

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Somalia Files (1993-1994): Somalia 1994 [5]

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. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Sean Darragh to Anthony Lake and Samuel Berger, re: Visit to Fort Bragg, NC to participate in Special Operations Capabilities Exercise (1 page)	11/16/1993	P1/b(1)
002. memo	Sean Darragh to Samuel Berger, re: Discussion Paper for Deputies Committee Meeting on Somalia (3 pages)	11/08/1993	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 [5]

2012-0659-F

ke4127

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]
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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.

Sean - You
16/10/93

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 15, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE

FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SD*

SUBJECT: Reply to Congressman Deutsch's Letter on Events
in India

Attached at Tab A is the President's reply to Congressman Deutsch's letter. In his letter, Congressman Deutsch asks the President to respond quickly to India's request for emergency disaster assistance. The President's response outlines the swift action the administration took to assist the government of India.

Concurrence by: *Don* Don Gross

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I	Memorandum to the President
Tab A	Letter to Congressman Deutsch from the President
Tab B	Letter from Congressman Deutsch to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from Congressman Deutsch

Purpose

To Reply to Congressman Deutsch's letter to you regarding recent events in India.

Background

Congressman Deutsch recently wrote to you to request that the United States Government respond swiftly and fully to India's request for disaster assistance.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Congressman Deutsch at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Congressman Deutsch
Tab B Incoming Letter from Congressman Deutsch

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your recent letter of concern regarding the tragic events in India. As you know, we responded to the Indian request for assistance immediately and began relief shipments on October 2nd. I also dispatched Ray Flynn, our Ambassador to the Vatican, to India to supervise the effort. He reports that our supplies are getting through to those in need in a timely fashion.

We will continue to monitor the situation closely and do what we can to assist as the situation progresses. As you are aware, our Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance at A.I.D. is the focal point for assistance.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Peter Deutsch
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

PETER DEUTSCH
20TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND
THE MIDDLE EAST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, FINANCE
AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS
SUPERVISION, REGULATION AND DEPOSIT INSURANCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSING
AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSUMER CREDIT
AND INSURANCE

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE
AND FISHERIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0920

October 4, 1993

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

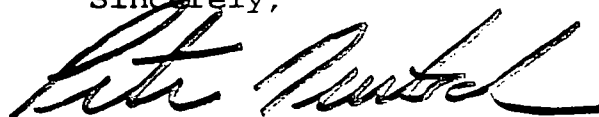
I am deeply concerned about the recent events in India. As each day passes, the recorded numbers of individuals who perished in the earthquake rise. In addition, the heavy rains that have fallen on India in recent days have made it more difficult for relief workers to reach those that survived the earthquake but are trapped in the rubble.

On Friday, October 1, the Government of India officially requested emergency disaster assistance from the United States government. The request placed a premium on food, water and materials to construct temporary shelter. I am asking that the United States government respond swiftly and fully to India's request for assistance in the wake of this unavoidable natural disaster.

In order to deliver any rations of humanitarian supplies, the United States will have to develop a distribution system that will employ Americans overseas. There are a number of constituents in my district who have expressed an interest in volunteering for such a relief effort. I am in contact with the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) at the Agency for International Development (AID) who are coordinating these missions.

Thank you for your assistance with this matter. I will also be contacting other Members of Congress to enlist their support for this relief effort.

Sincerely,



Peter Deutsch
Member of Congress

MAILING ADDRESS

425 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-7931
(202) 225-8456 (FAX)

MAIN DISTRICT OFFICE

10100 PINES BLVD.
PEMBROKE PINES, FL 33025
(305) 437-3936
(305) 437-4776 (FAX)

DADE (305) 371-8721
KEY LARGO (305) 852-0159
BIG PINE (305) 872-3916
KEY WEST (305) 294-5815

93 OCT 15

P4:18

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: HOWARD PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters sent to the President from various members of Congress.

Since these letters address national security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in having drafts written.

