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001. note	Handwritten notes from meeting on Somalia (9 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia/UNOSOM [United Nations Operations in Somalia]/War Powers [2]

2012-0659-F

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 22, 1993

Note for: Tony Lake
Sammy Berger
Jeremy Rosner
Jennifer Ward

From: Amb. Robert Oakley

FYI.

Bob Oakley

*File
Sowden*

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BUREAU OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (H)

FAX

TO:

Ambassade Oakley

FROM:

B. B. Brackley

DATE:

*10/22*TIME: *9:05*

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

5

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FYI

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TRANSMISSION PROBLEMS CALL (202) 647-1050

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

DATE: October 21, 1993

SUBJECT: Ambassador Oakley's Briefings for Members of Congress

During the week of October 18, Ambassador Oakley conducted the following briefings on Somalia for Members of Congress:

- o October 19, Senate Foreign Relations Committee: Attended by Senators Pell, Sarbanes, Simon, Matthews, Feingold, Lugar, Kassebaum, Jeffords, Coverdell;
- o October 20, House Leadership: Attended by Speaker Foley, HFAC Chairman Hamilton and ranking member Gilman, HASC Chairman Dellums and ranking member Spence, HPSCI Chairman Glickman and ranking member Combest, DOD Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Murtha and ranking member McDade, Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Obey and ranking member Livingston;
- o October 21, Senator Nunn.

In the three briefings, Ambassador Oakley described his trip to Mogadishu, provided his analysis of the situation in Somalia, and discussed his own role in the process of political reconciliation. The Ambassador stressed the following main points:

- o The President had decided that a "course correction" was necessary in U.S. policy towards Somalia.
- o Even before June 5, the UN had allowed the process of political dialogue to lapse and had created a perception of no longer being even-handed in its dealing with the clans.
- o After June 5, the UN's search for Aideed had only served to strengthen him.

- 2 -

- o The Security Council had failed to pay close attention to how the mandate in UNSC 837 was being implemented. The use of force had become more and more indiscriminate and many of the arrests of Aideed clan members took place with little supporting evidence.
- o At the same time, the UN had also come up with "visionary" nationbuilding plans which were "too naive, too ambitious and too culturally insensitive." Instead, it would have been better to focus on Somali solutions, even if they were "rough and ready" rather than ideal.
- o The Ambassador's visit had been intended to restart the political track with the Somalis, put the UN back on course, and free both the American and Nigerian detainees.
- o The freeing of detainees had been unconditional, although the Ambassador had promised his "best efforts" in looking at the problem of the Somali detainees.
- o Progress had been made in lowering the political "temperature." Lapsed mechanisms such as the ceasefire and disarmament committee and the military security committee were being restarted.
- o The message had been delivered to the other clans that they should not expect the U.S. to do their work in fighting Aideed.
- o The direction over the next six months would be to move towards the creation of interim political entity.
- o This would not be an easy process and the chances of success were perhaps fifty-fifty. However, it was up to the Somalis to make it work. If the Somalis could not do so by the end of March, then the international community would not bear the blame for Somali failure. *And there Dr.*
- o During this period, the Ambassador would return to the region and Somalia periodically to help move the process forward. To remain in Mogadishu on a more permanent basis would risk creating a perception that the U.S. was again taking over from the UN.

Briefing for Senate Foreign Relations Committee

The Senators expressed their appreciation for the Ambassador's briefing and for the role he played in freeing the U.S. detainee. In their questions and comments, the Senators raised a number of concerns. Senator Simon and Senator Jeffords expressed concern that six months would not be

no obligation to

- 3 -

sufficient to allow enough progress towards political reconciliation. Senator Jeffords and Senator Feingold urged that African countries, particularly Ethiopia and Eritrea, be engaged in the reconciliation process. Senator Kassebaum agreed with the importance of more balanced dealings with the clans. Senator Lugar commented that it appeared the U.S. forces were "hunkered" down in Somalia, and therefore there was little reason to keep them there.

Meeting with House Leadership

In comments during the Ambassador's briefing for key House members, Rep. Murtha described the efforts he had made during his trip last week to Mogadishu, working with Ambassador Oakley, to ensure that the UN and US personnel there understood the need to change their approach. Rep. McDade raised the need for changes at the UN both in New York and Mogadishu. Rep. Dellums agreed with Ambassador Oakley's remarks on the need for Somali solutions and commented favorably on the diplomatic work being done with the Ethiopians and Eritreans. Rep. Glickman voiced doubt that six months would be enough time for the Somalis to work out a political reconciliation.

Rep. Obey expressed concern about the setting of a date for withdrawal which locked the U.S. on a course. Speaker Foley agreed, but said that it would have been impossible to obtain Congressional approval for any resolution without a deadline. The Speaker added that the Congress was still struggling with the U.S. military role in the post-Cold War world and was being pulled in different directions, by those who favor the extremes. Rep. Hamilton pointed out that the UN's performance in Somalia had been discouraging but it was not in the U.S. interest to see the UN undermined. Speaker Foley agreed that the UN provided the only real framework for peacekeeping activities. Rep. Dellums observed that the U.S. was in uncharted waters and no one really knew what to do. The weakness of the UN was a problem but it was a problem which needed to be solved. In resolving the problem, Dellums urged that a distinction be made between difficulties relating to individuals such as the Secretary General and those relating to the UN's structure and organization.

Meeting with Senator Nunn

In addition to touching on many of the same points as in the two previous briefings, Senator Nunn and Ambassador Oakley discussed the current U.S. military role in Somalia. Ambassador Oakley stressed that the U.S. military would not carry out disarmament activities nor would it engage in offensive actions. However it was important that the U.S. forces be used to keep lines of communication open. They should not simply "hunker down" in Mogadishu. Instead, they could have a role in dealing with some of the small conflicts

- 4 -

which had begun to flare up outside Mogadishu. U.S. forces, by virtue of their presence alone, without engaging in combat operations, would have a "calming effect." Senator Nunn agreed with this point, adding that this was a sensible use of U.S. forces while they still remained in Somalia.

Drafted:H:RBradtke
10/22/91 ext. 71050
HFRONT# 628

Cleared:Amb. Oakley

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

07-Oct-1993 11:22 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jeremy D. Rosner (ROSNER)

FROM: Sean J. Darragh
(DARRAGH)

SUBJECT: CONVERSTAION WITH GENERAL GARRISON THE RANGER COMMAN

ROSNER,

THE INTELLIGENCE FOR THE OPERATION WAS GOOD. THE EXECUTION OF THE ASSAULT WENT FLAWLESSLY. IT TOOK LESS THAN 10 MINUTES. THE DETAINEES WERE SHUFFLED AWAY BY ONE GROUP OF RANGERS AND THE SECOND GROUP WERE ALERTED TO THE HELICOPTER CRASH AND DEPLOYED TO GET THE SURVIVORS AND BRING BACK THE DEAD. THEY HAD TO FIGHT THERE WAY TO THE AIRCRAFT SITE AND A SIZEABLE NUMBER OF THE RANGERS WERE WOUNDED IN THEIR MOVEMENT TO THE DOWNED AIRCRAFT. THEY HAD TO FIGHT THERE WAY THROUGH TO GET THERE. (THE AIRCRAFT HAD LANDED IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS AREA OF MOGADISHU.) THEY GOT THERE AND IMMEDIATELY SET UP A PERIMETER. THEY PULLED SEVERAL SURVIVORS OUT OF THE AIRCRAFT AND ALL BUT ONE OF THE DEAD. HOWEVER, THERE WAS A DEAD PILOT STUCK IN THE TWISTED REMAINS OF THE AIRCRAFT THAT THEY COULDN'T DISLODGE. THEY REFUSED TO LEAVE HIS BODY BEHIND. THEY STRUGGLED TO GET HIM OUT. BUT THERE EFFORTS TO FREE HIS BODY TOOK A GREAT DEAL OF TIME. THEY HAD SEEN WHAT THE SOMALIS HAD DONE TO OTHER BODIES THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY COME INTO THEIR HANDS AND WERE DETERMINED NOT TO LET THEM GET ANOTHER DEAD SOLDIER TO EXPLOIT. BY THE TIME THEY FREED HIS BODY THEY WERE COMPLETELY SURROUNDED. THEY THEN MAINTAINED THEIR PERIMETER AND WAITED FOR REINFORCEMENTS.

THAT IT.

file Somalia

File Somalia

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

31-Aug-1993 21:09 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Jeremy D. Rosner
(ROSNER)

SUBJECT: Congressional strategy re: Somalia

For use at the C-A-L lunch and for broader discussion, following are elements of a congressional strategy for defeating amendments requiring withdrawal from Somalia. This is based on discussions with State/H and Dick Clarke:

1. Democratic leadership. We should tell leadership in both chambers this is an important vote for us. Leadership support was essential for the Somalia resolution vote in the House, which essentially became a party-line vote. We need to have this whipped by leadership while avoiding any appearance that we want this to be partisan. Our meeting Tuesday with Howard Paster has helped establish this as a White House priority, which will be essential to motivate the leadership.

2. Prevent this from becoming a Republican cause. Somalia has already taken on some partisan overtones. Sen. Dole's most recent letter, urging US disengagement from Somalia, is the newest evidence. We should do everything we can to stop this from becoming a GOP cause. State has already begun discussions with House Republican leadership staff on this. We need to extend that process: direct conversations with moderate GOP figures, e.g., Michel; Kassebaum, Jeffords, etc.

3. Identify leading advocates. We need to develop a few people in each chamber who are willing to be the lead advocates for the Administration's Somalia policy. Initial candidates are Hamilton, Johnston, Payne, Hastings in the House; Pell, Simon, Lieberman in the Senate. We need to help these and other advocates develop the best case possible.

4. Congressional Black Caucus. The CBC has generally been supportive of our role in Somalia. We need to make it clear that we need them to help carry this fight.

5. Pentagon support. Sec. Aspin's speech last week was a significant step toward proving that there is Pentagon support for this mission. Howard Paster has suggested a letter from Sec. Aspin to all Members, within the context of an amendment to the DoD authorization bill, reiterating his primary points from the speech. Calls from other key DoD

officials to key Members will also help. It will be important to see if DoD efforts can enlsh support or at least quiet opposition from Rep. Murtha.

6. Sen. Byrd. On the Senate side, special attention to Sen. Byrd is warranted. As you know, he is very concerned about peacekeeping in general and Somalia in particular, and it may be necessary to provide some general assurances to him on both in order to get his support. In particular, he is looking for a greater up-front role for Congress in future peacekeeping missions with regard to both authorization and funding.

7. Op-eds. We should continue efforts to promote supportive op-eds by influential foreign policy thinkers. These can carry some weight in the debate.

8. Ordinary mechanics. We should proceed with other typical steps: a Statement of Administration Policy; letters to Members from Lake, Christopher, etc.; "Dear Colleague" letters from key Members; talking points drafted by the Administration to be distributed to leadership and others; etc.

9. UN steps. We should be aware that certain actions in Somalia or regarding Somalia likely would decrease support for such amendments: e.g., announcement of a peace conference.

Finally, we need to bear in mind that information is still fairly sketchy as to what amendments we will face in both the Hosue and Senate. The NSC, State and DoD Legislative Affairs offices will continue efforts to determine the likely wording and timing of such amendments.

Distribution:

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File Somalia

Draft Media Strategy on Somalia

Any media strategy on Somalia must take into account the publicity which will be generated by congressional activity upon their return to Washington on September 7. With floor consideration of the DoD Authorization bills and Senate committee consideration of the foreign aid authorization and appropriation bills, there will be an opportunity for some members of Congress to call for the reduction or withdrawal of troops from Somalia.

Week of August 30

- * Talking points on U.S. involvement in Somalia should be drafted and cleared by State, NSC and Defense.
- * A series of Op Ed pieces should be drafted for placement in the New York Times, the Washington Post and the LA Times. Aspin should author the lead piece in the New York Times.
- * A one or two page handout should be drafted which details the chronology of events in Somalia and the accomplishments to date. This paper should remind the media that six months ago, there was a severe famine in Somalia, caused by people such as Aideed. It should be for the consumption of both the media and Congress.
- * H is currently working to identify which members of Congress are supportive of U.S. participation in Somalia in order to enlist their help on the floor. This week, we should contact their press secretaries and ask if they are willing to do interviews on the subject next week. State PA and NSC should work to identify which media outlets we would like Congressional leaders to cover.

Labor Day Weekend

This is a good weekend to blitz the Sunday TV shows. The pundits have very little to talk about, except to speculate on the health care plan and Bosnia.

- * Christopher will appear on C-Span's Sunday Journal.
- * Aspin should appear on Brinkley or Meet the Press.
- * Lake should appear on Face the Nation.
- * Ambassador Moose should appear on CNN's Newsmakers Saturday or Sunday.

Week of September 7, 1993

Congress will be back in session. We need blanket coverage of the news media in the next week, if we want to make certain that the message gets out.

- * Op Eds authored by Aspin, Lake, Christopher and Albright should appear on successive days in the Washington Post, the New York Times, the LA Times, USA Today and the Boston Globe.
- * Christopher, Aspin and Lake should grant interviews to MacNeil-Lehrer, CNN's Prime Time and the morning shows.
- * Christopher, Aspin and Lake should split up the leading newspaper columnists and grant them interviews, including, but not limited to, Anthony Lewis, Charles Krauthammer, and Jim Hoagland.
- * Christopher, Aspin and Lake should sit down with key magazine journalists from Time, Newsweek, US News, the New Republic, and the Economist. Perhaps Aspin should author an Op Ed (something like the My Turn column) for Newsweek.
- * Christopher should sit down with editorial writers and foreign editors from the Washington Post and the New York Times.
- * Ambassador Moose should grant interviews to key State Department reporters concerning Somalia. He should talk to the smaller and regional newspapers, such as the Chicago Tribune, the Washington Times, Knight Ridder and the Baltimore Sun.
- * Congressional leaders who support our policy on Somalia should appear on CNN's Inside Politics, NPR, Larry King Live, Charlie Rose etc. State PA and the NSC should set up these interviews for them.
- * ^{+ thinkers} On September 9, Ambassador Albright will be back from vacation. To the extent she is able, she should grant interviews to CNN and other media outlets.

Comment on Ranger Casualties in Somalia

NOT used

File Somalia

I am outraged at the abusive treatment that Aideed's loyalists exhibited toward American detainees and to the bodies of those Americans killed in yesterday's fighting in Somalia.

