

# FOIA MARKER

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

**Folder Title:**

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

**Staff Office-Individual:**

Global Affairs-Darragh, Sean

**Original OA/ID Number:**

274

| Row: | Section: | Shelf: | Position: | Stack: |
|------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| 35   | 4        | 6      | 1         | V      |

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                                                        | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001a. letter             | President Clinton to Meles Zenawi, President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (2 pages)                                    | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 001b. cable              | Re: Ethiopian/Eritrean Proposals on Somalia (6 pages)                                                                                | 10/19/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 002. memo                | Sean Darragh to Anthony Lake, re: Sharing President Meles' Letter to the President with Key Congressmen (1 page)                     | 10/21/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 003a. memo               | Sean Darragh to Samuel Berger, re: [Haiti] (1 page)                                                                                  | 10/26/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 003b. paper              | Issue for Decision: [Haiti] (2 pages)                                                                                                | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004a. memo               | Sean Darragh to Anthony Lake, re: Letters to Key Senators Regarding President Meles' Letter to President Clinton on Somalia (1 page) | 10/23/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004b. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Richard Lugar (1 page)                                                                                       | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004c. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Russell Feingold (1 page)                                                                                    | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004d. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Claiborn Pell (1 page)                                                                                       | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004e. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Paul Simon (1 page)                                                                                          | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004f. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Sam Nunn (1 page)                                                                                            | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004g. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator James Jeffords (1 page)                                                                                      | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F

ke4126

### 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]

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.

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 Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                    | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 004h. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Nancy Kassebaum (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004i. cable              | [Duplicate of 001b] (6 pages)                    | 10/19/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
kc4126

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8539

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE

FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH

SUBJECT: U.S. Public Attitudes on Involvement in Somalia

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 10/28/16  
2012-0659-F

The attached report conducted by the University of Maryland (Tab A) suggests that the US public is more tolerant of the US mission in Somalia and less isolationist than some pundits have assumed.

We believe that the President should have the opportunity to see the findings of this study.

Concurrences by: Susan Rice, Jennifer Ward

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the attached information memorandum to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Pamphlet on U.S. Public Attitude on Involvement in Somalia

Tab B Washington Post Article, "What New Isolationism"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

By KDE NARA, Date 8/28/16  
2012-0659-F

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: U.S. Public Attitudes on Involvement in Somalia

The Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland just released its study on US public attitudes on US involvement in Somalia. The review utilized seven independent polls conducted in the week immediately following the reports of the troop fatalities in Somalia and an internal poll conducted two weeks hence. There were some surprising results. The study suggests:

-- While the images of dead American soldiers in Mogadishu made the US public more eager to withdraw US troops from Somalia, the public has not reacted by wanting to withdraw US troops immediately. Only a minority of Americans wants to withdraw immediately.

-- Much of the sentiment in favor of withdrawal may be due to a majority perception that most Somalis want US troops to withdraw. A modest majority of Americans say that if most Somalis want the US to stay, it should stay.

-- A majority of Americans assumes that the public as a whole is more eager to withdraw in the face of troop fatalities than they are themselves. This suggests that the public is overestimating its own reactions.

-- Isolationist sentiments are not a rising tide in the American public. Indeed, they remain quite weak. An overwhelming majority rejects isolationist thinking and favors US involvement in multilateral efforts to maintain peace and protect human rights.

-- When Americans evaluate US involvement in Somalia they evidence a conflict between their globalist values and a desire to limit US involvements in a world they perceive as making unlimited demands.

-- Your decision to increase US troops and withdraw within six months may be forming a political consensus, perhaps because it represents a middle ground between globalist values and the desire to limit US commitments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
2

-- Arguments in support of continued involvement based on the need to demonstrate resolve so as to maintain credibility for future situations are not persuasive with the majority of the public.

Attachments

Tab A Pamphlet on US Public Attitudes on Involvement in  
Somalia  
Tab B Washington Post Article, "What New Isolationism"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# What New Isolationism?

## *Wrong, Pundits. We Still Feel a Global Duty, Even in Somalia*

By Steven Kull

**W**HEN THE pictures of dead American soldiers being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu flashed across the nation's TV screens on Oct. 5, a consensus crystallized in the minds of policymakers and pundits: The rising tide of isolationism will now surely swell into a tidal wave, a demand that the United States immediately withdraw from Somalia. This impression was confirmed by self-selected irate constituents who called their members of Congress. Within 48 hours, the president went on national television, pleading for more time, but nonetheless accommodating U.S. policy to this new political "reality."

