

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1993

Dear Senator Dole:

Thank you for your letter of November 19 in which you and other Senators expressed concerns about several programs which we are planning to undertake to help facilitate the orderly withdrawal of U.S. troops from Somalia. These programs include providing equipment to other countries which are prepared to send troops to Somalia and helping re-establish the Somali police force.

Before turning to the five specific points raised in your letter, I would like to make a more general comment. On October 7, the President committed himself to withdraw all U.S. troops from Somalia by March 31, 1994, except for a small number of support personnel. Both the House and the Senate have endorsed that decision. The President is working now to implement our policy.

We have supported efforts by Somalia's neighbors, and in particular by Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, to bring together all of the Somali factions in an effort to relaunch a political process leading towards national reconciliation. At the same time, we have made clear to all our Somali interlocutors that the time has come for the Somalis themselves to assume responsibility for the future of their country. The United States, the United Nations, and the nations providing assistance to Somalia all echoed this American call to the Somali representatives gathered at the recently concluded United Nations-sponsored Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa.

To lessen the chance that Somalia will revert to chaos and starvation after U.S. forces leave, we are encouraging other countries to keep their forces in Somalia beyond March 31. We also want to help the Somalis to take over some of the more routine security functions now being carried out by UNOSOM troops. The measures which we have proposed are designed to support these objectives by providing an incentive to Egypt and Pakistan -- the countries with the largest combat contingents in Somalia -- to remain and by providing modest resources for a Somali police force.

The Honorable
Bob Dole,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

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Let me turn now to your specific points.

First, you raised the issue of the "frequent" use of the authority in Section 614 of the Foreign Assistance Act to waive certain prohibitions on providing assistance. It is true that the Administration has found it necessary to use this authority in Somalia, Haiti, Jordan, and the former Yugoslavia. This authority is an important extraordinary authority which allows us to provide U.S. assistance under exigent circumstances whenever it is "important" or "vital" to U.S. security and national security interests. The uses of the Section 614 authority during this Administration simply reflect that in the post-Cold War world, we need to act quickly and respond effectively to emergencies or other exigent situations. In each case, the use of Section 614 was fully justified, and we followed the consultative and other requirements of Section 614 in dealing with Congress.

Second, you expressed concern about the use of \$2 million in Economic Support Funds to assist the United Nations in paying police salaries in Somalia. As UN forces are drawn down, it is important that the Somalis have a capability to carry out routine security functions. A number of countries -- Egypt, Germany, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Italy and Norway -- have promised to make substantial contributions to the police program, and further U.S. involvement will provide an incentive for greater participation by these and other nations. We are now ready to provide the U.S. leadership necessary to help UNOSOM to create a police force capable of maintaining basic public order in Somalia.

Attached to this letter is a fact sheet which provides additional details on this program. I believe that we have made a good faith effort to respond to the concerns raised about this program. Given the urgent need, I have determined that we now will obligate these funds.

Third, regarding a possible ICITAP program in Somalia, an assessment team has just visited Somalia to determine how we can help with the longer-term problem of rebuilding the Somali police and judicial systems. Once this team has prepared its report, we will consult further with the Congress before proceeding with implementation of the team's recommendations. Such assistance is fully consistent with the mission which the President defined on October 7. As the President made clear, U.S. military forces have not been and will not be involved in "nation building." However, we are prepared to work with the United Nations in its longer-term effort to help the Somalis rebuild their country.

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Fourth, the sale or lease of used U.S. equipment to the UN under Section 607 of the Foreign Assistance Act for temporary use by the various members of UNOSOM II, including Pakistan, does not constitute assistance or transfer of military equipment or technology to Pakistan, and as such is not subject to the Pressler amendment. This equipment would be sold or leased to the UN to carry out its mission in Somalia. The Pakistanis or other forces participating in UNOSOM II could use it only in Somalia while they are part of UNOSOM II for activities under UNOSOM II. In the case of use by Pakistani troops, they would be prohibited from taking the equipment back to Pakistan, and any further transfer of such equipment by the UN would be subject to U.S. approval. The clear beneficiary of this program is the UNOSOM effort in Somalia. This does not constitute assistance or the transfer of military equipment or technology to Pakistan.

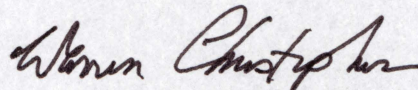
Finally, I understand your concerns about ensuring that other countries bear their share of the costs for the UN's peacekeeping and assistance efforts in Somalia. Clearly, the whole issue of the financing of UN activities needs further review, but we will not solve this issue between now and March 31. In this case, the UN and its members have agreed to fund police activities through voluntary contributions and not to include such expenses as part of the UN assessments charged to members. Thus, there is no opportunity to credit a contribution, which is voluntary, against an assessment.

Let me conclude by reiterating the point I made at the beginning. The President and the Congress have agreed that U.S. forces should withdraw from Somalia by March 31, 1994. Having agreed with this objective, the Administration should have the flexibility to use the tools at our disposal to ensure that this withdrawal occurs in an orderly fashion, and that the Somalis and the United Nations have a reasonable chance to avoid a return to starvation and anarchy.

There will be many instances in the future that will require bipartisan cooperation between the Administration and Congress. We need to work together to create the necessary foreign policy tools that will allow us to achieve our objectives.

I hope that you understand our position and the importance of moving ahead with the programs we have proposed.

Sincerely,



Warren Christopher

Attachment: Fact Sheet