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

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Bill Goodling (R-PA), concerning UN Address;
- 2) Peter Deutsch (D-FL), concerning India;
- 3) Corrine Brown (D-FL), concerning soldiers in Somalia not receiving tax exempt status.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Peter Deutsch
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Rec'd 11/2 7:55am JWR
National Security Council
The White House
11/1

PROOFED BY: MA LOG # 8539
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG ASK A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<u>xl</u> DepExecSec	<u>1</u>	<u>WHL</u>	
ExecSec			
Staff Director	<u>2</u>	<u>M</u>	
D/APNSA	<u>3</u>	<u>sw</u>	
APNSA	<u>4</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk			
NSC Secretariat			

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

cc: VP McLarty Other _____
2 OCT 93 7:17
Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

Exec Sec has dislute

Jeremy Ritten
Tony did not
send fwd He did
not agree w/ con-
clusion - This
can be destroyed
10 Nov 93
1135

~~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

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"

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8539

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 1, 1993

ACTION

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White House Guidelines,
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2012-0659-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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I

Divider Title: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

By KOE NARA, Date 12/28/16
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 ^(a) ~~its~~ study on U.S. public attitudes on U.S. involvement in Somalia. The review ^(used) ~~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 U.S. public more eager to withdraw U.S. troops from Somalia, the public has not reacted by wanting to withdraw U.S. troops immediately. Only a minority of Americans want 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 assume 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 U.S. involvement in multilateral efforts to maintain peace and protect human rights.
- When Americans evaluate U.S. involvement in Somalia they evidence a conflict between their globalist values and a desire to limit U.S. involvements in a world they perceive as making unlimited demands.
- Your decision to increase U.S. 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 U.S. commitments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 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 U.S. Public Attitudes on Involvement in Somalia
- Tab B Washington Post Article, "What New Isolationism"

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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A

Divider Title: _____

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This marker identifies the place of a publication.

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.

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*

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*

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This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

B

Divider Title: _____

What New Isolationism?

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

By Steven Kull

WHEN 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 Aideded 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.

If 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.

TO: LAKE

FROM: DARRAGH
CLARKE

DOC DATE: 16 NOV 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SPECIAL FORCES

ANSA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: TRIP TO FT BRAGG TO OBSERVE CAPEX 8 DEC

ACTION: BERGER DISAPPROVED RECOM

DUE DATE: 19 NOV 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DARRAGH

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
CLARKE
~~DARRAGH~~
NSC CHRON

hgs copy

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

By KDE NARA, Date 12/1/16

2012-0659-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSASK

CLOSED BY: NSMEM

DOC 1 OF 1

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Sean Darragh to Anthony Lake and Samuel Berger, re: Visit to Fort Bragg, NC to participate in Special Operations Capabilities Exercise (1 page)	11/16/1993	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 [5]

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TO: DEUTSCH, PETER

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 18 NOV 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: INDIA
CO

HUMAN RIGHTS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PRES REPLY TO REP DEUTSCH RE INDIA

ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 09 OCT 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BEERS

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
WH STRIPPING DESK

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY WA DATE 4/18 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGVE

CLOSED BY: NSWEA

DOC 4 OF 4

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 18, 1993

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the tragic events in India. I share your concern for the survivors of the October earthquake.

As you may know, we responded immediately to the Indian request for disaster assistance and began relief shipments on October 2. I also asked Ray Flynn, our Ambassador to the Vatican, to travel to India to supervise personally our relief efforts.

I will continue to monitor the situation closely to ensure that our disaster assistance reaches those most in need. I appreciate your strong support for this vital humanitarian mission.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Peter Deutsch
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1993 P 1:52

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 
HOWARD PASTER 
SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from Congressman Deutsch

Purpose

To Reply to Congressman Deutsch's letter to you regarding recent events in India.

Background

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RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Congressman Deutsch at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Congressman Deutsch
Tab B Incoming Letter from Congressman Deutsch

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 15, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE 
FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH 
SUBJECT: Reply to Congressman Deutsch's Letter on Events
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Attached at Tab A is the President's reply to Congressman Deutsch's letter. In his letter, Congressman Deutsch asks the President to respond quickly to India's request for emergency disaster assistance. The President's response outlines the swift action the administration took to assist the government of India.

Concurrence by:  Don Gross

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PETER DEUTSCH
20TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND
THE MIDDLE EAST
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, FINANCE
AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS
SUPERVISION, REGULATION AND DEPOSIT INSURANCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSING
AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSUMER CREDIT
AND INSURANCE

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE
AND FISHERIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0920

October 4, 1993

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

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Thank you for your assistance with this matter. I will also be contacting other Members of Congress to enlist their support for this relief effort.