I want to emphasize that we will hold any persons who detain American military personnel responsible for their proper treatment, and we will respond forcefully if any harm comes to those who have been detained.

I deeply regret the high number of American casualties and loss of life in yesterday's operations in Somalia; my condolences go out to the families of all those killed or wounded.

One reason for the high casualties in yesterday's operation in Somalia was the heroic ethic of the Army Rangers -- the special forces involved in the mission. The Ranger creed reads:

"Surrender is not a Ranger word. I will never leave a fallen comrade to fall into the hands of the enemy and under no circumstances will I ever embarrass my country."

During the mission, after the capture of some 20 of Aideed's lieutenants and supporters, one Blackhawk helicopter was downed by Aideed's forces. The remaining forces likely could have escaped to safety. Instead, the Rangers converged on the crash site to look for survivors and to retrieve their fallen comrades. Seventy-five Rangers formed a perimeter around the aircraft to ensure the site would not be overrun. They found several dead crew members, several terminally wounded, and one who appeared to

have a chance but was stuck in the twisted remains of the aircraft. They found they couldn't dislodge him as he lay dying, but refused to leave him behind. They stayed with him for six hours under heavy fire to wait for reinforcements.

Most of yesterday's Ranger casualties occurred during this rescue and retrieval engagement. The Rangers and those who supported them lived up to their creed. Their heroism honors their country; their sacrifice will not be forgotten.

TALKING POINTS FOR CONGRESSIONAL MEETING ON SOMALIA

10/7

File

File: Somalia

- Thank you for joining me this morning.
- Like all of you, I was angered and disgusted by the scenes from Mogadishu on Sunday and by the attack on our men yesterday.
- I intend to do a number of things in the wake of those events, which I will detail here for you.
- But let me say at the outset: one thing I am not going to do is to cut and run. We have people all over the world doing important tasks in dangerous places.
- I am not going to do anything that will convince our potential enemies that they can get us to change our policies by killing our people. If they think that, it will be open season on Americans, not just for now but in the future.
- And I am not going to act in a way that irresponsibly endangers the great humanitarian success our forces achieved in Somalia over the past year.
- I know the American people are concerned. I know many want us out tomorrow. But I am going to ask for your support so that we can end our involvement in Somalia in a way that reflects our responsibilities and our leadership role in the world.

THE U.S. MISSION IN SOMALIA

- I will get back to that thought in a minute. First, let me lay out what our policy has been and is in Somalia.
- Let me be very clear. The United States went to Somalia to help establish a secure environment in which the UN and relief workers could alleviate famine and anarchy. That remains our mission today.
- Remember how bad it was when President Bush went in ten months ago. Over 350,000 people had died. More than twice that number were on the verge of dying.
- We can be very proud that we stopped that. And we should do all that we reasonably can to insure it does not happen again when we leave.
- It is also true that we cannot stay forever; and I am committed to having our forces leave by a date certain, which I will explain.
- The U.S. mission in Somalia is not nation-building or creating a Jeffersonian democracy there. Our initial mission was security, our mission has remained one of security, and our mission will continue to be one of security.

- In most of the country, we have achieved that mission and turned over vast areas to other nations' troops. In most of the country, people are no longer hungry; there is peace; crops have been harvested; local governments are functioning again; and life is returning to normal.
- In one area of Mogadishu, where the U.S. and UN headquarters are, where the port and airport are, where the TV cameras have been, one critical faction is engaged in a violent attempt to prevent us from creating that secure environment.
- It is the same faction that was responsible for much of last year's problems, including not allowing relief supplies to leave the port when people were dying all around the country. It is the same faction that broke the cease-fire last June when they killed two dozen Pakistanis in one incident.
- Our mission has remained the same. But their breaking the cease-fire in June did change things. Because we were then operating in a hostile environment.
- Clearly, that environment has become more hostile in recent weeks.

MILITARY STEPS

- But we must and will not run away. We must do what we said we would do. We must do our best to finish our mission of security. When we leave, we must leave the UN and the Somalis a reasonable chance to prevent a return of the chaos and starvation we came to help eliminate.
- And while we finish that job, we must assure that we have the right forces there to accomplish it with the least risk to our own people.
- Therefore, I am taking steps to ensure that our people there are well protected as long as they are there.
- In addition to the steps Secretary Aspin announced earlier this week, I have ordered 1700 additional combat personnel with about 80 additional armored vehicles to be dispatched to protect our people.
- I have also ordered a helicopter carrier task force and amphibious ready groups of about 3600 Marine combat personnel to sail and stand by off shore to provide additional protection.
- Secretary Aspin will brief you later on the elements of that enhancement.

THE MISSING PERSONNEL

- We also have sent messages through a variety of channels to those who may be holding American soldiers making clear that

I hold them personally accountable for the well being of any Americans they are holding.

- If the opportunity arises -- and I will ask you not to repeat this outside of this room -- we will get them back through other means. We have our best military assets and our intelligence people hard at work on this.
- But we must also not send a signal in what we say that our missing are hostages, which would make their release less likely.

POLITICAL STEPS

- Now let me return to our mission in Somalia. While we are taking military steps to help the UN create a secure environment, and to protect our own people, ultimately this is not a military problem.
- Our purpose is humanitarian. And restoring a secure environment requires political steps by the Somali people.
- The UN, frankly, has been slow to do some of the political work necessary. They are now energized, dispatching their senior people to the region to accelerate a political solution.
- We also are in touch with the leaders of the nations of the region and they have offered to lead an effort to achieve a political solution.
- Today, I am sending Ambassador Bob Oakley, who served the last two administrations in Somalia, to return to the region to further this process.
- We are not going to dictate how the Africans and the Somalis achieve this political solution and we are not going to stand in the way of any solution they achieve.

TIMETABLE

- I said earlier that we will not stay there forever and that we will leave by a date certain.
- Some want that date certain to be tomorrow. But that simply cannot be. It should not be.
- If we were to leave tomorrow, it is a virtual certainty that the UN effort would collapse. Chaos almost certainly would return; the relief effort would end; starvation would return, and we would be leaving live Americans behind. We would be casting doubt on the value of America's commitments and the strength of America's leadership, and we would be endangering American troops and civilians all over the world.
- I am determined that we do our reasonable best to meet our commitments to the UN, to the thirty nations that we asked

to join us there and who have done so, to the vast majority of the Somali people who have worked with us, and to the thousands of Americans who have worked so hard to do that humanitarian mission there.

- But our commitment cannot be unlimited. My military and diplomatic advisers have concluded that by March 31, 1994, all of our forces, with the possible exception of a few hundred support personnel will be out of Somalia. We can and will have given others working with the UN, and the Somali people, a full chance.
- This is the reasonable but finite period that maximizes the chance that Somalia does not return to chaos when we leave: time to maintain the logistical support the UN needs as we transfer those functions to civilian contractors and others; to turn our security role over to other capable troops; to get the political process back on track.
- And understand: the vast majority of Somalis support the UN mission. Although you did not see it on TV, some fifteen thousand of them rallied two days ago to express their condolences for the deaths of our troops. The leaders of all of the clans except Aideed's spoke and asked us to stay. Many of the people in that rally wouldn't be alive today if it hadn't been for our leadership.
- We can remain true to them -- more importantly, we can preserve the heroic mission we accomplished there -- if we leave Somalia having made our best effort to prevent a return of the anarchy and starvation we went there to prevent.

A NEW CHALLENGE; AN OLD REQUIREMENT OF LEADERSHIP

- All of us understand that this mission in Somalia broke new ground. It is a different kind of military operation. We have all learned from it. But even in a new era and in a new kind of operation, we cannot forget some old truths about our role in the world.
- We are the most powerful nation on earth. We are the leader and the hope of freedom. We simply do not cut and run once we make a commitment. We do not act in a way that virtually guarantees a humanitarian disaster. We do not act in a way that invites attacks on Americans in every corner of the world.
- We have huge responsibilities around the world. And let me tell you, the whole world is watching. Believe me, we will live to regret it if they see us run.
- I understand how angry the public is at what they saw, as we are. I understand they want someone to explain what is happening in Somalia and why we still are there. I plan on talking about this later this morning. I will make the case to the American public.

-- But I also need your help. This is not a time for Americans to divide or run. This is a time for us to stand together. I have heard the call for us to get out of Somalia. I hope you will heed my call for us to do it the right way.

September 11, 2006

SECRET

By KDE NARA Date 01/17/17
2012-0689-P Talking Points for Congress

--As you know I have spent a lot of time on our policy toward Somalia, including several meetings these last two days with our senior diplomatic and military officials.

--I was horrified and disgusted by the scenes from Mogadishu on Sunday and I intend to do a number of things in the wake of those events, which I will detail here for you.

--But one thing I am not going to do is to cut and run. We have people all over the world doing important tasks in dangerous places.

--I am not going to do anything that will convince our potential enemies that they can get us to change our policies by killing our people. If they think that, it will be open season on Americans.

THE US MISSION IN SOMALIA

--I will get back to that thought in a minute. First, let me lay out what our policy has been and is in Somalia.

--There has been a lot of talk about a lack of clarity. I think we have been perfectly clear. The American mission, not the UN's, the American mission in Somalia has been and is to assist in establishing a secure environment in which the UN can then alleviate famine and anarchy.

--Remember how bad it was when President Bush went in ten months ago. Almost all of you supported that decision. Over 350,000 people had died and more than twice that number were at risk.

--We can be very proud that we stopped that. We should do all that we reasonably can to insure it does not happen again when we leave. But we also have to leave, and we will by a date certain, which I will explain.

--Our mission is not nation-building or creating a Jeffersonian democracy. Those are intentional distortions. Our mission is creating a secure environment for the UN to alleviate famine and anarchy.

--In most of the country, we have done that and turned over vast areas to other nations' troops.

--In one area of Mogadishu, where the US and UN headquarters are, the port and airport are, the TV cameras are, one faction is engaged in a violent attempt to prevent us from creating that secure environment.

--That faction was responsible for much of last year's problems. That faction broke the cease-fire last June when they killed two dozen Pakistani peace-makers in one incident.

--They changed the mission. Because then we were operating in a hostile environment.

MILITARY STEPS

--And it has become more hostile in recent weeks.

--Therefore I have taken steps and will now take further steps to insure that our people there are very well protected as long as they are there.

--In addition to the steps Secretary Aspin announced earlier this week, I have ordered ---- additional Army personnel with additional armored vehicles to be dispatched to protect our people.

--I have also ordered a Marine helicopter carrier task force and amphibious ready group to sail and stand by off shore to provide additional protection.

THE MISSING PERSONNEL

--I have sent messages through a variety of channels to those who may be holding American soldiers that I hold them personally accountable for their well being.

--If the opportunity arises -- and I do not want to hear this repeated outside of this room -- we will get them back through direct military means.

--We have our best military assets and our intelligence people hard at work on this.

--I do not want to send the wrong message to those who may hold them, but I will get those men back politically or militarily if it is at all possible.

POLITICAL STEPS

--But let me be clear about our mission in Somalia. While we are taking military steps, it is not fundamentally a military problem.

--Our purpose is humanitarian. We want to restore conditions of peace and order.

--That can best be done politically.

--The UN, frankly, has been slow to do some of the political work necessary. They are now energized, dispatching their senior people to the region to accelerate a political solution.

--I have also been in touch with the leaders of the nations of the region and they have offered to lead an effort to achieve a political solution.

--Today, I am sending Amb. Bob Oakley who served the last two administrations in Somalia, to the region to further this process.

--We are not going to dictate how the Africans and the Somalis achieve this political solution and we are not going to stand in the way of any solution they achieve. We are going to depersonalize the issue.

TIMETABLE

--I said earlier that we will not stay there forever to achieve the political solution and that we will leave by a date certain.

--Some of you want that date certain to be tomorrow. Its not going to be. It cannot be.

--We are going to meet our commitments to the UN, to the thirty nations that we asked to join us there and who have done so, to the vast majority of the Somalis people who have worked with us, and to the thousands of Americans who have worked so hard to do that humanitarian mission there.

--The vast majority of Somalis do support the UN mission. Although you did not see it on TV, thousands of them rallied two days ago to express their condolences for the deaths of our troops. The leader of all of the clans except Aideed's spoke and asked us to stay.

--We will not run away. We will do what we said we would do.

--We will provide the logistical support for the UN.

--We will also continue the reduction of US forces. I have already withdrawn 25,000 US troops. Despite the need for a slight increase to protect ourselves in the newly intense environment, we will stay on the planned downward slope of transitioning our roles to others.

--We will transition our logistical units to civilian contract support.

--Other countries will assume the role of our Quick Reaction Force that is there to assist other countries' units that get in trouble.

--And we will finish those transitions ahead of schedule. (As we have briefed the Congress, we had planned to keep some logistical forces there throughout next year.)

--Those transitions will be completed by 31 March, after which there will be no US military unit in Somalia.

--By then we will either have a political outcome in Somalia that has created a benign environment that the other UN forces can handle, or we can rightly say that there is unlikely to be one.

--Either the Somali people, with our help and the UN's and the African leaders assistance, can solve their problem by then or it is beyond the reasonable capability of us all to solve. We would have done our best and met our commitments.

REQUIREMENTS OF LEADERSHIP

--I said at the outset that I am not going to cut and run because we have been bloodied by some armed gang.

--Nor am I going to persist beyond reason.

--If we were to leave precipitously, not only would it become open season on Americans around the world as I said earlier, but we would be insuring that all that we have achieved in Somalia would collapse.

--The UN cannot now do the logistics role without us. We had said we would do it.

--Other nations cannot immediately assume the Quick Reaction Force role. In fact, if we cut and run, a score of other nations will beat us to the door.

--Either we create by March a political and military situation that the other troop contributing nations can handle without us, or the UN should and will reduce its goals and forces there.

--But not in a panic. Not without having done what we said we would do, trying through reasonable political and military efforts to create a secure environment.

--We have huge responsibilities around the world and let me tell you, as they said at the Chicago Convention in 1968, the whole world is watching. And believe me we will live to regret it if they see us run.

--We have responsibilities and we are going to ask flexibly, but responsibly.

--I ask for your support on this, but as the person ultimately responsible for our foreign policy and as commander in chief of our forces, I intend to do this the right way.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. note	Handwritten notes from meeting on Somalia (9 pages)	10/07/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Legislative Affairs (Rosner, Jeremy)
OA/Box Number: 4

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia/UNOSOM [United Nations Operations in Somalia]/War Powers [2]

2012-0659-F
kc4158

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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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]

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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]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

7660
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 4, 1993

file: peacekeeping

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: JEREMY ROSNER

SUBJECT: Peacekeeping: Section 403 and other matters

I have suggested that DoD and State need to give more urgent and higher level attention to building congressional support for our proposed peacekeeping changes.

One point in particular will require your attention very soon: revision and extension of Title 10, Section 403 -- the one-year authority created for FY 93, at the suggestion of Sens. Simon and Levin, to enable the transfer of \$300 million from DoD into peacekeeping. The text of Section 403 is at Tab I.

As you will recall, this provision was the key to the second part of the short-term solution for funding peacekeeping that the President approved (step one is paying off our arrearages once FY 94 funds become available this month; step two is using an extended Section 403; step three is a supplemental).

Section 403 was extended in the Senate's FY 94 Defense Authorization bill (Tab II), but not in the House bill. The conference committee may convene as soon as late this week. While the conference will continue for many weeks, it is important to resolve this as early as possible.

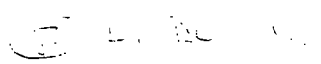
Here are the issues:

1. Making Section 403 usable. There is evidence Section 403 was written so that it would not be usable -- that its true intent was to prevent a stronger amendment that might really enable transfer of DoD funds to peacekeeping. For example, subsection (c)(2) states that such funds can be used only to cover "unexpected and urgent" costs. Particularly troubling for our immediate purposes, subsection (c)(3) states that these funds can be transferred only to the extent our bills "exceed the amount that the President requests" for peacekeeping. Since the President's FY 94 budget request of \$620 million far exceeds the appropriated amount of \$420 million, we would not be able to exercise Section 403 in full until we had run up bills of \$300 million above \$620 million -- and by then we would be over \$500 million in arrears.

There is not yet agreement between State and DoD about what changes the Administration should seek in the substance of Section 403. We hope to have that resolved this week.

Sen. Nunn, and perhaps others, will be very resistant to amend Sec. 403, since they fully understand that the difficult provisions are what render Sec. 403 virtually useless. Once there is agreement on what changes to seek, Sec. Aspin will need to weigh in hard with Sen. Nunn, and perhaps others, to get them to concur with the changes. Before agreeing, Nunn et al. may want to know what our overall plan on peacekeeping is, in which case Sec. Aspin will need to brief them on our plans.

2. Expiration date. The Senate bill extends Section 403 through the end of FY 94. DoD now argues it should only be extended through December 31, 1993. I am told Sec. Aspin believes this is consistent with the deal worked out at your C-A-L lunch several weeks ago, when all present agreed we would seek to exercise an extended Sec. 403 by about the first of the calendar year. Many in the Pentagon would also prefer an earlier expiration date so that the transfer does not come at the end of the fiscal year, when it is harder to find offsets. State and OMB argue that the expiration date should be September 30, 1994. Although we want to respect the Pentagon's timing concerns, we do not want to constrain the President's options unduly with regard to timing; it may be possible to work out a viable compromise on this issue.
3. General support for extending Sec. 403. It will require high-level pressure from the Administration, not only to secure the changes to Sec. 403 described in #1 above, but also to get its extension included in the DoD bill. Last year, Sec. 403 was seen as unusable; this year, it's clear we **intend** to use it. Thus, critics of peacekeeping will be even more resistant to the provision this year. Ultimately, getting Sec. 403 not only changed but extended and included in the bill will require that Sec. Aspin and perhaps a high-level JCS official push hard with Nunn, Dellums and perhaps others.

Concurrences by:  Dick Clarke, Bob Bell

Attachments

Tab I Section 403

Tab II Sec. 1041 of the Senate FY 94 DoD Authorization Bill

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(2) Supplies transported under this section may not be distributed, directly or indirectly, to any individual, group, or organization engaged in a military or paramilitary activity.

(d) Not later than July 31 each year, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a report identifying the origin, contents, destination, and disposition of all supplies transported under this section during the 12-month period ending on the preceding June 30."

(Added Pub.L. 100-180, Div. A, Title III, § 332(a), Dec. 4, 1987, 101 Stat. 1079, and amended Pub.L. 101-510, Div. A, Title XIII, § 1311(2), Nov. 5, 1990, 104 Stat. 1669.)

HISTORICAL AND STATUTORY NOTES

Prior Provisions

A prior section 402 of this title, added Pub.L. 99-661, § 333(a)(1), Nov. 14, 1986, 100 Stat. 3858, related to the approval of the Secretary of State prior to extension of humanitarian and civic assistance to a foreign country, and such section 402 was redesignated as section 401(b) of this title.

1990 Amendment

Subsec. (d). Pub.L. 101-510, § 1311(2), substituted provisions requiring report not later than July 31 each year for provisions requiring report at end of each six-month period, and substituted provisions relating to disposition of supplies transported during 12-month period ending on June 31 for provisions relating to disposition of supplies transported during six-month period.

First Report Deadline

Section 332(d) of Pub.L. 100-180, provided that: "The first report under section 402(d) of title 10, United States Code, as added by subsection (a) [this section], shall be submitted not more than six months after the date on which the most recent report was submitted under section 1540(e) of the Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1985 (Public Law 98-525; 98 Stat. 2638)."

Legislative History

For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 100-180, see 1987 U.S. Code Cong. and Adm. News, p. 1018. See, also, Pub.L. 101-510, 1990 U.S. Code Cong. and Adm. News, p. 2931.

§ 403. International peacekeeping activities

(a) Authority.—To the extent provided in defense authorization Acts and appropriations Acts, the Secretary of Defense may furnish assistance in support of international peacekeeping activities of the United Nations or any regional organization of which the United States is a member.

(b) Forms of assistance.—Assistance provided under subsection (a) may include funds, supplies, services, and equipment. Any funds so provided shall be derived from amounts available to the Department of Defense for the fiscal year for which the assistance is provided.

(c) Limitations related to availability of State Department funds.—Funds may be provided as assistance pursuant to subsection (a) for a fiscal year—

(1) only if funds available to the Department of State for that fiscal year for contributions for international peacekeeping activities are insufficient or otherwise unavailable to meet the United States' fair share of costs for international peacekeeping activities, as determined by the President; and

(2) only to the extent that such funds are required to meet unexpected and urgent requirements; and

(3) only to the extent that the United States' fair share of such costs exceeds the amount that the President requests Congress to appropriate for the Department of State for such fiscal year for international peacekeeping activities.

(d) Consultation.—The Secretary of Defense shall consult with the Secretary of State before furnishing any assistance pursuant to subsection (a).

(e) Determinations required.—No assistance may be furnished pursuant to subsection (a) unless the Secretary of Defense certifies to Congress that the provision of such assistance will not adversely affect the military preparedness of the United States.

(f) Advance notice to Congress.—Not less than 30 days before obligating any funds for purposes of subsection (a), the Secretary of Defense shall transmit to Congress a report on the proposed obligation. The report shall—

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(2) specify the activities forms of assistance for which the Secretary of
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(3) include the certification required by subsection (e).

(g) **Definition.**—In this section, the term “defense authorization Act” means an Act that authorizes appropriations for one or more fiscal years for military activities of the Department of Defense, including the activities described in paragraph (7) of section 114(a) of this title.

(h) **Termination.**—The authority of the Secretary of Defense to furnish assistance under subsection (a) shall expire on September 30, 1993.

(Added Pub.L. 102-484, Div. A, Title XIII, § 1342(c)(1), Oct. 23, 1992, 106 Stat. 2557.)

HISTORICAL AND STATUTORY NOTES

Prior Provisions

A prior section 403 of this title, added Pub.L. 99-661, § 333(a)(1), Nov. 14, 1986, 100 Stat. 3858, related to the payment of expenses incurred as a result of providing humanitarian and civic assistance, and such section 403 was redesignated as section 401(c) of this title.

Support for Peacekeeping Activities

Section 1342(a), (b) of Pub.L. 102-484 provided that:

“(a) **Findings.**—The Congress makes the following findings:

“(1) International peacekeeping activities contribute to the national interests of the United States in maintaining global stability and order.

“(2) International peacekeeping activities take many forms and include observer missions, ceasefire monitoring, human rights monitoring, refugee and humanitarian assistance, monitoring and conducting elections, monitoring of police in the demobilization of former combatants, and reforming judicial and other civil and administrative systems of government.

“(3) International peacekeeping activities traditionally involve the presence of military troops, police forces, and, in recent years, civilian experts in transportation, logistics, medicine, electoral systems, human rights, land tenure, other economic and social issues, and other areas of expertise.

“(4) International peacekeeping activities serve both the foreign policy interests and defense policy interests of the United States.

“(5) The normal budget process of authorizing and appropriating funds a year in advance and reprogramming such funds is insufficient to satisfy the need for funds for peacekeeping efforts arising from an unanticipated crisis.

“(6) Greater flexibility is needed to the timely availability of funding to provide for peacekeeping activities.

“(b) **Authorized support for** 1993.—(1) Subject to paragraph (2), the Secretary may provide assistance for international peacekeeping activities during fiscal year 1993 in an amount not to exceed \$300,000,000 in accordance with section 403 of title 10, United States Code [this section], as added by subsection (c). Notwithstanding subsection (b) of that section, the assistance so provided may be derived from appropriations to the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1993 for operation and maintenance of from balances in working capital accounts.

“(2) No amount may be obligated pursuant to paragraph (1) unless the expenditure of such amount has been determined by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to be counted against the defense category of the discretionary spending limits for fiscal year 1993 as defined in section 601(a)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 [section 665(a)(2) of Title 2, The Congress] for purposes of part C of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 [section 900 et seq. of Title 2].

Legislative History

For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 102-484, see 1992 U.S. Code Cong. and Admin. News, p. 1636.

[§ 404. Redesignated § 401(d)]

[§ 405. Redesignated § 401(e)]

[§ 406. Redesignated § 401(f)]

SUBCHAPTER II—CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION

Sec.

410. Civil-Military Cooperative Action Program.

1 **Subtitle E—International**
2 **Peacekeeping Activities**

3 **SEC. 1041. GENERAL AUTHORIZATION OF SUPPORT FOR**
4 **INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES.**

5 (a) **AUTHORIZED SUPPORT FOR FISCAL YEAR**
6 1994.—The Secretary of Defense may provide assistance
7 for international peacekeeping activities during fiscal year
8 1994, in accordance with section 403 of title 10, United
9 States Code, in an amount not to exceed \$300,000,000.
10 Notwithstanding the second sentence of subsection (b) of
11 that section, the assistance so provided may be derived
12 from funds appropriated to the Department of Defense
13 for fiscal year 1994 for operation and maintenance or
14 from balances in working capital funds.

15 (b) **EXTENSION OF AUTHORITY.**—Section 403(h) of
16 title 10, United States Code, is amended by striking out
17 “September 30, 1993” and inserting in lieu thereof “Sep-
18 tember 30, 1994”.

19 **SEC. 1042. REPORT ON MULTINATIONAL PEACEKEEPING**
20 **AND PEACE ENFORCEMENT.**

21 (a) **REPORT REQUIRED.**—Not later than the date on
22 which the President submits to Congress the budget for
23 fiscal year 1995 under section 1105 of title 31, United
24 States Code, the President, after consultation with the
25 Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense, shall sub-

DRAFT

10/4

Somalia: Legislative Response

- David Shinn of State briefed key staff (Senate leadership staff and Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff) this morning.
- DoD legislative affairs staff is now calling the staff of all key defense legislators (Nunn, Thurmond, Dellums, Spence, Inouye, Stevens, Murtha, McDade) plus top 5 leadership to brief them on Aspin talking points.
- State/H staff is now calling the offices of their key members (Hamilton, Gilman, Pell, Helms, Leahy, McConnell, Obey, Livingston, Smith, Rogers, Hollings, Domenici) to brief on the same talking points.
- Gen. Sheehan, JCS is briefing the Senate Armed Services Committee, plus Sen. Byrd, at 5:15.
- There is a full Senate Appropriations Committee mark-up of the Defense Appropriations bill today at 4:00, but Sen. Byrd's staff assures us that Byrd will not introduce a Somalia amendment during this mark-up.
- The Vice President and other top WH officials will call: Foley, Gephardt, Michel, Bonior, Gingrich, Hoyer, Murtha; Mitchell, Dole, Byrd.
- Talking points: attached.

Talking Points: Somalia

- I am calling about the recent violence in Somalia.
- The firefight in Mogadishu over the past day has resulted in significant American casualties; we now show 12 American dead, 78 American casualties, and 6 missing. We know that at least one American is being held captive.
- The firefight followed a raid by US Rangers that seized some 20 Aided advisors. However, a US helicopter was downed during the assault, and Aided's forces attacked the Rangers guarding the crash site. During the subsequent fighting, two more US helicopters were downed; one fell into the hands of Aided supporters.
- We have made clear that we will hold anyone who detains US military personnel responsible for their proper treatment, and that we will respond forcefully if any harm comes to those who are detained.
- The Pentagon has also announced that we are sending additional re-enforcements to Somalia [see attached DoD statement].
- This is a key moment for our Somalia operation. I know there is great concern in Congress over our involvement. But the President believes it would be a mistake for Congress now to require an immediate end to our mission. Doing so would:
 - Reward Aided's forces for their lawlessness, and embolden them at a time when Americans are missing.
 - Invite a return of the anarchy and starvation that prompted our initial involvement.
 - Undermine every future US military deployment by suggesting to our adversaries that our staying power is limited to our first casualties.
- The President plans to phase out the involvement of our combat troops as quickly as we can, but it must be done in a way that protects both our troops and the gains we have already made in Somalia.
- The President is reviewing our options for drawing down the American presence; we plan to keep consulting with Congress; and we plan to keep working with the UN and the two dozen nations that have troops in Somalia in the effort to prevent the return of anarchy and famine.
- I would like your support in holding off any immediate congressional action on Somalia until after we have consulted further.



file: Somalia

May 20, 1993 (SENT)
(House)

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

(THIS STATEMENT HAS BEEN COORDINATED BY OMB WITH THE CONCERNED AGENCIES.)

S.J.Res. 45 - Authorizing the Use of U.S. Armed Forces in Somalia
(Mitchell (D) Maine and 32 others)

U.S. leadership in the humanitarian relief operations in Somalia has been the critical component of the international community's success in averting further tragedy in that war-torn country. Responsibility for the protection of humanitarian operations in Somalia has now been transferred from the U.S.-led Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to a United Nations peace-enforcement/peacekeeping operation, UNOSOM II. We welcome this transfer of responsibility to the United Nations and the broader international community.