But is this image of the American public as skittish in the face of troop fatalities really correct? This is an important question. If the public is becoming isolationist and is not able to abide losses, except perhaps in direct defense of the country, then the United States is not really a viable partner in a system of collective security.

*Steven Kull is director of the Program on International Policy Attitudes of the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland.*

A system of international law, just like domestic law, requires means of enforcement that at times require that lives be put in jeopardy.

According to polling data, the image of a jumpy isolationist public appears to be a Beltway-based mirage. An Oct. 15-18 poll of 803 Americans by the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland found that only 28 percent of the public favors immediate withdrawal. Some 43 percent polled favors withdrawal in six months, while 27 percent does not want to withdraw until "we have stabilized the country, even if this takes longer than six months." The poll's margin of error was plus-or-minus 3.5 to 4 percent.

These findings are corroborated even by polls taken shortly after the gruesome report of the deaths of the U.S. troops. These polls found evidence of diminished support for the operation in Somalia, a willingness to limit its objectives and an eagerness to withdraw at some point. But of the five polls taken in this period by ABC, CNN, USA Today and Time, the average level of support for immediate withdrawal was 41 percent. And even this level of support was temporary—the PIPA poll, carried out the next week, found it had dropped 13 points.

Furthermore, some of the same polls found majority sentiments in support of increased involvement, at least in the short run. CNN/USA Today and ABC found 55 to 56 percent favored sending more troops. ABC found that 75 percent favored going after Somali warlord Aideed with a "major military attack" if the American prisoners could not be released through negotiations. Somehow these key findings were overlooked by the talking heads who held forth nightly on what the American people want.

Poll results have also contradicted the prevailing wisdom that the public is being swept by a tide of isolationism. When the PIPA poll asked Americans more general questions about their foreign policy views, only 35 percent agreed that "the United States should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along as best they can on their own."

Rather, the kind of globalist sentiments that prompted the American public to support the original Somali intervention got an overwhelming level of support. Eighty-eight percent agreed that "because the world is so interconnected today it is important for the United States to participate, together with other countries, in efforts to maintain peace and protect human rights."

So why does it *seem* like Americans are so quick to cut and run at the sight of blood? When the media reaffirms a certain image of the public—implicitly as well as explicitly—this image simply becomes part of the given political reality. The PIPA poll suggests that even the public itself has begun to interpret itself through this image. When respondents were asked to estimate how many Americans, upon first receiving the news of the troop fatalities in Somalia, wanted to immediately withdraw, the average estimate was 62 percent—substantially more than the 41 percent the polls found at the time.

**I**f the public—despite the media image—is neither isolationist nor intolerant of troop losses, why do most Americans pull for leaving Somalia within six months or less? While this time limit suggests support for a significant final effort, it's questionable whether Somalia will really be stabilized in the next six months. To some extent, the support for the six-month timetable may be a response of support for the president. But the PIPA poll findings suggest two additional reasons.

One reason Americans want to leave in the near future may be that they think the Somalis want them to. Asked to give their impression of Somali attitudes, 58 percent of respondents assumed that the Somalis wish the United States and other U.N. forces would go home. Only 33 percent assumed the Somalis "want the U.N. to stay and help them rebuild their country." Asked if the Americans should leave if a substantial majority of Somalis want that,

a resounding 88 percent said yes. This is consistent with deeply held American values that respect the desire of the majority, as well as an understandable dislike for having one's hand bitten while feeding. But more importantly, when asked the opposite question—if a Somalia majority wants us to stay, should we?—54 percent said we should stay.

A second reason that Americans may want to leave Somalia, even before the job is done, is that they sense the job is never really done—that the world's needs are unlimited. Even the United States has limited resources, and at some point we have to decide whether we have done enough for now.

For most Americans, the feeling seems to be that feeding the starving Somalis is as much as they want to do right now. A strong majority of respondents agreed that "now that people are eating, our job is done and it is time to bring our boys home." Still, this is not a conclusion that Americans feel easy with. Nearly as many respondents also found convincing arguments that to leave Somalia before it is stabilized may lead to a resumption of civil war and starvation, and thus would be morally wrong.

Within Americans, globalist values and isolationist values will clearly continue to compete. And the loss of American lives will probably cause surges of isolationist feeling. But the news of the death of globalism is greatly exaggerated.

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## **Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker**

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

This marker identifies the place of a publication.

