KASICH OHIO
HERBERT A. BATEMAN VIRGINIA
JAMES V. HANSEN UTAH
CURT WELDON PENNSYLVANIA
JON KYL ARIZONA
ARTHUR RAVENEL JR. SOUTH CAROLINA
ROBERT K. DORNAN CALIFORNIA
JOEL WEFLEY COLORADO
RONALD R. WAGHTLEY RHODE ISLAND
JIM SARTON NEW JERSEY
RANDY DUCK CUNNINGHAM CALIFORNIA
JAMES M. IMHOFF OKLAHOMA
STEPHEN E. BUYER INDIANA
PETER G. FORKLSEN MASSACHUSETTS
TILLIE K. FOWLER FLORIDA
JOHN M. MCNUGH NEW YORK
JAMES M. TALENT MISSOURI
TERRY EVERETT ALABAMA
ROSCOE G. BARTLETT MARYLAND

2

If our goal in Somalia is genuinely one of peacekeeping, we cannot withdraw our logistical forces. Indeed, if any component of our armed forces in Somalia ought to be downplayed or downsized, it should be the Rangers and other U.S. combat forces that have focussed on offensive, confrontational UNOSOM operations and, quite frankly, been more a part of the problem than the solution.

On a related issue: we are all aware that, because the United States has had to share its superpower status with only one other nation in our history and today remains the world's only superpower, we have traditionally not been inclined to seek the views and accept the advice of other nations - particularly Third World nations and peoples. However, in Somalia - at this time of tension and turmoil - this approach may not be appropriate.

I was therefore very pleased by your call for a greater involvement of the Organization of African Unity and the Horn countries in UNOSOM II - not only as partners, but indeed as advisors. This is key if our new emphasis on a political solution is to have any chance of success. At the same time, however, I am most concerned that we may be about to make the same mistake politically that we have been making militarily for months, i.e. making General Aideed - again - the focus of our Somalia policy. So, while I welcomed the announcement that the "hunt for Aideed" will no longer be the raison d'etre of our military presence in Somalia, I was most disheartened by reports that our new political thrust will focus, instead, on "eliminating General Aideed by enlisting his rivals to undercut his influence."

This seems to be merely a change in tactics, not objectives, and would be antithetical to the spirit and objectives of peacekeeping. We cannot and must not go from being armed combatants in Mogadishu to being political strategists, financiers, or backstoppers for any faction or figure in Somalia. And, as a practical matter, this approach would, without doubt, deepen the anti-U.S. violence that already bedevils UNOSOM II, which in turn would only lead to the death of more peacekeepers and renewed calls for our withdrawal from Somalia.

It is my hope that your new mission statement would have U.S. forces provide a secure environment in which the type of dialogue

and negotiations which yielded the Addis Ababa Agreement of March 1993 could occur. But first we must - without delay - use the good offices of the OAU and the Horn governments to secure a ceasefire between ourselves and hostile forces in Mogadishu. Such a resolution cannot occur outside a negotiated framework that involves all factions, but we must neither demand nor orchestrate the exclusion of General Aideed.

The signatories to the Addis Ababa Agreement committed to a program of voluntary, non-discriminatory disarmament and we must work to complete this within the context of the mutually agreed upon ceasefire recommended earlier. The international community made a commitment to disarmament in war-torn, tumultuous El Salvador with positive results, and we must do no less in Somalia.

Our penchant for anointing third world leaders became an art form during the Cold War. Now that that period is gone, we must learn to be satisfied with simply supporting those structures and mechanisms through which the will of third world peoples is heard. Should we insist in manipulating the outcome of political struggles, rather than simply protecting the efficacy of the process by which the will of the population in question can be heard, we will have seriously compromised the most basic of democratic ideals.

Finally, it is my hope that policy makers will not forget that the relationship between our nation and Somalia is not new. Indeed, the "U.S. approved" leader in Somalia from the late 70's until the end of the Cold War, Siad Barre, was insulated from political opposition by virtue of the fact that he had the complete support of one of the world's two superpowers.

Significantly:

- (i) much of the arms that we are facing in Somalia were provided by prior administrations in our Cold War quest for ideological dominance in the Horn;
- (ii) Siad Barre's aversion to matters democratic was of no interest to the United States during that period; and
- (iii) the absence of legitimate avenues for political dissent during the same period led to a disastrous frenzy of anti-Barre hostility once the end of the Cold War signalled to Somalis that the United States would be indifferent to Barre's political demise, which in turn led to today's crisis.

4

In my view, therefore, an argument can be made on moral grounds for a continued and sincere attempt on our part to bring some semblance of normalcy back to Somalia. The New World Order must not mean that some nations, like Somalia, once convenient pawns on the Cold War chess board, are now disposable.

Please note, however, that I am not now advocating, nor would I ever advocate, an indefinite, open-ended U.S. involvement in Somalia - whatever the human and material costs. However, I do not believe that all reasonable, non-military options have been fully pursued in combination with our peacekeeping initiative, and this indeed has been a major contributor to the loss of life on all sides.

Somalia has indeed become a vexing post Cold War challenge. But much of the challenges we face are limited to the city of Mogadishu and are rooted in an insistence - on all sides - on hostility and aggression. The tremendous investment in American time, manpower and other resources, in particular the eleven young American lives that were lost there, must not be for naught. We must, in a spirit of impartiality, pursue diplomatic and political solutions in Somalia with all the dedication that characterizes our military strategy.

I thank you for your attention to this important matter, and look forward to your response.

Sincerely,


Ronald V. Dellums
Chairman

RVD:hrr

The Honorable Warren Christopher
The Honorable Anthony Lake
Ambassador Madelaine Albright
The Honorable Howard Paster

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH

FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS 

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Attached is a copy of the letter sent to the President from Chairman Ron Dellums (D-CA). Since this letter addresses national security issues, I would appreciate your assistance in drafting a response.

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

Enclosure

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. report	Somalia: Update (1 page)	10/04/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F
ke4136

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RE-ENERGIZING THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN SOMALIA

SUSAN

The U.N.'s perceived absorption in a military conflict with General Aideed has contributed to growing dissatisfaction with the Somalia situation. This frustration is widely shared. It grows out of sense that the U.N. lacks a clear strategy for implementing its ambitious goals within a reasonable period. In recent weeks, dissatisfaction with the present situation has prompted public disapproval of U.N. action from Italy, Germany, France, and the OAU, among others and strengthened calls for the early withdrawal of U.S. forces in the U.S. Congress.

