

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Somalia Files, 1992-1993 [loose] [17]

Staff Office-Individual:

Transnational Threats-Clarke, Richard

Original OA/ID Number:

3827

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
49	4	7	1	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. agenda	Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting (1 page)	05/21/1993	P1/b(1)
002. agenda	Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting (1 page)	06/02/1993	P1/b(1)
003. list	Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting Participants [partial] (1 page)	06/01/1993	P3/b(3)
004. list	Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting Participants [partial] (1 page)	05/21/1993	P3/b(3)
005. paper	Re: [Execute Order] (3 pages)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)
006. cable	Re: [Restore Hope] (2 pages)	01/22/1993	P1/b(1)
007. cable	Re: [Additional Authorization] (1 page)	01/24/1993	P1/b(1)
008a. memo	Richard Clarke to Anthony Lake, re: [Execute Order] (2 pages)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)
008b. cable	Re: [Execute Order] (8 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
009. report	Re: [Haiti] (7 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
010. paper	Re: [Haiti] (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
011. paper	Re: [Haiti] (2 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
012a. paper	[Duplicate of 010] (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F

ke4222

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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012b. paper	[Duplicate of 011] (2 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
013a. paper	[Duplicate of 010] (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
013b. paper	[Duplicate of 011] (2 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
014a. paper	[Duplicate of 010] (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
014b. paper	[Duplicate of 011] (2 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)
015. paper	Haiti: Security Planning (2 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

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(SVTS)
Meeting on Haiti: Finance and
UN Details
Wednesday, May 19, 1993, 1:30 P.M.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

(SVTS)
Meeting on Haiti: Finance and UN Details
Wednesday, May 19, 1993, 1:30 P.M.

Chaired by: Richard Clarke

PARTICIPANTS:

STATE/IO/UNP

Jim Moriarty 647-0046

STATE/PM

Jock Covey 647-8698

STATE/L

Carol Schwab 647-7838

STATE

Michael Kozak 647-4707

OSD

Morton Halperin (703) 697-8101
Admiral Schreifer (703) 697-7588

DSAA

H. Diehl (703) 697-6271

JCS

BGen Tom Hill (703) 697-8591

OMB

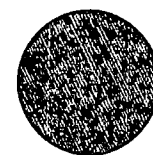
Ron Silberman x4944

OVP

Jim Carman x6033

NSC

Randy Beers x5066
Sean Darragh x1489



Dick -
Please call Larry Pegulla
by 11³⁰

Text of UN Aide Memoire

Shanks

(5)

The objective is to deploy international civilian police personnel throughout Haiti for the following purposes: [a] to provide a visible international presence and a demonstrable commitment to the full restoration of democracy in Haiti. [b] to advise and assist in the recruitment and training of a new civilian police force separate from the FAD'H.; [c] to monitor the manner in which the existing security forces carry out their law and order functions in the interval before the new civilian police force assumes its duties. The monitors will try to ensure that the existing security forces respect human rights, as well as the letter and spirit of the political agreements; [d] To deter and discourage violent, abusive or retaliatory behaviour during the sensitive period prior to and following the announcement of the political agreements; [e] to evaluate the requirements of the programmes to professionalize the Haitian Armed Forces and the new Haitian police.

The international civilian police will wear their national uniforms but with the United Nations headgear and accoutrements, in accordance with the practice established for the United Nations civilian police in other operations. They will operate under the United Nations flag and will carry side-arms for personal self-defence but would not have the capacity to use forceful means to control violence.

OSD

The international civilian police will be deployed in the weeks following the adoption of the relevant resolution by the united nations security council. An advance party will be deployed immediately.

The number of international police personnel will be that, which in the Secretary General's view, is required for the proper discharge of their functions. On the basis of a preliminary estimate, it is envisaged that the number would be between 500 and 600.

Police monitors will report to a commanding officer appointed by, and reporting to, the Secretary General of the United Nations.

In addition, the United Nations would deploy an international multilateral construction batallion together with a group of military training personnel for the following purposes: [a] to provide a further guarantee of the international community's commitment to support the political solutions negotiated by the Special Envoy; [b] to launch the programme for the professionalization of the Haitian armed forces; [c] in particular, to begin the construction and repair of facilities urgently needed for training and welfare purposes.