Sincerely,



Peter Deutsch
Member of Congress

7676

MAILING ADDRESS

425 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-7931
(202) 225-8456 (FAX)

MAIN DISTRICT OFFICE

10100 PINES BLVD.
PEMBROKE PINES, FL 33025
(305) 437-3936
(305) 437-4776 (FAX)

DADE (305) 371-8721
KEY LARGO (305) 852-0159
BIG PINE (305) 872-3918
KEY WEST (305) 294-5815

93 OCT 15

PA: 18

TO: COLEMAN, R

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 25 OCT 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REPLY TO REP COLEMAN ON SOMALIA

ACTION: PRES SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 12 OCT 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: CLARKE

LOGREF: 9307624 9307698

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
RICE
ROSNER
WARD

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 4 OF 4

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1993

Dear Ron:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter on Somalia.

You can be sure that I am dedicated to the safety of our forces in Somalia, and that I will remain vigilant until the last U.S. soldier, sailor and marine is withdrawn. In keeping with this mandate, I have ordered that sufficient combat capability be introduced into Somalia to ensure the security of all our personnel there.

I believe you will find that the Report to Congress on Somalia which I recently sent to you addresses your concerns. It clearly addresses the mission of U.S. forces, our commitment to that mission, and the plan for finishing it the right way. The recent trip of Ambassador Oakley to Somalia and neighboring countries is the beginning of what I hope to be a successful political conclusion to the challenges faced in Somalia.

Congressional support for our new policy in Somalia is essential in the coming months not only for our foreign policy, but for the effectiveness and safety of our people in Somalia. I look forward to working with you to assure success in this important mission.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

The Honorable Ronald D. Coleman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 22, 1993 7:02 P5:36

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Reply to Congressman Ronald Coleman on Somalia

Purpose

To reply to Congressman Coleman's letter to you on Somalia.

Background

Congressman Coleman wrote to ask you to more clearly define the mission of U.S. forces in Somalia and to formulate a plan for withdrawal quickly.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A to Congressman Coleman.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Reply to Congressman Coleman

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 20, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *RC*

FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SD*

SUBJECT: Reply to Congressman Ronald Coleman on Somalia

Congressman Ronald Coleman wrote to the President encouraging him to more clearly define the U.S. mission in Somalia and to formulate a plan for withdrawal as quickly as possible.

At Tab A is the reply to Congressman Coleman's letter to the President.

Concurrences by: *for SD* Jennifer Ward, *for SD* Jeremy Rosner, Susan *SD* Rice

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President

Tab A Proposed Reply to Congressman Coleman

RONALD D. COLEMAN
16TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
CHAIRMAN,

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

CHAIRMAN,
CONGRESSIONAL BORDER CAUCUS



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

October 6, 1993

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to express my concern about our current mission in Somalia. Yesterday, I joined many of my other colleagues in calling for Congressional review of our current role and mission in Somalia. I believe that the challenge to U.S. troops in the region has changed greatly in the last few weeks and I am concerned that they may indeed not have the resources they need to carry out the mission of restoring peace in Somalia.

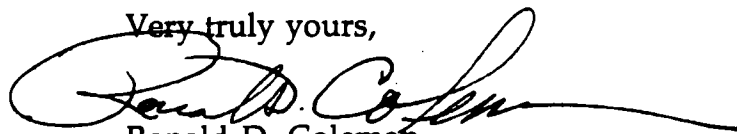
Last night I learned that a young man from my hometown, Sgt. Lorenzo Ruiz, 27, was killed in Somalia attempting to capture confidantes of Somali warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid. This tragic event motivated me to write you today and urge you to redefine our mission in Somalia so that we might better protect brave soldiers like Sgt. Ruiz who continually find themselves in combat, not peacekeeping, situations.

I applaud your decision to send additional troops and armor to Somalia. And I urge you to send to Congress as soon as possible a comprehensive plan that includes requests for the troops and equipment needed to finish our job in Somalia in the safest and quickest manner.

As the world's only remaining superpower we can expect to be called on in the future to take the lead in restoring peace and quieting despots. The operation in Somalia gives us the opportunity to set a precedent which clearly states that even when U.S. troops are under the command of multi-national forces, they are not beyond the purview and control of our military leaders or elected representatives.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very truly yours,


Ronald D. Coleman
Member of Congress

7787
440 C/ HOUSE OFFICE BUI
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4316
(202) 225-4831

DISTRICT OFFICE:
FEDERAL BUILDING, SUITE 723
700 EAST SAN ANTONIO ST
EL PASO, TX 79901
(915) 534-6200

SPECIAL PHONE FOR THE
HEARING IMPAIRED
TTY-202-225-1904
VOICE-202-225-1300

08 OCT 7 1993 5:51

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: HOWARD PASTER *W*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters sent to the President from various members of Congress.

