

FOIA MARKER

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

Folder Title:

POTUS Speech Files-Somalia Oval Office Address, October 7, 1993

Staff Office-Individual:

Legislative Affairs-Rosner, Jeremy

Original OA/ID Number:

10

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
40	3	8	2	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Chronology (3 pages)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)
002. paper	Public Posture (2 pages)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Legislative Affairs (Rosner, Jeremy)
OA/Box Number: 10

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS Speech Files - Somalia Oval Office Address, October 7, 1993

2012-0659-F
ke4160

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 7, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

5:02 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Today I want to talk with you about our nation's military involvement in Somalia. A year ago, we all watched with horror as Somali children and their families lay dying by the tens of thousands -- dying the slow, agonizing death of starvation. Of starvation brought on not only by drought, but also by the anarchy that then prevailed in that country.

This past weekend we all reacted with anger and horror as an armed Somali gang desecrated the bodies of our American soldiers and displayed a captured American pilot -- all of them soldiers who were taking part in an international effort to end the starvation of the Somali people themselves. These tragic events raise hard questions about our effort in Somalia. Why are we still there? What are we trying to accomplish? How did a humanitarian mission turn violent? And when will our people come home?

These questions deserve straight answers. Let's start by remembering why our troops went into Somalia in the first place. We went because only the United States could help stop one of the great human tragedies of this time. A third of a million people had died of starvation and disease. Twice that many more were at risk of dying. Meanwhile, tons of relief supplies piled up in the capital of Mogadishu because a small number of Somalis stopped food from reaching their own countrymen.

Our consciences said, enough. In our nation's best tradition, we took action with bipartisan support. President Bush sent in 28,000 American troops as part of a United Nations humanitarian mission. Our troops created a secure environment so that food and medicine could get through. We saved close to one million lives. And throughout most of Somalia -- everywhere but in Mogadishu -- life began returning to normal. Crops are growing. Markets are reopening. So are schools and hospitals.

Nearly a million Somalis still depend completely on relief supplies, but at least the starvation is gone. And none of this would have happened without American leadership and America's troops.

Until June, things went well, with little violence. The United States reduced our troop presence from 28,000 down to less than 5,000, with other nations picking up where we left off. But then in June, the people who caused much of the problem in the beginning started attacking American, Pakistani and other troops who were there just to keep the peace.

Rather than participate in building the peace with others, these people sought to fight and to disrupt, even if it means returning Somalia to anarchy and mass famine. And make no mistake about it: If we were to leave Somalia tomorrow, other nations would leave, too. Chaos would resume. The relief effort would stop, and starvation soon would return.

MORE

That knowledge has led us to continue our mission. It is not our job to rebuild Somalia's society, or even to create a political process that can allow Somalia's clans to live and work in peace. The Somalis must do that for themselves. The United Nations and many African states are more than willing to help. But we -- we in the United States -- must decide whether we will give them enough time to have a reasonable chance to succeed.

We started this mission for the right reasons, and we're going to finish it in the right way. In a sense, we came to Somalia to rescue innocent people in a burning house. We've nearly put the fire out, but some smoldering embers remain. If we leave them now, those embers will reignite into flames and people will die again. If we stay a short while longer and do the right things, we've got a reasonable chance of cooling off the embers and getting other firefighters to take our place.

We also have to recognize that we cannot leave now and still have all our troops present and accounted for. And I want you to know that I am determined to work for the security of those Americans missing or held captive. Anyone holding an American right now should understand, above all else, that we will hold them strictly responsible for our soldiers' well-being. We expect them to be well-treated, and we expect them to be released.

So now we face a choice. Do we leave when the job gets tough, or when the job is well done? Do we invite a return of mass suffering, or do we leave in a way that gives the Somalis a decent chance to survive?

Recently, General Colin Powell said this about our choices in Somalia. "Because things get difficult, you don't cut and run, you work the problem and try to find a correct solution." I want to bring our troops home from Somalia. Before the events of this week, as I said, we had already reduced the number of our troops there from 28,000 to less than 5,000. We must complete that withdrawal soon, and I will. But we must also leave on our terms. We must do it right. And here is what I intend to do.

This past week's events make it clear that even as we prepare to withdraw from Somalia, we need more strength there. We need more armor, more air power, to ensure that our people are safe and that we can do our job. Today, I have ordered 1,700 additional Army troops and 104 additional armored vehicles to Somalia to protect our troops and to complete our mission. I've also ordered an aircraft carrier and two amphibious groups with 3,600 combat Marines to be stationed offshore. These forces will be under American command.

Their mission, what I am asking these young Americans to do, is the following: First, they are there to protect our troops and our bases. We did not go to Somalia with a military purpose. We never wanted to kill anyone. But those who attack our soldiers must know they will pay a very heavy price.

Second, they are there to keep open and secure the roads, the port and the lines of communication that are essential for the United Nations and the relief workers to keep the flow of food and supplies and people moving freely throughout the country so that starvation and anarchy do not return.

Third, they are there to keep the pressure on those who cut off relief supplies and attacked our people. Not to personalize the conflict, but to prevent a return to anarchy.

Fourth, through their pressure and their presence, our troops will help to make it possible for the Somali people, working

with others, to reach agreements among themselves so that they can solve their problems and survive when we leave. That is our mission.

I am proposing this plan because it will let us finish leaving Somalia on our own terms and without destroying all that two administrations have accomplished there. For, if we were to leave today, we know what would happen. Within months, Somali children again would be dying in the streets. Our own credibility with friends and allies would be severely damaged. Our leadership in world affairs would be undermined at the very time when people are looking to America to help promote peace and freedom in the post-Cold War world. And all around the world, aggressors, thugs and terrorists will conclude that the best way to get us to change our policies is to kill our people. It would be open season on Americans.

That is why I am committed to getting this job done in Somalia, not only quickly, but also effectively. To do that, I am taking steps to ensure troops from other nations are ready to take the place of our own soldiers. We've already withdrawn some 20,000 troops, and more than that number have replaced them from over two dozen other nations. Now we will intensify efforts to have other countries deploy more troops to Somalia to assure that security will remain when we're gone.

And we'll complete the replacement of U.S. military logistics personnel with civilian contractors who can provide the same support to the United Nations. While we're taking military steps to protect our own people and to help the U.N. maintain a secure environment, we must pursue new diplomatic efforts to help the Somalis find a political solution to their problems. That is the only kind of outcome that can endure.

For fundamentally, the solution to Somalia's problems is not a military one, it is political. Leaders of the neighboring African states, such as Ethiopia and Eritrea, have offered to take the lead in efforts to build a settlement among the Somali people that can preserve order and security. I have directed my representatives to pursue such efforts vigorously. And I've asked Ambassador Bob Oakley, who served effectively in two administrations as our representative in Somalia, to travel again to the region immediately to advance this process.

Obviously, even then there is no guarantee that Somalia will rid itself of violence and suffering. But at least we will have given Somalia a reasonable chance. This week some 15,000 Somalis took to the streets to express sympathy for our losses, to thank us for our effort. Most Somalis are not hostile to us, but grateful. And they want to use this opportunity to rebuild their country.

It is my judgment and that of my military advisors that we may need up to six months to complete these steps and to conduct an orderly withdrawal. We'll do what we can to complete the mission before then. All American troops will be out of Somalia no later than March the 31st, except for a few hundred support personnel in noncombat roles.

If we take these steps, if we take the time to do the job right, I am convinced we will have lived up to the responsibilities of American leadership in the world. And we will have proved that we are committed to addressing the new problems of a new era.

When our troops in Somalia came under fire this last weekend, we witnessed a dramatic example of the heroic ethic of our American military. When the first Black Hawk helicopter was downed this weekend, the other American troops didn't retreat,

although they could have. Some 90 of them formed a perimeter around the helicopter and they held that ground under intensely heavy fire. They stayed with their comrades. That's the kind of soldiers they are. That's the kind of people we are.

So let us finish the work we set out to do. Let us demonstrate to the world, as generations of Americans have done before us, that when Americans take on a challenge, they do the job right.

Let me express my thanks and my gratitude and my profound sympathy to the families of the young Americans who were killed in Somalia. My message to you is, your country is grateful, and so is the rest of the world, and so are the vast majority of the Somali people. Our mission from this day forward is to increase our strength, do our job, bring our soldiers out, and bring them home. Thank you, and God bless America.

END

5:11 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 7, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

5:02 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Today I want to talk with you about our nation's military involvement in Somalia. A year ago, we all watched with horror as Somali children and their families lay dying by the tens of thousands -- dying the slow, agonizing death of starvation. Of starvation brought on not only by drought, but also by the anarchy that then prevailed in that country.

This past weekend we all reacted with anger and horror as an armed Somali gang desecrated the bodies of our American soldiers and displayed a captured American pilot -- all of them soldiers who were taking part in an international effort to end the starvation of the Somali people themselves. These tragic events raise hard questions about our effort in Somalia. Why are we still there? What are we trying to accomplish? How did a humanitarian mission turn violent? And when will our people come home?

These questions deserve straight answers. Let's start by remembering why our troops went into Somalia in the first place. We went because only the United States could help stop one of the great human tragedies of this time. A third of a million people had died of starvation and disease. Twice that many more were at risk of dying. Meanwhile, tons of relief supplies piled up in the capital of Mogadishu because a small number of Somalis stopped food from reaching their own countrymen.

Our consciences said, enough. In our nation's best tradition, we took action with bipartisan support. President Bush sent in 28,000 American troops as part of a United Nations humanitarian mission. Our troops created a secure environment so that food and medicine could get through. We saved close to one million lives. And throughout most of Somalia -- everywhere but in Mogadishu -- life began returning to normal. Crops are growing. Markets are reopening. So are schools and hospitals.

Nearly a million Somalis still depend completely on relief supplies, but at least the starvation is gone. And none of this would have happened without American leadership and America's troops.

Until June, things went well, with little violence. The United States reduced our troop presence from 28,000 down to less than 5,000, with other nations picking up where we left off. But then in June, the people who caused much of the problem in the beginning started attacking American, Pakistani and other troops who were there just to keep the peace.

Rather than participate in building the peace with others, these people sought to fight and to disrupt, even if it means returning Somalia to anarchy and mass famine. And make no mistake about it: If we were to leave Somalia tomorrow, other nations would leave, too. Chaos would resume. The relief effort would stop, and starvation soon would return.

MORE

That knowledge has led us to continue our mission. It is not our job to rebuild Somalia's society, or even to create a political process that can allow Somalia's clans to live and work in peace. The Somalis must do that for themselves. The United Nations and many African states are more than willing to help. But we -- we in the United States -- must decide whether we will give them enough time to have a reasonable chance to succeed.

We started this mission for the right reasons, and we're going to finish it in the right way. In a sense, we came to Somalia to rescue innocent people in a burning house. We've nearly put the fire out, but some smoldering embers remain. If we leave them now, those embers will reignite into flames and people will die again. If we stay a short while longer and do the right things, we've got a reasonable chance of cooling off the embers and getting other firefighters to take our place.

We also have to recognize that we cannot leave now and still have all our troops present and accounted for. And I want you to know that I am determined to work for the security of those Americans missing or held captive. Anyone holding an American right now should understand, above all else, that we will hold them strictly responsible for our soldiers' well-being. We expect them to be well-treated, and we expect them to be released.

So now we face a choice. Do we leave when the job gets tough, or when the job is well done? Do we invite a return of mass suffering, or do we leave in a way that gives the Somalis a decent chance to survive?

Recently, General Colin Powell said this about our choices in Somalia. "Because things get difficult, you don't cut and run, you work the problem and try to find a correct solution." I want to bring our troops home from Somalia. Before the events of this week, as I said, we had already reduced the number of our troops there from 28,000 to less than 5,000. We must complete that withdrawal soon, and I will. But we must also leave on our terms. We must do it right. And here is what I intend to do.

This past week's events make it clear that even as we prepare to withdraw from Somalia, we need more strength there. We need more armor, more air power, to ensure that our people are safe and that we can do our job. Today, I have ordered 1,700 additional Army troops and 104 additional armored vehicles to Somalia to protect our troops and to complete our mission. I've also ordered an aircraft carrier and two amphibious groups with 3,600 combat Marines to be stationed offshore. These forces will be under American command.

Their mission, what I am asking these young Americans to do, is the following: First, they are there to protect our troops and our bases. We did not go to Somalia with a military purpose. We never wanted to kill anyone. But those who attack our soldiers must know they will pay a very heavy price.