These mult personnel will not operate as a Sec force, but will function solely for purpose of Prof.

- 2 -

United Nations military personnel would wear their national uniforms but with United Nations headgear and accoutrements, and would operate under the United Nations flag, in accordance with the practice of the United Nations. The members of the ~~construction battalion~~ would be ~~lightly armed~~ for the purposes of self-defence. *Interim: military presence ... side arms*

The international military presence would be deployed in Haiti in the days prior to the announcement of the political agreements following the adoption of the relevant resolution by the security council.

United Nations military personnel would report to a commanding officer appointed by and reporting to the secretary general. *directly*

An expert team would be sent to Haiti to prepare a more detailed plan for the deployment of the United Nations military mission, including an evaluation of the numbers and resources required.

15 May 1993.

*no capacity nor authority
to control violence.*

5

Text of UN Non-Paper for Bazin and General Cedras:

The Secretary General of the United Nations intends to go before the Security Council late next week to request authorization to establish an international security presence in Haiti as a step toward the resolution of the Haitian crisis, begin the process of the professionalization of the armed forces and the police and reassure all Haitian citizens that their human rights will be respected. The security personnel will carry out their tasks in full respect of the constitution and the sovereignty of Haiti and will not perform law enforcement or military functions that are within the sole competence of the Haitian government. Their functions will be to provide training to the Haitian police and military to enable them to develop their institutions on a professional basis and to ensure that they carry out their functions within the framework of the constitution and laws of Haiti in a manner consistent with democratic practice and respect for human rights.

The international community is giving strong backing to the plan developed by Special envoy dante caputo in consultation with the relevant Haitian parties. There is confidence that the security council will promptly approve the deployment of international security personnel once the secretary general is in a position to inform the council that president aristide approves the plan as set forth in the attached aide memoire and that you are ready to cooperate in its implementation. Accordingly, you are hereby asked to confirm by no later than mid-day 19 May your acceptance of the contents of the aide memoire.

Based on the efforts made to date by all parties, we have before us a path that will meet the legitimate concerns of all Haitians. The military and the new police will receive substantial international assistance in their professionalization. The stability of Haiti will be preserved. An economic development program will be launched by the international community. Thus, a climate will be created in which human rights are fully respected and the return of legitimate constitutional government can occur with full assurance for the safety and wellbeing of all Haitians. This is the moment for you to display leadership and courage.

If both sides promptly take this step that will allow the Security Council to move forward with police and military professionalization, the special envoy will promptly begin consultations to develop the necessary political arrangements for a return to constitutional government.

Should either party fail to carry out the essential steps in a timely fashion, it will not be possible to hold the other

- 2 -

party to the commitments it has made to date. Of particular interest to your side should be the arrangements regarding institutional professionalization which has been so painstakingly worked out.

Moreover, given its investment in this endeavour, the international community will be unable to understand your failure to carry out a plan based on full consultation which meets the legitimate concerns of all Haitians. The result, in addition to the loss of the guarantees now on the table, would be to leave the Special Envoy no choice but to recommend the imposition of universal and mandatory sanctions.

This is a serious moment. It is hoped that you will take all the steps necessary to make your colleagues understand that the time for political maneuvering is past. What remains is simply to proceed in good faith with the process that will achieve the goals sought by all Haitians.

GAO Study on Arren

Scoring Is 10245

- CBO

- 13%

- off top of 15D

\$175M

5000

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

On the margin, you may want
to grab Mont. The Cambodian
USMO's are not being allowed to
serve as poll observers. JCS is
resisting

1. Cost paper
+
Fund

2. Q + A for UN

3. OMB/Comp tran

1. Guidance will be cleared.

2. OMB team on cost.

3. \$8 1/2 - \$2M police
EDA \$10M equip.

4. Seabees / Trainers
\$2.5m Const + Sec Asst

~~1.0~~
~~1.0~~

\$1.7 to Deploy

\$242 K per month

460
detailed
now

HAITI -- USG Equipment for ~~Lease~~ Purchase

(as of 13 May 1993)

Draft

ARMY

COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT

Item	Qty Req	Qty Avail	Date Avail	Unit \$	Total \$
HAND HELD RADIOS	250				
--VHF (6W)		250	10-12 mos	\$1,218	\$
--UHF (6W)		250	10-12 mos	\$1,265	
BASE STATIONS & REPEATER STATIONS	50				
--Desktrac VHF (25W)		50	10-12 mos	\$4,173	
--Desktrac UHF (25W)		50	10-12 mos	\$4,294	
LONG RANGE RADIOS		50		\$8,538	
--MICOM-XF mobile					
FAX machine (secure) with secure keys		56		\$37,000	

Packaging/crating/handling:
Transportation:
TOTAL:

3 million L

TRANSPORTATION

WHEELED VEHICLES--Excess Defense Articles

Item	Qty Req	Qty Avail	Date Avail	Unit \$	Total \$
4x4 Vehicles	125				
-- M35A2 2.5t Truck		up to 125	now	\$ 4,182	
-- M54A2 5t Truck				\$ 1,744	
-- M1009 (Blazer)				\$ 4,255	
-- M1008 (Pick Up)				\$ 3,938	
Four Ton trucks	10	0			
Five ton trucks					
--M54A2 5t trucks		10	now	\$ 1,744	

To buy: Vehicles listed above are available as EDA on a "as is, where is" basis and in most instances, refurbishment is required (at least 60 days).

Location: Germany

Refurbishment: Approx. \$5K-\$11K (basic maintenance)

Packaging/crating/handling: \$60K-\$74K

Transportation: \$608K-\$800K

TOTAL

TRANSPORTATION

WHEELED VEHICLES--Commercial Utility Cargo Vehicles (CUCV)

Item	Qty Req	Qty Avail	Date Avail	Unit \$	Total \$
(like new)--Condition Code: A					
M1008	125	up to 125 now			\$15,750
M1008A					\$17,554
M1009					\$17,018
M1028					\$14,141
M1028A					\$11,989

(Used)--Condition Code: B

M1008	\$ 3,938
M1008A	\$ 4,389
M1009	\$ 4,255
M1028	\$ 3,555
M1028A	\$ 2,997

To buy: Commercial Utility Cargo Vehicles (CUCV) are available in like new and used conditions. Vehicles are not excess, but have been replaced with newer models for modernization purposes. Some refurbishment is required. All items are located in Germany. It is recommended that an inspection team be provided by the UN to select vehicles in Germany. CUCV's range from 3/4 to 1 1/4 ton.

Location: Germany

Refurbishment: No cost.

Packaging/crating/handling:

Transportation:

TOTAL:

o Bikes (Motorized and Non-motorized)

To buy: None. Recommend going commercial. The Services do not have any available.

HELICOPTERS

To buy: 3 SDAF

These are refurbished helicopters which will be available in AUG 93.

Price ea: \$685,000

Location: CONUS

Refurbishment: included

Packaging/crating/handling: TBD

Transportation: SAMM Flight (approx. \$200K)

TOTAL:

* Maintenance

* Risk not taking Refurbished Helo's

5 mil (6 mos)

Assume everything but personnel

NAVY:

Item	Qty Req	Qty Avail	Date Avail	Unit \$	Total \$
PATROL BOATS	4				
<i>No waive</i> -- 22 ft. boat		3	tentative	\$60,000	
-- 18' utility boat		3	now	\$0 (w/o refurb)	
-- 26' motor whale boats		10			
-- 26' personnel boats		11			
-- 33' personnel boats		11			
-- 35' whale boat		1			
-- 36' personnel launchers		3			
-- 36' vehicle personnel boats		12			
-- 40' utility boat		8			
-- 50' utility boat		5			
-- 50' landing craft		1			
-- 56' landing craft		1			
-- 74' landing craft		6			

To buy: The Navy has a number of excess boats available on a "as is" basis at several Naval facilities in San Diego, California. No refurbishment will be provided.

Refurbishment: none.
Packaging/crating/handling: TBD
Transportation: TBD
TOTAL:

* DEA BOATS - what you see is what you get
- No commo
-

60 days to Refurbish

400 K
400,000

DEFENSE LOGISTICS AGENCY (DLA)

o Office Facilities/Lodging and Subsistence:

To buy: Items will either be in-stock or as excess in quantities desired. Price quotes are not available at present for non-excess items.

--tents (medium or large) in place of pre-fabricated buildings

--sleeping cots

--beds and linens (including sheets, towels)

--first aid kits (small to large)

--typewriters (manual and electric)

--file storage

--desks/chairs

--water tanks.

--generators (available in SDAF. The Army is currently checking on their availability as excess.)

The Services and DLA do not have any pre-fabricated buildings available for lease or purchase. Tents are suggested as replacement for pre-fab buildings.

To lease: None.

o Re-supply, Repair, and Support

To buy: Gas, oil

To lease: None.

Prepared by: Ms. Wanda Pan (703) 6141-9537
DSAA, OPS-MAA ~~x49537~~

700K

(SVTS)
Meeting on Haiti: Finance and UN Details
Wednesday, May 19, 1993, 1:30 P.M.

Chaired by: Richard Clarke

PARTICIPANTS:

STATE/IO/UNP

Jim Moriarty 647-0046

STATE/PM

Jock Covey 647-8698

STATE/L

Carol Schwab 647-7838

STATE

Michael Kozak 647-4707

OSD

Morton Halperin (703) 697-8101

Admiral Schreifer (703) 697-7588

DSAA

H. Diehl (703) 697-6271

JCS

BGen Tom Hill (703) 697-8591

OMB

Ron Silberman x4944

OVP

Jim Carman x6033

NSC

Randy Beers x5066

Sean Darragh x1489

P37m

10 CIV MISSION

2.5 { IMET

~~1.0~~ { FMF

4.0 Police Prof

3.0 Adm of Justice

12.7 ESF - Anears

5.4 DA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sir,

Mr. Wisner

is on the line
returning your
call

RESPONSE TO NSC QUESTIONS:

What "funds for voluntary peacekeeping come from the security assistance budget"? How much funding exists? What is the mechanism for delivery?

No "voluntary peacekeeping" is funded directly from the security assistance budget. When possible to identify existing security assistance funds as used in response to "voluntary peacekeeping" requirements, State does so. This is how the Haiti Contingency Fund of \$37.568 million approved in mid April could be created from Economic Support Funds (ESF), Foreign Military Financing (FMF) and Developmental Assistance (DA). State has indicated that up to \$31.0 M of these funds will be used for UN police monitoring and IMET in Haiti. Thus, \$6.5 million remains uncommitted.

State is consulting with Congress on a Section 614 waiver for Haiti to lift all restrictions currently limiting assistance to Haiti. A decision is expected this week and when received, will permit obligations and expenditures of the entire \$37.5 Million.

Can equipment be "provided on a voluntary basis out of US stocks through the terms of the UNPA"? What mechanism allows for this to occur? What is the impact of such a drawdown? What is DSAA's and the Services' policy on such an activity? Are there any alternatives to "voluntary" drawdown?

No. Equipment cannot be provided on a "voluntary basis". Under the UN Participation Act, when the UN requests assistance under Chapter VI of the UN Charter for peacekeeping activities, the Department of Defense can provide support on a reimbursable basis to the UN. If the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense determines it to be in the national interest, reimbursement for such assistance can be waived. When reimbursement is waived, the services which provided the assistance absorb the cost, generally in the Operation and Maintenance Appropriations. Current DoD policy for provision of goods and services to the UN as approved by SECDEF requires reimbursement to DoD for assessed UN peacekeeping operations.

Are we prepared to take equipment from DoD stocks for the UN force? Given the fact that LANTCOM has plans to use all of Haiti's blocked security assistance funds for the professionalization of the Haitian military, could other funds be reprogrammed for this purpose?

Equipment requested by the UN may only be provided from existing DoD stocks if:

There is reimbursement to DoD or a waiver of such reimbursement by SECDEF and SECSTATE under the UNPA if the operations is a Chapter VI action; or

The UN reimburses DoD under a Section 607 of the FAA reimbursement Agreement, if the action is other than a Chapter VI action.

The President makes a determination to "drawdown" Defense™ stocks under specific drawdown authorities:

- Section 506(a) (2)FAA (Up to \$75 million)
- Section 552 FAA allows reprogramming.

TO: Haiti Working Group Participants

FROM: NSC

DATE: May 19, 1993

Subject: Discussion Topics for 1:30 P.M. Tele-Conference

1. The U.N. Participation Act of 1947 limits the number of Americans that can be seconded to 1000. At present, the United States has 800 personnel seconded. Under the current plan, we would breach this limit. What can be done to ensure we stay within the 1000 person limitation?

2.

- A. Will this operation be assessed or a voluntary payment?
- B. What portion of this operation will the U.S. need to fund?
- C. How much should the U.N. contribute directly?

3.

- A. What is the availability of equipment in our inventories?
- B. What is DOD willing to give to support this operation?
- C. How much is STATE willing to buy?

4. Currently there is \$37.5 million slated for this operation. How much of this funding can be used for Peace-Keeping?

Richard Clarke
(SVTS) Core Group on Peacekeeping
Friday, May 21, 1993, 1:30 p.m.
Sit Room

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Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting
Tuesday, June 1, 1993, 2:30 P.M.
OEOB, Room 324

Chaired by: Richard Clarke

PARTICIPANTS:

STATE/IO

George Ward 647-9602

STATE/PM

Jock Covey 647-8698

STATE

Esther Brimmer 647-1033

David Shinn 647-6742

David Reuther 647-6111

William Jackson 647-8252

OSD

Morton Halperin (703) 697-8101

Sarah Sewall " "

Donald Johnson (703) 697-2864

Michael Harvin " "

JCS

Admiral Frank Bowman (703) 695-6585

Perry Baltimore " "

James Battaglini " "

(b)(3)

[003]

USUN/STATE

David Scheffer 736-7555

OMB

Gordon Adams x4657

Bruce Sasser xx4580

NSC

Randy Beers x3736

Susan Rice x7310

Dennis Jett x3391

Bruce Riedel x3552

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. list	Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting Participants [partial] (1 page)	05/21/1993	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

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]
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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.

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

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SVTS - Peacekeeping Core Group
Friday, May 21, 1993
1:30 - 3:00 p.m.
Chaired by: Dick Clarke

Participants

State

Jock Covey
Esther Brimmer
George Ward
Doug Bennet

Carol Fuller
Ken Quinn
David Ransan
David Shinn
Dana Reuther

OSD

Morton Halperin
Sara Sewall

JCS

Adm. Frank Bowman

USUN @ STATE

Rick Inderfurth
David Scheffer

(b)(3)

[004]

OVP

Brad Wiss

OMB

Gordon Adams
Bruce Sasser

NSC

Dick Clarke
Toby Gati
Randy Beers
Susan Rice
Kent Wiedemann
Dennis Jett
Jane Holl
Bruce Riedel

AUDIO

Mike Sheehan

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. paper	Re: [Execute Order] (3 pages)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	Re: [Restore Hope] (2 pages)	01/22/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. cable	Re: [Additional Authorization] (1 page)	01/24/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008a. memo	Richard Clarke to Anthony Lake, re: [Execute Order] (2 pages)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008b. cable	Re: [Execute Order] (8 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. report	Re: [Haiti] (7 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. paper	Re: [Haiti] (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. paper	Re: [Haiti] (2 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F

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A.I.D —

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

180 DFA

138 ESSF

130 DA

40 nhl

150 { T, TDA, AG
USIA - 5

315 DOT — ^{Envy - 0}
 ^{Comm - 0}
 ^{USDA - 100}
 ^{Food & Rec.}

—
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Not pay-as-you

fo

3-3.5%

—

CLOSE HOLD
Don't show OMB

MEMORANDUM

TO: NSC, Ernie Wilson
FROM: A/AID, Jenniter Windsor
RE: Thoughts on A.I.D. -- Russia, Bosnia
DATE: May 5, 1993

Brian and I discussed the situation related to Russia and he wanted me to relay the following points. (FYI, the message from Brian to Sandy Berger will probably not arrive before 6 PM.)

The issue is not simply whether A.I.D. is taking on a disproportionate share of the burden for NIS. (Although draft Floures note that A.I.D. will be expected to absorb more than half of this year's requirement, representing almost 14 percent of our core development program, excluding Egypt and Israel.) Brian said in his testimony (and to OMB) that he believed that A.I.D. will fully support the high priority to Russia. He said that A.I.D. will do its part. Each agency has to do its part. Some agencies less than others. The budget while the A.I.D. 14 percent does not

And the... through... as... the developing world... but if A.I.D. has... hundreds of billions of dollars to cover the Russia

In particular, substantial cuts to the DFE represents political suicide. And it flies in the face of Anthony Daniels most recent speech on the importance of Africa to the Administration! We need to be careful to embrace assistance to Russia and Africa. When one is the expense of the other, then the political message may turn sour.