Since these letters address national security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in having drafts written.

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

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Charlie Rangel (D-NY), concerning Haiti;
- 2) Chris Shays (R-CT), concerning Somalia;
- ✓ 3) Ron Coleman (D-TX), concerning Somalia;
- 4) Ben Gilman (R-NY) and others, concerning Somalia;
- 5) Martin Hoke (R-OH), concerning Somalia.

Attachments

TO: GOODLING, WILLIAM F

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 17 NOV 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: UNGA
SOMALIA
CO

SPEECHES
YUGOSLAVIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PRES REPLY TO REP GOODLING RE UNGA ADDRESS

ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 16 OCT 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ROSNER

LOGREF: 9307338 9307379

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
WH STRIPPING DESK

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
CLARKE
DARRAGH
ROSNER

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSKDB

CLOSED BY: NSWEA

DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1993

Dear Representative Goodling:

Thank you for your kind letter regarding my recent address to the United Nations General Assembly.

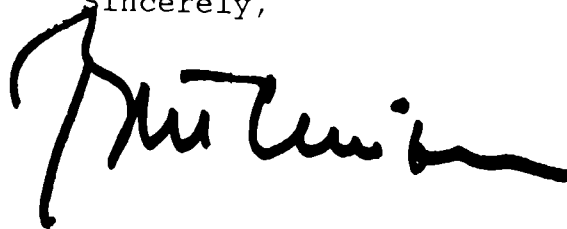
I believe you will find that the Report to Congress I sent to you addresses most of the concerns you mentioned in your letter. The recent trip of Ambassador Oakley to Somalia and neighboring countries was the beginning of what I hope to be a successful political approach to the challenges faced in Somalia.

As you now know, I have refocused our efforts on finding a peaceful solution to the problems in Somalia and committed to staying in the UNOSOM II operation until March 31, 1993. It is a decision that I hope you will support. All U.S. combat forces in Somalia will continue to remain under U.S. command until they depart.

I am dedicated to the safety of our forces in Somalia and I will remain vigilant until the last U.S. soldier, sailor, airman and marine is withdrawn. In keeping with this mandate, I have ordered that sufficient combat forces be introduced into Somalia to ensure the security of our personnel there. Our forces must have the capability to defend themselves.

Congressional support for our new policy in Somalia is essential in the coming months for the effectiveness and safety of our servicemen and women in Somalia. I look forward to working with you to assure success in this important mission.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized, flowing script.

The Honorable William F. Goodling
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 16, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-17-93

11-16-93 24:54

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SIGNED

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Reply to Congressman Bill Goodling's Letter

Purpose

To reply to Congressman Goodling's letter to you on your speech to the UN General Assembly.

Background

Congressman Goodling wrote to you to express his thanks for the fine accommodations in New York, to congratulate you on your speech to the UN and to ask you to deploy U.S. forces abroad only when it is clearly in the national interest.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Congressman Bill Goodling.

Attachments

Tab A Reply to Congressman Goodling
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 2, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE *RA*
FROM: SEAN J. DARRAGH *SJD*
SUBJECT: Reply to Congressman Bill Goodling

Congressman Goodling wrote to the President to congratulate him on his address to the UN General Assembly, thank him for the fine accommodations he received in New York, and to express his concern that the President commit US forces only when it is clearly in the national interest to do so.

Concurrences by: Jeremy Rosner, Susan Rice, Jennifer Ward

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the attached reply to Congressman Bill Goodling to the President for signature.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Reply to Congressman Goodling letter
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

BILL GOODLING
19TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

TOLL FREE DISTRICT NUMBER:
800-832-1811

RANKING MINORITY:
COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3819
September 28, 1993

039511

7908

ROOM 2263
RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-6836

DISTRICT OFFICES
FEDERAL BUILDING
200 SOUTH GEORGE STREET
YORK, PA 17405-9999

CHAMBER BUILDING
212 NORTH HAMOVER STREET
CARLISLE, PA 17013-2423

140 BALTIMORE STREET
ROOM 301
GETTYSBURG, PA 17325-2311

2020 YALE AVENUE
CAMPA HILL, PA 17011-6466

44 FREDERICK STREET
CAMPA HILL, PA 17331-3598

03 OCT 5 PM 1:18

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

So often in this field, we receive letters of criticism but never letters of commendation. This letter to you is the rarity in our field.

I had the opportunity to attend your address to the United Nations General Assembly and was received by a gracious hostess, the First Lady. I want to thank you for the fine accommodations granted on this visit.