Second, they are there to keep open and secure the roads, the port and the lines of communication that are essential for the United Nations and the relief workers to keep the flow of food and supplies and people moving freely throughout the country so that starvation and anarchy do not return.

Third, they are there to keep the pressure on those who cut off relief supplies and attacked our people. Not to personalize the conflict, but to prevent a return to anarchy.

Fourth, through their pressure and their presence, our troops will help to make it possible for the Somali people, working

with others, to reach agreements among themselves so that they can solve their problems and survive when we leave. That is our mission.

I am proposing this plan because it will let us finish leaving Somalia on our own terms and without destroying all that two administrations have accomplished there. For, if we were to leave today, we know what would happen. Within months, Somali children again would be dying in the streets. Our own credibility with friends and allies would be severely damaged. Our leadership in world affairs would be undermined at the very time when people are looking to America to help promote peace and freedom in the post-Cold War world. And all around the world, aggressors, thugs and terrorists will conclude that the best way to get us to change our policies is to kill our people. It would be open season on Americans.

That is why I am committed to getting this job done in Somalia, not only quickly, but also effectively. To do that, I am taking steps to ensure troops from other nations are ready to take the place of our own soldiers. We've already withdrawn some 20,000 troops, and more than that number have replaced them from over two dozen other nations. Now we will intensify efforts to have other countries deploy more troops to Somalia to assure that security will remain when we're gone.

And we'll complete the replacement of U.S. military logistics personnel with civilian contractors who can provide the same support to the United Nations. While we're taking military steps to protect our own people and to help the U.N. maintain a secure environment, we must pursue new diplomatic efforts to help the Somalis find a political solution to their problems. That is the only kind of outcome that can endure.

For fundamentally, the solution to Somalia's problems is not a military one, it is political. Leaders of the neighboring African states, such as Ethiopia and Eritrea, have offered to take the lead in efforts to build a settlement among the Somali people that can preserve order and security. I have directed my representatives to pursue such efforts vigorously. And I've asked Ambassador Bob Oakley, who served effectively in two administrations as our representative in Somalia, to travel again to the region immediately to advance this process.

Obviously, even then there is no guarantee that Somalia will rid itself of violence and suffering. But at least we will have given Somalia a reasonable chance. This week some 15,000 Somalis took to the streets to express sympathy for our losses, to thank us for our effort. Most Somalis are not hostile to us, but grateful. And they want to use this opportunity to rebuild their country.

It is my judgment and that of my military advisors that we may need up to six months to complete these steps and to conduct an orderly withdrawal. We'll do what we can to complete the mission before then. All American troops will be out of Somalia no later than March the 31st, except for a few hundred support personnel in noncombat roles.

If we take these steps, if we take the time to do the job right, I am convinced we will have lived up to the responsibilities of American leadership in the world. And we will have proved that we are committed to addressing the new problems of a new era.

When our troops in Somalia came under fire this last weekend, we witnessed a dramatic example of the heroic ethic of our American military. When the first Black Hawk helicopter was downed this weekend, the other American troops didn't retreat,

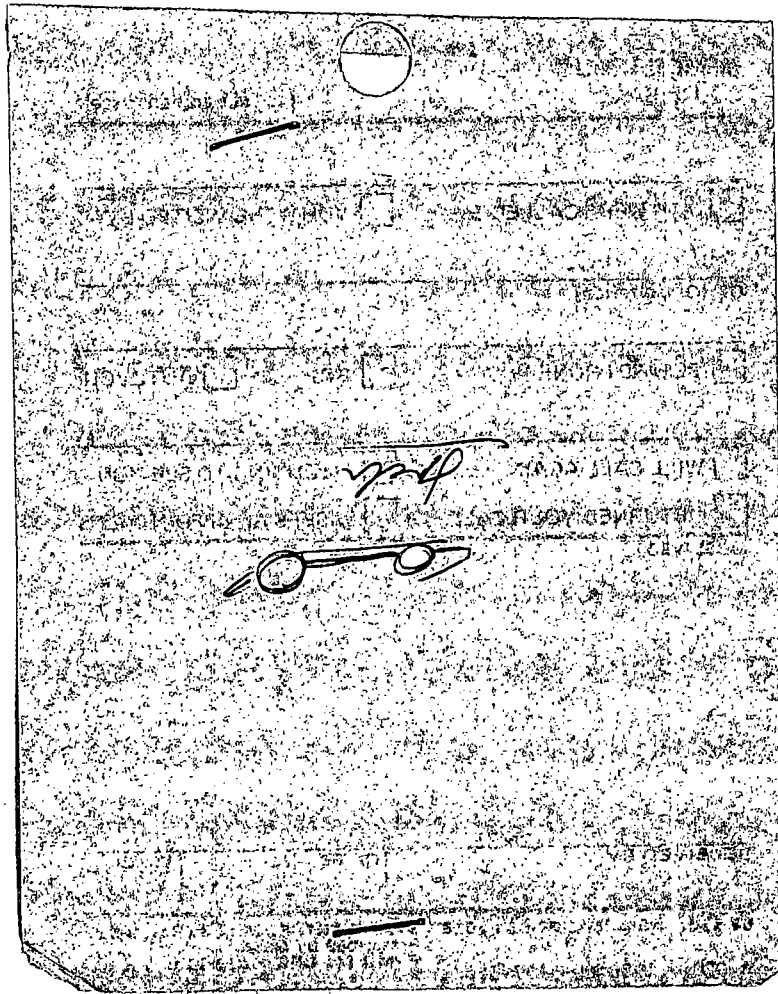
although they could have. Some 90 of them formed a perimeter around the helicopter and they held that ground under intensely heavy fire. They stayed with their comrades. That's the kind of soldiers they are. That's the kind of people we are.

So let us finish the work we set out to do. Let us demonstrate to the world, as generations of Americans have done before us, that when Americans take on a challenge, they do the job right.

Let me express my thanks and my gratitude and my profound sympathy to the families of the young Americans who were killed in Somalia. My message to you is, your country is grateful, and so is the rest of the world, and so are the vast majority of the Somali people. Our mission from this day forward is to increase our strength, do our job, bring our soldiers out, and bring them home. Thank you, and God bless America.

END

5:11 P.M. EDT



1 of 1 items
09/29/93

CQ's WASHINGTON ALERT

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON SPEAKER; GENERAL COLIN POWELL,
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF; NATIONAL PRESS CLUB BALLROOM
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1993
(REUTER TRANSCRIPTS 09/28/93; 1037 Lines)
Executive Department/Agency

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON SPEAKER
GENERAL COLIN POWELL, CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB BALLROOM
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1993

This transcript by: Federal News Service, 620 National
Press Building, Washington, DC 20045.

Federal News Service is a private firm and is not affiliated
with
the federal government.

COPYRIGHT 1993 BY FEDERAL INFORMATION SYSTEMS CORPORATION,
WASHINGTON,
DC 20045, USA. NO PORTION OF THIS TRANSCRIPT MAY BE COPIED,
SOLD, OR
RETRANSMITTED WITHOUT THE WRITTEN AUTHORITY OF FEDERAL
INFORMATION
SYSTEMS CORPORATION.

COPYRIGHT IS NOT CLAIMED AS TO ANY PART OF THE ORIGINAL WORK
PREPARED
BY A UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OFFICER OR EMPLOYEE AS A PART OF
THAT
PERSON'S OFFICIAL DUTIES.

GEN. POWELL: (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you.
Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you. Thank you.
Thank you. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much for that kind introduction, and let me
say that we will not be discussing politics. (Laughter.) And I
am, once again, delighted to be back at the National Press Club.
And before beginning my talk on the role of the military and
some of the things we have been doing in recent months and
years, let me take this final opportunity perhaps to express my
appreciation to the members of the press for the relationship

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Reluctance to use military force is an American military tradition. I can trace it back from Washington to Grant to Eisenhower. Since war is ultimately a political act, not a military act, give political tools the opportunity to work first. Military power can back up political tools and make them credible. We saw that in the Cold War, which we prevailed in without firing a shot. And it is the responsibility of military leaders to ensure that political leaders have an analysis of all the options -- the good, the bad, the popular, the unpopular, the fashionable, the unfashionable. And only then, when the candid advice of the military leaders are provided to our political leaders, can they then make proper decisions, make that political decision that the Constitution only gives them the right to do, and then we, the military leaders, execute.

And my view is we should always execute for decisive results. Decisive doesn't mean overwhelming. Decisive means decisive. It means committing the force needed to achieve the political objective. If the political objective is very, very limited, very circumscribed, the force should still be decisive in order to achieve that limited objective. The Philippines is one of my favorite examples. On the 1st of December, I think it was, 1989, late at night we got a call for help from the Philippine government. Rebellion was underway. "We want you to come bomb a Philippine air base" where Philippine planes were taking off to attack Mrs. Aquino.

We examined it quickly. We made some judgments and decided that in this case we didn't need to apply overwhelming force. We thought that just sending some F-4 fighters with great young Air Force pilots aboard buzzing the airfield would be enough to keep those planes on the ground without us having to kill a single person. Precise application of military force for a very limited objective. And we made it all up within about two hours, and the mission was over in 2 1/2 hours. And the instructions we gave to the pilots were very simple and clear: go over the airfield and demonstrate extreme hostile intent. (Laughter.) They did. Mission completed.

My philosophy in all this is rather simple: match political expectations to military means in a wholly realistic way. Don't slide in, don't mislead yourself. This isn't some syndrome I'm suffering from. It comes from 35 years of experience. As a first lieutenant, I saw what doing otherwise was -- results were in the Bay of Pigs -- President Kennedy. As a major and a captain and a lieutenant colonel, I saw what doing otherwise produced in Vietnam. And in Beirut as a major general in 1983, I saw what doing otherwise can result in.

In the case of places like Somalia where the mission was nice and clear cut when we went in, but it's becoming a little

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

more difficult now. We will have to continue our calculus of political objectives, means applied to that objective, and sort them out. But because things get difficult, you don't cut and run. You work the problem and try to find a correct solution.

I'm pleased that the philosophy I've just espoused has seen favor with the two presidents and the two secretaries of defense that I have worked for in the past four years. We've learned our lesson I think. At the end of the day, though, strategy and force structure and matters such as I have been talking about kind of go by the wayside. At the end of the day, all of our plans, the missions we have in mind, rest on the shoulder of the individual GI, be he a soldier, a sailor, an airman, a Marine or Coast Guardsman, he or she is at the heart and soul of our armed forces -- cold, tired, frightened, away from home, a soldier of the nation willing to go anywhere, to do anything, to sacrifice whatever is required for the mission. Hundreds of thousands of such wonderful young men and women, trained and bonded together, make up the armed forces of the United States. They are a treasure. And they count on us -- all of us here today -- for leadership, for support, and for caring for them.

I am so very proud to have been one of them for the past 35 years, and for the last four years to have represented them. It all ends for me on Thursday. I've been a soldier all my life. I've never wanted to be anything else. I have loved every single minute of it, and I thank the nation for having given me the opportunity to serve in the proud armed forces of the United States.

Thank you.

(Extended applause.)

Do I get the mug now? (Laughter.)

MR. BOYCE: You can have the mug or what's behind door number one, right over here. (Laughter.)

You've said that you won't talk about politics, but if you won't talk about politics, will you tell us when you will talk about politics? (Laughter.)

GEN. POWELL: Not today certainly, and I don't know when or if. Thank you, no. (Laughter.)

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

At least, we can get the killing stopped before winter comes so that we can then see what the future will bring in terms of adjustments that the parties may wish to make between themselves in the future. The important thing it seems to be now is to get the killing stopped before winter gets too far along.

MR. BOYCE: The role of the United Nations has changed quite a bit over recent years in these areas, and the role of NATO is also changing. What do you predict over the next five or ten years for both of these organizations?

GEN. POWELL: I'm big on NATO, spent a lot of time on it over the last several years. But I think NATO continues to be the basis for stability in the West and coherence and cohesion in the West and it also seems to be the basis for new stability in the East. Everybody is trying to get in. And one of the major reasons that it serves as this twin pillar of stability, if I can call it that, is because of the North Atlantic link. When people are in NATO or trying to get in NATO, they see a link to North America, to the United States and Canada, as sort of the offshore guarantors of that security. So, I think NATO remains a growth industry.