More broadly, the U.S. is already second only to Ireland of all the OECD countries on the DAC list of official development assistance (ODA) to the developing world. (There is an ongoing debate as to whether assistance to Russia can and should be counted, as you may know.) If extensive reprogramming away from the developing world to cover Russia occurs, the situation only will get worse. This at a time when we are trying to reassert American leadership in the multilateral fora.

Brian would very much like to participate in any senior level meetings which discuss the tradeoffs among financing alternatives. As I have said, he is taking off tomorrow afternoon, and will be back Sunday night.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012a. paper	[Duplicate of 010] (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012b. paper	[Duplicate of 011] (2 pages)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
ke4222

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013a. paper	[Duplicate of 010] (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [17]

2012-0659-F
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Giant beset by gnats

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Clinton admits errors in conduct of foreign policy

By Jurek Martin in Washington

US PRESIDENT Bill Clinton and Mr Warren Christopher, his secretary of state, conceded at the weekend that their conduct of foreign policy had not been free of error, especially in Somalia.

But both, in interviews with the Washington Post, resisted suggestions that the administration's foreign policy team needed shaking up or that the president

should reduce his concentration on domestic issues.

Both also had harsh words for western Europe. On Bosnia, for example, Mr Clinton observed: "I had the feeling that the British and the French felt it was far more important to avoid lifting the arms embargo than to save the country."

Mr Christopher responded sharply to an editorial in last week's Economist magazine call-

ing for his removal also by citing Bosnia. Such "blame America

rhetoric," he said, stemmed from the US "not having resolved the problem that Europe failed to resolve itself."

More generally, he added that the thought official Washington had been for too long too "Eurocentric" and that "western

Europe is no longer the dominant area of the world. There is a lot of criticism coming from western

Europe but I don't see or hear it coming from Asia."

Mr Clinton noted three areas where the foreign policy record might have been better: failing to engage the American public more in explaining the US role in the post-cold war world; allowing US soldiers to serve under UN command; and letting diplomatic efforts in Somalia languish over the summer.

Mr Christopher said it was

probably an error not to have reviewed US policy in Somalia

when United Nations peacekeepers began getting killed. The UN, he argued, "is not a bureaucracy you can turn things over to and depend on."

In fact the State Department is so unhappy with the performance of Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN secretary-general, that it is attempting to dissuade him from visiting Somalia this week as

planned. It fears his presence might jeopardise the fragile ceasefire between the UN and the forces of General Mohammed Farah Aideed.

Although in a self-critical mood, Mr Clinton doubted that a more intense national dialogue in foreign policy would necessarily have made any difference.

US stands by to intervene in Haiti, Page 4

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

US stands by to intervene in Haiti

THE US has not ruled out military intervention in Haiti to protect American lives and restore democracy there, President Bill Clinton's ambassador to the United Nations said yesterday. Reuter reports from Washington.

Ms. Madeleine Albright said Washington was monitoring the situation closely and was standing by to evacuate some 1,000 Americans if necessary.

"The protection of American lives is foremost in our minds," she said. "We don't rule anything in or anything out. This is a very tense situation, but one in which we have to maintain calmness about our response."

Reports from Port-au-Prince said hundreds of foreigners fled Haiti yesterday after a night of heavy gunfire in some of the capital's neighbourhoods.

The country's international airport was jammed with American and Canadian citizens who were urged to leave Haiti or take security precautions ahead of stringent UN trade sanctions which come into effect at midnight tonight New York time.

On Saturday the US embassy flew in 30 additional Marine guards and set up a telephone network to alert American citizens about potential violence.

The Canadian embassy has urged all 2,300 of its citizens to leave the country immediately.

US warships and three Canadian vessels, some visible from the capital city, will make sure that no fuel or arms are allowed to enter Haiti. The UN sanctions also include freezing the foreign bank accounts of army chief General Raoul Cedras and other military leaders.