In regard to your address, I was pleased to learn of our agreement that for the U.S. to say yes to peacekeeping, the U.N. must learn to say no. I want to reiterate my opposition to the placement of U.S. combat troops under foreign command, and it appears you are coming to the same realization.

I also strongly support your initiative to change the budget formula which establishes the annual contribution to the U.N. budget and peacekeeping activities. It is my hope that Ambassador Albright will make this one of her foremost priorities at the 48th UNGA.

I do want to register my concern, however, with the vagaries of your address concerning the Somali operation and the situation in the former Yugoslavia. I hope you are not developing an exit strategy for Somalia, only to implement a protracted involvement and military engagement in the former Yugoslavia. Certainly we should withdraw from Somalia immediately, bear the few days of negative publicity, and cut our losses. But Yugoslavia would be years of struggle costing hundreds of lives and billions of dollars. At the end, how will the U.S. be better off? In addition to the questions you posed in your address concerning general peacekeeping operations, I submit the most important but often overlooked question: would the mission truly serve U.S. interests? This should be the primary question deliberated when considering responses to the multiple conflicts currently raging globally.

President Bill Clinton
September 28, 1993
2

I thank you again for the First Lady's hospitality and commend your fine address. I hope the vagaries in your address do not indicate indecision in those matters or an inclination to initiate a foreign policy which does not best serve U.S. interests. Keep in mind the paramount question of foreign policy: does it best serve U.S. interests.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bill".

BILL GOODLING
Member of Congress

WFG/ts

TO: LAKE

FROM: DARRAGH
CLARKE

DOC DATE: 08 NOV 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOMALIA

DC

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION PAPER FOR 8 NOV DC MTG ON SOMALIA

ACTION: NOTED BY BERGER

DUE DATE: 11 NOV 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DARRAGH

LOGREF: 9321254

FILES: IFM

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
DARRAGH
NSC CHRON
WRIGHT

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 12/28/16

2012-0689-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB

CLOSED BY: NSWEA

DOC 1 OF 1

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Sean Darragh to Samuel Berger, re: Discussion Paper for Deputies Committee Meeting on Somalia (3 pages)	11/08/1993	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 [5]

2012-0659-F
ke4127

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]

TO: Sandy Berger
THRU: Richard Clarke *RC*
FROM: Sean Darragh *SD*
DATE: November 8, 1993

SUBJECT: Supplement to Somalia DC Briefing Memorandum:

Attached is language that Secretary General Boutros Ghali wants to use in his report. He plans to personally establish a board of inquiry, whose members will have no connection to UNOSOM, which will report to him directly.

Both Dick Clarke and Bob Oakley feel this idea is not only unwise, but infeasible.

Paragraph 105(b):

In recent weeks, certain governments which have contributed troops to UNOSOM II or whose troops have been operating with the Mission, have chosen to order those troops to no longer pursue attempts, in accordance with 837 (1993), to arrest and detain persons mentioned in paragraph 5 of that resolution. Therefore, I intend to establish forthwith a special Board of Inquiry chaired by a distinguished personality who is not connected with UNOSOM but who has peacekeeping experience, serviced by an ad hoc secretariat. The members of the Board will also not be connected with UNOSOM. The Board will report to me. As soon as I receive the Board's report, I will submit a report to the Council. Until the Board has carried out its task, no further attempts will be made to arrest persons responsible for the incidents under investigation. Except for a small number of persons whose continued detention is deemed necessary on security grounds, persons arrested in connection with the incidents and presently in the custody of UNOSOM will be released. These persons must undertake not to engage again in attacks against UNOSOM or its personnel and not to publicly incite such attacks.

• Paragraph 105(a):

A matter of continuing concern to me is the investigation of the incident of 5 June in which twenty-four members of UNOSOM lost their lives, as well as of the subsequent incidents in which UNOSOM personnel and/or Somali citizens were killed. In these cases, UNOSOM's standing operating procedures were not immediately followed and a Board of Inquiry was not immediately established because the Security Council adopted resolution 837 (1993) on the day following the 5 June incident. That resolution, inter alia, reaffirmed that the Secretary-General was authorized under resolution 814 (1993), to take all necessary measures against those responsible for the armed attacks against the personnel of UNOSOM II, including those responsible for publicly inciting such attacks, to establish the effective authority of UNOSOM II throughout Somalia, including to secure the investigation of their actions, and their arrest and detention for prosecution, trial and punishment. Thereupon, an independent expert was engaged to carry out the investigation pursuant to operative paragraph 5 of resolution 837. The executive summary of his report was made available for the members of the Security Council in document S/26351 of 24 August 1993. More importantly, however, the Force Commander of UNOSOM II, acting also under paragraph 5 of resolution 837, subsequently undertook operations aimed at the capture of persons mentioned in paragraph 5 of resolution 837 so as to bring them before an appropriate court or tribunal as soon as this became feasible.