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Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

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To Sean Darragh

## PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY ATTITUDES

A joint program of the Center for the Study of Policy Attitudes  
and the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland,  
School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland

-Dave Hays  
-Bill

### U.S. PUBLIC ATTITUDES ON INVOLVEMENT IN SOMALIA

Steven Kull

Clay Ramsay

October 26, 1993

PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY ATTITUDES

CISSM, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742-1811  
Telephone: (301) 405-7601 • Fax: (301) 403-8107

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9308474  
RECEIVED: 29 OCT 93 11

TO: GROSSMAN, M

FROM: KENNEY

DOC DATE: 29 OCT 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: AIRCRAFT REQUEST

AFRICA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR SPECIAL AIR MISSIONS AIRCRAFT

ACTION: KENNEY SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 02 NOV 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ITOH

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BEERS  
CLARKE  
DARRAGH  
EXECSEC

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

By VDE NARA, Date 12/28/16  
2012-0659-F

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY: NSJEB

DOC 4 OF 4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 29, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

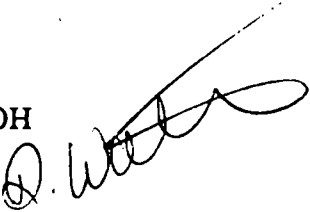
As requested in your memorandum of October 29, a Special Air Missions Aircraft has been approved on a non-reimbursable basis to transport Ambassador Oakley and party from Washington, D.C. to Addis Ababa and other African capitals on October 30 and return to Washington D.C. on or about November 5.

*William H. Itoh*  
William H. Itoh  
Executive Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

FROM: DAVID WATKINS 

SUBJECT: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft for Ambassador Robert Oakley in-theater travel - Washington, DC to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and other destinations

The request by the Department of State that the above referenced trip be designated a Presidential Mission is APPROVED. A Special Air Mission aircraft should be made available on a non-reimbursable basis to transport Ambassador Robert Oakley and his delegation from Washington, DC to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and possibly other African capitals.

cc: John Gaughan  
Director, White House Military Office

Denny Stump  
Acting Director, Airlift Operations

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8474

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 29, 1993

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,  
September 11, 2006

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID WATKINS

By KDE NARA, Date 10/28/16  
2012-0659-F

FROM: WILLIAM H. ITO *W.H.I.*

SUBJECT: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

Ambassador Robert Oakley will travel to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, October 30 - November 5, for consultations on the situation in Somalia. You have approved the use of in-theatre aircraft from Frankfurt, Germany to Addis Ababa. The Department of State has now requested that this be designated a Presidential Mission and that a Special Air Missions aircraft be provided on a non-reimbursable basis for travel from Washington, D.C. to Addis Ababa (and possibly other African capitals) and return to Washington, D.C. The NSC staff supports this request.

Attachment

Incoming State Department Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR



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

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

By VDE NARA, Date 12/29/16

2012-0659-F

October 29, 1993

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL:10/31/93

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

President Clinton has asked Ambassador Robert Oakley to travel to Addis Ababa for consultations on the situation in Somalia. Ambassador Oakley plans to depart Washington on October 30 and return on or about November 5. He may travel to other African capitals also.

It is requested that this be designated a Presidential mission and that a Special Air Missions C-20 aircraft be made available on a non-reimbursable basis to transport Ambassador Oakley and party. This will provide needed support stemming from security and scheduling concerns and enable necessary communications links to be maintained.

Thank you very much for your continued cooperation and assistance.

for Marc Grossman  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TIME STAMP

29 OCT 93 11:19

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER:

8474

ACTION OFFICER:

DUE:

- ☐ Prepare Memo For Laker/Berger
- ☐ Prepare Memo For Podesta
- ☐ Prepare Memo \_\_\_\_\_

- ☒ Appropriate Action
- ☐ Prepare Memo For Itoh
- to \_\_\_\_\_

## CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. \_\_\_\_\_

| Concur                   | FYI                                   | Concur                              | FYI                                         | Concur                              | FYI                                        |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Andreasen    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Harris             | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Riedel            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Andricos     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Holl               | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Rosner            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Aoki         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Hooker             | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Saeed             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Barth        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Hull               | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Sanner            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Beers        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Indyk              | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Schwartz          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Bell         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Jett               | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Sheehan           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Burns        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Jones              | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Spalter           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Canas        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly              | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Tenet             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Clarke       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Kristoff           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Tilley            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Clarke, P.   | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Kupchan            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Van Eron          |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Forsythe     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Morley             | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Wiedemann         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Fry          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> O'Leary            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Wilson            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Gatl         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Owens-Kirkpatrick  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Witkowski         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Gottemoeller | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poneman | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miller |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Gross        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Primosch           | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ward   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Hahn         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> Rice               | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>                   |

## INFORMATION

- ☒ Itoh
- ☒ Kenney
- ☒ Soderberg
- ☒ Eric See-Bock
- ☐ Lake
- ☐ Berger
- ☒ Records Mgmt.