Ms Albright said the US was still hoping that Gen Cedras would step aside and allow democratically-elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to return to power on October 30. Gen Cedras led the 1991 coup that ousted Mr Aristide.

Gen Cedras refused to relinquish power on Friday, as had been scheduled under a UN plan to return Mr Aristide to power.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

A Safe Haven for Hamas in America

By Ehud Yaari

JERUSALEM
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's deportation of 413 activists to Lebanon represented not only retaliation for murders but also was intended as a pre-emptive strike to curb the rise in terrorism by followers of the Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas.

The move may have been rash — the Hamas members should have been kept in detention — and Israel's Supreme Court is expected to rule any day on its legality. But now the danger is that to return them under United Nations pressure would grant Hamas, which unalterably opposes peace talks, a major political victory that would encourage its offensive against the peace process.

Inevitably, decisions made by Israel and the delegation affiliated with the Palestine Liberation Organization during negotiations will be accompanied by violent tests of power in the field.

Tensions among the Palestinians are so high that an armed clash between the rivals could break out during the struggle over forming a self-governing authority or during a period of autonomy. Israel and the Palestinians could face a small number of assassinations or a bloodbath.

About 300 of the 413 deportees constituted Hamas's command network in the West Bank and Gaza Strip; the others are from the Islamic Holy War and from the religious hierarchy that

formed in the last two years as part of a sweeping reorganization of Hamas in the territories when an interim settlement between Israel and the Palestinians began to seem possible.

The fundamentalists' need to re-arrange their underground arose after arrests by Israel's security services broke their command structure in 1988 and the West Bank leader of the underground since 1988, Mohammed Khatib, fled the country. Hamas concluded that its nerve center — its "executive committee" and "consultative council" — had to operate at a distance.

Ehud Yaari, an associate of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, is the Arab affairs commentator for Israeli Television.

According to Israeli security sources involved in interrogating Hamas activists, the U.S. was chosen as the safe haven.

America is now the home of a dozen prominent Hamas leaders such as Dr. Mousa Abu-Marzuk of Arlington, Va. — whose clandestine title is chief of the political bureau — and is visited by others. Some have lived in the U.S. 10 or 15 years. Some Hamas publications are printed in Los Angeles and Houston.

If the deported Palestinians return, terrorism will increase.

In accordance with orders from the U.S. command center, which is still operating, the West Bank and Gaza underground was restructured. Three compartments were established. The public one, called by Hamas the "preaching branch," consists of Muslim Brotherhood members who frequent mosques, participate in educational and welfare institutions and join Islamic blocs in elections to chambers of commerce, university student councils and professional unions.

The second compartment, hardcore members, is the underground

network, which arranges demonstrations and transfers of funds, carries out intelligence activities and fights in the streets with P.L.O. factions.

The third, military, compartment consists of the Qassam Battalions, the terrorists.

The clandestine group and Qassam are governed by separate regional commands (three in the West Bank, one in Gaza), accountable to the U.S. headquarters. Each regional command contains a "commander" and a "chief," appointed by the U.S. nexus and linked to it through separate channels.

Command positions were assigned to young men, mostly under 35, who were openly educated by the Muslim Brotherhood and had not been involved in any violence in the past.

During the arrests that preceded the deportations, Israel discovered that the U.S. office had ordered a tactical change on the issue of a Palestinian self-governing authority. In place of outright refusal to participate in such an arrangement, it permitted Hamas to take part in elections in the territories in order to obtain key positions and use them to subvert the peace process while the military arm continued its terrorism.

For the time being, the deportations have demolished the West Bank leadership network. And while there has been no sign yet that Hamas has begun to create an alternative underground structure, no one doubts that it will try.

There is a crucial difference between Israel's coming to terms with

the Islamic movement's clout in the territories as a legitimate expression of political opinion and allowing that clout to be translated into a terrorist underground.

Israel will have to strive to persuade Hamas supporters that an interim settlement will be beneficial (its offer must be generous); conversely, it will have to use force on the unconvinced. But to let Hamas rebuild a secret organization that tries to sabotage an agreement would be folly.

Whoever threatens Israel with sanctions when demanding the return of the deportees at a United Nations Security Council meeting this week — even if the deportation order was a mistake — must bear in mind the possible price in Palestinian and Israeli blood.