Source: AP

Subject : r i AM-Somalia-Aidid 11-07 0746

a0635-----

r i AM-Somalia-Aidid 11-07 0746

AM-Somalia-Aidid,0746

Faction Leader Warns Against US Patrols

AP Photo Available

By PAUL ALEXANDER=

Associated Press Writer=

MOGADISHU, Somalia (AP) _ Gen. Mohamed Farrah Aidid warned U.S. troops not to return to the streets of Mogadishu, saying Sunday that their presence could violate a 4-week-old cease-fire with foreign troops.

``There is no need to deploy U.S. troops on the streets of Mogadishu. That may be provocative,'' Aidid told a news conference.

``I cannot see any reason for the massive deployment. Mogadishu is calm.

``Painful memories of U.S. massacres are still fresh in the Somali people. The U.S. government will bear the full responsibility'' for any trouble that may break out, he said.

U.S. reinforcements _ Army troops on the ground, Marines still at sea _ poured into Somalia after an Oct. 3 firefight killed 18 American soldiers. Their main mission is to protect U.S. and foreign troops, but officials say they also will keep roads open and put pressure on bandits.

President Clinton reiterated that position on Sunday, saying on NBC's 'Meet the Press' that ``our young soldiers there cannot be expected to just sort of hunker down and stay behind walls. That almost puts them at greater risk.''

Aidid, accused of launching attacks that have killed dozens of peacekeepers since June 5, told the United Nations to get out of Somalia, saying the humanitarian effort has disintegrated into a bloody military campaign against his people with no chance of reconciliation.

``There are no negotiations, and I don't expect any in the future,'' said the man who controls south Mogadishu. The U.N. force ``is responsible for the current problems. They are the biggest obstacle to peace.''

He dashed the U.N.'s hopes that a newly formed Mogadishu Security Advisory Committee could be a forum for improving the dangerous streets and setting up more substantive talks on the country's future. He said his faction, which attended the second meeting last week, won't show up any more.

In holding a news conference for about 15 foreign news organizations and local media, Aidid was making his most public appearance since late May. Until recently, he was the target of an intense search that has largely been called off with a change in policy here.

Officials of his faction led a convoy of journalists on a winding trip through the city's dusty back streets, stopping once to ensure they weren't being followed.

The destination was a compound where anyone entering was frisked.

When Aidid finally arrived, about an hour late, he once again was dressed as the politician he wants to be, in a freshly pressed white shirt and dark paisley tie.

Although he welcomed the recent change in U.S. policy in Somalia _ pursuing reconciliation instead of his capture _ Aidid criticized the arrival of U.S. reinforcements and heavy armor.

He urged the U.N. to release 43 remaining Somali detainees, including three of his top aides, who were captured Oct. 3, sparking the nine-hour firefight that killed 18 U.S. soldiers and an estimated 300 Somalis.

Sixteen detainees were freed overnight Saturday. One appeared at Aidid's news conference, claiming he was beaten while under interrogation and hit in the head with a rifle butt. Other than

marks on his wrists from plastic handcuffs, he showed no sign of injuries.

Aidid alleged the detainees are getting sick and staging a five-day fast to protest their treatment, including alleged lack of access to doctors. U.N. officials were not immediately available for comment but have said the detainees have been treated well.

As he has for the last month, Aidid tried to portray himself as a peacemaker and diplomat instead of the brutal warlord the U.N. has accused him of being.

Instead, he said, the U.N. operation has been the biggest obstacle to peace. He said the U.N. wants to rule Somalia for the next two years and deprive the people of their freedom and right to choose.

He also denied speculation that if the multinational contingent pulls out, the country will fall back into the civil war and anarchy that killed an estimated 350,000 people last year from conflict, starvation and disease.

He said there is no conflict between him and archrival Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who controls north Mogadishu, and claimed the streets are safe, even though fighting broke out nearly two weeks ago along the Green Line dividing north and south Mogadishu.

APTV-11-07-93 1157EST
a0636-----

MY ACTIONS PART II

Shred

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION