

Eyes Only

#13

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROG 12/30/92
T:FBWISNER
PSA:PEICHER/FWISNER
DOD:SHADLEY; JCS:MCCAFFREY
PSA

*CSES
UCSES
SS*

USMISSION GENEVA
SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK, IMMEDIATE

*From
31 Dec 92
Geneva*

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO MOGADISHU

~~E.O. 12958, SECRET ORDER~~

TAGS: PREL, SO, UNSC
SUBJECT: ~~BOUTROS DRAGS HIS FEET~~: DISCUSSION OF SOMALIA
WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL

REF: GENEVA 11231

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN A DECEMBER 30 CONVERSATION, SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS GHALI OUTLINED HIS CURRENT THINKING ON SOMALIA. HE HOPES THE JANUARY 4 MEETING WILL LEAD TO AGREEMENT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR POLITICAL PROGRESS, DISARMING THE TECHNICALS, CONVENING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, AND BEGINNING TO LAY THE BASIS FOR A NEW POLITICAL AUTHORITY. BOUTROS REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON SOMALIA. HE ARGUED FOR WAITING UNTIL JANUARY 20 BEFORE TAKING DECISIONS ON UNOSOM II. WISNER UNDERSCORED OUR SENSE OF URGENCY, RECALLING OUR MANY EXCHANGES ON THE SUBJECT, THE FACTS ON THE GROUND, THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGE THAT U.S. TROOPS WOULD NOT REMAIN IN SOMALIA BEYOND THE TIME REQUIRED TO CARRY OUT THEIR HUMANITARIAN MANDATE AND TRANSFER RESPONSIBILITY TO A STRONGER UNOSOM. HE EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO MOVE SOON TO PUT IN PLACE A RESOLUTION AND PLANS TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A FOLLOW-UP FORCE THAT WOULD ALLOW THE START OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL. BOUTROS SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. IS IN A POSITION TO DRAW DOWN ITS TROOP LEVELS SOMEWHAT BEFORE JANUARY 20, EVEN WITHOUT A FOLLOW-ON MECHANISM OR A SECURITY COUNCIL

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Chief, RDD, ESD, WIIS
Date: 15 Jan 2019 Authority: EO 13526
Declassify: X Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 16-M-1530

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RESOLUTION. HE ALSO INDICATED HE IS READY TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT INDICATING THE TIME IS FAST APPROACHING WHEN THE UN WILL TAKE OVER FROM THE U.S. LED COALITION. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, WISNER PRESSED JEAN-CLAUDE AIME TO FOLLOW-UP ON THE SOMALIA FUND; AIME AGREED TO DO SO.

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: is the
key!

3. BOUTROS IS DRAGGING HIS FEET. HE HAS LONG VOICED HIS VIEW THAT HE WANTS A FIRM COMMITMENT FROM A NEW ADMINISTRATION TO FOLLOW ON U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE UN IN SOMALIA BEFORE IT ASSUMES CHARGE OF A NEW AND STILL DANGEROUS ACCOUNT. IF WE ARE TO MOVE BOUTROS AND THE UN TO A NEW RESOLUTION AND TRANSITION TO UNOSOM II, WE MUST INCREASE THE PRESSURE. THE ELEMENTS OF AN APPROACH WHICH SHOULD FOLLOW THE ADDIS CONFERENCE WOULD INCLUDE

A) THE INITIATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS ON A NEW RESOLUTION; B) A MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO BOUTROS INSISTING ACTION BEGIN, C) A GENERAL SIGNAL OF ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE NEW ADMINISTRATION ENCOURAGING EARLY UN ACTION. BOUTROS'S CALL FOR DELAY SHOULD NOT DISCOURAGE US FROM BEGINNING U.S. TROOP WITHDRAWALS AND THEIR REPLACEMENT WITH THIRD COUNTRY ELEMENTS. END SUMMARY.

4. UNDER SECRETARY WISNER MET FOR NINETY MINUTES DECEMBER 30 WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS GHALI FOR A WIDE RANGING DISCUSSION OF UN ISSUES. MUCH OF THE CONVERSATION CENTERED ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOMALIA; SEPTELS DEAL WITH THE EXCHANGES ON YUGOSLAVIA, CAMBODIA, HAITI AND PALESTINIAN DEPORTEES. WISNER WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE STEPHEN HADLEY, LTG BARRY MCCAFFREY, AND MISSION POLITICAL COUNSELOR EICHER. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WAS JOINED BY HIS CHEF DE CABINET JEAN CLAUDE AIME.

5. THE ADDIS CONFERENCE: BOUTROS GHALI EXPLAINED HIS PREFERENCE FOR A STEP-BY-STEP UN OPERATION IN SOMALIA. THE PURPOSE OF THE JANUARY 4 PREPARATORY MEETING IN ADDIS ABABA, HE SAID, IS TO GAIN AGREEMENT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR POLITICAL PROGRESS. HE WILL TRY TO ENCOURAGE THE SOMALIA FACTIONS TO AGREE TO SET UP A SMALL COMMITTEE TO PREPARE FOLLOW-UP ACTION INCLUDING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. IF THE COMMITTEE, WHICH COULD INVOLVE POLITICAL AND TRIBAL LEADERS AND ELDERS, PROVES EFFECTIVE, IT COULD FORM THE BASIS OF A NEW POLITICAL AUTHORITY FOR SOMALIA. BOUTROS RECALLED THE PRECEDENT OF CAMBODIA, POINTING OUT THE NEED FOR THE UN TO HAVE A

Purpose

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DOMESTIC AUTHORITY WITH WHICH TO COOPERATE. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM WISNER, BOUTROS SAID THE AIM OF THE NEW AUTHORITY WOULD BE TO PROMOTE POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AMONG THE SOUTHERN FACTIONS.

*need for some
authority body*

6. A REGIONAL STRATEGY: THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH, BOUTROS SAID, WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED AT A LATER DATE; NORTHERNERS WOULD ATTEND THE MEETING ONLY AS OBSERVERS BUT THEIR PRESENCE WOULD PERMIT THE UN TO SOUND OUT THEIR INTENTIONS ABOUT INDEPENDENCE OR ASSOCIATION WITH A NEW SOMALIA. BOUTROS ARGUED THAT HE WAS IN FULL AGREEMENT THAT A RECONSTITUTED SOMALIA MUST BE HIGHLY DECENTRALIZED, BASED ON A HEALTHY DEGREE OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY. WHILE HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE U.S. AND THE UN SAW EYE TO EYE ON THIS POINT, BOUTROS WOULD NOT YIELD A DETAILED POLITICAL ROAD MAP.

7. PRESSED FOR FURTHER DETAILS ON THE PRINCIPLES TO BE DEVELOPED BY THE CONFERENCE, BOUTROS REPLIED THAT KEY ISSUES WOULD INCLUDE DISARMING GANGS, PLACING ARMAMENTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, PREPARING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, ASSESSING RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS AND PRIORITIES, AND BEGINNING TO FOCUS ON LONGER TERM STEPS. BOUTROS HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF POLITICAL PROGRESS IN SOMALIA TO PARALLEL PROGRESS ON THE SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN FRONTS. WISNER AGREED THIS WAS CRITICAL.

*Specific goals of
4 Jan Conf:*

> sound familiar

8. SECURITY IN SOMALIA: WISNER REPEATED THAT THE COALITION HAD MET ITS MILITARY AND HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVES AND THE TIME WAS RIGHT TO MOVE AHEAD WITH A TRANSFER OF RESPONSIBILITY TO A STRONGER UNOSOM II. HE DESCRIBED THE PROGRESS OF THE COALITION COMMAND IN NEGOTIATING AND SECURING A REDUCTION IN ARMS IN THE CAPITAL CITY AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN THE REGIONAL CENTERS. BOUTROS ADMITTED HE WAS IMPRESSED BUT HE MADE IT CLEAR HE IS IN NO HURRY TO PROCEED TO PHASE II, THE DRAFTING OF A NEW RESOLUTION OR A TRANSITION TO THE FORMAL UN CONTROL.