We fully appreciate that finding a political solution is possible only so long as UNOSOM remains militarily strong. Nonetheless, it is important nonetheless that the U.N. move aggressively to demonstrate its appreciation of political realities in the U.S. and elsewhere. This paper offers several ideas the U.N. should consider publicizing and implementing on an urgent basis.

o Announce immediately plans to convene a political reconciliation conference in Somalia under U.N. and regional auspices.

- The conference should have two purposes, re-energizing the moribund national reconciliation process started in March with the Addis Ababa agreement and speeding the local reconciliation process on which the U.N. already has made a solid start.
- Participants should include the original signatories of the Addis accord, minus General Aideed. Representatives of his organization should be invited to take part, however. Representatives of the extant district councils and of areas where councils have yet to be formed also should be asked to participate.
- Formalize and Energize the Somalia Advisory Group. At the earliest opportunity, the U.N. should establish this group formally and give its formation the widest possible media coverage.
 - The U.N. should consult the group regularly and, when appropriate, encourage wide press coverage of its activities.
- Invite Foreign Ministers from Neighboring African Countries, plus Eritrea, to visit Somalia
 - As soon as possible, the Secretary General should invite the foreign ministers of Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Eritrea to visit Somalia as a group to evaluate the progress of U.N. operations there and to offer suggestions for improvement.

-- The group of ministers should meet with factional leaders to emphasize the importance of the proposed political reconciliation conference and the need to broaden its base. Although General Aideed should not be invited, the group of ministers should make clear that representatives of his organization and sub-clan would be welcome.

-- The visit should receive appropriate media coverage.

o Further Use of the Ethiopian/Eritrean Channel

-- Efforts by Presidents Meles and Issaias to secure General Aideed's voluntary departure from Somalia have not succeeded. However, the two leaders should receive every encouragement to remain personally engaged in this initiative.

-- At the earliest opportunity, we believe the Secretary General should convey his continued support for the initiative to the Ethiopians and the Eritreans.

-- In doing so, the Secretary General might argue that the recent detention of Osman Atto may well give General Aideed and his supporters reason to explore this proposal. Atto's detention highlights the vulnerability of Aideed and his senior lieutenants and, by not disclosing Atto's whereabouts or discussing the length of his detention, Aideed will possibly come to believe that his close associates are considering private arrangements with the U.N.

o Proposal for an International Commission and Ceasefire

-- General Aideed claimed in his August 30 letter to former President Carter that he has appealed on numerous occasions to the U.N. to appoint "an independent commission composed of internationally known statesmen, scholars, and jurists ... to investigate the events in Mogadishu since June 5 ..."

-- The U.N. should test Aideed's sincerity by proposing publicly a modified version of this idea. A ten member commission should be established consisting of two representatives of from the Habr Gidr Council, one from the Somali National Council of the SNA, and the other seven chosen by the U.N.

-- General Aideed would be asked publicly to go into house arrest outside Somalia until the commission, which serves as a grand jury of sorts, completes its work.

3 of 3

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Assuming there is sufficient evidence to try Aideed, the court proceedings should take place in Somalia when its court system is adequate. The U.N. should announce the proposal coupled with a demand that Aideed accept a complete ceasefire.

Somalia

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

POSTAL ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE: UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017
CABLE ADDRESS—ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEWYORK

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

CABINET DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL

25 September 1993

REFERENCE:

Dear Madam Ambassador,

I should be grateful if you would kindly forward the attached letter to His Excellency The Hon. Warren Christopher, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

A copy of the letter is attached for your information.

Please accept, Madam Ambassador, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Chinmaya R. Gharekhan".

Chinmaya R. Gharekhan
Special Political Advisor
to the Secretary-General

Her Excellency
Dr. Madeleine Korbelt Albright
Permanent Representative of the
United States of America
to the United Nations
New York

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

25 September 1993

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I have given much thought to what you said about Somalia at our meeting on 20 September and I have carefully studied the "non-paper" which you handed me then. I appreciate the non-paper's frankness. Peace and prosperity cannot be returned to Somalia without the United Nations or the United States. It is therefore essential that there should be openness between us. I shall be equally frank in setting out how I view our current dilemma.

I share your concern at the erosion, in the United States and elsewhere, of support for our common endeavour in Somalia. But I was encouraged by the meeting which I convened on 16 September with 30 of the most important troop-contributing countries, all of whom expressed support for our continuing operation.

I nevertheless agree with you that urgent action needs to be taken to highlight the political and humanitarian aspects of the international community's efforts in Somalia and to correct the media's current emphasis on the military aspects, and especially on our efforts to detain Aidid. Admiral Howe and I have agreed on a number of steps to be taken during the next few weeks to redirect attention to the political and humanitarian objectives which UNOSOM II is pursuing.

His Excellency
The Hon. Warren Christopher
Secretary of State of the
United States of America
Washington, D.C.



As a first step, I held a meeting on 23 September with representatives of the World Bank to discuss the next phase of Somalia's rehabilitation and reconstruction. I am emphasizing in public that, following the adoption of resolution 865 on 22 September, the formation of the national police force is proceeding apace. I shall make brief visits to Addis Ababa and Mogadishu in mid-October and will concentrate on the non-military aspects of UNOSOM II's operation. The World Bank is convening a donors' conference in Paris on 22 October, to be followed in the first week of November by a Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa, with full Somali participation.

On the political front I have asked Admiral Howe to examine the feasibility of establishing an Interim Government which would work closely with him as he implements UNOSOM II's mandate. There are certain snags which have to be circumvented: an Interim Government would have to be designed in a way that was compatible with the Transitional National Council to which all the parties agreed in Addis Ababa in March; and it would be necessary to ensure that the Habr Gedir clan, as well as the USC/SNA, was represented, notwithstanding the expected opposition from Aidid.

I believe that these initiatives will, with your support, help to shift media attention away from the hunt for Aidid. None of them, however, enables us to side-step the problem he creates. It was his refusal to share power after the overthrow of Siad Barre that led to civil conflict in Somalia. That conflict, in turn, led to human suffering which the international community could not tolerate and which brought about the deployment initially of UNOSOM I and then of UNITAF. From the beginning, I and my colleagues made every effort to bring Aidid into the political process and the search for national reconciliation, as did Ambassador Oakley when he was in Mogadishu. Initially we received a good deal of cooperation from Aidid, especially at the Addis Ababa Conference in March.



However, the killing and mutilation of 24 United Nations soldiers on 5 June created a new situation and obliged the Security Council to instruct me to detain and bring to trial those responsible for that crime. Until the Security Council decides to change those instructions, I am obliged to make every effort to bring Aidid to justice. I know that you understand and support this position.

At the same time, my mind is not closed to other ways of neutralizing Aidid, by which I mean bringing about his removal from Somalia to controlled residence in another country from which he would not be able to direct military operations by his supporters in Somalia or otherwise block our efforts to achieve national reconciliation.

I have been in regular contact with the Presidents of Ethiopia and Eritrea, especially the former, and I have instructed Admiral Howe and his staff to cooperate with the Ethiopian/Eritrean initiative. I have also encouraged them to take action themselves to sound out leading members of Aidid's clan on the possibility of an agreement for his voluntary departure from Somalia. I have to confess that my knowledge of the personalities involved does not inspire optimism about the feasibility of such solutions. But I agree with you that they should be explored, while not forgetting the mandate conferred on me by Security Council resolution 837. However, confidentiality has to be maintained and at this stage these moves cannot be used to correct the current misperception of United Nations efforts in Somalia.

This problem of Aidid strengthens a conviction which I have held for almost a year. This is that our efforts to restore peace and prosperity in Somalia will not succeed unless we can disarm the clans and factions. I made that position clear in my letter of 29 November 1992 to the President of the Security Council. I repeated it in my letter of 8 December 1992 to President Bush and again in my report of 19 December 1992 to the Security Council. The crucial importance of disarmament has been emphasized in Security Council resolution 814 of 26 March 1993 and subsequent resolutions.



The fact that UNITAF did not disarm the clans and factions was one of the principal reasons why I pressed that it should not hand over to UNOSOM II prematurely and that, when that hand-over took place, significant United States combat forces should remain in Somalia. My concerns on this score were spelt out in my letter of 3 May 1993 to Ambassador Albright. Any restrictions now on the use of the Quick Reaction Force would greatly undermine UNOSOM II's ability to disarm the parties and would be contrary to the understandings we reached when the transition took place from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. Actual withdrawal of the Force would in my judgement lead to the rapid decomposition of the whole UNOSOM operation.

I recognize, of course, that public and parliamentary opinion in the United States and other troop-contributing countries may eventually turn against our present approach. Indeed, there are signs that this is already beginning to happen, though I have been encouraged by the continuing determination of the troop-contributing Governments themselves. But let us have no illusions about what the consequence would be if their determination should weaken and oblige the Security Council either to withdraw UNOSOM II or to surrender control of south Mogadishu to Aidid. Not only would that condemn the people of Somalia to a resumption of civil war and all the horrors that would result; it would also represent a humbling of the United Nations and of the efforts of the United States and other countries to restore peace and human decency to Somalia. This would have a devastating effect on your and my efforts to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to contribute to a better world.

In short, I agree with you that we must continue to give high priority to the political and humanitarian aspects of our endeavours in Somalia and that we must improve our public presentation of them. But at the same time I believe that there is no practicable alternative to our current efforts to

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

5 -

complete the restoration of security in south Mogadishu. I count on the continuing support of the United States of America, without which our efforts will not succeed.

Yours sincerely,

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

COPY : COPIE

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Somalia

'93 SEP 32 P6:03

B

S/S #

C

106159

MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION Confidential No. Pages 2

FROM: Charles PATTERSON IOIUNP 72641 6334
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION CABLE on Contingency Demarche to
French on SOMALIA

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>JCS</u>	<u>Col. Batoline</u>		
<u>OSD</u>	<u>Jim Woods</u>		
<u>NSC</u>	<u>Susan Rie</u>		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: Mr. TARNOFF has asked that this be
cleared by OOB MONDAY morning

S/S Officer: GR

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VDE Date: 12/29/16
2012-0059-F

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. cable	Re: Contingency Demarche to the French (2 pages)	10/02/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F
ke4136

RESTRICTION CODES

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Somalia

Why we are there?

In the summer of 1992, over two million Somalis (almost a third of the country) were threatened to die of starvation. The reason: the systematic use of food as a weapon by Somali warlords -- particularly Aideed. Aideed controlled the sea and air ports and was hoarding tons of food as thousands starved to death within a mile of tons of food. Somalia was the worst human disaster in recent history and demanded international attention.

The Response

1. Airlift, August 92, an emergency airlift and flooding of the country with food by land, air, and sea.
2. Chapter 6 Deployment of 500 Pakistani peacekeepers to Mogadishu

Results: continued starvation, continued use of food as a weapon, continued control and extortion at sea air ports by Aideed and other warlords, peacekeepers "bottled-up" in Mogadishu..

3. Chapter 7 Deployment of UNITAF to secure the relief of humanitarian aid.

Results: mission accomplished (but narrowly defined)

4. Chapter 7 plus: UNOSOM, assist (not take full responsibility) the Somalis in nation building and eliminate the root causes that allowed Somali to deteriorate to such horrifying conditions: disarm and marginalize the warlords.

Results: Positive, except for Aideed and South Mogadishu. Aideed, aware that he was losing his power base (militia forces) struck back at UNOSOM. He has had some success in rallying members of his clan to support his insurgency against UNOSOM.

Current Policy Options:

- Withdraw
- Step up the Commitment
- "Stay the Course, Withdraw in Strength, and Declare Victory"

Somalia Policy

"Stay the Course, Withdraw in Strength, and Declare Victory"

Minimum Goals:

- Humanitarian: Prevent mass starvation in Somalia and eliminate the conditions that would allow it to return to the pre-intervention anarchy and suffering.
- International Order: Hold those responsible for killing UN peacekeepers accountable for their actions.

"Stay the Course" - Short Term Policy: (30 to 60 days)

- In Mogadishu, stabilize the situation, by force if necessary, and capture those responsible for the death of the Pakistani peacekeepers.
- Re-initiate political process - including the Habr Gadir clan - but without Aideed.
- Bring UNOSOM forces up to full strength

"Withdraw in Strength" - Mid Term Policy: (90 to 180 days)

- Broker a political solution
- Build a Somali police force and judicial system capable of preventing return to chaos. At a minimum provide for the security of humanitarian relief.
- Start to withdraw some forces from calmer areas outside of Mogadishu. Stay strong in Mogadishu -- determined to deny the criminal element and gross human rights violaters (food as weapon gang)

"Declare Victory and Depart" - Long Term Policy (6 -18 months)

(Coincides with the two year Addis plan for a transitional government)

- Establish Police Force capable of sustaining minimum security for humanitarian relief.
- UNOSOM Force Command draw down to observers and a small protection force in Mogadishu.
- Stand up Somalia Government

Note: The ultimate responsibility for Somalia must be put back to the Somali people. The international community, although it will not be intimidated by thugs, has limited resources for Somalia - other countries also need help. The UN will provide the Somali people a "window of opportunity" to get back on its feet and then it will depart in a responsible and orderly fashion.

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'93 SEP 18 A10:25

B

S/S #

C

MESSAGE NO. 105373 CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED No. Pages C+6
FROM: Robert Loftis IO/PHO 647-2708 5323
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Outline and Work Assignments for Report to Congress
on U.S. Policy in Somalia

<u>TO: (Agency)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>Extension</u>	<u>Room No.</u>
<u>NSC</u>	<u>Susan Rice/Sean Darragh</u>	<u>395-1492</u>	<u>302</u>
<u>OSD/D&P/PK/PE</u>	<u>Sara Sewell</u>	<u>695-2310</u>	<u>1C661</u>
<u>OSD/ISA/AFR</u>	<u>Jim Woods</u>	<u>697-8824</u>	<u>4B747</u>
<u>JCS/J-5</u>	<u>Admiral Skip Bowman</u>	<u>697-7857</u>	<u>2E980</u>
<u>JCS/J-5/UN</u>	<u>Col. Jim Battaglini</u>	<u>614-9145</u>	<u>2E1017</u>
<u>JCS/J-5/MEAF</u>	<u>Col. Perry Baltimore</u>	<u>614-9413</u>	<u>2E977</u>

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐
ACTION X

REMARKS: _____

S/S Officer: _____





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 18, 1993

MEMORANDUM

To: Distribution

From: IO/PHO - John Brims

Subject: Report to Congress on U.S. Policy in Somalia

State IO/PHO Deputy Director Bob Loftis will be responsible for coordinating and writing the report to Congress on U.S. policy in Somalia as required by the recent Sense of the Senate resolution. To meet the deadline of October 15, the report MUST be to the printers by October 1.

A draft outline with work assignments and a chronology of due dates are attached.

Your comments on the draft outline and work assignments, along with the name, phone number, and unclassified fax number of your office's drafting officer, are requested to Bob Loftis no later than 10:00 Tuesday, September 21. Suggestions on additional areas that should be covered are welcome. If Bob does not hear from you he will assume the assignments are acceptable.

Action offices are requested to provide the material requested in the attached outline. The material may be narrative, lists, charts, etc. as appropriate. Please remember that this is an UNCLASSIFIED report.

Your cooperation and assistance in putting together this report are greatly appreciated.

Bob Loftis can be reached on 202-647-2708, or unclassified fax number 202-647-4006.

DistributionState

IO: George Ward
IO/PHO: Robert Loftis
IO/UNP: Pat Patterson
AF/E: Amb. David Shinn
L/PM: Chuck Allen
L/UNA: Bruce Rashkow
P: Esther Brimmer
P: Bruce Thomas
S/P: Julien LeBourgeois
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H: Mike Chapman
PM/ISO: Col. John Piazza
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NSC: Susan Rice/Sean Darragh

AID: AFR/EA/H: Rickie Gold
USUN: Ambassador Inderfurth

TIME LINES FOR REPORT TO CONGRESS
ON U.S. POLICY IN SOMALIA

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COB Wednesday, September 29: Comments on draft due

COB Thursday, September 30: Final report to NSC

COB Friday, October 1: Report sent to printer

Friday, October 15: Report due on Hill

U.S. POLICY ON SOMALIA
REPORT OUTLINE

(Action offices are indicated in parentheses.)
MATERIALS ARE DUE TO BOB LOFTIS BY COB SEPTEMBER 23.

I. INTRODUCTION

Where we were in mid-1992 through December 1992

- paragraph on jockeying for position after fall of Siad Barre and slide into civil war (AF/E)
- number of people dead and at risk (AF/E, AID)
- amount of U.S. emergency humanitarian aid from start of famine conditions to December 8 (AID)
- number of sorties and amount airlifted during Operation Provide Hope (OSD, JCS, AID)
- establishment of UNOSOM I, delays involved and confinement of Pakistanis to airport (IO/UNP, PM)
- breakdown of order, flight of NGO's, PVO's, UN relief organizations (AF/E)

(AID: Please provide photos of food lines, etc.)

II. UNITAF

- consultations with UN and decision to deploy UNITAF (IO/UNP, PM)
- mandate of UNITAF, area of operations (IO/UNP, PM - PM please provide map)
- follow-on consultations with UN to create UNOSOM II (IO/UNP)
- List of troop contributors, number of troops, type of units/personnel, arrival/departure date, whether stayed as part of UNOSOM II (PM)
- Somalia Trust Fund description (IO/PHO)
- costs to DoD of U.S. participation in UNITAF (OSD)
- success of UNITAF - feeding centers opened, number of people fed, drop in death rates, etc. (AID)
- list of UNITAF casualties by country and cause (hostile action, accident, illness) (PM)

(INR, OSD, JCS, AID: please provide photos of aircraft unloading, food distribution/medical treatment by UNITAF forces, etc.)

-2-

III. UNOSOM II

- A. Mandate of UNOSOM II (IO/UNP)
 - synopsis of resolutions, texts appended as annexes
 - synopsis of SYG's reports
- B. Objectives of UNOSOM II (IO/PHQ)
 - political reconciliation
 - economic rehabilitation
 - refugee repatriation
 - reestablish police and judiciary systems
 - create secure environment and disarm factions
 - create a demining program
- C. List of troop contributors, number of troops, type of units/personnel, arrival date, whether arrived as part of UNITAF (PM)
 - List of UNOSOM II casualties by country and cause (PM)
- D. Description of PDD-6 (AF/E)
 - decision to deploy logisticians
 - timetable for withdrawal of U.S. forces
 - creation of QRF
- E. UNOSOM II Wire Diagram (JCS)
 - wire diagram of military and civilian components of UNOSOM II, with list of key personnel
- F. International Support for UNOSOM II (AF/E)
 - Letters/Statements from foreign leaders in support of UNOSOM II

IV. ROLE OF U.S. FORCES

- A. Logisticians (JCS)
 - list of units and their functions
 - location of units
 - wire diagram of command arrangements
 - description of command, operational and administrative control arrangements
 - withdrawal plan/timetable
- B. Quick Reaction Force (JCS)
 - description of mission
 - description of command arrangements
 - list of units and their functions
 - wire diagram of command arrangements (i.e. through CENTCOM)
 - description of withdrawal plan/timetable

(OSD: Please provide an as-delivered transcript of Secretary Aspin's speech.)

4

V. U.S. OBJECTIVES IN SOMALIA

- A. Political (IO/PHO, AF/E)
- support of UN political objectives
 - support of UN peacekeeping operations, demonstrate ability of organization to share burden of dealing with humanitarian and other crises
 - help end instability which would endanger neighboring Kenya and Ethiopia through spillover of conflict and refugee flows
- B. Humanitarian/Economic Development (AID)
- ensure reliable supply of food
 - phase out emergency for development assistance
 - return home of refugee population
 - help develop revenue-collecting capacity of new government
 - help restore traditional economic base
 - premises for current and longer term programs
 - multi-lateral, multinational effort
 - close coordination with UNOSOM II
 - regional emphasis/approach
- C. Military (OSD)
- help provide a secure environment to allow the political and humanitarian/economic goals to be realized

VI. PROGRESS TO DATE

- A. Political (AF/E)
- Addis I&II conferences
 - "Addis III" conference inside Somalia
 - progress on district councils
 - political reconciliation talks
- B. Security
- Standing up the police (PM)
 - Standing up the judiciary (AF, AID)
 - Standing up the penal system (AF, AID)
 - Disarmament: weapons captured/destroyed (personal and crew-serviced) (JCS, OSD).
- C. Humanitarian/economic (AID)
- description of current activities, including NGO's
 - status of refugee return
 - any indices of economic activity (export of meat to Saudi Arabia, etc.)
 - shift from emergency assistance to longer term development

-4-

VI. PLANNING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCESA. Military (JCS, OSD)

- status of negotiations for logistics support
- estimated withdrawal timetable for logistical troops
- withdrawal timeline for QRF

6

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. paper	US Policy in Somalia (6 pages)	09/16/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F
ke4136

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]
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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. list	Table of Contents (1 page)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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011. cable	Re: Promoting Political Reconciliation in Somalia (4 pages)	09/01/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. cable	Re: The Making of a Deal (2 pages)	09/17/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 18, 1993

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To: Distribution

From: IO/PHO - John Brims

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 IO/PHO: Robert Loftis
 IO/UNP: Pat Patterson
~~AF/E: Amb. David Shinn (Tab A)~~
 L/PM: Chuck Allen
 L/UNA: Bruce Rashkow
 P: Esther Brimmer
 P: Bruce Thomas
 S/P: Julien LeBourgeois
 USUN/W: David Scheffer
 H: Mike Chapman
 PM/ISO: Col. John Piazza
 INR/PMA: Bob McCreight

OSD

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 JCS/J-5/MEAF: Col. Perry Baltimore
 NSC: Susan Rice/Sean Darragh
 AID: AFR/EA/H: Rickie Gold
 USUN: Ambassador Inderfurth

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ON U.S. POLICY IN SOMALIA

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U.S. POLICY ON SOMALIA
REPORT OUTLINE

(Action offices are indicated in parentheses.)
MATERIALS ARE DUE TO BOB LOFTIS BY COB SEPTEMBER 23.

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Where we were in mid-1992 through December 1992

- paragraph on jockeying for position after fall of Siad Barre and slide into civil war (AF/E)
- number of people dead and at risk (AF/E, AID)
- amount of U.S. emergency humanitarian aid from start of famine conditions to December 8 (AID)
- number of sorties and amount airlifted during Operation Provide Hope (OSD, JCS, AID)
- establishment of UNOSOM I, delays involved and confinement of Pakistanis to airport (IO/UNP, PM)
- breakdown of order, flight of NGO's, PVO's, UN relief organizations (AF/E)

(AID: Please provide photos of food lines, etc.)

II. UNITAF

- consultations with UN and decision to deploy UNITAF (IO/UNP, PM)
- mandate of UNITAF, area of operations (IO/UNP, PM - PM please provide map)
- follow-on consultations with UN to create UNOSOM II (IO/UNP)
- List of troop contributors, number of troops, type of units/personnel, arrival/departure date, whether stayed as part of UNOSOM II (PM)
- Somalia Trust Fund description (IO/PHQ)
- costs to DoD of U.S. participation in UNITAF (OSD)
- success of UNITAF - feeding centers opened, number of people fed, drop in death rates, etc. (AID)
- list of UNITAF casualties by country and cause (hostile action, accident, illness) (PM)

(INR, OSD, JCS, AID: please provide photos of aircraft unloading, food distribution/medical treatment by UNITAF forces, etc.)

III. UNOSOM II

- A. Mandate of UNOSOM II (IO/UNP)
 - synopsis of resolutions, texts appended as annexes
 - synopsis of SYG's reports
- B. Objectives of UNOSOM II (IO/PHQ)
 - political reconciliation
 - economic rehabilitation
 - refugee repatriation
 - reestablish police and judiciary systems
 - create secure environment and disarm factions
 - create a demining program
- C. List of troop contributors, number of troops, type of units/personnel, arrival date, whether arrived as part of UNITAF (PM)
 - List of UNOSOM II casualties by country and cause (PM)
- D. Description of PDD-6 (AF/E)
 - decision to deploy logisticians
 - timetable for withdrawal of U.S. forces
 - creation of QRF
- E. UNOSOM II Wire Diagram (JCS)
 - wire diagram of military and civilian components of UNOSOM II, with list of key personnel
- F. International Support for UNOSOM II (AF/E)
 - Letters/Statements from foreign leaders in support of UNOSOM II

IV. ROLE OF U.S. FORCES

- A. Logisticians (JCS)
 - list of units and their functions
 - location of units
 - wire diagram of command arrangements
 - description of command, operational and administrative control arrangements
 - withdrawal plan/timetable
- B. Quick Reaction Force (JCS)
 - description of mission
 - description of command arrangements
 - list of units and their functions
 - wire diagram of command arrangements (i.e. through CENTCOM)
 - description of withdrawal plan/timetable

(OSD: Please provide an as-delivered transcript of Secretary Aspin's speech.)

V. U.S. OBJECTIVES IN SOMALIA

- A. Political (IO/PHO, AF/E)
 - support of UN political objectives
 - support of UN peacekeeping operations, demonstrate ability of organization to share burden of dealing with humanitarian and other crises
 - help end instability which would endanger neighboring Kenya and Ethiopia through spillover of conflict and refugee flows
- B. Humanitarian/Economic Development (AID)
 - ensure reliable supply of food
 - phase out emergency for development assistance
 - return home of refugee population
 - help develop revenue-collecting capacity of new government
 - help restore traditional economic base
 - premises for current and longer term programs
 - multi-lateral, multinational effort
 - close coordination with UNOSOM II
 - regional emphasis/approach
- C. Military (OSD)
 - help provide a secure environment to allow the political and humanitarian/economic goals to be realized

VI. PROGRESS TO DATE

- A. Political (AF/E)
 - Addis I&II conferences
 - "Addis III" conference inside Somalia
 - progress on district councils
 - political reconciliation talks
- B. Security
 - Standing up the police (PM)
 - Standing up the judiciary (AF, AID)
 - Standing up the penal system (AF, AID)
 - Disarmament: weapons captured/destroyed (personal and crew-serviced) (JCS, OSD)
- C. Humanitarian/economic (AID)
 - description of current activities, including NGO's
 - status of refugee return
 - any indices of economic activity (export of meat to Saudi Arabia, etc.)
 - shift from emergency assistance to longer term development

VI. PLANNING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES

A. Military (JCS, OSD)

- status of negotiations for logistics support
- estimated withdrawal timetable for logistical troops
- withdrawal timeline for QRF

**Somali Coalition Group for
Peace and Reconstruction**
Tel/Fax: 703.941.1815

September 13, 1993

To: Ambassador David Shinn:
Somali Desk
US State Department

Dear Ambassador:

Consistent with the spirit and the principles adopted at the Somali Peace conference held in Graves Mountain Lodge, Central Virginia during December, 1992 thru January 1993, which I coordinated with the help of American friends, we believe there is a chance to promote dialogue and reconciliation through meetings between the feuding parties of the United Somali Congress, and to bring to an end the misunderstandings between HeberGedir and UNISOM, and not use force. This can be accomplished through dialogue rather than force.

The use of force will only lead to a further bloodshed and not solve the problems. A resolution to the USC conflict would bring peace and encourage other political parties to come to the bargaining table for mediation based on the Somali traditions and the Islamic principles of collective entity which can lead towards a unified Somali Nation. Our organization strongly believes that there is alternative but to find a peaceful solution through dialogue.

SCGPR proposes the following:

- To hold an immediate meeting between SCPRG members and members from USC Central Committee, in a country neighboring Somalia.
- To call for a larger meeting between these groups in Mogadishu, in order to create committees and councils which will implement commitments made and agreed upon.
- To call for a national meeting between all Somali feuding parties in order to reconcile their differences, discuss their respective organizations, and begin serious negotiations aimed at rebuilding our country.

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**Somali Coalition Group for
Peace and Reconstruction
Tel/Fax: 703.941.1815**

The following preliminary steps are essential:

1. A complete resolution of the conflict among USC factions is essential to any future resolution to the Somali conflict. Independent USC groups should be selected, financed and commissioned to work on all sources of conflict.
2. Similar efforts should be targeted at conflicts among other warring factions.
3. United Nations activities should be limited to humanitarian and rehabilitation projects working with and assisting Somali Non-Governmental and Private Voluntary Organizations.
4. Larger conferences should be held to broaden the reconciliation efforts in order to encourage all the warring parties to discuss methods of creating a transitional Government and of rebuilding Somalia as a nation.

The purpose of these meetings is to discuss the political issues and the economic problems prevailing in our country in a manner that has never been tried before, that is, the traditional Somali way of reconciling our differences. The United Nations failed to recognize this approach and failed in every attempt to reconcile the warring factions. **A Political solution is essential.**

One of our main goals is to reconcile all feuding parties of the Hawiye Clan, through the United Somali Congress. The present anarchy and human suffering can only be solved by Somalis. Only Somalis can end hostilities and the factional rivalry that has claimed thousands of Somali lives and left our country in ruins.

We believe that we can personally organize the activities we have suggested, provided that we receive the required political and the economic support. If you need further information about our plan please call me at 703.941.1815

Best regards,



Ali M. Mohamed Aden
Executive Producer, Somali Television Program &
Spokesman, Somali Coalition Group for Peace and Reconstruction

Postal Office Box 23823 • Alexandria, Virginia 22304

Somali Coalition Group for Peace and Reconstruction

Tel/Fax: 703.941.1815

Steering Committee in U.S.A.

Producer Ali M. Mohamed Aden

Ambassador Ahmed M. Darman

Businessman Tom Andrew Seay

SCGPR Proposals on Peace, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Somalia

August 23, 1993

To: Ambassador David Shinn
Somali Desk
US State Department

Dear Ambassador Shinn:

Adhering to the spirit and the principles of the Somali Peace conference held in Graves Mountain Lodge, central Virginia during December, 1992 thru January 1993, where Somali Elders, Politicians, and intellectuals of various groups met, We have been able to put together a workable proposal for a quick action plan to reconcile feuding parties of the United Somali Congress, and the misunderstandings between HeberGedir and UNISOM.

SCGPR agendas in its proposal include:

- To hold Immediate meeting between SCPRG members, members from HaberGedir leaders, and members from USC Central Committee, in one of Somalia's neighboring countries within three weeks.
- To call for a larger meeting between these groups, within a reasonable time, in Mogadishu, Somalia, to create committees which will implement commitments made.
- To call for a national meeting between all Somali feuding parties to reconcile their differences and begin serious negotiations towards rebuilding our country.

The purpose of these meetings is to discuss the political issues and the economic problems prevailing in our country in a matter that has never been done before - the Somali way. **Political solution is a must.** Because of the determination and the expertise of this Coalition's advisory group, we believe through dialogue and negotiations the warring factions will listen to our suggestions and proposal plan.

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Somali Coalition Group for Peace and Reconstruction

Tel/Fax: 703.941.1815

Steering Committee in U.S.A.

Producer Ali M. Mohamed Aden

Ambassador Ahmed M. Darman

Businessman Tom Andrew Seay

The focus of these talks need to be specific targeting all major problem areas yet demanding tangible results. The Somali Coalition Group needs UN/US support now in order to hold such meetings in Mogadishu, Somalia, in neighboring countries, and in the United States.

Somali Coalition for Peace and Reconstruction is committed to pave the way for immediate reconciliation. It is time that we, as Somali concerned citizens, stand together and lead our people towards reconciliation and negotiations which can result in long lasting peace among our people.

One of our main goals is to reconcile all of the feuding parties. We all know the present anarchy and human suffering can only be solved by the Somalis. Only Somalis can end hostilities and the ruthless jealous factional rivalry that has claimed thousands of Somali lives and left our country in ruins.

We believe that a new and unprecedented approach to this dilemma must be developed to tackle these problems. An independent advisory group such as Somali Coalition Group must be encouraged and supported to facilitate the UN/US peace efforts.

Through a successful reconciliation and dialogue, the conciliatory group will create working committee which will implement and fulfil the commitments made, which includes all necessary steps to bring our country back to normal in order to create hope and future for the Somali people everywhere. This will elect Governor and a Mayor to conduct day-to-day operations between UNISOM and the Somalis.

The 21-year misrule of Siad Barre destroyed our culture, traditional values, economy, and worst of all, our educational system. Our nation has experienced slow death during the two decades of neglect, killings, destruction, and above all, hatred among the closest sub-clans, all of which was engineered by Barre's regime. His legacy is the basis for the ongoing destruction in Somalia. The tragedy still continues.

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Producer Ali M. Mohamed Aden

Ambassador Ahmed M. Darman

Businessman Tom Andrew Scay

We appeal to you to support our plan and direct your representatives on the ground to initiate dialogue and reconciliation through elderly meetings, and not use force. The use of force will lead to a further bloodshed and not help to solve the problems. We strongly believe that there is no way out but to find peaceful solution through dialogue.

In conclusion, We strongly believe that it is highly important to hold SCGPR proposed meeting in order to unify the feuding parties. A resolution to the conflict of HaberGedir and UNISOM, and USC warring parties in General would bring peace and encourage other political parties to the bargaining table for a re-mediation based on the Somali traditions and the Islamic principles of collective entity which can lead towards a unified Somali Nation.

We believe that we can personally organize the activities we have suggested, provided that we have the political and the economic support we need.

Again, we ask you and the United Nations to assist us in our efforts to continue working on the Somali conflict to bring peace to our people and save our country.

Best regards,



Ali M. Mohamed Aden

Executive Producer

Somali Television Program

Spokesman,

Somali Coalition for Peace & Reconstruction

Postal Office Box 23823 • Alexandria, Virginia 22304

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D C 20547



September 15, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO: AF/E - Ambassador Shinn
FROM: AF - Robert LaGamma 
SUBJECT: Public Affairs Strategy for Somalia

Attached please find the "Public Affairs Strategy for Somalia." All members of sub-group on public affairs for Somalia (State, DOD, AID and USIA) have cleared the document.

Please feel free to call me or policy officer Jim Williams at 619-4894 if there are any questions.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY FOR SOMALIA

A. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Public support for UN efforts in Somalia has waned. Violent acts against UN forces by Somali warlords have raised questions in major donor countries (including the U.S.) and inside Somalia about the UN's ability to carry out its mission. U.S. leadership in the UN effort has been viewed in some key donor countries as U.S. "dominance." Ironically, the success of the famine relief effort has caused publics in the U.S. and other key donor countries to question the continued need for the UN effort in Somalia.

The UN effort in Somalia may be brought to an abrupt end if support is not quickly renewed with publics in key donor nations, especially the U.S., in significant non-donor countries, and inside Somalia. Without a continued UN effort, Somalia will suffer continued anarchy and a return of famine. Failure of the UN effort in Somalia will seriously undermine the credibility of future international peace making/keeping initiatives at a time when such efforts may be critical.

B. GOALS

To renew public support for the UN effort and the U.S. role in Somalia requires:

- explaining the need for continued UN effort in Somalia to reconstitute civil society and to ensure famine does not recur;
- informing the U.S. public and the world community of progress made in stabilizing food production, development and rehabilitation, and in forestalling anarchy in areas outside Mogadishu;
- informing target audiences of progress being made to improve the security environment in Somalia so that the number of U.S. troops there may be reduced; and
- explaining the importance of the UN effort in Somalia to future peace making/keeping initiatives.

C. PUBLIC AFFAIRS POINTS OF EMPHASIS

- Emphasize progress in meeting the criteria for withdrawing U.S. combat troops in Somalia as established by Secretary Aspin's August 27 address, i.e., settling the security issue in south Mogadishu, disarming the warlords, and establishing credible police forces in the major Somali population centers.

- Emphasize the international character of the effort in Somalia; while the U.S. is providing key leadership and many resources, this is an international effort under the UN.
- Emphasize the great progress that has been made in most of Somalia, despite the continuing problems in southern Mogadishu.
- Emphasize the success of the international humanitarian relief effort.
- Emphasize UN progress in helping Somalis rebuild civil society, i.e., the restoration of law and order and the reestablishment of a police force, a judiciary and local and regional governments.
- Emphasize the role Somalis are taking in restoring their country with UN assistance.
- De-emphasize the personalities of the Somali warlords in public statements.

D. AUDIENCES

The public affairs effort must reach several different audiences. These audiences are not isolated from one another and messages directed at one audience will also influence the others. Maintaining a clear message to all audiences requires constant communication and coordination between all Washington agencies, between Washington agencies and the USUN, and between U.S. government agencies and the USLO in Mogadishu.

Support of the American public is essential to continued U.S. participation in the UN effort in Somalia. U.S.G. officials and authoritative opinion leaders must persuasively explain why international peace making/keeping efforts are important to world peace, and why the U.S. and the UN have important roles in those efforts.

A similar case must be made to publics in other major and potential donor nations. This must be balanced with the message that the effort in Somalia is an international one and that UNOSOM is not U.S. "dominated." Greater support (financial and military) from other donors must be urged.

Perceptions in non-donor countries, especially those in Africa, are important because those countries will judge the UN's peace-making/keeping ability by its success or failure in Somalia.

The public affairs effort with the Somali people is directed at informing them of progress on immediate security issues, at supporting Somali efforts to rebuild the civic sector, and at drawing emerging groups into cooperation with other Somalis under UNOSOM.

E. ACTIONS

- State and DOD will continue to highlight authoritative statements by USG officials on U.S. policy toward Somalia.
- State, DOD and AID, in coordination with the NSC, will continue to meet with members of Congress to provide information on the U.S. role and the UN effort in Somalia.
- State, AID and DOD will continue to seek opportunities for interviews, television appearances, and op-ed pieces from spokespersons and opinion leaders to articulate the need for US support of the UN effort in Somalia. Such persons would include officials of the present and previous administrations, members of congress, PVO representatives, and respected academics.
- USIA will continue to highlight official statements of U.S. policy and commentary by authoritative opinion leaders on Somalia to audiences overseas. Media products include texts carried by the Wireless File, video items carried by USIA TV, and radio reports via the Voice of America.
- DOD will continue its program for facilitating visits to American military units from home town journalists.
- All agencies, in coordination with USLO/USIS Mogadishu and USIS Nairobi, will continue to work with foreign media in Somalia.
- USLO Mogadishu, AID, State and DOD will continue to seek opportunities to focus media attention on improvements in the situation in Somalia.
- USIS Mogadishu will continue program efforts to help rebuild the civic sector and draw emerging groups into cooperation with UNOSOM.
- Radio remains the most important medium in Somalia. However, the current UN controlled radio station in Somalia is received only weakly in the Mogadishu area and is not received at all in most of the rest of the country. State will encourage the UN quickly to establish a more powerful radio station in Somalia. USIA has asked the Voice of America to continue its Somali broadcast beyond the six month period originally agreed upon.
- The USG should strongly encourage and offer assistance as required to the UN in establishing a public affairs planning staff for international peace keeping/making initiatives.

SUBJECT: UNOSOM II Progress in Somalia: The Facts

Aren't We Failing in Somalia? Aren't We Bogged Down? NO.

1. Almost 30 district councils have been formed with the assistance of UNOSOM in cooperation with local Somalis.
2. A peace agreement, which includes a cease-fire and disarmament, has been signed and adhered to in Kismayo. Kismayo had been among the more problematic regions of Somalia prior to UN involvement.
3. Banditry throughout Somalia has been drastically reduced.
4. The Emergency Food Program is in the process of being stopped because it is no longer needed. There has been a good crop of locally grown food and there is plenty of food in the system.
5. Small private markets are opening throughout the country.
6. Overall security in Somalia is generally good. There is a security problem in southern Mogadishu, but that is an isolated area where one warlord (deemphasize Aideed) has been causing problems.

Haven't We Changed Our Mission? NO.

7. The UNOSOM II mission has always been to provide the Somalis a chance to get back on their feet again; to help rebuild their institutions and infrastructure.
8. The U.S. as part of a broad consortium of donors has assisted UNOSOM to open health clinics, repaired wells and irrigation systems, provided seeds and tools to Somalis, which has allowed most of Somalia to move toward a state of normalcy.
9. During the two year crisis, prior to the UN's remediation of the civil war, 500,000 Somalis died from starvation, disease, or fighting. Starvation in Somalia has virtually stopped.
10. The UN has committed resources that will now begin to rebuilding banking and finance centers which will help bring Somalia back into the community of nation and a state of normalcy.

Aren't we overemphasizing Aideed? No.

11. The media, which is overwhelmingly entrenched in Mogadishu, is providing Aideed a great deal of media attention. Their experience in Mogadishu is at odds with the experience one would have anywhere else in Somalia.
12. The controversy between Aideed and the UN is a sexy topic. Reporting that most of Somalia is moving toward normalcy and that no one in Somalia is starving anymore is not.

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Use of information concerning this deployment is not authorized until released in Washington, D.C. by OSD (Public Affairs).

STATEMENT

(QUOTE) In light of recent events in Mogadishu, and at the request of UNOSOM, the United States is reinforcing the Quick Reaction Force it maintains in Somalia as part of the United Nations contingent. The reinforcement will consist of a task force drawn from the 75th Ranger Regiment and other elements of the U.S. Special Operations Command. The task force will consist of approximately 400 troops. (END QUOTE)

Q1: What units will be going to Somalia and where will they come from?

A1: The troops will come from the 75th Ranger Regiment and other support elements which are part of U.S. Special Operations Command.

Q2: Why are additional combat troops being deployed?

A2: To augment the QRF in support of its mission to respond to crisis situations. The Rangers are an elite light infantry force. You will recall that members of the 75th Ranger Regiment spearheaded the attack into Grenada and parachuted into Panama during Operation Just Cause.

Q3: Isn't the mission really to capture : Aideed?

A3: No. The mission of the task force is to reinforce the QRF. The QRF's mission is to conduct both air and/or ground assaults to reinforce the coalition forces in sector and then to reestablish a secure environment for the conduct of humanitarian relief operations, should they be needed, and to conduct other security missions as directed by UNOSOM.

Q4: What will you do with people you detain?

A4: Any persons detained will be immediately turned over to UNSOSOM II officials.

Q5: Are you going after Aideed?

A5: Apprehending Aideed is a United Nations objective.

Q6: What are the Rules of Engagement (ROE)?

A6: As a matter of policy, we do not discuss ROE.

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Q7: Does this expand our mission beyond the humanitarian aspects?

A7: No, the emphasis remains on the larger issue, which is feeding people, ending the violence, encouraging political reconciliation and economic development throughout the entire country.

Q8: Ambassador Shinn reportedly stated that Special Operations Forces would be deployed to Somalia to arrest or detain Aided. Are these Rangers deploying to Mogadishu for this reason?

A8: No.

Q9: What is the mission of Special Forces in Somalia?

A9: The U.S. Army Special Forces, currently in Somalia, are ideally suited to supporting the UNOSOM II mission because of their language capabilities and cultural expertise. Special Forces, also called Green Berets, provide the U.S. force commander increased capability for coordination and liaison between UNOSOM forces. (Special Forces' doctrinal missions are unconventional warfare, foreign internal defense, special reconnaissance and direct action).

Q10: Is this in response to the suggestion of the UN Secretary General that an additional brigade-sized element is needed in Somalia?

A10: No.

Q11: Who is the task force commander?

A11: Lieutenant Colonel Danny McKnight is the commander of the augmenting task force.

- End -

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages **2**

TO PAUL CLARKE	From CDR MMS TURKMAN
Dep/Agency WH/NSC PROTOFFICE	Phone #
Fax #	Fax #
NSN 7540-01-317-7368	5008-101
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION	

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013a. list	Peacekeeping Core Group [partial] (1 page)	07/22/1993	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
OA/Box Number: 277

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia, 1993 [6]

2012-0659-F
ke4136

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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Susa

SVTS
PEACEKEEPING CORE GROUP
SOMALIA/LIBERIA
THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1993
4:00 - 5:30 P.M.
CHAired BY: RICHARD A. CLARKE

OVP

Jim Carman
6033

OMB

Gordon Adams
4657

JCS

Adm. Frank Bowman
703-695-6585

AID/OFDA

Dayton Maxwell
647-8924

OSD

Sarah Sewall
703-695-2310

NSC

Jennifer Ward
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STATE/PM

Steve Simon
647-8698

STATE/IO

George Ward
647-9602

STATE

Bob Patterson
647-0037

USUN

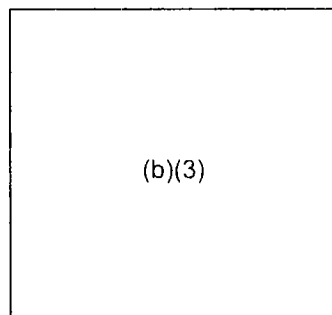
Rick Inderfurth
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STATE/AF

David Shinn
Martin Cheses
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STATE (From JWard)

Ed Brynne
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Pru Bushnell
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013b. agenda	SVTS - Peacekeeping (1 page)	07/22/1993	P1/b(1)

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013c. paper	Interagency Working Group on Liberia Summary and Conclusions (10 pages)	07/01/1993	P1/b(1)

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Rice, Susan)
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- 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]