With respect to the United Nations, I hope the United Nations will continue to take on these peacekeeping missions that are around the world and which they have to take on. That's the charter. What we have to do, as President Clinton noted yesterday, is to do a better job of organizing ourselves, organizing the U.N. to take on these missions. Yes, there will be rocky times in Somalia and rocky times in Bosnia and places like that.

And when you have so many sovereign nations all trying to work together, there's bound to be disagreement and confusion, but you've got to just keep working through all that so that you can achieve the kinds of successes we have seen in the last five years, if I can use that same window: the Iran-Iraq war, U.N.; withdrawal from Afghanistan, U.N.; Cambodia, U.N.; some of the resolution of the problems in our own hemisphere, Nicaragua, El Salvador, had a U.N. underpinning. So, the U.N. is doing marvelous work. Namibian elections, just wonderful work going on.

So, we have to continue to support the U.N. We have to pay our arrears. It is not responsible of us to ask so much from the U.N. while we are one of the biggest debtors. And we have to help the U.N. rise to its responsibilities by giving them the

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Council for a Livable World

110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Suite 409
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 543-4100

FAX # (202) 543-6297

TO:

Jeremy Rosner
NSC

FROM:

John Isaacs

NUMBER OF PAGES:

4

~~11/11/93~~

(including cover).

COMMENTS:

~~Shalikashvili quote~~

Gen. Shalikashvili quote

1 of 1 items

CQ's WASHINGTON ALERT 09/23/93

HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE SUBJECT:
NOMINATION OF GENERAL JOHN SHALIKASHVILI TO BE CHAIRMAN OF
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF; CHAIRED BY: SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA)
WITNESS: GENERAL JOHN SHALIKASHVILI; 216 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1993
(REUTER TRANSCRIPTS 09/22/93; 3358 Lines)
Congressional Hearings
Executive Department/Agency

HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
SUBJECT: NOMINATION OF GENERAL JOHN SHALIKASHVILI TO BE
CHAIRMAN OF JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
CHAIRED BY: SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA)
WITNESS: GENERAL JOHN SHALIKASHVILI
216 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1993

SEN. NUNN: The committee will come to order. The Armed Services Committee meets this morning to consider the nomination of General John M. Shalikashvili to be the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the nation's most senior military position.

On behalf of the Armed Services Committee, General, I would like to congratulate you on your nomination by President Clinton, and welcome you before this committee. You have been before this committee many times, but in a different capacity, and we're delighted you're here and we're delighted you're the President's nominee.

General Shalikashvili is well known to the members of this committee. We worked with him over the years as he has served in a series of increasingly important positions. Two and a half years ago, General Shali commanded the combined task force, Provide Comfort, that provided humanitarian assistance to the Kurdish refugees in northern Iraq.

As assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a position he held from August 1991 to June 1992, General Shali was primarily responsible for representing General Powell in inter-agency deliberations.

In his most recent assignment, as Supreme Allied Commander Europe, and Commander-in-Chief United States European Command, General Shalikashvili testified before the committee both during his confirmation hearings in June 1992, and along with his fellow combatant commanders in April 1993.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

of us even who support our being there. Give us your view on the future of Somalia and mainly the impact of a sudden withdrawal by us unilaterally.

GEN. SHALIKASHVILI: I have read the transcript of your deliberations on the issue, and I am aware that there is now a reassessment of where we stand and where we ought to be going, and if I should be confirmed, I look forward in participating in the last parts of that deliberation.

I must also tell you that as commander-in-chief in Europe, I really looked up to now on this issue slightly removed. But it seems to me -- and you all know that very well, that the difficulties that are now being experienced in Mogadishu overshadow the relatively good work that has been done and the progress that is ongoing in much of the country. And we need to be mindful to what degree the difficulties in Mogadishu are to drive us to cause some kind of damage to the progress that has been achieved and that is being made.

Clearly, the task that -- the prospect of leaving a task undone is never easy and you cannot totally wash your hands of it, and that's true of us, perhaps, much more so than of nations that have less of global responsibility than we do. But there is also the issue of the United Nations that we talked about earlier. It is in fact, as far as I know, the first kind of Chapter 7 operation that the United Nations is engaged in. And we need to be mindful to what degree we wish to see that succeeding.

So it's those thoughts in my mind that I bring to the table as I look forward to joining that review and in time reporting to you on our conclusions.

SEN. LEVIN: My time is up. Thank you.

SEN. NUNN: Thank you, Senator Levin.

Senator Warner.

SEN. JOHN W. WARNER (R-VA): Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General, I've enjoyed a long personal friendship with you, and I commend the president for selecting such an able and

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

...distinguished officer. And I would like to say that I was deeply touched by your continuing and everlasting reverence for a father who allegedly made a mistake, but the son still stands by with affection for his father. In this time of troubled parenthood, I think I find that very reassuring and a sign of the strength of your personal character.

GEN. SHALIKASHVILI: Thank you.

SEN. WARNER: Also, I think, given your heritage, you bring a background and an understanding of a troubled part of the world, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, which will strengthen your ability to advise the president and the Congress and others in the years to come.

I'd like to return to the question of Somalia and once again ask you to see -- tighten up your response, if possible. The future of our military operations in providing security in places of the world is dependent on our credibility with our allies, and it appears to me any precipitous withdrawal from Somalia when the goals of the Western world have not been achieved would affect seriously our credibility in future operations. Would you once again respond to that?

GEN. SHALIKASHVILI: I'm sorry that I wasn't clear on that issue. Yes, I believe that is true.

SEN. WARNER: All right. Let's turn then to Bosnia. There seems to be some hope that a form of agreement can be reached, and that agreement in the minds of the Western allies would require the insertion of a very substantial number of Western troops in there, perhaps as high as 50,000. My questions to you are, what is the level of troops that you think would be necessary to secure the type of agreement that is currently being envisioned? And, secondly, what percentage should be supplied by the United States? What advice would you give the president?

GEN. SHALIKASHVILI: On the issue of how large a contingent it would take to implement the peace plan that's on the table right now is that while we have not seen the very last modifications to it, I believe that our analysis so far will probably hold true unless in the next few days some major changes occur. And our analysis, carrying it over from first the Vance-Owen peace plan now to the adjusted Geneva peace plan, is that, in fact, it takes a force, a credible force, of some 50,000 to carry out the military tasks that are specified in the military annex of that plan.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Council for a Livable World

110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Suite 409
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 543-4100

FAX # (202) 543-6297

TO:

Jeremy Rosner
NSC

FROM:

John Isaacs

NUMBER OF PAGES:

~~1~~ 4

(including cover).

COMMENTS:

Pavell quote

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Chronology (3 pages)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Legislative Affairs (Rosner, Jeremy)
OA/Box Number: 10

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS Speech Files - Somalia Oval Office Address, October 7, 1993

2012-0659-F
ke4160

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

002, paper	Public Posture (2 pages)	10/00/1993	P1/b(1)
------------	--------------------------	------------	---------

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Legislative Affairs (Rosner, Jeremy)
OA/Box Number: 10

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS Speech Files - Somalia Oval Office Address, October 7, 1993

2012-0659-F
ke4160

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM, Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR, Document will be reviewed upon request.

Comment on Ranger Casualties in Somalia

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 never embarrass my country."

During the mission, one Blackhawk helicopter was downed by Gen. 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 pilot who appeared to have a chance but was stuck in the twisted remains of the aircraft. They found they couldn't dislodge the pilot, 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 never be forgotten.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 6, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SIGNING OF THE HATCH ACT OF 1993

East Room

3:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. This is a very happy day for me. I've had lots of discussion with Senator Glenn about this bill. Bill Clay is happy as a lark. This has put 30 years on his life today. (Laughter.) And the Vice President and I had occasion to talk about this quite a lot during the reinventing government effort. I have some remarks I want to make, but I hope you will forgive me if just for a moment, since this is my opportunity to speak to the national press and to the American people as well as to speak to you, I make a brief statement about Somalia.

Today I have had two serious meetings with my national security advisors, along with the meeting we had last night, to discuss the future course of the United States in Somalia.

Our forces went there last year under the previous administration on an extraordinary human mission: 350,000 Somalis had starved because anarchy and famine and disease had prevailed. Today we are completing the job of establishing security in Somalia that will not only permit those who are now living to enjoy the immediate fruits of our common efforts with our allies in the United Nations, but also to prevent that terrible crisis from occurring as soon as we are gone. It is essential that we conclude our mission in Somalia, but that we do it with firmness and steadiness of purpose.

I want to emphasize that tomorrow I will be consulting with congressional leaders in both parties and with others, and then I will report to you and to the American people. But this much I want to say today. Our men and women in Somalia, including any held captive, deserve our full support. They went there to do something almost unique in human history. We are anxious to conclude our role there honorably, but we do not want to see a reversion to the absolute chaos and the terrible misery which existed before.

I think the American people and I hope the Congress will be satisfied that we have assessed our position accurately and that we have a good policy to pursue. I will discuss that with them tomorrow, as I said, and then I will be back to the American people and the press as soon as that is done. (Applause.)

Let me say this is something of special importance to me today. When I was a 32 year-old freshman governor, in my first year one of the first bills I sponsored in my legislature was a bill repealing restrictions on political activities by state employees in my state. A bill that, very much like the Hatch Act, had stayed on in its present form because it was needed in a former time when, I'm a little embarrassed to say, state employees decades ago would mysteriously turn up with increases in welfare checks right before the election. Well, that hasn't happened in a long time in my state, or in any other. And so we changed the law. And I can honestly say in all the years since, not a single solitary soul ever lodged a single solitary complaint against any of our public employees for being good citizens.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

- 2 -

Today, we put an end to a vexing contradiction in America's public life with a solution, I hasten to add, looking at the members of Congress who are here, that is neither Democratic nor Republican, but American in nature. And I thank the members of both parties who supported this important reform.

We've been supporting democracy throughout the world. We've been standing up for Boris Yeltsin in the tight he's been in and cheering when he prevailed, and cheering when he reaffirmed his determination to have elections. But here in our own country, millions of our own citizens have been denied one of the most basic democratic rights, the right to participate in the political process, because of conditions that haven't existed for a very long time.

The original purpose of the Hatch Act was to protect federal employees and other citizens from coming under improper political pressure. But now our federal work force is the product of merit system, not patronage. We have laws to protect our citizens against coercion and intimidation. We have guarantees that the administration of federal laws must be fair and impartial. We have an exceedingly vigilant press, and people more than eager to talk to them whenever they have been abused, or think they have. (Laughter.)

The conditions which once gave rise to the Hatch Act as it was before this reform bill passed are no longer present and they cannot justify the continued muzzling of millions of American citizens. (Applause.)

The Federal Employees Political Activities Act, which I'm about to sign, will permit federal employees and postal workers on their own time to manage campaigns, raise funds, to hold positions within political parties. Still, there will be some reasonable restrictions. They wouldn't be able to run for partisan political office themselves, for example, and there will be some new responsibilities, which I applaud the federal employees' unions for embracing and supporting.

While we restore political rights to these millions of citizens, we also hold them to high standards at the federal workplace, where the business of our nation is done will still be strictly off limits to partisan political activity. Workers on the job won't even be allowed to wear political campaign buttons. At the same time, the reforms will maintain restrictions on the activities of workers in the most sensitive positions -- in law enforcement and national security.

Because we regard good ethics as the basis of good government, this reform strengthens criminal penalties for anyone convicted of abusing his or her position. And because we want our federal workers to be responsible to display an integrity worthy of the public service they reform, this reform includes a provision that allows the garnishment of federal pay to repay private debt. That's been done in the private sector for many years. And just as we now treat federal employees like private citizens in their political activities, there's no reason federal workers should get special protection for privately unpaid bills and obligations. (Applause.)

Ultimately, I believe, as Senator Glenn said; that this reform of the Hatch Act will mean more responsible, more satisfied, happier and more productive federal workers. When we extend the political rights of any group of Americans, we extend the political rights of all Americans. And we deepen the meaning of our own democracy.

Congress has done a lot of work on that just in the last eight months since I've been President. We've passed the Motor Voter Bill, which expands the franchise to people who have difficulty

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

MORE

registering to vote. (Applause.) Thanks to the Vice President, we have a plan that will radically change the way government operates. It will give rank-and-file federal employees more meaningful jobs, more say over their work, and enable us to do more with less and increase the confidence taxpayers have in the work we do around here.

Serious proposals on campaign finance reform and on lobbying reform have already passed the United States Senate and are now being acted on in the House of Representatives. There is a serious commitment in this Congress to try to deal with the continuing imperfections in our democracy. And I applaud them for it.

Aristotle once said that liberty and equality are best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost. Working together, we're closing in on that goal. And now, when I sign this bill, three million more Americans will have a chance to share in their beloved government to the utmost.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

(The bill is signed.)

END

3:10 P.M. EDT

Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich.
Floor Statement on Somalia
October 6, 1993

Mr. President: the loss of American lives in Somalia has caused an understandable call for the United States to immediately withdraw. When I see the chilling pictures and hear what has happened to our troops, in my heart I have the same reaction. But we have to act with our heads, not just our hearts. My head says we cannot blow hot and cold on our security commitments because of the latest terrible television images. And my head says, if we pull our troops out precipitously, the United States would be cutting and running from far more than Somalia.

We didn't enter Somalia precipitously. People were starving there for months before we acted and we organized an international response. We went to prevent a tragedy -- mass starvation resulting from chaos and anarchy. Food was being used as a political weapon by lawless gangs and warlords. The United States led an effort to halt that tragedy, and many nations of the world joined us.

Then the goal got blurred. Our purpose got fuzzy. We need clarity and we need a plan for removal of our troops soon. That's why the Senate and House both passed a resolution asking the President for a report on the policy objectives by October 15 and asking him to seek authorization from Congress by November 15.

Now, many are saying the humanitarian crisis is over, that the Somalis want us out of their country, and that U.S. soldiers are dying for no purpose. I don't buy it. I do not believe the citizens of Mogadishu really want anarchy and starvation. And I do believe there is a purpose, a continuing purpose to create a secure environment so there is no return to the chaos, anarchy and starvation that brought us there to begin with. Our goal, as stated in those same House and Senate resolutions, must also be to seek the prompt transfer of responsibility for the operation away from a reliance on the American Quick Reaction Force.

Now what would be the implications if we pull out precipitously? Because that is the issue. It is not whether we remove our troops. What are the circumstances under which we remove our troops. Are we going to remove our troops precipitously or are we going to remove them in good order? With a plan. What would be the implications if we precipitously removed our troops?

First, with Americans captive in Mogadishu and with Aided still fighting for control of that city, pulling out right precipitously now would show the whole world as hostage to a small gang with small arms.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Aideed is basically trying to run the U.N. out of Somalia, and if the world knuckles under to him, then it basically gives up on the humanitarian mission that brought us to Mogadishu and Somalia to begin with. It would send out an unmistakable signal that one factional warlord can win against the entire world. And we would also do something else. We would rue the day we ever did. And that is we would vindicate the targeting of Americans specifically, and we encourage potential adversaries to target American troops as the easiest way to get the U.S. to lose our sense of purpose.

We would also send a discouraging signal to our own troops if we pull out precipitously. The men and women of our armed forces need to know when we send them into harms way that it is for a purpose, and that we will back them and give them the tools they need to do the job. A precipitous withdrawal would injure the morale of the very men and women that we should be giving our full support to -- our men and women who are wearing the uniform of the United States of America.

The credibility of the U.S. internationally to stick to its commitments and to succeed in its purpose would also would be undermined if we precipitously pull out of Somalia. And in the longer term, if we do that, we may threaten any ability of the U.S. to forge effective coalitions in response to aggression -- whether it is through NATO, through ad hoc coalitions like we did in the Gulf War, or through the United Nations. The world finally has a chance to act together, and Somali is one of the first places that we are trying after the Cold War -- we must not be the country that fractures that effort.

What would be our reaction be if the Pakistanis, who have also taken casualties in Mogadishu, decided to pack up and go home? How would we respond to the unravelling of a coalition that left us holding the bag? How can we prevail upon other nations to contribute to peacekeeping -- as we inevitably must, both where the U.S. has a presence and in areas where we choose not to -- if we do not make a reasonable effort to stand by commitments that we have freely made?

We should not be in every such coalition, but we need coalitions to be created and we need coalitions to work. What will we do the next time we need to face down a terrorist state, that threatens the world with nuclear or chemical weapons? How are we going to convince other nations to join us then, if we shrink from commitments now that we have freely entered into?

We must leave Somalia. But we must leave it in a way that avoids another tragedy on the ground, and a larger crisis in the crucial effort to create a secure world after the Cold War. Yes, we must leave Somalia but as part of a plan where other nations, including African nations, contribute the resources and people to

leave a secure environment in Somalia

General Colin Powell said it best, less than a month ago -- when he said that he thinks that, "we should stay there [Somalia] the foreseeable future to continue to play our part in the effort. And it will be very unwise for us," he said, "to only pull our troops out. It would be devastating to our efforts for the new world order."

Then, at his retirement speech at the National Press Club, General Powell said, "In the case of places like Somalia where the mission was nice and clear cut when we went, but it's becoming a little more difficult now, we will have to continue our calculus of political objectives, the means applied to that objective -- and sort them out." But then he added, "But because things get difficult, you don't cut and run. You work the problem and try to find a correct solution."

Our first priority, Mr. President, of course, is to protect our troops while they are there and give them the force they need to perform the mission they've been assigned. And it is urgent for the President to define that mission more clearly -- for our troops, for the American people and for the world.

And again, this Senate and this House has already asked for that clarity. We voted almost unanimously on September 9, to urge the President to narrow the policy objective in Somalia and to report to the American people by Oct. 15 on a timetable for U.S. troop removal and transfer of peacekeeping functions to other countries.

The House of Representatives has asked for the same thing, and now the casualties of American soldiers in Mogadishu demand that clarification of policy more urgently than any speech in Congress can.

President Clinton and his advisors are developing those plans and the President has a responsibility to articulate how we are going to help protect humanitarian assistance -- the process we have begun -- so our efforts are not wasted by a precipitous withdrawal which returns Somalia to the same state of anarchy which brought us there to begin with.

We need clearly articulated answers to several questions:

- * What are we doing immediately to give our troops the force that they need to carry out their mission and protect themselves?
- * What are we doing to recover Americans currently held hostage by Somalis, and what preparations are we making to retaliate if they are harmed?

* What are we doing to focus the efforts of the UN mission, and to narrow the role U.S. forces are playing? How will that role how will U.S. participation be terminated in a way that doesn't contribute to reoccurrence of chaos and anarchy and starvation?

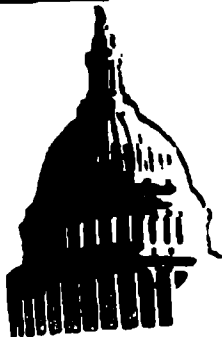
For the most part, Mr. President, the Somalia operation has been a success. Despite violence in parts of Mogadishu, most of the country remains peaceful. In most parts of Somalia, the U.N. mission is achieving its goals: food distribution has been re-established, the basic building blocks of civil society are being re-introduced, including local governance, communications systems and police forces. A precipitous withdraw would do more to leave Mogadishu to the warlords and the gangs than a return to chaos and starvation.

Another tragedy which would result would be a giant retreat on the road that we have been developing to create new structures to assure peace in our world in the wake of the Cold War. In a way it is unfair to make Somalia a test of our ability to act in concert with other nations.

Mr. President if the community of nations proves unwilling to enforce international law, then our tough-worded resolutions become engraved invitations for aggressors, dictators and terrorists to wreak havoc with the international order. Weakness and lack of our resolve a precipitous removal of American troops under these circumstances will invite the violation of borders, ethnic cleansing, enforced starvation, political bombings, and worst of all, the greatest nightmare of all, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Somalia represents a serious test of the world's will and our will. On the one hand we can not and should not withdraw troops precipitously. But on the other hand, we cannot and will not accept an open-ended commitment, a gradual escalation, or an aimless effort. The American people will not support that, and I will not support that.

Despite the discouraging events in Somalia and elsewhere, there are reasons to be optimistic and we should be. Act on the opportunities that we have for the possibilities of a new world order and not squander those opportunities by a precipitous cutting and running in Somalia with all the difficulties that it presents and with all the heartache that it presents to our constituents.



Facsimile from the office of
Senator Carl Levin

Please deliver to Jeremy Resner Date 10/16
Don Gross 10-7
 Fax Number 395-7350 Time _____
 From David Levin
 Total number of pages including this page 5

If you do not receive all the pages, please call 202-224-6221

Additional Comments:

~~These~~ Please pass

~~Please call me back~~
 This along to Jeremy & Tony Lake.
~~at 10:00 AM on 10/16/93~~
 Call me re: Somalia if you can.
 Thanks.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

6 of 9 items
10/06/93

CQ's WASHINGTON ALERT

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON SPEAKER; GENERAL COLIN POWELL,
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF; NATIONAL PRESS CLUB BALLROOM
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1993
(REUTER TRANSCRIPTS 09/28/93; 1037 Lines)
Executive Department/Agency

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON SPEAKER
GENERAL COLIN POWELL, CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB BALLROOM
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1993

This transcript by: Federal News Service, 620 National
Press Building, Washington, DC 20045.

Federal News Service is a private firm and is not affiliated with
the federal government.

COPYRIGHT 1993 BY FEDERAL INFORMATION SYSTEMS CORPORATION, WASHINGTON,
DC 20045, USA. NO PORTION OF THIS TRANSCRIPT MAY BE COPIED, SOLD, OR
RETRANSMITTED WITHOUT THE WRITTEN AUTHORITY OF FEDERAL INFORMATION
SYSTEMS CORPORATION.

COPYRIGHT IS NOT CLAIMED AS TO ANY PART OF THE ORIGINAL WORK PREPARED
BY A UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OFFICER OR EMPLOYEE AS A PART OF THAT
PERSON'S OFFICIAL DUTIES.

GEN. POWELL: (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you.
Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you. Thank you.
Thank you. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much for that kind introduction, and let me
say that we will not be discussing politics. (Laughter.) And I
am, once again, delighted to be back at the National Press Club.
And before beginning my talk on the role of the military and
some of the things we have been doing in recent months and
years, let me take this final opportunity perhaps to express my
appreciation to the members of the press for the relationship
that I've enjoyed with you over the last six years. It's been
tough, and you've ripped me apart a lot, but I think I've
managed to survive it. But there's still two days left to go.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

(Laughter.)

We haven't always agreed on every issue that's come along during my four years as chairmanship and my two years as national security advisor. When you have agreed with me, I've been amazed at your brilliance. When you've disagreed with me, I have been dismayed by your ignorance. (Laughter.) But it has always been for the single purpose of making sure that the American people got the best information. We always had the same mission: to keep the American people informed and to do it in an adversarial way, where the government tries to put out a point of view and it's the purpose of a free and aggressive press to attack and to come at us and to make sure that we were always on the mark, that we were serving the American people.

And so I thank you for the relationship that we've had over the last several years. And I think the people who have benefited from it the most are the people that we treasure the most, the American people. And I once again express my appreciation to you for that relationship.

It's a pleasure for me to be here for my third appearance. My first appearance was five years ago, and it was a final appearance in a sense, because it was the last major speech I gave as national security advisor to President Reagan. It was in the fall of 1988 when we were within a few months of the end of the Reagan-Bush administration. I realized the other day that by coincidence this, of course, is my last major speech as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is a coincidence, but, of course, if I ever appear here again giving a last major speech in some capacity, by then it will become a tradition. Who knows what might happen? (Laughter.)

But five years ago when I was here, the theme of my speech was to talk about what the Reagan presidency had been about with respect to foreign policy. It was a proud record, and we could take credit for a number of things. I talked about the historic summit meetings that had been held between President Reagan and President Gorbachev, and I talked at some length about the historic results that had flowed from those meetings. I suggested conservatively five years ago that we might be entering a fundamentally new era in our relationship with the Soviet Union.

I also noted a number of other things that were happening in the world. The cease-fire in that terrible, eight-year old Iran-Iraq war. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was underway. The

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

flourishing of democracy under Mrs. Aquino in Manila. I touched on the INF treaty, a marvelous treaty that had been concluded which for the first time would begin the process of destroying nuclear weapons and not building them anymore. And I noted at that time that we were on the verge of perhaps having a mandate to begin work on a CFE treaty, conventional forces in Europe, where we could do with conventional forces what we were doing with nuclear weapons, start at disassemble the huge armies that had been created during the course of the Cold War.

I also shared some disappointments. I noted that Panama was still under the heel of General Manuel Noriega, and noted that in due course, something would have to be done about that. The world, as I would report to President Reagan a few months later on his last day in office, was relatively quiet. There was a feeling of hope. There was a feeling of anticipation. Yes, there was smoldering and bubbling, but overall, the world seemed quiet and very hopeful. Little did I know, nor did anyone else here at that time know what really was in front of us, what was in store for us for the five years between that appearance and my appearance today.

Yes, it was quiet for a while, and then the lid blew. Eleven months after I spoke here as national security adviser, President Bush appointed me to be chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the 1st of October, 1989. In the first 90 days, the Berlin Wall fell. My old friend, Manuel Noriega, was dealt with. Mrs. Aquino got in trouble, and American armed forces very surgically and precisely came to her assistance one night in December of 1989. The Warsaw Pact started to crumble. Russian Jews were finally being allowed to emigrate in significant numbers. We saw a free government arise in Hungary. Honecker was out in East Germany, Ceausescu out in Romania. We invaded Panama, as I noted, and in that particular operation, we allowed an elected president to assume office.

And after those first 90 days, things really began to pick up. (Laughter.) Total collapse of the Warsaw Pact. The freeing of Eastern Europe and the rise of democratic institutions and nations and movements around the world. The reunification of Germany, something we thought might take years, suddenly burst upon the world stage in a matter of months. Then we saw the end of communism, the end of communism as a political system, the end of communism as an economic system, the end of communism, more importantly, as a value system, the end of communism as something for people to believe in. We watch now patiently months ahead for those few remaining aging starlets in Havana and Pyongyang and one or two other places to catch up with history and realize that their time is past.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

And we defeated communism by the strength of our economy, our political system, our value system, our military forces, but ultimately it was a contest between ideas. And the idea of communism failed. We saw the end of the Soviet Union, and Mr. Gorbachev, that great reformer, who did so much, was replaced by a great revolutionary by the name of Boris Yeltsin, who we watch on the stage in Moscow today, pushing that revolution forward.

Gorbachev, however, unlike old Soviet leaders, did not disappear and go into oblivion. I discover that, among other things, he has become an environmentalist, and he is setting up his office at a United States Army base, in the Presidio in San Francisco. Is this a great world or what? (Laughter.)

CPE that we talked about in 1988 actually became a treaty, and the armies that once glowered at each other in Europe began to fall back and shrink. Elsewhere in the world, we saw Nelson Mandela freed to join South Africa's turbulent political process. We saw elections in Namibia and Angola. Even in Cambodia, we saw in our newspapers this week how that U.N. operation has achieved a brilliant success and the U.N. was able to turn Cambodia back over to its people. In our hemisphere, we saw the end of conflict in El Salvador and Nicaragua. The democratically-elected civilian president in South Korea completed the transition from military rule.

We have marveled at the emergence of the United Nations, assuming responsibilities dreamed of by its founders but only now realizable. There will be difficulties ahead, but we shouldn't allow these U.N. difficulties to overshadow the immensity of this development. Old enemies becoming new friends and partners. Old alliances, such as NATO, adapting to new roles and realities. Shortly after I became chairman in 1989 and early '90, there was much debate about NATO. "Whither NATO?" was the question that all the Europe think tanks were talking about. Now, in 1993, it's not "Whither NATO?"; it's "How can I get in? Where do I find an application card? How can I join this solid alliance?"

In the aftermath of the Gulf war, our hostages in Lebanon were released. The major aggressor in the region, Iraq, was neutralized and made irrelevant, even though Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime is still very annoying. And the Middle East peace process re-energized, leading ultimately to the historic ceremony that we all saw just a few weeks ago, where President Clinton presided on the White House lawn over the signing of those agreements between Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat, where they shook hands in that

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

memorable picture on an agreement to recognize each other.

Chairman Arafat, who was also a guest here, wasn't even wearing his trademark pistol that day, but he was turned out in a smartly- tailored uniform, and a little while later, that afternoon or the next day, he was asked by an inquisitive reporter why he wore a uniform. And he remarked, "Why not? Chairman Powell wears a uniform." (Laughter.) So even in my declining days I find myself a fashion role model. (Laughter, applause.)

But who -- if I had come to this audience three months ago and told you that on Friday, the 24th of September, 1993, the two lead stories combined on the front page of "The New York Times" would be the Israeli Knesset approving an agreement to recognize the PLO and right underneath it the South African Parliament agreeing to integrate blacks into the political process -- amazing times, historic times, unprecedented times.

And the United States' armed forces have been incredibly busy dealing with these historic events. Panama -- but that's not all -- we rescued United States' embassies in Liberia and Somalia. We had to send troops, regretfully, to Los Angeles, to deal with a riot that shocked us, and we sent our troops to rescue our fellow Americans in south Florida after a terrible hurricane. We rescued Haitians at sea and ran a camp for them at Guantanamo while working for a restoration of their democracy, a restoration that we hope is almost at hand. We undertook humanitarian operations on a scale never seen before in Bosnia and Bangladesh, in Guam and Somalia, in northern Iraq, in Russia, and a dozen other places.

And of course, the highlight of all of these activities of the last four years can best be characterized as Desert Storm and Norm. Saddam Hussein reminded us, in case we needed any reminding, that there was still evil in the world, and President Bush and Secretary Cheney sent 541,000 Americans 8,000 miles to join a massive coalition to deal with this particular brand of evil. Led by General Schwarzkopf, whose performance -- brilliant performance electrified a nation and a world. Those troops under his command did well and made America proud of its armed forces again in a way that we had not seen since VJ and VE days back in 1945.

We were engulfed in parades. It got so bad that by July I was getting calls from commanders saying, "Chairman, we've got

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

to stop the parades. The troops are getting tired of parades. (Laughter.) Their feet are getting flat, they are getting fat from all of this food that they get at these parade parties. When can we go back to training?" I said, "Not till the American people have had their fill." Those parades bonded us again -- people's Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, Coast Guard -- bonded us again with the American people in a way that bridged the estrangement of the post-Korea and post-Vietnam periods. We included in those parades our Vietnam veterans and our Korean buddies, and shared with them so that they finally had the parades that they didn't get before. GI Joe -- (applause) -- GI Joe and GI Jane again became terms of endearment and not derision.

Almost 30 times in the past four years our armed forces have been called on to fight wars, to restore and preserve peace, to relieve pain, to provide hope, to deter aggression, to show the flag, to back up diplomacy, to show the American will, to stand watch quietly in places like Korea, to reassure friends and to sober enemies.

In every instance, they've gone about their job with a competency and with a spirit too rarely seen in our country -- proud, patriotic, selfless, drug-free, the best and brightest of American youth. And the American people responded. Perhaps that's why now as an institution we are polled as perhaps one of the most highly regarded institutions in the nation.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I won't bother comparing the polling data on the American armed forces with any groups that might perhaps be represented in this room today. (Laughter.) Of this record of accomplishment on the part of the armed forces, I am enormously proud, and I am, of course, enormously proud to have been a member of this group.

And yet, for all that has happened in these five years, it is probably only a foretaste of the revolutionary events that are just ahead. History seems to be taking two paths. On one path, some nations are moving forward to new democratic futures with hope for their people. President Yeltsin and what he's doing in Russia is a good example. The other path, however, is a little more confused, a little more dangerous. Some have yet to step on other paths, but others have taken this second path and have returned to 1914 to fight out old hatreds and grudges that had been put on hold by the superpower Cold War pause button.

So we enter a time of hope and promise and a time still of great danger and uncertainty. It will take all of our best wisdom to navigate through these troubled times. It will take American leadership. The debates that we're seeing now about unilateralism or multilateralism or isolationism and interventionism and the other "isms" are somewhat silly and they miss the point. The point is that history and destiny have made America the leader of the world that would be free. And the world that would be free is looking to us for inspiration. The world that would be free trusts America, trusts our values, trusts our people, trusts what we stand for.

We must play that role in whatever form it presents itself. It means political leadership. It means diplomatic leadership. It means economic leadership. And it means leadership of all kinds backed up by a strong military. This isn't to say we will go everywhere and do everything or be the world's policemen. We will have to make choices, and there will be limits. But we cannot step back away from this position of leadership. Where we can make a difference, we must try to make that difference. And so I expect our armed forces to be busier in the days ahead than they have been in the nice static garrison days of the Cold War.

In this torrent of history over the past four years, I have had two primary goals as chairman. The first one was to make sure that we accomplished successfully every operational mission assigned to us by the secretary of defense and the president and the American people. Second, to begin the process of restructuring and downsizing all of our armed forces in response to this new changed environment, the absence of the Cold War and to do it in a way that preserved the capability and the quality of our armed forces. No demobilization, no breaking apart this superb aggregation of young men and women.

Others will make the final evaluation, but I feel pretty good about both of these goals. The more difficult of the two was the downsizing and restructuring. The first thing we did a few years ago was to drop the Cold War as a planning assumption. In the absence of a Soviet Union, in the absence of an empire of communism to orchestrate all of this, cold war was over. World War III was unthinkable. We no longer had to be prepared to fight everywhere in the world at once against an empire. And the new strategic assumption which was adopted by President Bush and Secretary Cheney in 1990 was to concentrate on fighting two regional conflicts that might emerge. Why two? Because you don't want to be so occupied with one that you don't have a capacity to handle another one and thereby tempt another one. It's as simple as that.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

I'm pleased that President Clinton and Secretary Aspin have now built on that rather simple strategic principle and we are allowed to move forward with our restructuring of the armed forces. We used first the concept of the base force to control our descent from our Cold War highs. President Clinton has now approved Secretary Aspin's bottom-up review force, which allows us to go down even lower, but a controlled descent. I am not concerned about the name of the force or the name of the process. I am driven of a need to preserve for future presents, for future secretaries, for future chairmen, for future generations a force capable of executing any future strategy of successfully dealing with a future crisis, a crisis that nobody today can predict, but most assuredly will arrive at 2:00 one morning some time in the future. And I am confident, hopeful -- my prayer is -- there'll be a force ready to deal with that crisis when it comes.

What we had to do to avoid this rapid demobilization was to begin it in a sensible, prudent manner. We decided to go down about 25 percent, and now we have accelerated that to go down even further. This hasn't been an easy process. It's been one of the most difficult management challenges ever presented to the Department of Defense. Six hundred thousand to seven hundred thousand troops are in the process of being discharged. We've cut the size of the Army and the Navy and the Air Force 40 percent, 25 percent of the Marine Corps. We've eliminated or will eliminate in the course of the next several years 70 percent of the nuclear weapons that were in our inventory when I became chairman just four years ago. That'll be done shortly after the turn of the century.

Hundreds of hardware programs have been cut. Hundreds of bases being closed. Reserves and civilian employees being reduced by the hundreds of thousands. In the last several years alone, 200,000 troops have been brought home with their families from Europe -- a major contraction of the defense industry. So the armed forces, ladies and gentlemen, are paying and will continue to pay a peace dividend. But we have also seen that the peace dividend has temporarily hurt the economy. That will sort itself out in time as our economic -- free economic system and the conversion practices of the Department of Defense allow the economy to move into this new direction and away from too much of a reliance on defense spending.

And through it all, the force remains ready. The force remains of extremely high quality with high morale, ready to perform missions and performing difficult missions around the world today. In some ways, the force of today is even better than a few years ago. We have gone a long way toward operating

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

as a team, rather than just four separate services. You saw that in Desert Storm, where we all came together under a single commander, General Schwarzkopf, and service preferences and parochial considerations was secondary to the needs of the team.

But we learned a lot about ourselves in Desert Storm. We found that we had to make improvements. And we've been hard at work for the last two years making those improvements. We worked hard then to come up with a joint doctrine for all services, joint procedures for all services. We don't want to unify the services, however. Some critics of mine have suggested that in the roles and missions work I've done I didn't go far enough with respect to merging the activities of the services. Some people would even take it to the extreme, and I'm rather critical of these views. I'm not interested in creating the Aeroflot model in the armed forces of the United States.

We need each and every one of our services. They bring forward from the past proud traditions. I have yet to find a combat capability in any of those four services we did not have a need for at some time over the last four years. So we could do better. We can get rid of redundancy, but let's not get rid of complementarity where it serves the nation's purpose.

We have to remember also that we're warriors. We're not a church picnic group. We're warriors. And I want every Air Force fighter pilot to go into the sky believing he's the best fighter pilot in the world, he's a top gun alongside his Navy counterpart. I want them to believe each one is better than the other. I want an American Marine infantryman to believe there is no infantryman better on the face of the earth. And I want an Army American infantryman to be sure that that Marine is wrong because he's better than he is. That kind of competition serves our interests well. It gives you the kind of proud force that we have now. But when it's time to do a mission, when it's time to go to war, all of that gets set aside and there has to be one team going to war. On any one crisis, one service might get the game ball, but it takes the team to win.

Tomorrow in Norfolk, Virginia -- or later this week in Norfolk, Virginia -- probably Friday -- we're going to take this one step forward when we re-designate the United States Atlantic Command with a new mission. Traditionally, all of our forces in overseas theaters worked for a single commander. Thus, everybody in Europe worked for General Shalikashvili. Everybody in the Pacific works for Admiral Larson. But here in the United States the services maintain control over the operational training of

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

units here in the United States. So that the Army had principal responsibility for large unit training of Army units; similarly with the other services.

What we are going to do with this Atlantic Command -- we're going to give the Atlantic Command the operational control of all of the available, deployable active forces here in the United States, and the responsibility of that command will be to train them as joint teams, train them so that when the whistle blows and a General Schwarzkopf needs troops in the future or a General Thurman needs troops in Panama, what they will receive are forces that have been trained jointly by a single commander whose headquarters is in Norfolk. No more pickup games. You're going to get forces ready to go to combat right away. And since it is no longer just a Navy command with a focus on the Russian navy -- no longer a problem -- the commander of our Atlantic Command may be a Naval officer or an Army officer or a Marine officer or an Air Force officer. From now on, best person gets the job; no longer service-oriented.

So we're going to be doing more and more things like that. We are starting to send Navy instructor pilots to Air Force schools and Air Force instructor pilots to Navy schools so we can ultimately integrate the training of all of our pilots. We have done quite a bit in terms of integrating our strategic forces. We're going into the common development of aircraft components. More will follow as this team concept really becomes imbedded within the Department of Defense.

And I want to give great credit to my colleagues on the Joint Chiefs of Staff -- brilliant military leaders, dedicated military leaders -- for their efforts to bring this about. They are not what you all refer to all the time as the "Pentagon brass," a term I absolutely detest. And if you're going to give me a gift -- (laughter) -- as a result of this luncheon, do not give me some cheap mug. (Laughter.) What I want you to do is go back to your computers -- (laughter, applause) -- what I want you to do is to go back to your computers and get rid of the term "Pentagon brass." Is that too much to ask? Probably, but I make the case anyway. We have some of the most distinguished leaders in the Armed Forces of the United States, and that's what you ought to call them, and not "the Pentagon brass." But, alas, I know I dream. (Laughter.)

You see how proud I am of this force. One of the questions that is always on everybody's mind is how and when do we use that force, what are the circumstances under which you commit the Armed Forces of the United States? And I am usually

characterized in this debate as the reluctant warrior and someone who always seeks decisive results. I'm guilty. I'm guilty. Because the fact of the matter is that one of the most important decisions that a president has to make is to commit the Armed Forces of the United States in combat. And the single most important job, the legal job, of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the other chiefs of staff -- members of the Chiefs -- Joint Chiefs of Staff have is to advise the president and the secretary of defense on issues relating to the commitment of those armed forces.

This is not an abstract intellectual exercise. It is nothing less than sending young American sons and daughters off to a foreign land to fight other sons and daughters, perhaps to kill them and to be killed. And sometimes it does end tragically, as we saw again this past weekend in Somalia, where we lost three of our youngsters in that terrible tragedy with the helicopter. But it's what they are trained to do. They're warriors. That's why we have armed forces. But it is never a decision to be taken lightly. We are not committing mercenaries. We are committing sons and daughters.

And committing forces of the United States also means that you're committing the will and the strength of the American people. We must go into battle with the support and understanding of the American people. Frequently a president has to make a quick decision and to go into battle before he really knows what the American people might think about his action. But in due course the American people will indicate their support of a particular decision, and that decision should always be made, in my view, with a clear purpose in mind. And if it isn't possible to come up with a clear purpose, if the situation, as is too often the case, is murky, then you should understand its murkiness and know that, as you go into this, you have to find the clarity that you will eventually need.

Reluctance to use military force is an American military tradition. I can trace it back from Washington to Grant to Eisenhower. Since war is ultimately a political act, not a military act, give political tools the opportunity to work first. Military power can back up political tools and make them credible. We saw that in the Cold War, which we prevailed in without firing a shot. And it is the responsibility of military leaders to ensure that political leaders have an analysis of all the options -- the good, the bad, the popular, the unpopular, the fashionable, the unfashionable. And only then, when the candid advice of the military leaders are provided to our political leaders, can they then make proper decisions, make that political decision that the Constitution only gives them the right to do, and then we, the military leaders,

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

execute.

And my view is we should always execute for decisive results. Decisive doesn't mean overwhelming. Decisive means decisive. It means committing the force needed to achieve the political objective. If the political objective is very, very limited, very circumscribed, the force should still be decisive in order to achieve that limited objective. The Philippines is one of my favorite examples. On the 1st of December, I think it was, 1989, late at night we got a call for help from the Philippine government. Rebellion was underway. "We want you to come bomb a Philippine air base" where Philippine planes were taking off to attack Mrs. Aquino.

We examined it quickly. We made some judgments and decided that in this case we didn't need to apply overwhelming force. We thought that just sending some F-4 fighters with great young Air Force pilots aboard buzzing the airfield would be enough to keep those planes on the ground without us having to kill a single person. Precise application of military force for a very limited objective. And we made it all up within about two hours, and the mission was over in 2 1/2 hours. And the instructions we gave to the pilots were very simple and clear: go over the airfield and demonstrate extreme hostile intent. (Laughter.) They did. Mission completed.

My philosophy in all this is rather simple: match political expectations to military means in a wholly realistic way. Don't slide in, don't mislead yourself. This isn't some syndrome I'm suffering from. It comes from 35 years of experience. As a first lieutenant, I saw what doing otherwise was -- results were in the Bay of Pigs -- President Kennedy. As a major and a captain and a lieutenant colonel, I saw what doing otherwise produced in Vietnam. And in Beirut as a major general in 1983, I saw what doing otherwise can result in.

In the case of places like Somalia where the mission was nice and clear cut when we went in, but it's becoming a little more difficult now. We will have to continue our calculus of political objectives, means applied to that objective, and sort them out. But because things get difficult, you don't cut and run. You work the problem and try to find a correct solution.



I'm pleased that the philosophy I've just espoused has seen favor with the two presidents and the two secretaries of defense that I have worked for in the past four years. We've learned our lesson I think. At the end of the day, though, strategy and force structure and matters such as I have been talking about

kind of go by the wayside. At the end of the day, all of our plans, the missions we have in mind, rest on the shoulder of the individual GI, be he a soldier, a sailor, an airman, a Marine or Coast Guardsman, he or she is at the heart and soul of our armed forces -- cold, tired, frightened, away from home, a soldier of the nation willing to go anywhere, to do anything, to sacrifice whatever is required for the mission. Hundreds of thousands of such wonderful young men and women, trained and bonded together, make up the armed forces of the United States. They are a treasure. And they count on us -- all of us here today -- for leadership, for support, and for caring for them.

I am so very proud to have been one of them for the past 35 years, and for the last four years to have represented them. It all ends for me on Thursday. I've been a soldier all my life. I've never wanted to be anything else. I have loved every single minute of it, and I thank the nation for having given me the opportunity to serve in the proud armed forces of the United States.

Thank you.

(Extended applause.)

Do I get the mug now? (Laughter.)

MR. BOYCE: You can have the mug or what's behind door number one, right over here. (Laughter.)

You've said that you won't talk about politics, but if you won't talk about politics, will you tell us when you will talk about politics? (Laughter.)

GEN. POWELL: Not today certainly, and I don't know when or if. Thank you, no. (Laughter.)

I -- the question comes up all the time, but I have -- I have been religious with respect to the answer to that question. Active duty military officers have no business talking about partisan political matters, and so nobody knows what party I belong to or don't belong to or may belong to. There is total confusion as to what my political philosophy might or might not be. This is the way it should be. I serve all military officers, not Colin Powell, but it's part of our code. We serve the

nation, we serve the American people, and the representative of the American people, the president of the United States, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces determined by the political process. So for that reason, none of us do it, not just Colin Powell.

After I retire and have entered public life, and have had a chance to collect my wits and thoughts, as I have said on more than one occasion, I hope to do something that is in service to the nation in some capacity. Whether that is political or not remains to be seen. I have nothing inside of me at the moment saying it has to be political. I think there are many ways to serve the nation. I think President Clinton talked to this with his national service speech not too long ago, and I just hope that I can find something that will allow me to continue serving in some way and make a contribution.

MR. BOYCE: The situation in Russia, Georgia, and the other former Soviet Republics increasingly are resulting in armed conflict. How dangerous are these situations, and how, after defense reorganization, are we prepared to deal with such hot spots?

GEN. POWELL: I think they are dangerous situations. We are seeing terrible fragmentation in some of the former republics of the Soviet Union. It is not clear to me that many of these will require direct U.S. involvement -- if any of them will require such involvement, but certainly we have to lend our diplomatic and political efforts to the resolution of these conflicts.

The real challenge is for the new leadership in Russia and in the other republics to try to put in place as quickly as possible political processes that will allow these age-old, in some cases, ethnic feuds to be resolved through political means and not through the use of the gun. Parts of the Eurasian land mass have picked up right where they were 100 years ago, fighting over boundaries that didn't make sense and false separation of ethnic groups that didn't make sense. And I'm afraid we are in for a number of years of this kind of conflict. It is my hope that in due course a bit of exhaustion will set in as people realize that they aren't going to be able to prevail through the use of arms and give an opportunity for the United Nations or other like-minded coalitions to insert themselves and help get the political process started.

I look at some of the experience we had here in our hemisphere, in El Salvador, Nicaragua. Terrible conflicts, brother against brother, sister against sister. But, in due

PHOTOCOPY 14 PRESERVATION

course, with some work in the diplomatic effort and helping those who seemed to be on the right side of the issue, we were able to arrive at conclusions that have turned out to be satisfactory, even if tenuous. It will take time.

And so, I hope that we do not see too much violence like this, but I'm afraid it will be the case. But the ultimate solution has to be political reconciliation among these warring groups.

MR. BOYCE: What nation do you feel will be our main military threat in the future, China, North Korea, or other?

GEN. POWELL: I really don't know. I do not see a nation out there right now with the military capacity to directly challenge the armed forces of the United States. We are at the top of the pile. We want to keep it that way. I don't apologize for it. I will defend it out of uniform just as strongly as I've defended it in uniform. It's good to be the baddest guy on the block. (Laughter.) It sometimes serves a very useful purpose in this very troubled world. So, I don't see anybody out there that we can't deal with.

I hope that as China comes out of its period of transition, it will come out in a peaceful way willing to work with its neighbors, and that should be our objective.

In Southwest Asia, I think we have to keep a close eye on Iraq, whether Mr. Hussein is there or not, Iran, and perhaps one or two other troubled places in that part of the world. The stakes are too high for us not to be involved and not to be ready to do something.

North Korea is perhaps the greatest enigma because it is an enigma. It is a well-armed state in deep economic difficulty that seems to be spending the remaining part of its treasury to develop nuclear weapons, hoping that those weapons will give them some political or military power that they do not now enjoy. And I don't think that will be the case, and we have to try to constrain them as they move in that direction.

But I don't see a single nation that I would identify out here now as being a major threat to the United States or the world peace. That's good. Let's keep it that way. And one of the surest ways of keeping it that way is for the United States to

remain engaged on the world stage, for the armed forces of the United States to get much, much smaller, but to stay just as good as they are now, and demonstrate that same, same image of professionalism, competence, and we-can-take-care-of-business attitude that you've seen in recent crises.

MR. BOYCE: There's been a lot of talk lately about the need for an exit strategy before sending troops on a peacekeeping mission. Can you give some examples of how this would be applied to Bosnia? And did we not have an exit strategy for Somalia?

GEN. POWELL: It's very useful when you're getting into something to have a pretty good idea how you're going to get out of it. It seems pretty straightforward to me.

With respect to Somalia, for the UNITAF part of the operation -- that was the part that we really led from December through May -- we had a clear objective when we were going in to save lives, get the food moving, control the warlords. We did that and we did it very well.

And our exit strategy was, as the U.N. prepared itself to take over, help them, and then when they said they were ready to take over, we pull back, let it become a U.N. operation. We'll contribute to that U.N. operation with logistics troops and a quick reaction force. The exit strategy for the U.N. is to stand up some sort of political entity that can take responsibility for Somalia, led by Somalians with a Somali police force to keep order.

We have not done that badly. UNITAF was a clear success. What UNOSOM is doing now is also marked by mostly success. There is no return to starvation of the kind we saw before out in the countryside; places outside of Mogadishu are doing rather well. Police forces are standing up. Local district councils are beginning to function. The problem really is localized and it's localized in south Mogadishu. And what we have to do now is to work that problem through a variety of means -- the military means, presence of U.S. forces, but bringing in other forces that have been pledged to come into Somalia and to work in Mogadishu to give us greater presence in south Mogadishu. And we also need a political process that will continue the legitimization of General Aidid.

But in any day of the week, a warlord can make news if he succeeds in attacking U.N. forces and injuring some or killing some. But as they are making these news flashes every several days regrettably, let's not lose sight of the overall success of the mission.

The exit strategy will get the political process in place in Somalia, raise up the district councils, put a functioning police force in, turn more and more over to the U.N. so that the U.S. can move out our quick reaction force and so that ultimately the U.N. can complete its mission. I don't know if they'll be as successful as they have been in Cambodia, but the U.N. is shooting to see if they can complete this whole process by early in 1995, and we are committed to help them with that. So there is an exit strategy. We have good days and bad. We have some successes to the strategy and we've had some disappointments and failures. Work the problem.

MR. BOYCE: Could you address Bosnia on that same question?

GEN. POWELL: I'm sorry.

Bosnia is a far, far more difficult challenge. We'll have to see what the Bosnian Muslim Parliament does in the next 24 hours and see whether or not we have an agreement.

The thinking of most people in the administration, as well as our friends in Europe, is that if we are going in to help implement an agreement then it must be a real agreement, an agreement that the parties are willing to abide by. And so that's one of the entry-level questions. And the exit strategy has to be related to how long do we have to stay there to put in place the terms of the agreement and see that everybody is complying with the terms that they signed up to.

And when the boundaries have been settled and when the relocation of people has taken place and when there is a reasonable level of stability so that internal police forces can manage the peace, then I think it would be appropriate for NATO forces -- if NATO forces had gone in because the conditions were appropriate -- for NATO forces and U.N. forces and U.N. political leadership to turn the situation back over to the signatories of the agreement. But it will be a very, very complex military undertaking, if it comes about, and it will be a very, very complex political undertaking as well, by several orders of magnitude above that which we have seen in Somalia, in my judgment. But it's something that may well have to be done in

the interest of bringing peace to that troubled land, even if it is not a perfect peace, even if it is not a peace that gives us a great deal of satisfaction.

At least, we can get the killing stopped before winter comes so that we can then see what the future will bring in terms of adjustments that the parties may wish to make between themselves in the future. The important thing it seems to be now is to get the killing stopped before winter gets too far along.

MR. BOYCE: The role of the United Nations has changed quite a bit over recent years in these areas, and the role of NATO is also changing. What do you predict over the next five or ten years for both of these organizations?

GEN. POWELL: I'm big on NATO, spent a lot of time on it over the last several years. But I think NATO continues to be the basis for stability in the West and coherence and cohesion in the West and it also seems to be the basis for new stability in the East. Everybody is trying to get in. And one of the major reasons that it serves as this twin pillar of stability, if I can call it that, is because of the North Atlantic link. When people are in NATO or trying to get in NATO, they see a link to North America, to the United States and Canada, as sort of the offshore guarantors of that security. So, I think NATO remains a growth industry.

With respect to the United Nations, I hope the United Nations will continue to take on these peacekeeping missions that are around the world and which they have to take on. That's the charter. What we have to do, as President Clinton noted yesterday, is to do a better job of organizing ourselves, organizing the U.N. to take on these missions. Yes, there will be rocky times in Somalia and rocky times in Bosnia and places like that.

And when you have so many sovereign nations all trying to work together, there's bound to be disagreement and confusion, but you've got to just keep working through all that so that you can achieve the kinds of successes we have seen in the last five years, if I can use that same window: the Iran-Iraq war, U.N.; withdrawal from Afghanistan, U.N.; Cambodia, U.N.; some of the resolution of the problems in our own hemisphere, Nicaragua, El Salvador, had a U.N. underpinning. So, the U.N. is doing marvelous work. Namibian elections, just wonderful work going on.

So, we have to continue to support the U.N. We have to pay our arrears. It is not responsible of us to ask so much from the U.N. while we are one of the biggest debtors. And we have to help the U.N. rise to its responsibilities by giving them the wherewithal to do the job that I think the U.N. was created to do and which I think must be done by such an organization in the future if we are going to achieve the promise and the hope that I think is out there in the future.

MR. BOYCE: Could you comment on the future of women in the military, especially in the wake of the Tailhook incident and other such incidents?

GEN. POWELL: I think women have a very bright future in the military. Years ago when I was a corps commander, people used to ask, well, do you support women in combat? I said, look, if the Russians, when we had them, when the Red Army was on the other side of the Fulda Gap from my corps, on day one, hour one, women will be in combat and will be casualties. So, women are an integral part of our force, and there's just no question about it, and their future is bright.

There remain a couple of fields within the military where I don't think women should be, and that is our current policy. And that has to do with ground combat operations, armor operations, and some form of artillery activity and cavalry operations because of the intense nature of those operations, because of the close nature of those operations and the kind of bonding you need in units of that kind; they really have to be all male, in my judgment. That may sound very old-fashioned of me, but I think it has a good, sound basis, and I think the American people understand that. Don't get me in any more trouble than I'm in, please. (Laughter.)

So, for all of the other fields, women should be allowed to rise to the top, and they are rising to the top. And more power to them. And I think the burden has to be on us to deny something to women in the military. And I think we have come a long way over the last 10 or 15 years, and we're really down now to close combat. Opening up fighter pilot seats, I think, was a major step that Secretary Aspin took earlier this year. We're really down to ground combat, and my judgment is that that is the only area that should remained restricted from women.

With respect to Tailhook, we are all terribly upset about Tailhook. We wish it had not happened. It was inappropriate behavior. No question about it. We have gone through a very

traumatic period as a result of Tailhook. But the beauty of the armed forces is that we can deal with problems like this. We will learn from this mistake. We've already learned from this mistake. We are training our force as to the proper role with respect to relationships between men and women and what is acceptable behavior and what is not. And so we are going through the last few chapters of the Tailhook story, and then I think we'll be on our way. If there's one thing we can do, it's correct and adapt in ways frankly far superior to other institutions within the nation.

MR. BOYLE: Okay. Before asking the final question -- (laughter) -- I'd like to present you with a gift -- a certificate of appreciation from the National Press Club, a very valuable -- (laughter) -- very attractive, gilded blue mug -- (laughter) -- and this is an expensive gift. We didn't pay for it, but it's an expensive gift. (Laughter.) "Eye on Washington" -- The Presidents Who Have Known Me" by "New York Times" photographer George Tames (sp).

GEN. POWELL: Thank you.

MR. BOYLE: The final question is: There's a new book out talking about the blustery nature of General Schwarzkopf, and a biography of you just released said you are not happy with parts of General Schwarzkopf's -- of his autobiography. Can you talk about that? (Laughter.)

GEN. POWELL: General Schwarzkopf is one of the best friends I have in the world. General Schwarzkopf was a very distinguished commander during Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm. He and I had a very close personal relationship. We talked every day. You can't have an intense relationship like that doing the things we were doing without having total confidence in one another, and you can't have an experience like that, that was perfect every day with no raised voices. Perhaps one of the differences between Norm and me is I raise my voice a little bit differently than he does, but you -- people have days where you get a little excited. It was exciting times. None of this debate, either in books about me or books about the war or books about General Schwarzkopf, should in any way be seen as undercutting or any way putting in a negative light the magnificent performance of one of the finest generals I've ever known, Norm Schwarzkopf. (Applause.)

Continued Relief Operations in Somalia

- According to the Red Cross 700,000 Somalis are dependent completely on relief supplies.
- Among NGOs/PVOs now providing assistance are Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, CARE.
- U.S. Food for Peace is providing 215,000 metric tons of food this year.
- CARE has 32 feeding centers reaching 400,000.
- In September in Bardora's primary displaced persons camp the population swelled from 2000 to 9000 due to regional harvest failure.
- While the UN and NGOs moved quickly to respond to these situations when they arose, these examples serve to illustrate that humanitarian progress made in Somalia remains extremely fragile. Maintenance of progress made and forward movements are contingent on expanded and sustainable security as well as continued relief and rehabilitation assistance.
- Since the present conflict began, the agriculture sector has been devastated by drought, looting, and the resulting displacement of large numbers of rural dwellers. Preceding military intervention in December 1992, cultivation of food crops had declined to a tiny fraction of the approximately one million hectares of arable land. Seed stocks were consumed for food. Livestock was stolen and slaughtered.
- Because of favorable rains, resettlement of some agricultural households and NGO support for agricultural inputs, there has been planting in some areas. Continued improvement will depend heavily on security, good rainfall and expanded distribution of agricultural inputs.
- Restoring a sustainable food delivery system will depend ultimately on the private sector, including farmers, merchants and traders and commercial importers. While elements of this system are in place, they need encouragement, sound policies and a secure operating environment in the towns and countryside.
- UNOSOM is only beginning to address the root causes for the problems in Somalia and withdrawal of U.S. troops at this time would result in the disintegration of the international peace-making effort, which would cause Somalia to revert to the humanitarian crisis situation that existed in mid-1992.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
On U.S. Policy in Somalia
October 7, 1993

My fellow Americans, today I want to talk with you about our nation's military involvement in Somalia.

One year ago, we watched with horror as Somali children and their families lay dying by the thousands -- dying the slow, agonizing death of starvation, a starvation brought on not only by drought but also by the anarchy that then prevailed in that country.

This past weekend, we all reacted with anger ~~and disgust~~ as an armed Somali gang ~~brutalized our people. We watched with outrage as they~~ desecrated the bodies of American GIs and mistreated a captured American pilot -- all of them soldiers ~~of mercy~~ who were taking part in a brave international effort to end Somalia's starvation.

But I want to assure you: I will not let these outrages shake our resolve, and I will not let these outlaws erase what our brave young Americans accomplished.

These tragic events raise hard questions about our effort in Somalia: Why are we there? What are we trying to accomplish? How did a humanitarian mission turn violent? And when will our people come home? These questions deserve straight answers.

Let's start by remembering why our troops went into Somalia. We went because only the United States could help stop one of the greatest human tragedies of our time. A third of a million

people had died of starvation and disease. Twice that many were at risk. Meanwhile tons of relief supplies piled up in the capital of Mogadishu because a small number of ruthless Somalis were determined to stop food from reaching their countrymen.

Our consciences said: enough. In the best tradition of our generous country, we took action. With bi-partisan support, President Bush sent in 28,000 American troops as part of a United Nations humanitarian mission. Our troops created a secure environment so food and medicine could get through. We saved close to a million lives. And throughout most of Somalia -- everywhere but in Mogadishu -- life began returning to normal; crops are growing and markets are reopening. Nearly a million Somalis still depend completely on relief supplies, but the starvation is gone. And this would not have happened without American leadership and American troops.

But then, back in June, the gang that caused most of the problems in the beginning started attacking American, Pakistani and other troops who were there to keep the peace. They want to return Somalia to the anarchy that existed before we came. And make no mistake, if we left Somalia tomorrow, the multi-national peacekeeping force would collapse, chaos would resume, the relief effort would stop, and mass starvation would return.

It is not America's job to rebuild Somalia's society. The Somalis must do that themselves. The UN and many African states are helping. But we must decide whether we will give them enough time to have a reasonable chance.

In a sense, we came to Somalia to rescue innocent people in a burning house. We have nearly put the fire out, but some smoldering embers remain. If we leave now, those embers will reignite into flames and people will die once again. If we stay a short while longer, we have a reasonable chance of cooling off the embers and getting other firefighters to take our place.

We also must recognize that we cannot leave now and still have all our troops present and accounted for. I am determined to work for the security of those Americans missing or held captive. Anyone holding an American right now should understand that we will hold them strictly responsible. We expect our people to be well-treated. And we expect them to be released.

So now we face a choice. Do we leave when the job gets tough or when the job is well done? Do we invite a return of mass suffering or do we leave in a way that gives the Somalis a decent chance to survive?

General Colin Powell recently said this about our choices in Somalia: "because things get difficult, you don't cut and run. You work the problem and try to find a correct solution."

I want to bring our troops home from Somalia. Before the events of this week, we already had reduced the number of our troops there from 28,000 to less than 5,000. We must complete that withdrawal soon -- and I will. But we also must leave on our terms. We must do it right. And here is what I intend to do.

The past week's events make it clear that, even as we prepare to withdraw from Somalia, we need a stronger force there to ensure our people are safe. Today I have ordered 1,700 additional Army troops and 104 additional armored vehicles to Somalia to protect our troops and complete our mission. I also have ordered an aircraft carrier and two amphibious groups with 3,600 combat Marines to be stationed offshore. These forces will be under American command.

Their mission -- what I am asking these young Americans to do -- is the following.

First, they are there to protect our troops and our logistics bases. We did not go to Somalia with a military purpose. But those who attack our soldiers will pay a heavy price.

Second, they are there to keep open and secure the roads, the port and the lines of communication that are essential for the UN and relief workers to keep the flow of food and supplies and people moving freely through the country.

Third, they are there to keep the pressure on those that cut off relief supplies and attacked our people -- not to personalize the conflict, but to prevent a return to anarchy.

Fourth, through that pressure and that presence, our troops will help make it possible for the Somali people, working with others, to reach agreements among themselves so they can solve their problems and survive.

That is our mission.

I am proposing this plan because it will let us finish leaving Somalia on our own terms, and without destroying all that two Administrations have accomplished. It is a plan for an orderly withdrawal rather than a forced retreat.

For if we were to leave today, we know what would happen. Within months, Somali children again would be dying in the streets. Our credibility with friends and allies would be severely damaged. Our leadership in global affairs would be undermined.

And all around the world, aggressors, thugs and terrorists will conclude that the best way to get us to change our policies is to kill our people. It would be open season on Americans.

That is why I am committed to getting our job done in Somalia not only quickly but also effectively. To do that, I am taking steps to ensure troops from other nations are ready to take the place of our soldiers. We have already withdrawn some 20,000 US troops and more than that number have replaced them from over two dozen nations. Now we will intensify efforts to have other countries deploy more troops to Somalia to assure that security will remain when we are gone. And we will complete the replacement of U.S. military logistics personnel with civilian contractors who can provide the same support to the UN. We cannot keep our troops in Somalia forever; but America does not leave its friends in the lurch.

While we are taking military steps to protect our own people and help the UN maintain a secure environment, we also must accelerate diplomatic efforts to help the Somalis find a political solution -- the only kind that can endure. Leaders of neighboring African states such as Ethiopia and Eritrea have offered to take the lead, in efforts to build a settlement among the Somalia people that can preserve order and security. I have directed my representatives to pursue such efforts vigorously, and I have asked Ambassador Bob Oakley, who effectively served two Administrations as US representative in Somalia, to travel to the region immediately to advance this process.

Obviously, even then, there is no guarantee Somalia will rid itself of violence or suffering. But we will have given Somalia a reasonable chance. This week some 15,000 Somalis took to the streets to express sympathy for our losses and to thank us for our effort. Most Somalis are not hostile us, but grateful, and they are ready to use this opportunity to rebuild their country.

It is my judgment and that of my military advisors that we need six months to complete these steps and conduct an orderly withdrawal. All American troops will be out of Somalia no later than March 31, except for a few hundred support personnel in non-combat roles.

If we take these steps, if we take the time to do the job right, I am convinced we will have lived up to the responsibilities of American leadership in the world, and we will have proven that we are committed to addressing the new problems of a new era.

When our troops in Somalia came under fire this weekend, we witnessed a dramatic example of the heroic ethic of the American military. That ethic is expressed in the creed of the Army Rangers, many of whom were involved in the operation. That 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."

When the first Black Hawk helicopter was downed this weekend, the other American troops didn't retreat, although they could have. Instead, they fought through heavy resistance and converged on the crash site to look for survivors and to retrieve their fallen comrades. Some ninety of them formed a perimeter around the helicopter, and they held that ground under heavy fire.

Those young Americans lived up to the highest ideals of our armed forces. They didn't run in the face of danger. They finished their job. They honored their country.

Now it is up to each of us to follow their example. Let us stand together as a nation at this moment of adversity. Let us finish the work we set out to do. And let us demonstrate to the world, as generations of Americans have done before us, that when Americans take on a challenge, they do the job right.

Thank you, and God bless America.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
On U.S. Policy in Somalia
October 7, 1993

My fellow Americans, today I want to talk with you about our nation's military involvement in Somalia.

One year ago, we watched with horror as Somali children and their families lay dying by the thousands -- dying the slow, agonizing death of starvation, a starvation brought on not only by drought but also by the anarchy that then prevailed in that country.

This past weekend, we all reacted with anger and disgust as an armed Somali gang brutalized our people. We watched with outrage as they desecrated the bodies of American GIs and ^{provided before cameras} mistreated a captured American pilot -- all of them soldiers of mercy who were taking part in a brave international effort to end Somalia's starvation.

^{Let me start by saying}
~~But I want to assure~~ you: I will not let these outrages shake our resolve, and I will not let these outlaws erase what our brave young Americans accomplished.

These tragic events raise hard questions about our effort in Somalia: Why are we there? What are we trying to accomplish? How did a humanitarian mission turn violent? And when will our people come home? These questions deserve straight answers.

Let's start by remembering why our troops went into Somalia. We went because only the United States could help stop one of the greatest human tragedies of our time. A third of a million

people had died of starvation and disease. Twice that many were at risk. Meanwhile tons of relief supplies piled up in the capital of Mogadishu because a small number of ruthless Somalis were determined to stop food from reaching their countrymen.

Our consciences said: enough. In the best tradition of our generous country, we took action. With bi-partisan support, President Bush sent in 28,000 American troops as part of a United Nations humanitarian mission. Our troops created a secure environment so food and medicine could get through. We saved close to a million lives. And throughout most of Somalia -- everywhere but in Mogadishu -- life began returning to normal; crops are growing and markets are reopening. Nearly a million Somalis still depend completely on relief supplies, but the starvation is gone. And this would not have happened without American leadership and American troops.

until these things went well with little violence. We reduced our troop levels ---

But then, back in June, the ^{people} gang that caused ^{much} most of the problems in the beginning started attacking American, Pakistani and other troops who were there to keep the peace. They want to return Somalia to the anarchy that existed before we came. And make no mistake, if we left Somalia tomorrow, the multi-national peacekeeping force would collapse, chaos would resume, the relief effort would stop, and mass starvation would return.

that knowledge has led us to inform our mission & to try to apprehend those who have attacked the soldiers working for peace.

It is not America's job to rebuild Somalia's society. The

Somalis must do that themselves. The UN and many African states are helping. But we must decide whether we will give them enough time to have a reasonable chance.

In a sense, we came to Somalia to rescue innocent people in a burning house. We have nearly put the fire out, but some smoldering embers remain. If we leave now, those embers will reignite into flames and people will die once again. If we stay a short while longer, we have a reasonable chance of cooling off the embers and getting other firefighters to take our place.

We also must recognize that we cannot leave now and still have all our troops present and accounted for. I am determined to work for the security of those Americans missing or held captive. Anyone holding an American right now should understand that we will hold them strictly responsible. We expect our people to be well-treated. And we expect them to be released.

So now we face a choice. Do we leave when the job gets tough or when the job is well done? Do we invite a return of mass suffering or do we leave in a way that gives the Somalis a decent chance to survive?

General Colin Powell recently said this about our choices in Somalia: "because things get difficult, you don't cut and run. You work the problem and try to find a correct solution."

I want to bring our troops home from Somalia. Before the events of this week, we already had reduced the number of our troops there from 28,000 to less than 5,000. We must complete that withdrawal soon -- and I will. But we also must leave on our terms. We must do it right. And here is what I intend to do.

The past week's events make it clear that, even as we prepare to withdraw from Somalia, we need a stronger force there to ensure our people are safe. Today I have ordered 1,700 additional Army troops and 104 additional armored vehicles to Somalia to protect our troops and complete our mission. I also have ordered an aircraft carrier and two amphibious groups with 3,600 combat Marines to be stationed offshore. These forces will be under American command.

Their mission -- what I am asking these young Americans to do -- is the following.

First, they are there to protect our troops and our logistics bases. We did not go to Somalia with a military purpose. But those who attack our soldiers will pay a heavy price.

Second, they are there to keep open and secure the roads, the port and the lines of communication that are essential for the UN and relief workers to keep the flow of food and supplies and people moving freely through the country. *So that*

charity and relief.

Third, they are there to keep the pressure on those that cut off relief supplies and attacked our people -- not to personalize the conflict, but to prevent a return to anarchy.

Fourth, through that pressure and that presence, our troops will help make it possible for the Somali people, working with others, to reach agreements among themselves so they can solve their problems and survive.

That is our mission.

I am proposing this plan because it will let us finish leaving Somalia on our own terms, and without destroying all that two Administrations have accomplished. ~~It is a plan for an orderly withdrawal rather than a forced retreat.~~

For if we were to leave today, we know what would happen. Within months, Somali children again would be dying in the streets. Our credibility with friends and allies would be severely damaged. Our leadership in global affairs would be undermined.

And all around the world, aggressors, thugs and terrorists will conclude that the best way to get us to change our policies is to kill our people. It would be open season on Americans.

That is why I am committed to getting our job done in Somalia not only quickly but also effectively. To do that, I am taking steps to ensure troops from other nations are ready to take the place of our soldiers. We have already withdrawn some 20,000 US troops and more than that number have replaced them from over two dozen nations. Now we will intensify efforts to have other countries deploy more troops to Somalia to assure that security will remain when we are gone. And we will complete the replacement of U.S. military logistics personnel with civilian contractors who can provide the same support to the UN. We cannot keep our troops in Somalia forever; but America does not leave its friends in the lurch.

While we are taking military steps to protect our own people and help the UN maintain a secure environment, we also must accelerate diplomatic efforts to help the Somalis find a political solution -- the only kind that can endure. Leaders of neighboring African states such as Ethiopia and Eritrea have offered to take the lead, in efforts to build a settlement among the Somalia people that can preserve order and security. I have directed my representatives to pursue such efforts vigorously, and I have asked Ambassador Bob Oakley, who effectively served two Administrations as US representative in Somalia, to travel to the region immediately to advance this process.

Obviously, even then, there is no guarantee Somalia will rid itself of violence or suffering. But we will have given Somalia a reasonable chance. This week some 15,000 Somalis took to the streets to express sympathy for our losses and to thank us for our effort. Most Somalis are not hostile us, but grateful, and they are ready to use this opportunity to rebuild their country.

It is my judgment and that of my military advisors that we need six months to complete these steps and conduct an orderly withdrawal. All American troops will be out of Somalia no later than March 31, except for a few hundred support personnel in non-combat roles.

If we take these steps, if we take the time to do the job right, I am convinced we will have lived up to the responsibilities of American leadership in the world, and we will have proven that we are committed to addressing the new problems of a new era.

When our troops in Somalia came under fire this weekend, we witnessed a dramatic example of the heroic ethic of the American military. That ethic is expressed in the creed of the Army Rangers, many of whom were involved in the operation. That 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."

When the first Black Hawk helicopter was downed this weekend, the other American troops didn't retreat, although they could have. Instead, they fought through heavy resistance and converged on the crash site to look for survivors and to retrieve their fallen comrades. Some ninety of them formed a perimeter around the helicopter, and they held that ground under heavy fire.

Those young Americans lived up to the highest ideals of our armed forces. They didn't run in the face of danger. They finished their job. They honored their country.

Now it is up to each of us to follow their example. Let us stand together as a nation, ~~at this moment of adversity~~. Let us finish the work we set out to do. And let us demonstrate to the world, as generations of Americans have done before us, that when Americans take on a challenge, they do the job right.

Thank you, and God bless America.

Some ~~more~~ people feel this is a
sue of shot, it's better to lead up
school against and then let the rhetoric
follow.

we do have an interest in proving
that we can reach across the world

If we do not do things like this,
countries like that become seed beds
of hatred that

So when we can, we should
join with others

We may or may not be able to get ^{this on}
this job done in a few months.
But we think we can. And
we know that if we leave ^{this}
up

We started this for the right
reasons, and we're going to finish
it in the right way.

Clever student that Sullivan is a member
of class. Most of them are good people
who appreciate what we're doing. 15,000 A
~~we must stop this too~~ for