## COMMENTS

Logged By

*[Signature]*

Return to Records Mgmt.  
379 OEOB

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Sean [8479]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 29, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *for SOD*  
FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SOD*  
SUBJECT: Reply to President Meles' Letter to the President

President Meles of Ethiopia wrote President Clinton a letter regarding the peace process in Somalia. Enclosed at Tab A is the President's reply to the Meles letter. Ambassador Oakley departs on October 30, 1993 and will deliver this letter personally to President Meles.

Concurrences by: R. Rand Beers *for SOD*, Robert Oakley *for SOD*, Jennifer Ward *for SOD*

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the reply at Tab I to the President for his signature.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President  
Tab A Reply to President Meles' Letter to the President  
Tab B President Meles' Letter to the President

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By VDC NARA, Date 12/28/16

2012-0659-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

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8479

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

By YDE NARA, Date 12/28/16

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

2012-0689-F

SUBJECT: Reply to President Meles Letter

Purpose

To Reply to President Meles' letter to you regarding the peace process in Somalia.

Background

President Meles wrote to congratulate you on your decision to seek a political settlement in Somalia. The attached letter addresses our policy in Somalia and encourages President Meles to continue his efforts to find a workable peace.

This letter will be delivered to President Meles by Ambassador Oakley. Ambassador Oakley departs on October 30, 1993 on his second trip to the region.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached reply to President Meles of Ethiopia.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to President Meles  
Tab B President's Meles' Letter

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                     | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001a. letter             | President Clinton to Meles Zenawi, President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (2 pages) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                         | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001b. cable              | Re: Ethiopian/Eritrean Proposals on Somalia (6 pages) | 10/19/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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UNCLASSIFIED  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9306089  
RECEIVED: 12 AUG 93 09

TO: GONZALEZ, HENRY B

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 31 AUG 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REPLY TO REP GONZALEZ RE SOMALIA

ACTION: PRES SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 16 AUG 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DARRAGH

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARKE  
DARRAGH  
NSC CHRON  
ROSNER

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY     *DEM*     DATE     1/1     BY HAND    W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY: NSMEM

DOC    4 OF    4

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1993

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter regarding US troops in Somalia and advocating close executive branch cooperation with Congress regarding Bosnia.

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

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

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

As you know, over recent months we have closely consulted with Congress on Bosnia and intend to continue to do so. In the event US military action is required, I will welcome Congressional debate and support. It is imperative that we work together on this.

I look forward to working closely with Congress to bring peace to Bosnia and to continue our historic efforts to restore hope to the people of Somalia.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Gonzalez", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

The Honorable Henry B. Gonzalez  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
August 27, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS  
G3 3193

11/27 08:18

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE  
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez  
on US forces in Somalia and Possible Airstrikes in  
Bosnia

Purpose

To reply to a letter from Congressman Henry Gonzalez.

Background

Congressman Gonzalez wrote to you to request the immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Somalia and to ask that you maintain close consultation with Congress on possible airstrikes in Bosnia.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Presidential Letter to Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez  
Tab B Letter from Congressman Gonzalez

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

HENRY B. GONZALEZ  
20TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

2413 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4320  
202-225-3236

HOME OFFICE:  
B-124 FEDERAL BUILDING  
727 E. DURANGO STREET  
SAN ANTONIO, TX 78206-1286  
210-229-6195

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515-4320**

August 3, 1993

6089  
COMMITTEE:  
BANKING, FINANCE AND  
URBAN AFFAIRS  
CHAIRMAN  
SUBCOMMITTEES  
HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT  
CHAIRMAN  
CONSUMER CREDIT AND INSURANCE  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, FINANCE,  
TRADE, AND MONETARY POLICY  
5:38

FILE REF:

B06AF  
jcs

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President  
United States of America  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to request immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Somalia. When I wrote to you in March, you responded March 31st that "we expect the bulk of our military presence to be withdrawn in the very near future" because "the current phase of operation is almost at an end." Mr. President, nothing has ended in Somalia, and in fact matters have grown worse.

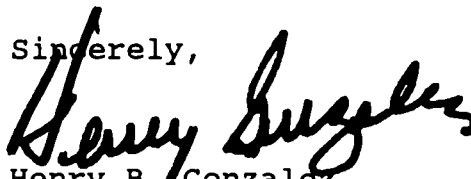
Our mission has mutated and become muddled and very risky for American personnel. Ten years ago, I warned for a year in speech after speech on the House floor of imminent catastrophe when our troops were sent to Lebanon as "peacekeepers," and look what happened there. Without a clearly defined military role, we are subjecting our troops to grave danger and are calling on them to be something that they are not.

Mr. President, I also wrote to you in March about Bosnia, and you indicated that you would remain in close consultation with key members of Congress. I am writing to remind you of that pledge, as clearly the situation has escalated with the possibility that U.S. airstrikes will be ordered. Airstrikes have not been authorized by Congress, and I hope you will not do what President Bush did in the case of the Persian Gulf War and wait until Congress has recessed for a month, a recess which this year will begin at the end of this week. I called in August 1990 for Congress to reconvene to address the impending war in the Persian Gulf, but the House and Senate leadership did not heed my calls.

The Honorable William J. Clinton -- Page 2

Time has proven the wisdom of my call. If matters progress with regard to Bosnia, I will reiterate my call this year and hope that the congressional leadership responds so that the will of the people regarding war in Europe can be expressed through their elected representatives in Congress.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Henry B. Gonzalez". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "H".

Henry B. Gonzalez  
Member of Congress

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 16, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *RC*

FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SJD*

SUBJECT: Reply to Letter to the President from Congressman  
Henry B. Gonzalez

Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez wrote to the President asking that he withdraw US troops from Somalia and maintain close consultation with Congress on the possibility of airstrikes in Bosnia. At Tab A is the President's reply reiterating our commitment to support the UN operation in Somalia and detailing our close consultation with Congress on Bosnia thus far, and our intent to continue this practice.

Concurrences by: R. Rand Beers, Jeremy Rosner, Jane Holl *JH*

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President  
Tab A Presidential Letter to Congressman Gonzalez  
Tab B Letter from Congressman Henry Gonzalez

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                                    | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 002. memo                | Sean Darragh to Anthony Lake, re: Sharing President Meles' Letter to the President with Key Congressmen (1 page) | 10/21/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

### RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8272

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 25, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *WA*

FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SPD*

SUBJECT: Ambassador Oakley's Visit to Addis

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

By *KDE* NARA, Date *12/28/16*  
*2012-0659-F*

At the request of the President, Ambassador Oakley, Randy Beers, and Major General Zinni (plus 2 security personnel) are travelling to Addis to facilitate the humanitarian conference which is to be held on November 22, 1993. They will be on station in the region for approximately one week. They will fly to various places in the region as the mission dictates.

Ambassador Oakley would like to land in Addis Sunday evening, October 31st between 4:00 and 5:00 p.m. local time. He believes it makes the most sense to travel commercial air to Frankfurt, Germany and then fly military air from Frankfurt to Addis. Ambassador Oakley requests that the military provide a C-20 aircraft for their portion of the mission.

Concurrences by: R. *RB* Beers

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the above request through appropriate channels to arrange this transportation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|

|            |                                                     |            |         |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|---------|
| 003a. memo | Sean Darragh to Samuel Berger, re: [Haiti] (1 page) | 10/26/1993 | P1/b(1) |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|---------|

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

### RESTRICTION CODES

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                         | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 003b. paper              | Issue for Decision: [Haiti] (2 pages) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

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|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|

|            |                                                                                                                                      |            |         |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---------|
| 004a. memo | Sean Darragh to Anthony Lake, re: Letters to Key Senators Regarding President Meles' Letter to President Clinton on Somalia (1 page) | 10/23/1993 | P1/b(1) |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---------|

### **COLLECTION:**

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National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### **FOLDER TITLE:**

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2012-0659-F

ke4126

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|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|

|              |                                                |            |         |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------|------------|---------|
| 004b. letter | Anthony Lake to Senator Richard Lugar (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1) |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------|------------|---------|

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                     | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 004c. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Russell Feingold (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                  | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 004d. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Claiborn Pell (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs (Darragh, Sean)  
OA/Box Number: 274

### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

### RESTRICTION CODES

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|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 004e. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Paul Simon (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

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### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

### 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]  
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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| 004f. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Sam Nunn (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

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### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
ke4126

### RESTRICTION CODES

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| 004g. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator James Jeffords (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

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### FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [4]

2012-0659-F  
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### RESTRICTION CODES

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| 004h. letter             | Anthony Lake to Senator Nancy Kassebaum (1 page) | 10/00/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

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### FOLDER TITLE:

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| 004i. cable              | [Duplicate of 001b] (6 pages) | 10/19/1993 | P1/b(1)     |

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