The Administration takes great pride in the success of UNITAF and commends American troops for their performance during this humanitarian relief operation. We are confident that, under the leadership of the United Nations and with U.S. participation, UNOSOM II will accomplish its mission: assisting the Somali people in building functioning political institutions and a civil society, in addition to keeping the peace.

While we continue to believe that congressional authorization for the deployment of U.S. forces to Somalia is not necessary and would prefer that the Resolution not specify any time limit for U.S. activities in Somalia, the Administration welcomes Congressional support for U.S. activities in Somalia as expressed in S.J.Res. 45. We particularly welcome the Resolution's reference to United Nations Security Council Resolution 814 of March 26, 1993, which sets forth the U.N.'s mandate for UNOSOM II.

* * * * *



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BUREAU OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (H)

FAX

TO:

FROM:

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URGENT

FOR CLEARANCE

FYI

PER YOUR REQUEST

MESSAGE:

Here are the talking points we have
drafted for use at the HFA
meeting of the Somalia resolution.

These would be used to answer any
Qs about War Powers

Please check these

THANKS

FAX # OF SENDER (202) 647-5095

TRANSMISSION PROBLEMS CALL (202) 647-____

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

DRAFT

4/16/93

SPECIFIC AUTHORIZATION
FOR USE OF U.S. TROOPS ABROAD
(for use with Chairman Hamilton)

- o As you recall, we provided you with the views of the Administration with respect to S.J. Res. 45, adopted by the Senate on February 4, 1993, in a letter of February 17, 1993.
- o In that letter, we noted that we welcomed the Senate's support for the U.S. humanitarian effort in Somalia as expressed in the resolution.
- o We also noted, however, that we do not believe that specific statutory authorization for the deployment of U.S. forces to Somalia is necessary.
- o We have informally expressed the same views with respect to the House-version of S.J. Res.45.
- o In both houses, we are looking at how we can best work with the Committee and Congress to ensure bipartisan support for U.S. policy in Somalia.
- o We have received positive Congressional support to date for U.S. efforts in Somalia, and believe Somalia represents an opportunity for continued successful cooperation between the Administration and the Congress.
- o Given our common goals in this area, we do not believe that Somalia is the proper context to engage in discussions concerning legal differences between Congress and the Executive Branch on questions concerning the authority of each under Constitution with respect to war powers.
- o Furthermore, as you know, in the context on U.S. initiatives in Bosnia the President respond to a March 16, 1993 letter from Chairman Dellums of the House Committee on Armed Services, on the use of U.S. military forces.
- o In that letter, the President recognized

"that there have been long-standing differences between Congress and the Executive Branch on the authority of each under the Constituion with respect to war powers. It is in the national interest that our relations on this vital matter minimize unnecessary tensions between our branches while maximizing those constuctive discussions dictated by the Constitution and the public good. Clearly this is a

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

subject that deserves further serious discussion in the days ahead."

- o Accordingly, as the President further advised Chairman Dellums, he has directed the NSC, and White House Counsel to

"undertake serious review of the War Powers Resolution and related issues in consultation with the relevant agencies of the Executive Branch and key members of Congress such as yourself."

- o In view of the above, it would be premature to engage in any discussion of these legal issues. Furthermore, we believe that we can agree politically on a common course in the case of Somalia.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 21, 1993

MEMO

TO: Jeremy Rosner

FROM: Mike Chapman

SUBJECT: Somalia Talking Points

Attached are the talking points we discussed yesterday. Again, since there is nothing dramatic here, and since we have had regular contact with the Hill on this issue over the last three months, we think it would be sufficient to inform the Hill at a lower level. Otherwise, we are prepared to ask Assistant Secretary George Moose to call the Africa subcommittee chairmen and ranking Republicans (Paul Simon, Nancy Kassebaum, Harry Johnston and Dan Burton).

With respect to when these calls should begin, we need to take into account the fact that HFAC subcommittee on Africa will markup the Hamilton resolution on Somalia tomorrow. Another subcommittee and the full committee will markup next week.

Once you get DOD's talking points and merge them with State's, I will need a copy for Moose. I also need to know whom Sandy and Frank Wisner will call.

Funding for U.S. Efforts in Somalia

- The U.S. government has incurred costs for military, peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance in Somalia.
- The total expenditure for FY-93 is expected to be \$1,247.648 million. That includes projected costs of:
 - 190.00 million for humanitarian aid;
 - 295.048 million for peacekeeping activities;
 - 762.40 million for military operations.
- We also anticipate spending \$477.35 million in FY-94. The breakdown for those costs is:
 - 137.00 million for humanitarian aid;
 - 334.35 million for pecekeeping activities;
 - 6.00 million for military operations.

Drafted: AF/E:DGigliotti
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Clearances: AF/E:MLCheshes
DShinn

UNITAF/UNOSOM Transition

- We anticipate that the official transfer of authority from UNITAF to UOSOM II will occur by May 15.
- UNOSOM II troops have already assumed control of seven of the nine humanitarian relief sectors (HRS') and will replace UNITAF forces in the other two by April 26.
- There are currently 9,700 U.S. troops in Somalia. U.S. logistics support will be reduced to 2500 by May 1 and to 1400 by year's end.
- A 1300-man U.S. Quick Reaction Force (QRF) will be deployed in Somalia until August when it will be withdrawn and placed on ready status outside of the country.

Drafted:AF/E:BEThomas

04/20/93 x 7-6453 SEEALLAF 3341

Clearances:

AF/E:DShinn

IF ASKED:

Response to War Powers Concern

- As you know, the Administration welcomed the Senate's support for the U.S. humanitarian effort in Somalia as expressed in S.J. Res. 45, adopted by the Senate on February 4.
- In doing so, we also noted that we do not believe that specific statutory authorization for the deployment of U.S. forces to Somalia is necessary.
- In responding to Chairman Dellums' inquiries on the use of U.S. military forces in Bosnia, the President recognized the long-standing differences between Congress and the Executive Branch with respect to war powers and the need to minimize unnecessary tensions on this vital matter.
- The President advised Chairman Dellums that he has directed the NSC and the White House Counsel to undertake serious review of the War Powers Resolution and related issues in consultation with the relevant agencies of the Executive Branch and key members of Congress.

Drafted: L/PM:CSchwab
SEALLAF 3341
Cleared: DShinn



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/RES/814 (1993)
26 March 1993

RESOLUTION 814 (1993)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3188th meeting,
on 26 March 1993

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992, 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992 and 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992,

Bearing in mind General Assembly resolution 47/167 of 18 December 1992,

Commending the efforts of Member States acting pursuant to resolution 794 (1992) to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia,

Acknowledging the need for a prompt, smooth and phased transition from the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II),

Regretting the continuing incidents of violence in Somalia and the threat they pose to the reconciliation process,

Deploing the acts of violence against persons engaging in humanitarian efforts on behalf of the United Nations, States, and non-governmental organizations,

Noting with deep regret and concern the continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law and the general absence of the rule of law in Somalia,

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country,

Acknowledging the fundamental importance of a comprehensive and effective programme for disarming Somali parties, including movements and factions,

Noting the need for continued humanitarian relief assistance and for the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Concerned that the crippling famine and drought in Somalia, compounded by the civil strife, have caused massive destruction to the means of production and the natural and human resources of that country,

Expressing its appreciation to the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement for their cooperation with, and support of, the efforts of the United Nations in Somalia,

Further expressing its appreciation to all Member States which have made contributions to the Fund established pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 794 (1992) and to all those who have provided humanitarian assistance to Somalia,

Commending the efforts, in difficult circumstances, of the initial United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992),

Expressing its appreciation for the invaluable assistance the neighbouring countries have been providing to the international community in its efforts to restore peace and security in Somalia and to host large numbers of refugees displaced by the conflict and taking note of the difficulties caused to them due to the presence of refugees in their territories,

Convinced that the restoration of law and order throughout Somalia would contribute to humanitarian relief operations, reconciliation and political settlement, as well as to the rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy,

Convinced also of the need for broad-based consultations and deliberations to achieve reconciliation, agreement on the setting up of transitional government institutions and consensus on basic principles and steps leading to the establishment of representative democratic institutions,

Recognizing that the re-establishment of local and regional administrative institutions is essential to the restoration of domestic tranquillity,

Encouraging the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue and intensify their work at the national, regional and local levels, including and encouraging broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, to promote the process of political settlement and national reconciliation and to assist the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy,

Expressing its readiness to assist the people of Somalia, as appropriate, on a local, regional or national level, to participate in free and fair elections, with a view towards achieving and implementing a political settlement,

Welcoming the progress made at the United Nations-sponsored Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa from 4 to 15 January 1993, in particular the conclusion at that meeting of three agreements by the Somali parties, including movements and factions, and welcoming also any progress made at the Conference on National Reconciliation which began in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993,

Emphasizing the need for the Somali people, including movements and factions, to show the political will to achieve security, reconciliation and peace,

Noting the reports of States concerned of 17 December 1992 (S/24976) and 19 January 1993 (S/25126) and of the Secretary-General of 19 December 1992 (S/24992) and 26 January 1993 (S/25168) on the implementation of resolution 794 (1992),

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993 (S/25354 and Add.1 and 2),

Welcoming the intention of the Secretary-General to seek maximum economy and efficiency and to keep the size of the United Nations presence, both military and civilian, to the minimum necessary to fulfil its mandate,

Determining that the situation in Somalia continues to threaten peace and security in the region,

A

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993;
2. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for convening the Conference on National Reconciliation for Somalia in accordance with the agreements reached during the Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa in January 1993 and for the progress achieved towards political reconciliation in Somalia, and also for his efforts to ensure that, as appropriate, all Somalis, including movements, factions, community leaders, women, professionals, intellectuals, elders and other representative groups are suitably represented at such conferences;
3. Welcomes the convening of the Third United Nations Coordination Meeting for Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia in Addis Ababa from 11 to 13 March 1993 and the willingness expressed by Governments through this process to contribute to relief and rehabilitation efforts in Somalia, where and when possible;
4. Requests the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and with assistance, as appropriate, from all relevant United Nations entities, offices and specialized agencies, to provide humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national

reconciliation, in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report of 3 March 1993, including in particular:

(a) To assist in the provision of relief and in the economic rehabilitation of Somalia, based on an assessment of clear, prioritized needs, and taking into account, as appropriate, the 1993 Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for Somalia prepared by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs;

(b) To assist in the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia;

(c) To assist the people of Somalia to promote and advance political reconciliation, through broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, and the re-establishment of national and regional institutions and civil administration in the entire country;

(d) To assist in the re-establishment of Somali police, as appropriate at the local, regional or national level, to assist in the restoration and maintenance of peace, stability and law and order, including in the investigation and facilitating the prosecution of serious violations of international humanitarian law;

(e) To assist the people of Somalia in the development of a coherent and integrated programme for the removal of mines throughout Somalia;

(f) To develop appropriate public information activities in support of the United Nations activities in Somalia;

(g) To create conditions under which Somali civil society may have a role, at every level, in the process of political reconciliation and in the formulation and realization of rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes;

B

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

5. Decides to expand the size of the UNOSOM force and its mandate in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraphs 56-58 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1992, and the provisions of this resolution;

6. Authorizes the mandate for the expanded UNOSOM (UNOSOM II) for an initial period through 31 October 1993, unless previously renewed by the Security Council;

7. Emphasizes the crucial importance of disarmament and the urgent need to build on the efforts of UNITAF in accordance with paragraphs 56-59 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993;

8. Demands that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, comply fully with the commitments they have undertaken in the agreements they concluded at the Informal Preparatory Meeting on Somali Political Reconciliation in Addis Ababa, and in particular with their Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and on Modalities of Disarmament (S/25168, annex III);

9. Further demands that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, take all measures to ensure the safety of the personnel of the United Nations and its agencies as well as the staff of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations engaged in providing humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to support from within Somalia the implementation of the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992), utilizing as available and appropriate the UNOSOM II forces authorized by this resolution, and to report on this subject, with any recommendations regarding more effective measures if necessary, to the Security Council;

11. Calls upon all States, in particular neighbouring States, to cooperate in the implementation of the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992);

12. Requests the Secretary-General to provide security, as appropriate, to assist in the repatriation of refugees and the assisted resettlement of displaced persons, utilizing UNOSOM II forces, paying particular attention to those areas where major instability continues to threaten peace and security in the region;

13. Reiterates its demand that all Somali parties, including movements and factions, immediately cease and desist from all breaches of international humanitarian law and reaffirms that those responsible for such acts be held individually accountable;

14. Requests the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, to direct the Force Commander of UNOSOM II to assume responsibility for the consolidation, expansion and maintenance of a secure environment throughout Somalia, taking account of the particular circumstances in each locality, on an expedited basis in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report of 3 March 1993, and in this regard to organize a prompt, smooth and phased transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II;

C

15. Requests the Secretary-General to maintain the fund established pursuant to resolution 794 (1992) for the additional purpose of receiving contributions for maintenance of UNOSOM II forces following the departure of

UNITAF forces and for the establishment of Somali police, and calls on Member States to make contributions to this fund, in addition to their assessed contributions;

16. Expresses appreciation to the United Nations agencies, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and the ICRC for their contributions and assistance and requests the Secretary-General to ask them to continue to extend financial, material and technical support to the Somali people in all regions of the country;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to seek, as appropriate, pledges and contributions from States and others to assist in financing the rehabilitation of the political institutions and economy of Somalia;

18. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council fully informed on action taken to implement the present resolution, in particular to submit as soon as possible a report to the Council containing recommendations for establishment of Somali police forces and thereafter to report no later than every ninety days on the progress achieved in accomplishing the objectives set out in the present resolution;

19. Decides to conduct a formal review of the progress towards accomplishing the purposes of the present resolution no later than 31 October 1993;

20. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Jeremy —

Here is modified language to
which the committee will agree.

We need to run it by Sandy.

If he has no problem, we can then
tell the committee, we will
simply agree to disagree w/ their
resolution.

Don

reconciliation, in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report of 3 March 1993, including in particular:

(a) To assist in the provision of relief and in the economic rehabilitation of Somalia, based on an assessment of clear, prioritized needs, and taking into account, as appropriate, the 1993 Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for Somalia prepared by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs;

(b) To assist in the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia;

(c) To assist the people of Somalia to promote and advance political reconciliation, through broad participation by all sectors of Somali society, and the re-establishment of national and regional institutions and civil administration in the entire country;

(d) To assist in the re-establishment of Somali police, as appropriate at the local, regional or national level, to assist in the restoration and maintenance of peace, stability and law and order, including in the investigation and facilitating the prosecution of serious violations of international humanitarian law;

(e) To assist the people of Somalia in the development of a coherent and integrated programme for the removal of mines throughout Somalia;

(f) To develop appropriate public information activities in support of the United Nations activities in Somalia;

(g) To create conditions under which Somali civil society may have a role, at every level, in the process of political reconciliation and in the formulation and realization of rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes;

B

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

5. Decides to expand the size of the UNOSOM force and its mandate in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraphs 56-58 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1992, and the provisions of this resolution;

6. Authorizes the mandate for the expanded UNOSOM (UNOSOM II) for an initial period through 31 October 1993, unless previously renewed by the Security Council;

7. Emphasizes the crucial importance of disarmament and the urgent need to build on the efforts of UNITAF in accordance with paragraphs 56-59 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 March 1993;

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter provides the Administration's views on the *April 15, 1993,* House version of S.J.Res. 45, which the House Committee on Foreign Affairs (HFAC) may consider in the near future. The Administration welcomes Congressional support for U.S. activities in Somalia expressed in the House version. However, we continue to believe that specific statutory authority for the deployment of U.S. forces to Somalia is not necessary. As you know, the Administration held a similar view on S.J.Res. 45, adopted by the Senate on February 4, 1993.

The current HFAC version is preferable to Senate's version in several respects, particularly insofar as it also extends its authorization to UNSC Resolution 814 of March 26, 1993, which sets forth the U.N. mandate for UNOSOM II. While we would prefer that the authorization provided by S.J.Res. 45 not be limited to twelve months, we are pleased that the resolution indicates that Congress would not be opposed to the continued presence of U.S. forces in Somalia if needed for the success of the U.N. operation.

We will continue to work with Congress to ensure bipartisan support for U.S. policy in Somalia.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Braddock
Acting Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

The Honorable
Lee H. Hamilton,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
Washington, D.C. 20503

URGENT

April 16, 1993

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

LRM #I-297

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer -

DEFENSE - Samuel T. Brick, Jr. - (703)697-1305 - 325
JUSTICE - Faith Burton - (202)514-2141 - 217
NSC - William H. Itoh - (202)395-3723 - 249

FROM: RONALD K. PETERSON (for) *Ronald K Peterson*
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

OMB CONTACT: Annette ROONEY (395-7300)
Secretary's line (for simple responses): 395-6194

SUBJECT: State Views RE: SJR 45, Authorization for Use
of United States Forces in Somalia

DEADLINE: 2:00, TODAY April 16, 1993

*
COMMENTS: The State Department advises that the House Foreign
Affairs Subcommittee will be marking up SJR 45 on
Tuesday. The Committee has requested that State provide
the Administration's views on the Subcommittee Print
TODAY.

OMB requests the views of your agency on the above subject before
advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in
accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

Please advise us if this item will affect direct spending or
receipts for purposes of the the "Pay-As-You-Go" provisions of
Title XIII of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990.

CC:

T. Davis
B. Sasser
P. DuSault
D. Gessaman
B. Damus
G. Adams
W. Dellinger
H. Paster/TThornton

M. Foley
✓

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[SUBCOMMITTEE PRINT]

APRIL 15, 1993

AMENDMENTS IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE FOR S.J. RES. 45

[Strike out the preamble. Strike out all that follows the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the text shown below in *italics*. An amendment to the title of the resolution is shown on the last page below.]

103^d CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**S. J. RES. 45**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 16, 1993

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

Authorizing the use of United States Armed Forces in
Somalia.

- 1 Whereas an estimated 300,000 Somalis reportedly have
- 2 died of hunger or as casualties of widespread violence
- 3 since the fall of Siad Barre in January 1991,
- 4 Whereas international relief agencies had been unable to
- 5 deliver adequate assistance to those most in need due

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1 to increasingly difficult and dangerous security condi-
2 tions, including pervasive banditry and looting;
3 Whereas Congress has expressed its support for a greater
4 United Nations role in addressing the political and hu-
5 manitarian situation in Somalia through Senate Reso-
6 lutions 958 and 492 and House of Representatives
7 Resolution 370;
8 Whereas the United Nations Secretary General and Unit-
9 ed States officials has concluded that massive inter-
10 vention in Somalia would be necessary to avert further
11 starvation on this scale;
12 Whereas the United Nations Security Council on Decem-
13 ber 3, 1992, enacted Resolution 704, authorizing the
14 use of "all necessary means to establish as soon as
15 possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief
16 operations in Somalia";
17 Whereas President Bush began deploying United States
18 armed forces on December 3, 1992, in response to
19 United Nations Resolution 704;
20 Whereas more than 20,000 American servicemen and
21 women are now in Somalia under Operation Restore
22 Hope and have been joined by troops from many other
23 nations;
24 Whereas President Bush has emphasized that United
25 States Armed Forces will be withdrawn and that the

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1 security mission will be assumed by the United Na-
2 tions' UNOSOM operation as soon as a "secure envi-
3 ronment" for the delivery of food has been created;
4 and

5 Whereas, on December 14, 1992, President Bush formally
6 reported to Congress on the deployment of United
7 States Armed Forces in Somalia; Now, therefore, be
8 it

9 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
10 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

11 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

12 This joint resolution may be cited as the "Authoriza-
13 tion for Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia".

14 **SEC. 2. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF UNITED STATES**
15 **ARMED FORCES.**

16 (a) **AUTHORIZATION.**—The President is authorized to
17 use United States Armed Forces pursuant to United Na-
18 tions Security Council Resolution 704 in order to imple-
19 ment the Resolution, which authorizes the use of "all nec-
20 essary means to establish as soon as possible a secure en-
21 vironment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia".

22 (b) **WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.**—
23 Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolu-
24 tion, the Congress declares that this section is intended

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1 to constitute specific statutory authorization within the
2 meaning of section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution
3 **SEC. 6. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

4 (a) **UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCES.**—It
5 is the sense of Congress that the President should consult
6 with the Secretary General of the United Nations and with
7 the other member countries of the United Nations Secu-
8 rity Council to ensure that peacekeeping forces from other
9 countries of the United Nations continue to be deployed
10 in Somalia to maintain a secure environment and to allow
11 United States Armed Forces to transfer the mission to
12 a United Nations-led force at the earliest possible date.

13 (b) **MEASURES OF SELF-PROTECTION.**—It is the
14 sense of Congress that the President should make every
15 effort to ensure that United States Armed Forces serving
16 in Somalia as part of a United Nations-led force are per-
17 mitted to take all reasonable measures to protect them-
18 selves.

19 (c) **ASSESSMENT OF COSTS.**—It is the sense of Con-
20 gress that the President should submit a report to Con-
21 gress providing an assessment of the costs of Operation
22 Restore Hope, indicating the costs assessed to the United
23 States, the United Nations, and other countries and relat-
24 ed organizations involved in the operation.

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1 SEC. 4. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

2 Not later than September 1, 1993, the Secretary of
3 State and the Secretary of Defense shall jointly submit
4 to Congress a report on the introduction and commitment
5 of United States Armed Forces into combat situations.
6 This report shall include—

7 (1) a specific review of the goals of United
8 States policy in Somalia and an outline of objective
9 criteria which will enable the United States to evaluate
10 progress when those goals are achieved;

11 (2) a review of all actions taken to ensure that
12 United States material contributions to United Na-
13 tions forces in Somalia are counted against United
14 States assessments in Somalia;

15 (3) a review of United States international in-
16 terests and their correlation to the commitment of
17 United States Armed Forces;

18 (4) a description of the factors to be used in
19 evaluating future commitments of United States
20 combat forces;

21 (5) specifically, a review of the many situations
22 in the world where there are intense humanitarian
23 needs and a means of evaluating what elements,
24 when present, would permit these situations to rise
25 to a level of importance necessary for the commit-
26 ment of United States combat forces; and

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1 (6) considerations which will affect whether
2 United States Armed Forces will be permitted to be
3 engaged as a portion of an international peacekeep-
4 ing force, including—

5 (A) United States command of United
6 States troops;

7 (B) equitable financial contributions of na-
8 tions so engaged; and

9 (C) the right of United States combat
10 forces to defend themselves throughout all levels
11 of conflict.

12 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

13 This joint resolution may be cited as the "Resolution
14 Authorizing the Use of United States Armed Forces in So-
15 malia".

16 **SEC. 2. CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS.**

17 The Congress finds the following:

18 (1) An estimated 300,000 Somalis have died as
19 a result of hunger and widespread violence since the
20 fall of Siad Barre in January 1991.

21 (2) On December 3, 1992, the United Nations
22 Security Council adopted Resolution 794 in which the
23 Security Council—

24 (A) determined that "the magnitude of the
25 human tragedy caused by the conflict in Soma-

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1 *lia, further exacerbated by the obstacles being*
2 *created to the distribution of humanitarian as-*
3 *sistance, constitutes a threat to international*
4 *peace and security", and*

5 *(B) acting under Chapter VII of the Charter*
6 *of the United Nations, authorized the use of "all*
7 *necessary means to establish as soon as possible*
8 *a secure environment for humanitarian relief op-*
9 *erations in Somalia".*

10 *(3) United States Armed Forces entered Somalia*
11 *on December 9, 1992, in response to Security Council*
12 *Resolution 794.*

13 *(4) The United Nations Secretary General con-*
14 *cluded in his report of March 3, 1993, that without*
15 *improved security throughout Somalia "the political*
16 *process cannot prosper and humanitarian relief oper-*
17 *ations will remain vulnerable to disruption".*

18 *(5) The Secretary General recommended in his*
19 *report that the United Nations Security Council*
20 *adopt a resolution effecting the transition from the*
21 *United States-led force in Somalia to a United Na-*
22 *tions-led force, with the formal date of transfer of*
23 *command to be May 1, 1998.*

24 *(6) The Secretary General's report envisioned a*
25 *United Nations-led force having a multinational mili-*

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1 tary component of 80,000 personnel, plus an addi-
2 tional 8000 personnel to provide logistic support.

3 (7) On March 26, 1993, the United Nations Se-
4 curity Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Char-
5 ter of the United Nations, adopted Resolution 814 in
6 response to the Secretary General's report. This reso-
7 lution provides for the establishment of the United
8 Nations-led force in Somalia by expanding the size
9 and mandate of the original United Nations peace-
10 keeping force in Somalia (commonly referred to as
11 "UNOSOM") in accordance with the reco-
12 mmendations contained in the report of the Sec-
13 retary General.

14 (8) United States Armed Forces will participate
15 in the United Nations-led force in Somalia as part of
16 the multinational logistic support contingent, provid-
17 ing logistical, communications, and intelligence sup-
18 port.

19 (9) In addition to logistic forces, the United
20 States will make available a battalion-sized tactical
21 quick reaction force to respond to requests for emer-
22 gency assistance from the United Nations Force Com-
23 mander in Somalia. This quick reaction force will be
24 under United States operational control.

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1 (10) The transfer of operations in Somalia from
2 the United States-led force to the United Nations-led
3 force will result in a substantial reduction in the
4 number of members of the United Armed Forces that
5 are deployed in Somalia and in the costs incurred by
6 the United States as a result of United Nations-au-
7 thorised operations in Somalia.

8 (11) The Congress should authorize any use of
9 United States Armed Forces to implement United Na-
10 tions Security Council Resolutions 794 and 814.

11 (12) By providing such an authorization, the
12 Congress will facilitate the transfer of operations in
13 Somalia from the United States-led force to the Unit-
14 ed Nations-led force.

15 (13)(A) The Congress does not anticipate that
16 United States Armed Forces will need to remain in
17 Somalia for more than 12 months after the date of
18 enactment of this joint resolution to implement Unit-
19 ed Nations Security Council Resolution 814.

20 (B) Given the importance of the mission of the
21 United Nations-led force in Somalia, however, the
22 Congress will give strong consideration to a request
23 by the President for an extension of the authorization
24 for the use of United States Armed Forces to imple-
25 ment Resolution 814 should such continued use be

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1 necessary to ensure the success of the United Nations-
2 led force in Somalia.

3 **SEC. 3. SUPPORT FOR UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS IN SOMA-**
4 **LIA.**

5 The Congress supports United Nations efforts in
6 Somalia—

7 (1) to help provide a secure environment for
8 famine relief efforts;

9 (2) to prevent a resumption of violence;

10 (3) to help restore peace, stability, and order
11 through reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruc-
12 tion of Somali society; and

13 (4) to help the people of Somalia create and
14 maintain democratic institutions for their own gov-
15 ernance.

16 **SEC. 4. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF ARMED FORCES.**

17 (a) **IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLU-**
18 **CTIONS.**—The President is authorized to use United States
19 Armed Forces to implement United Nations Security Coun-
20 cil Resolutions 796 (1992) and 814 (1993), including the
21 use of such Armed Forces—

22 (1) to carry out operations under the authoriza-
23 tion provided by United Nations Security Council
24 Resolution 796 (1992) until the transition to the
25 United Nations-led force in Somalia is completed;

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1 (2) to provide logistic and related support for the
2 United Nations-led force in Somalia under the au-
3 thorisation provided by United Nations Security
4 Council Resolution 814 (1993); and
5 (3) to serve as a tactical quick reaction force,
6 under United States operational control, to respond to
7 requests for emergency assistance from the United Na-
8 tions Force Commander in Somalia.

9 (b) **STATEMENTS OF INTENT REQUIRED BY WAR POW.**
10 **WAR RESOLUTION.**—Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the
11 War Powers Resolution, the Congress declares that sub-
12 section (a) is intended to constitute specific statutory au-
13 thorisation within the meaning of section 5(b) of the War
14 Powers Resolution to the extent that any United States
15 Armed Forces being used for the purposes described in sub-
16 section (a) are or become involved in hostilities or situations
17 where imminent hostilities is clearly indicated by the cir-
18 cumstances.

19 (c) **EXPIRATION OF AUTHORISATIONS.**—The author-
20 isations provided by subsection (a) shall expire at the ear-
21 liest of—

22 (1) the end of the 18-month period beginning on
23 the date of enactment of this joint resolution, unless
24 the Congress finds that continued participation by the
25 United States Armed Forces is necessary to ensure the

April 16, 1993 (9:33 a.m.)

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1 success of the United Nations-led force in Somalia
2 and extends the period of such authorizations; or
3 (2) the expiration of the mandate of the United
4 Nations-led force in Somalia.

5 **SEC. 6. REPORTS REGARDING USE OF UNITED STATES**
6 **ARMED FORCES.**

7 **(a) PERIODIC REPORTS.—**

8 **(1) INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED.—**The Presi-
9 dent shall submit periodic reports to the Congress
10 with respect to United States Armed Forces partici-
11 pation in and support for the United Nations-led
12 force in Somalia. Each such report shall—

13 **(A)** specify the number of members of the
14 United States Armed Forces participating in the
15 United Nations-led force in Somalia or operat-
16 ing in support of that force;

17 **(B)** specify where United States Armed
18 Forces are deployed as part of the United Na-
19 tions-led force in Somalia and where United
20 States Armed Forces are deployed that are oper-
21 ating in support of that force;

22 **(C)** specify the functions being performed by
23 United States Armed Forces participating in the
24 United Nations-led force in Somalia;

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1 (D) specify the functions of United States
2 Armed Forces operating as a tactical quick reac-
3 tion force in support of the United Nations-led
4 force in Somalia, and describe any use of United
5 States Armed Forces as a quick reaction force;

6 (E) specify the command arrangements ap-
7 plicable with respect to United States Armed
8 Forces participating in the United Nations-led
9 force in Somalia or operating in support of that
10 force; and

11 (F) specify the anticipated duration of the
12 deployment of United States Armed Forces as
13 part of the United Nations-led force in Somalia
14 or in support of that force.

15 (2) REPORTING DATES AND PERIOD COVERED BY
16 EACH REPORT.—A report pursuant to this subsection
17 shall be submitted—

18 (A) not later than July 1, 1993, covering
19 the period since March 3, 1993; and

20 (B) not later than July 1, 1994, covering
21 the period since the preceding report pursuant to
22 this subsection.

23 (3) WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REPORTING RE-
24 QUIREMENTS.—The requirements of this subsection do

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1 not supersede the requirements of section 4 of the War
2 Powers Resolution.

3 (b) REPORT ON TRANSITION TO UN-LED FORCE.—The
4 first report submitted pursuant to subsection (a) shall spec-
5 ify the number of members of the United States Armed
6 Forces, if any, remaining in Somalia as part of the United
7 States-led force in Somalia.

8 (c) AGREEMENTS WITH UNITED NATIONS.—The Presi-
9 dent shall transmit promptly to the Congress a copy of any
10 memorandum of understanding or other written agreement
11 entered into by the United States with the United Nations
12 Security Council, the Secretary General of the United Na-
13 tions (or his Special Representative), or the United Nations
14 Force Commander in Somalia—

15 (1) regarding the participation of United States
16 Armed Forces in the United Nations-led force in So-
17 malia;

18 (2) regarding United States Armed Forces oper-
19 ating as a tactical quick reaction force in support of
20 that force or otherwise in support of that force; or

21 (3) otherwise regarding the availability to the
22 United Nations Security Council of United States
23 Armed Forces, assistance, or facilities to implement
24 Security Council Resolution 794 or 814.

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1 SEC. 6. REPORTS ON COSTS OF UNITED NATIONS-AUTHOR-**2 DEED OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA.****3 (a) REQUIREMENT FOR PERIODIC REPORTS.—The**

4 President shall submit to the Congress periodic reports re-
5 garding the costs of the United States-led forces in Somalia
6 and the United Nations-led forces in Somalia.

7 (b) INFORMATION ON COSTS AND OTHER CON-
8 TRIBUTIONS.—Each report pursuant to this section shall
9 specify (to the extent such information is available to the
10 United States)—

11 (1) the amount of the incremental costs incurred
12 by the United States as the result of its participation
13 in the United States-led forces in Somalia or as the
14 result of its participation in or military operations
15 in support of the United Nations-led forces in Soma-
16 lia;

17 (2) the amount of other in-kind or financial con-
18 tributions pledged, and the amount of such con-
19 tributions made, by each participating country to-
20 ward the costs associated with the United States-led
21 forces in Somalia and the United Nations-led force in
22 Somalia, including contributions to the United Na-
23 tions Trust Fund for Somalia and excluding amounts
24 reported pursuant to paragraph (3);

25 (3) the amount assessed by the United Nations to
26 the United States and each other country for its con-

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1 tributions to the costs associated with the United Na-
2 tions-led force in Somalia;

3 (4) the amount received by the United States
4 and each other country as reimbursement from the
5 United Nations, including reimbursements from the
6 United Nations Trust Fund for Somalia, as the result
7 of its participation in the United States-led force in
8 Somalia; and

9 (5) the amount received by the United States
10 and each other country as credit against an assess-
11 ment described in paragraph (3) from the United Na-
12 tions for costs that it incurred as the result of its par-
13 ticipation in or military operations in support of the
14 United Nations-led force in Somalia.

15 (c) **DESCRIPTION OF UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO**
16 **OBTAIN EQUITABLE COST SHARING.**—Each such report
17 shall also review all actions taken by the United States to
18 have in-kind United States contributions to the United Na-
19 tions-led force in Somalia counted against the amount of
20 the United States assessed contributions to the United Na-
21 tions for peacekeeping or other military operations in So-
22 malia carried out pursuant to resolutions of the Security
23 Council.

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1 (d) **REPORTING DATES AND PERIOD COVERED BY**
2 **EACH REPORT.**—A report pursuant to this section shall be
3 submitted—

4 (1) not later than 1 month after the date of en-
5 actment of this joint resolution, covering the period
6 ending on the last day of the penultimate month pre-
7 ceding the enactment of this joint resolution; and

8 (2) not later than 12 months and 24 months
9 after that date, covering the 12-month period fol-
10 lowing the period covered by the preceding report
11 pursuant to this section and also providing cumu-
12 lative information.

13 **SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.**

14 **As used in this joint resolution—**

15 (1) the term "United Nations Force Commander
16 in Somalia" means the commander appointed by the
17 Secretary General of the United Nations to command
18 the United Nations-led force in Somalia;

19 (2) the term "United Nations-led force in Soma-
20 lia" means the expanded force (commonly referred to
21 as "UNOSOM II") authorized by paragraph 5 of
22 United Nations Security Council Resolution 814
23 (1993);

24 (3) the term "United Nations Trust Fund for So-
25 malia" means the trust fund established and main-

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- 1 tained pursuant to United Nations Security Council
- 2 Resolutions 794 and 814; and
- 3 (4) the term "United States-led force in Somalia"
- 4 means the force (commonly referred to as the
- 5 "Unified Task Force" or "UNITAF") authorized by
- 6 United Nations Security Council Resolution 794
- 7 (1992).

Amend the title of the joint resolution to read as follows: "Joint Resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia to implement United Nations Security Council Resolutions 794 (1992) and 814 (1992).".

SUBSTITUTE:

In Section 4, p. 11:

(c) EXPIRATION OF AUTHORIZATIONS -- The authorizations provided by subsection (a) shall expire --

(1) at the end of the 12-month period beginning on the date of enactment of this joint resolution, unless the Congress finds that continued participation by the U.S. Armed Forces is necessary to ensure the success of UNISOM II and extends the period of such authorization; or

(2) upon the expiration of the mandate of the United Nations-led force in Somalia,

whichever occurs first.

* * * * *

ADD:

In Findings Section:

(13) The Congress does not anticipate that the U.S. Armed Forces will need to remain in Somalia for more than 12 months. However, given the importance of the UNOSOM II mission, the Congress will give strong consideration to reauthorizing and extending the use of U.S. Armed Forces, should continued assistance from U.S. Armed Forces be necessary to ensure the success of UNOSOM II.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1858

March 26, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE
SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: JEREMY ROSNER
DON GROSS

SUBJECT: Congressional calls on Somalia, War Powers

A few recent developments that we believe warrant some congressional calls:

1. At a DoD briefing on Somalia Thursday before his Armed Services Committee, Senator Nunn expressed surprise that he and other Senators have not been consulted on the imminent U.N. Security Council resolution (it may be voted Friday) on UNOSOM II. Although that resolution will lead to participation of U.S. troops, with some U.S. forces (primarily logistics) to serve under U.N. command, there is nothing in the resolution itself that addresses these issues. Nunn also asked explicitly if the Administration intended to request Congressional authorization for U.S. participation in UNOSOM II. No one at the hearing was of sufficient stature to respond.

2. Rep. Hamilton has now completed a draft resolution on UNOSOM II (Tab A). The Senate passed a resolution on Somalia in February, S.J. 45, but it did not cover UNOSOM II. While State has been working closely with Hamilton on this, we have picked up a sense from some -- for example, Mike O'Neil in the Speaker's office -- that they are looking for a clear signal from the administration on how it views such a authorizing resolution: do we plan to oppose, ignore, or welcome it? Clearly, this is what Sen. Nunn was asking.

3. While Rep. Hamilton's resolution cites the War Powers Act, and although he has just written the President asking detailed questions concerning that Act, I do not believe anyone in the administration has told him what the President recently communicated to Rep. Dellums and others: that he has asked Lake and Nussbaum to undertake a review of the War Powers Act. To our knowledge, no one has informed Sen. Nunn or other leaders in Congress of this fact, either.

Handwritten notes:
If you agree
I'll follow-up
w/ Jeremy
(please
transmit
to Jeremy)
S.

Handwritten notes (left margin):
R/AG
I don't blame
him. I'm
mazed DOD/JCS
to not have
not talked to
him. I'll
all. Wilson
today. ALSO,
Hamilton,
Dellums
must be
consulted
on UNOSOM II
as well as
Congressional
authority issues.
I'll talk to
Nunn/Dellums
Hamilton re:
on subcommittee
plans. Will
you coord
w/ State/
Defense?
S.

Based on this, it strikes us that:

1. Sec. Aspin should call Sen. Nunn and tell him:

~~X~~ FYI: the UN Security Council is likely to vote on the UNOSOM resolution as early as Friday.

- b. We want to work closely with you and others to address the issues involved in having U.S. troops serve under UN command, as this may be an issue in future peacekeeping efforts as well. We also want to work with you and others to examine whether changes are necessary in the U.N. Participation Act.
- c. We want you to know our view on congressional authorization of UNOSOM II: we are not requesting it, but we welcome Congressional support (this implies that, on legal grounds, we believe the President is acting within his authority as Commander in Chief).
- d. We also want you to know that the President has asked Lake and Nussbaum to work with State and Defense to undertake a review of the War Powers Act, and then to work closely with you and others in Congress to see if we can arrive at better understandings on these issues.

2. Sec. Christopher should inform Rep. Hamilton of the President's direction to Lake and Nussbaum regarding War Powers.
3. If the administration is placing calls to Rep. Hamilton and Sen. Nunn on these points, it should also inform at least Rep. Dellums, Sen. Pell, their ranking counterparts, and the staff of the House and Senate leadership. I would propose that Sec. Christopher call Foreign Affairs/Relations members, Sec. Aspin call Armed Services members, and NSC Legislative Affairs call leadership staff.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize us to arrange for the calls described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Concurrences: Robert Bell, Richard Clarke

ES (10/1/84) Re (10/1/84)

*also
brief on
Nunn
L.S. plans
for participation
in UNOSOM II*

[DRAFT COMMITTEE PRINT]

MARCH 24, 1993

AMENDMENTS IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE FOR S.J. RES. 45

[Strike out the preamble. Strike out all that follows the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the text shown below in *italics*. An amendment to the title of the resolution is shown on the last page below.]

102D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 45

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 16, 1993

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

Authorizing the use of United States Armed Forces in
Somalia.

- 1 ~~Whereas~~ an estimated 300,000 Somalis reportedly have
- 2 died of hunger or as casualties of widespread violence
- 3 since the fall of Siad Barre in January 1991,
- 4 ~~Whereas~~ international relief agencies had been unable to
- 5 deliver adequate assistance to those most in need due

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(f) considerations which will affect whether United States Armed Forces will be permitted to be engaged as a portion of an international peacekeeping force, including—

(A) United States command of United States troops;

(B) equitable financial contributions of nations so engaged; and

(C) the right of United States combat forces to defend themselves throughout all levels of conflict.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This joint resolution may be cited as the "Authorization for Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia Resolution".

SEC. 2. CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS.

The Congress finds the following:

(1) An estimated 300,000 Somalis have died as a result of hunger and widespread violence since the fall of Siad Barre in January 1991.

(2) On December 3, 1992, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 794 in which the Security Council—

(A) determined that "the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Soma-

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1 lia further exacerbated by the obstacles being
2 created to the distribution of humanitarian as-
3 sistance, constitutes a threat to international
4 peace and security", and

5 (B) acting under Chapter VII of the Charter
6 of the United Nations, authorized the use of "all
7 necessary means to establish as soon as possible
8 a secure environment for humanitarian relief op-
9 erations in Somalia".

10 (3) United States Armed Forces entered Somalia
11 on December 9, 1992, in response to Security Council
12 Resolution 794.

13 (4) The United Nations Secretary General con-
14 cluded in his report of March 3, 1993, that without
15 improved security throughout Somalia "the political
16 process cannot prosper and humanitarian relief oper-
17 ations will remain vulnerable to disruption".

18 (5) The Secretary General recommended in his
19 report that the United Nations Security Council
20 adopt a resolution effecting the transition from the
21 United States-led force in Somalia to a United Na-
22 tions-led force, with the formal date of transfer of
23 command to be May 1, 1993.

24 (6) The Secretary General's report envisioned a
25 United Nations-led force having a multinational mili-

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1 tary component of 20,000 personnel, plus an addi-
2 tional 8000 personnel to provide logistic support.

3 (7) On 1993, 19, 1993, the United Nations Secu-
4 rity Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter
5 of the United Nations, adopted Resolution 777 in re-
6 sponse to the Secretary General's report. This resolu-
7 tion provides for the establishment of the United Na-
8 tions-led force in Somalia by expanding the size and
9 mandate of the original United Nations peacekeeping
10 force in Somalia (commonly referred to as
11 "UNOSOM") in accordance with the re-
12 commendations contained in the report of the Sec-
13 retary General.

14 (8) United States Armed Forces will participate
15 in the United Nations-led force in Somalia as part of
16 the multinational logistic support contingent, provid-
17 ing logistical communications, and intelligence sup-
18 port.

19 (9) In addition to logistic forces, the United
20 States will make available a battalion-sized tactical
21 quick reaction force to respond to requests for emer-
22 gency assistance from the United Nations Force Com-
23 mander in Somalia. This quick reaction force will be
24 under United States operational control.

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1 (10) The transfer of operations in Somalia from
2 the United States-led force to the United Nations-led
3 force will result in a substantial reduction in the
4 number of members of the United Armed Forces that
5 are deployed in Somalia and in the costs incurred by
6 the United States as a result of United Nations-au-
7 thorized operations in Somalia.

8 (11) The Congress must authorize any use of
9 United States Armed Forces to implement United Na-
10 tions Security Council Resolutions 794 and 999.

11 (12) By providing such an authorization, the
12 Congress will facilitate the transfer of operations in
13 Somalia from the United States-led force to the Unit-
14 ed Nations-led force.

15 **SEC. 1 SUPPORT FOR UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS IN SOMA-**
16 **LIA**

17 The Congress supports United Nations efforts in
18 **Somalia—**

19 (1) to help provide a secure environment for
20 famine relief efforts;

21 (2) to prevent a resumption of violence;

22 (3) to help restore peace, stability, and order
23 through reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruc-
24 tion of Somali society; and

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1 (4) to help the people of Somalia create and
2 maintain democratic institutions for their own gov-
3 ernance.

4 **SEC. 4. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF ARMED FORCES.**

5 (a) **IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLU-**
6 **TIONS.**—The President is authorized to use United States
7 Armed Forces to implement United Nations Security Coun-
8 cil Resolutions 794 (1992) and 799 (1993) as follows:

9 (1) United States Armed Forces may be used to
10 carry out operations under the authorization provided
11 by United Nations Security Council Resolution 794
12 (1992) until the transition to the United Nations-led
13 force in Somalia is completed.

14 (2) United States Armed Forces may be used to
15 provide logistic support for the United Nations-led
16 force in Somalia under the authorization provided by
17 United Nations Security Council Resolution 799
18 (1993).

19 (3) United States Armed Forces may be used as
20 a tactical quick reaction force, under United States
21 operational control, to respond to requests for emer-
22 gency assistance from the United Nations Force Com-
23 mander in Somalia.

24 (b) **STATEMENTS OF INTENT REQUIRED BY WAR POW-**
25 **ERS RESOLUTION.**—Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the

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1 War Powers Resolution, the Congress declares that sub-
2 section (a) is intended to constitute specific statutory au-
3 thorization within the meaning of section 5(b) of the War
4 Powers Resolution to the extent that any United States
5 Armed Forces being used for the purposes described in sub-
6 section (a) are or become involved in hostilities or situations
7 where imminent hostilities is clearly indicated by the cir-
8 cumstances.

9 (c) **EXPIRATION OF AUTHORIZATIONS.**—The author-
10 izations provided by subsection (a) shall expire—

11 (1) at the end of the 12-month period beginning
12 on the date of enactment of this joint resolution, un-
13 less the Congress extends the period of such authoriza-
14 tions; or

15 (2) upon the expiration of the mandate of the
16 United Nations-led force in Somalia,

17 ~~whichever occurs first.~~

18 **SEC. 5. REPORTS REGARDING USE OF UNITED STATES**
19 **ARMED FORCES.**

20 (a) **PERIODIC REPORTS.**—

21 (1) **INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED.**—The Presi-
22 dent shall submit periodic reports to the Congress
23 with respect to United States Armed Forces partici-
24 pation in and support for the United Nations-led
25 force in Somalia. Each such report shall—

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1 (A) specify the number of members of the
2 United States Armed Forces participating in the
3 United Nations-led force in Somalia or operat-
4 ing in support of that force;

5 (B) specify where United States Armed
6 Forces are deployed as part of the United Na-
7 tions-led force in Somalia and where United
8 States Armed Forces are deployed that are oper-
9 ating in support of that force;

10 (C) specify the functions being performed by
11 United States Armed Forces participating in the
12 United Nations-led force in Somalia;

13 (D) specify the functions of United States
14 Armed Forces operating as a tactical quick reac-
15 tion force in support of the United Nations-led
16 force in Somalia, and describe any use of United
17 States Armed Forces as a quick reaction force;

18 (E) specify the command arrangements ap-
19 plicable with respect to United States Armed
20 Forces participating in the United Nations-led
21 force in Somalia or operating in support of that
22 force;

23 (F) specifying the anticipated duration of
24 the deployment of United States Armed Forces as

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1 part of the United Nations-led force in Somalia
2 or in support of that force; and

3 (G) describe any equipment transferred by
4 the Department of Defense to the United Na-
5 tions-led force in Somalia, specifying the types
6 and amounts of equipment transferred, the au-
7 thority under which it was transferred, and the
8 terms on which it was transferred.

9 (2) **REPORTING DATES AND PERIOD COVERED BY**
10 **EACH REPORT.**—A report pursuant to this subsection
11 shall be submitted—

12 (A) not later than July 1, 1993, covering
13 the period since March 3, 1993; and

14 (B) not later than January 1, 1994, and
15 July 1, 1994, covering the period since the pre-
16 ceding report pursuant to this subsection.

17 (3) **WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REPORTING RE-**
18 **QUIREMENTS.**—The requirements of this subsection do
19 not supersede the requirements of section 4(a) of the
20 War Powers Resolution.

21 (b) **REPORT ON TRANSITION TO UN-LED FORCE.**—The
22 first report submitted pursuant to subsection (a) shall
23 specify—

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1 (1) the number of members of the United States
2 Armed Forces, if any, remaining in Somalia as part
3 of the United States-led force in Somalia;

4 (2) where they are deployed;

5 (3) the functions they are performing; and

6 (4) how long they will remain in Somalia as
7 part of that force.

8 (c) **AGREEMENTS WITH UNITED NATIONS.**—The Presi-
9 dent shall transmit promptly to the Congress a copy of any
10 memorandum of understanding or other written agreement
11 entered into by the United States with the United Nations
12 Security Council, the Secretary General of the United Na-
13 tions (or his Special Representative), or the United Nations
14 Force Commander in Somalia .-

15 (1) regarding the participation of United States
16 Armed Forces in the United Nations-led force in So-
17 malia;

18 (2) regarding United States Armed Forces oper-
19 ating as a tactical quick reaction force in support of
20 that force or otherwise in support of that force; or

21 (3) otherwise regarding the availability to the
22 United Nations Security Council of United States
23 Armed Forces, assistance, or facilities to implement
24 Security Council Resolution 794 or 799.

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1 **SEC. 2. REPORTS ON COSTS OF UNITED NATIONS-AUTHOR-**
2 **IZED OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA.**

3 (a) **REQUIREMENT FOR PERIODIC REPORTS.**—The
4 President shall submit to the Congress periodic reports re-
5 garding the costs of the United States-led force in Somalia
6 and the United Nations-led force in Somalia.

7 (b) **INFORMATION ON COSTS AND OTHER CON-**
8 **TRIBUTIONS.**—Each report pursuant to this section shall
9 specify (to the extent such information is available to the
10 United States)—

11 (1) the amount of the incremental costs incurred
12 by the United States and by each other participating
13 country as the result of its participation in the Unit-
14 ed States-led force in Somalia or as the result of its
15 participation in or military operations in support of
16 the United Nations-led force in Somalia;

17 (2) the amount of other in-kind or financial con-
18 tributions pledged, and the amount of such con-
19 tributions made, by each country toward the costs as-
20 sociated with the United States-led force in Somalia
21 and the United Nations-led force in Somalia, includ-
22 ing contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund
23 for Somalia and excluding amounts reported pursu-
24 ant to paragraph (3);

25 (3) the amount assessed by the United Nations to
26 the United States and each other country for its con-

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1 tributions to the costs associated with the United Na-
2 tions-led force in Somalia;

3 (4) for the United States and each other country,
4 the extent to which the costs and other contributions
5 described in paragraphs (1) and (2) are being count-
6 ed toward the amount of the assessment described in
7 paragraph (3); and

8 (5) the amount received by the United States
9 and each other country as reimbursement from the
10 United Nations or other countries for costs that it in-
11 curred as the result of its participation in the United
12 States-led force in Somalia or as the result of its par-
13 ticipation in or military operations in support of the
14 United Nations-led force in Somalia, including reim-
15 bursements from the United Nations Trust Fund for
16 Somalia.

17 (c) **DESCRIPTION OF UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO**
18 **OBTAIN EQUITABLE COST SHARING.**—Each such report
19 shall also review all actions taken by the United States to
20 ensure that in-kind United States contributions to the Unit-
21 ed States-led force in Somalia and to the United Nations-
22 led force in Somalia are counted against the amount of the
23 United States assessed contributions to the United Nations
24 for peacekeeping or other military operations in Somalia
25 carried out pursuant to resolutions of the Security Council.

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1 (d) REPORTING DATES AND PERIOD COVERED BY
2 EACH REPORT.—A report pursuant to this section shall be
3 submitted—

4 (1) not later than 1 month after the date of en-
5 actment of this joint resolution, covering the period
6 ending on the last day of the penultimate month pre-
7 ceding the enactment of this joint resolution; and

8 (2) not later than 7 months, 13 months, and 19
9 months after that date, covering the 6-month period
10 following the period covered by the preceding report
11 pursuant to this section and also providing cumu-
12 lative information.

13 SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.

14 As used in this joint resolution—

15 (1) the term "United Nations Force Commander
16 in Somalia" means the commander appointed by the
17 Secretary General of the United Nations to command
18 the United Nations-led force in Somalia;

19 (2) the term "United Nations-led force in Soma-
20 lia" means the expanded force (commonly referred to
21 as "UNOSOM II") authorized by paragraph 5 of
22 United Nations Security Council Resolution 795
23 (1993);

24 (3) the term "United Nations Trust Fund for So-
25 malia" means the trust fund established and main-

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- 1 *ained pursuant to United Nations Security Council*
- 2 *Resolutions 794 and 111; and*
- 3 *(4) the term "United States-led force in Soma-*
- 4 *lia" means the force (commonly referred to as the*
- 5 *"Unified Task Force" or "UNITAF") authorized by*
- 6 *United Nations Security Council Resolution 794*
- 7 *(1992).*

Amend the title of the joint resolution to read as follows: "Joint Resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia to implement United Nations Security Council Resolutions 794 (1992) and 111 (1993)."



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BUREAU OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (H)

FAX

TO:

Jeremy Posner

FROM:

Mike C.

DATE:

TIME:

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

URGENT

FOR CLEARANCE

FYI

PER YOUR REQUEST

MESSAGE:

Jeremy - the person who has
my copy of the UN Resolution
is not known.

I think Don G. has a copy

FAX # OF SENDER (202) 647-5095

TRANSMISSION PROBLEMS CALL (202) 647-

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[DRAFT COMMITTEE PRINT]

MARCH 24, 1993

AMENDMENTS IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE FOR S.J.RES. 45

[Strike out the preamble. Strike out all that follows the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the text shown below in *italic*. An amendment to the title of the resolution is shown on the last page below.]

103D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**S. J. RES. 45**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 16, 1993

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

Authorizing the use of United States Armed Forces in
Somalia.

- 1 ~~Whereas an estimated 200,000 Somalis reportedly have~~
- 2 ~~died of hunger or as casualties of widespread violence~~
- 3 ~~since the fall of Siad Barre in January 1991;~~
- 4 ~~Whereas international relief agencies had been unable to~~
- 5 ~~deliver adequate assistance to those most in need due~~

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1 to increasingly difficult and dangerous security condi-
2 tions, including pervasive banditry and looting,
3 Whereas Congress has expressed its support for a greater
4 United Nations role in addressing the political and hu-
5 manitarian situation in Somalia through Senate Reso-
6 lutions 258 and 132 and House of Representatives
7 Resolution 370,
8 Whereas the United Nations Secretary General and Unit-
9 ed States officials had concluded that massive inter-
10 vention in Somalia would be necessary to avert further
11 starvation on this scale,
12 Whereas the United Nations Security Council on Decem-
13 ber 3, 1992, enacted Resolution 704, authorizing the
14 use of "all necessary means to establish as soon as
15 possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief
16 operations in Somalia",
17 Whereas President Bush began deploying United States
18 armed forces on December 3, 1992, in response to
19 United Nations Resolution 704,
20 Whereas more than 20,000 American servicemen and
21 women are now in Somalia under Operation Restore
22 Hope and have been joined by troops from many other
23 nations,
24 Whereas President Bush has emphasized that United
25 States Armed Forces will be withdrawn and that the

1 security mission will be assumed by the United Na-
2 tions' UNOSOM operation as soon as a "secure envi-
3 ronment" for the delivery of food has been created;
4 and

5 Whereas, on December 10, 1992, President Bush formally
6 reported to Congress on the deployment of United
7 States Armed Forces in Somalia: Now, therefore, be
8 it

9 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
10 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

11 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

12 This joint resolution may be cited as the "Authoriza-
13 tion for Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia".

14 **SEC. 2. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF UNITED STATES**
15 **ARMED FORCES.**

16 (a) **AUTHORIZATION.**—The President is authorized to
17 use United States Armed Forces pursuant to United Na-
18 tions Security Council Resolution 784 in order to imple-
19 ment the Resolution, which authorizes the use of "all nec-
20 essary means to establish as soon as possible a secure en-
21 vironment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia".

22 (b) **WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.**—
23 Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolu-
24 tion, the Congress declares that this section is intended

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1 to constitute specific statutory authorization within the
2 meaning of section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution.
3 **SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

4 (a) **UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCES.**—It
5 is the sense of Congress that the President should consult
6 with the Secretary General of the United Nations and with
7 the other member countries of the United Nations Security
8 Council to ensure that peacekeeping forces from other
9 countries of the United Nations continue to be deployed
10 in Somalia to maintain a secure environment and to allow
11 United States Armed Forces to transfer the mission to
12 a United Nations-led force at the earliest possible date.

13 (b) **MEASURES OF SELF-PROTECTION.**—It is the
14 sense of Congress that the President should make every
15 effort to ensure that United States Armed Forces serving
16 in Somalia as part of a United Nations-led force are permitted
17 to take all reasonable measures to protect themselves.
18

19 (c) **ASSESSMENT OF COSTS.**—It is the sense of Congress
20 that the President should submit a report to Congress
21 providing an assessment of the costs of Operation Restore
22 Hope, indicating the costs assessed to the United States,
23 the United Nations, and other countries and related
24 organizations involved in the operation.

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1 **SEC. 4. REPORTING REQUIREMENT.**

2 Not later than September 1, 1993, the Secretary of
3 State and the Secretary of Defense shall jointly submit
4 to Congress a report on the introduction and commitment
5 of United States Armed Forces into combat situations.

6 This report shall include—

7 (1) a specific review of the goals of United
8 States policy in Somalia and an outline of objective
9 criteria which will enable the United States to evalu-
10 ate when those goals are achieved;

11 (2) a review of all actions taken to ensure that
12 United States material contributions to United Na-
13 tions forces in Somalia are counted against United
14 States assessments in Somalia;

15 (3) a review of United States international in-
16 terests and their correlation to the commitment of
17 United States Armed Forces;

18 (4) a description of the factors to be used in
19 evaluating future commitments of United States
20 combat forces;

21 (5) specifically, a review of the many situations
22 in the world where there are intense humanitarian
23 needs and a means of evaluating what elements,
24 when present, would permit these situations to rise
25 to a level of importance necessary for the commit-
26 ment of United States combat forces; and

(6) considerations which will affect whether United States Armed Forces will be permitted to be engaged as a portion of an international peacekeeping force, including—

(A) United States command of United States troops;

(B) equitable financial contributions of nations so engaged; and

(C) the right of United States combat forces to defend themselves throughout all levels of conflict.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This joint resolution may be cited as the "Authorization for Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia Resolution".

SEC. 2. CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS.

The Congress finds the following:

(1) *An estimated 300,000 Somalis have died as a result of hunger and widespread violence since the fall of Siad Barre in January 1991.*

(2) *On December 3, 1992, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 794 in which the Security Council—*

(A) *determined that "the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Soma-*

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1 *lia, further exacerbated by the obstacles being*
2 *created to the distribution of humanitarian as-*
3 *sistance, constitutes a threat to international*
4 *peace and security", and*

5 *(B) acting under Chapter VII of the Charter*
6 *of the United Nations, authorized the use of "all*
7 *necessary means to establish as soon as possible*
8 *a secure environment for humanitarian relief op-*
9 *erations in Somalia".*

10 *(3) United States Armed Forces entered Somalia*
11 *on December 9, 1992, in response to Security Council*
12 *Resolution 794.*

13 *(4) The United Nations Secretary General con-*
14 *cluded in his report of March 3, 1993, that without*
15 *improved security throughout Somalia "the political*
16 *process cannot prosper and humanitarian relief op-*
17 *erations will remain vulnerable to disruption".*

18 *(5) The Secretary General recommended in his*
19 *report that the United Nations Security Council*
20 *adopt a resolution effecting the transition from the*
21 *United States-led force in Somalia to a United Na-*
22 *tions-led force, with the formal date of transfer of*
23 *command to be May 1, 1993.*

24 *(6) The Secretary General's report envisioned a*
25 *United Nations-led force having a multinational mili-*

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1 *tary component of 20,000 personnel, plus an addi-*
2 *tional 8000 personnel to provide logistic support.*

3 *(7) On 1993, 19, 1993, the United Nations Secu-*
4 *rity Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter*
5 *of the United Nations, adopted Resolution 111 in re-*
6 *sponse to the Secretary General's report. This resolu-*
7 *tion provides for the establishment of the United Na-*
8 *tions-led force in Somalia by expanding the size and*
9 *mandate of the original United Nations peacekeeping*
10 *force in Somalia (commonly referred to as*
11 *"UNOSOM") in accordance with the rec-*
12 *ommendations contained in the report of the Sec-*
13 *retary General.*

14 *(8) United States Armed Forces will participate*
15 *in the United Nations-led force in Somalia as part of*
16 *the multinational logistic support contingent, provid-*
17 *ing logistical, communications, and intelligence sup-*
18 *port.*

19 *(9) In addition to logistic forces, the United*
20 *States will make available a battalion-sized tactical*
21 *quick reaction force to respond to requests for emer-*
22 *gency assistance from the United Nations Force Com-*
23 *mander in Somalia. This quick reaction force will be*
24 *under United States operational control.*

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1 (10) *The transfer of operations in Somalia from*
2 *the United States-led force to the United Nations-led*
3 *force will result in a substantial reduction in the*
4 *number of members of the United Armed Forces that*
5 *are deployed in Somalia and in the costs incurred by*
6 *the United States as a result of United Nations-au-*
7 *thorized operations in Somalia.*

8 (11) *The Congress must authorize any use of*
9 *United States Armed Forces to implement United Na-*
10 *tions Security Council Resolutions 794 and 999.*

11 (12) *By providing such an authorization, the*
12 *Congress will facilitate the transfer of operations in*
13 *Somalia from the United States-led force to the Unit-*
14 *ed Nations-led force.*

15 **SEC. 3. SUPPORT FOR UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS IN SOMA-**
16 **LIA.**

17 *The Congress supports United Nations efforts in*
18 *Somalia—*

19 (1) *to help provide a secure environment for*
20 *famine relief efforts;*

21 (2) *to prevent a resumption of violence;*

22 (3) *to help restore peace, stability, and order*
23 *through reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruc-*
24 *tion of Somali society; and*

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1 (4) to help the people of Somalia create and
2 maintain democratic institutions for their own gov-
3 ernance.

4 **SEC. 4. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF ARMED FORCES.**

5 (a) **IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLU-**
6 **TIONS.**—The President is authorized to use United States
7 Armed Forces to implement United Nations Security Coun-
8 cil Resolutions 794 (1992) and 797 (1993) as follows:

9 (1) United States Armed Forces may be used to
10 carry out operations under the authorization provided
11 by United Nations Security Council Resolution 794
12 (1992) until the transition to the United Nations-led
13 force in Somalia is completed.

14 (2) United States Armed Forces may be used to
15 provide logistic support for the United Nations-led
16 force in Somalia under the authorization provided by
17 United Nations Security Council Resolution 797
18 (1993).

19 (3) United States Armed Forces may be used as
20 a tactical quick reaction force, under United States
21 operational control, to respond to requests for emer-
22 gency assistance from the United Nations Force Com-
23 mander in Somalia.

24 (b) **STATEMENTS OF INTENT REQUIRED BY WAR POW-**
25 **ERS RESOLUTION.**—Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the

1 War Powers Resolution, the Congress declares that sub-
2 section (a) is intended to constitute specific statutory au-
3 thorization within the meaning of section 5(b) of the War
4 Powers Resolution to the extent that any United States
5 Armed Forces being used for the purposes described in sub-
6 section (a) are or become involved in hostilities or situations
7 where imminent hostilities is clearly indicated by the cir-
8 cumstances.

9 (c) **EXPIRATION OF AUTHORIZATIONS.**—The author-
10 izations provided by subsection (a) shall expire—

11 (1) at the end of the 12-month period beginning
12 on the date of enactment of this joint resolution, un-
13 less the Congress extends the period of such authoriza-
14 tions; or

15 (2) upon the expiration of the mandate of the
16 United Nations-led force in Somalia,

17 ~~which ever occurs first.~~

18 **SEC. 5. REPORTS REGARDING USE OF UNITED STATES**
19 **ARMED FORCES.**

20 (a) **PERIODIC REPORTS.**—

21 (1) **INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED.**—The Presi-
22 dent shall submit periodic reports to the Congress
23 with respect to United States Armed Forces partici-
24 pation in and support for the United Nations-led
25 force in Somalia. Each such report shall—

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1 (A) specify the number of members of the
2 United States Armed Forces participating in the
3 United Nations-led force in Somalia or operat-
4 ing in support of that force;

5 (B) specify where United States Armed
6 Forces are deployed as part of the United Na-
7 tions-led force in Somalia and where United
8 States Armed Forces are deployed that are oper-
9 ating in support of that force;

10 (C) specify the functions being performed by
11 United States Armed Forces participating in the
12 United Nations-led force in Somalia;

13 (D) specify the functions of United States
14 Armed Forces operating as a tactical quick reac-
15 tion force in support of the United Nations-led
16 force in Somalia, and describe any use of United
17 States Armed Forces as a quick reaction force;

18 (E) specify the command arrangements ap-
19 plicable with respect to United States Armed
20 Forces participating in the United Nations-led
21 force in Somalia or operating in support of that
22 force;

23 (F) specifying the anticipated duration of
24 the deployment of United States Armed Forces as

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1 part of the United Nations-led force in Somalia
2 or in support of that force; and

3 (G) describe any equipment transferred by
4 the Department of Defense to the United Na-
5 tions-led force in Somalia, specifying the types
6 and amounts of equipment transferred, the au-
7 thority under which it was transferred, and the
8 terms on which it was transferred.

9 (2) **REPORTING DATES AND PERIOD COVERED BY**
10 **EACH REPORT.**—A report pursuant to this subsection
11 shall be submitted—

12 (A) not later than July 1, 1993, covering
13 the period since March 3, 1993; and

14 (B) not later than January 1, 1994, and
15 July 1, 1994, covering the period since the pre-
16 ceding report pursuant to this subsection.

17 (3) **WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REPORTING RE-**
18 **QUIREMENTS.**—The requirements of this subsection do
19 not supersede the requirements of section 4(a) of the
20 War Powers Resolution.

21 (b) **REPORT ON TRANSITION TO UN-LED FORCE.**—The
22 first report submitted pursuant to subsection (a) shall
23 specify—

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1 (1) *the number of members of the United States*
2 *Armed Forces, if any, remaining in Somalia as part*
3 *of the United States-led force in Somalia;*

4 (2) *where they are deployed;*

5 (3) *the functions they are performing; and*

6 (4) *how long they will remain in Somalia as*
7 *part of that force.*

8 (c) **AGREEMENTS WITH UNITED NATIONS.**—*The Presi-*
9 *dent shall transmit promptly to the Congress a copy of any*
10 *memorandum of understanding or other written agreement*
11 *entered into by the United States with the United Nations*
12 *Security Council, the Secretary General of the United Na-*
13 *tions (or his Special Representative), or the United Nations*
14 *Force Commander in Somalia .—*

15 (1) *regarding the participation of United States*
16 *Armed Forces in the United Nations-led force in So-*
17 *malia;*

18 (2) *regarding United States Armed Forces oper-*
19 *ating as a tactical quick reaction force in support of*
20 *that force or otherwise in support of that force; or*

21 (3) *otherwise regarding the availability to the*
22 *United Nations Security Council of United States*
23 *Armed Forces, assistance, or facilities to implement*
24 *Security Council Resolution 794 or 111.*

1 **SEC. 6. REPORTS ON COSTS OF UNITED NATIONS-AUTHOR-**
2 **IZED OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA.**

3 (a) **REQUIREMENT FOR PERIODIC REPORTS.**—*The*
4 *President shall submit to the Congress periodic reports re-*
5 *garding the costs of the United States-led force in Somalia*
6 *and the United Nations-led force in Somalia.*

7 (b) **INFORMATION ON COSTS AND OTHER CON-**
8 **TRIBUTIONS.**—*Each report pursuant to this section shall*
9 *specify (to the extent such information is available to the*
10 *United States)—*

11 (1) *the amount of the incremental costs incurred*
12 *by the United States and by each other participating*
13 *country as the result of its participation in the Unit-*
14 *ed States-led force in Somalia or as the result of its*
15 *participation in or military operations in support of*
16 *the United Nations-led force in Somalia;*

17 (2) *the amount of other in-kind or financial con-*
18 *tributions pledged, and the amount of such con-*
19 *tributions made, by each country toward the costs as-*
20 *sociated with the United States-led force in Somalia*
21 *and the United Nations-led force in Somalia, includ-*
22 *ing contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund*
23 *for Somalia and excluding amounts reported pursu-*
24 *ant to paragraph (3);*

25 (3) *the amount assessed by the United Nations to*
26 *the United States and each other country for its con-*

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1 *tributions to the costs associated with the United Na-*
2 *tions-led force in Somalia;*

3 *(4) for the United States and each other country,*
4 *the extent to which the costs and other contributions*
5 *described in paragraphs (1) and (2) are being count-*
6 *ed toward the amount of the assessment described in*
7 *paragraph (3); and*

8 *(5) the amount received by the United States*
9 *and each other country as reimbursement from the*
10 *United Nations or other countries for costs that it in-*
11 *curred as the result of its participation in the United*
12 *States-led force in Somalia or as the result of its par-*
13 *ticipation in or military operations in support of the*
14 *United Nations-led force in Somalia, including reim-*
15 *bursments from the United Nations Trust Fund for*
16 *Somalia.*

17 *(c) DESCRIPTION OF UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO*
18 *OBTAIN EQUITABLE COST SHARING.—Each such report*
19 *shall also review all actions taken by the United States to*
20 *ensure that in-kind United States contributions to the Unit-*
21 *ed States-led force in Somalia and to the United Nations-*
22 *led force in Somalia are counted against the amount of the*
23 *United States assessed contributions to the United Nations*
24 *for peacekeeping or other military operations in Somalia*
25 *carried out pursuant to resolutions of the Security Council.*

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1 (d) *REPORTING DATES AND PERIOD COVERED BY*
2 *EACH REPORT.*—A report pursuant to this section shall be
3 submitted—

4 (1) not later than 1 month after the date of en-
5 actment of this joint resolution, covering the period
6 ending on the last day of the penultimate month pre-
7 ceding the enactment of this joint resolution; and

8 (2) not later than 7 months, 13 months, and 19
9 months after that date, covering the 6-month period
10 following the period covered by the preceding report
11 pursuant to this section and also providing cumu-
12 lative information.

13 **SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.**

14 *As used in this joint resolution—*

15 (1) the term “United Nations Force Commander
16 in Somalia” means the commander appointed by the
17 Secretary General of the United Nations to command
18 the United Nations-led force in Somalia;

19 (2) the term “United Nations-led force in Soma-
20 lia” means the expanded force (commonly referred to
21 as “UNOSOM II”) authorized by paragraph 5 of
22 United Nations Security Council Resolution ???
23 (1993);

24 (3) the term “United Nations Trust Fund for So-
25 malia” means the trust fund established and main-

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1 *ained pursuant to United Nations Security Council*
2 *Resolutions 794 and ???; and*
3 *(4) the term "United States-led force in Soma-*
4 *lia" means the force (commonly referred to as the*
5 *"Unified Task Force" or "UNITAF") authorized by*
6 *United Nations Security Council Resolution 794*
7 *(1992).*

Amend the title of the joint resolution to read as fol-
lows: "Joint Resolution to authorize the use of United
States Armed Forces in Somalia to implement United Na-
tions Security Council Resolutions 794 (1992) and ???
(1993)."