9. BOUTROS DRAGS HIS FEET: BOUTROS UNDERSCORED REPEATEDLY THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHES TO THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON SOMALIA (AS WELL AS ON OTHER UN ISSUES SUCH AS YUGOSLAVIA AND CAMBODIA). AS THE IMPLEMENTORS OF U.S. POLICY FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, HE REGARDS IT AS INDISPENSIBLE FOR THE NEW TEAM TO HAVE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN

*the real issue
from the
beginning*

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ANY DECISIONS WHICH WILL REQUIRE FOLLOW-UP. BOUTROS SAID THERE IS NO NEED TO RUSH NEW DECISIONS ON SOMALIA THROUGH WITHIN THE NEXT THREE WEEKS. ALTHOUGH WISNER AND COLLEAGUES PRESSED HIM, HE PURPORTED NOT TO UNDERSTAND WHY DECISIONS WERE NECESSARY SO QUICKLY NOW, AFTER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD WAITED A YEAR TO BECOME INVOLVED IN SOMALIA IN THE FIRST PLACE. WISNER RESPONDED THAT WHILE HE COULD NOT SPEAK FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, HE HAS BRIEFED MEMBERS OF THE NEW TEAM IN GREAT DETAIL AND IS PERSUADED THEY FAVOR AN ACTIVE UN ROLE. AS BOUTROS KNOWS, THE U.S. HAS ONLY ONE PRESIDENT AT A TIME; THIS ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT WILL BIND ITS SUCCESSOR. AS FOR THE NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION, WISNER CONTINUED, PRESIDENT BUSH HAD PROMISED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE U.S. INTERVENTION IN SOMALIA WOULD NOT BE PROLONGED. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO ADOPT PROMPTLY A NEW SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION THAT PROVIDES FOR A FOLLOW-ON FORCE AND MAKES CLEAR THAT THE DOOR IS OPEN FOR A U.S. EXIT FROM SOMALIA. AN EARLY AND ORDERLY TRANSITION IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS FOR U.S.-UNITED NATIONS LONG TERM COOPERATION.



10. BOUTROS POINTED OUT THAT THE TRANSITION TO A FOLLOW-ON PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN SOMALIA WILL TAKE MANY WEEKS. WISNER REPLIED THAT WE ARE NOT SEEKING TO CARRY OUT THE TRANSITION WITHIN THREE WEEKS, BUT TO LAY THE BASIS FOR IT. BOUTROS SUGGESTED THAT IF THE U.S. GOAL IS A POLITICAL ONE -- TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE END IS IN SIGHT -- THIS MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED IN OTHER WAYS. HE RECALLED THAT THE UNIFIED COMMAND NEVER SET A FIRM LEVEL FOR U.S. TROOP STRENGTH IN SOMALIA. THE U.S. COULD, THEREFORE DRAW DOWN ITS NUMBERS WITHOUT THE NEED FOR AN ADDITIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. BOUTROS SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. MIGHT ANNOUNCE AND CARRY OUT A WITHDRAWAL OF AS MANY AS TWO THOUSAND TROOPS BEFORE JANUARY 20. HE WAS NOT MOVED BY THE NEED TO BEGIN COORDINATED TROOP PLANNING WITH THE UN TO MAKE CERTAIN OUR THINKING ON THIRD COUNTRY DEPLOYMENTS ARE IN ACCORD WITH UN PLANS. BOUTROS EMPHASIZED AGAIN HIS PREFERENCE THAT ANY NEW RESOLUTION ON SOMALIA NOT BE ADOPTED UNTIL AFTER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TAKES OFFICE. HE SAID HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ISSUE A STRONG PUBLIC STATEMENT IN THE WEEKS AHEAD WHICH WOULD "POINT TO THE DOOR," INDICATE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE COALITION ARE BEING MET AND THAT THE STAGE IS SET FOR A TRANSITION TO PHASE II. SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD TELL AMERICANS THAT THEIR

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BBG suggests face
saves for Bush
short of new
UNSCR

This is the problem - He (BG) binds
him to B-H also. Binding the Pres.

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RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SOMALI INTERVENTION IS COMING TO A CONCLUSION. TOGETHER WITH TROOP WITHDRAWALS, THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO ASSURE HIS DOMESTIC AUDIENCE.

11. FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS: IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL, WISNER PRESSED JEAN-CLAUDE AIME ON THE NEED FOR CLEAR FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SOMALIA FUND, A SUBJECT HE HAD DISCUSSED THE PREVIOUS EVENING WITH BOUTROS. AIME UNDERTOOK TO RAISE THIS ISSUE PROMPTLY WITH NEW YORK.

12. DEALING WITH BOUTROS: BOUTROS HAS PUT US ON HOLD AGAIN. HIS COMMITMENT TO THE SECRETARY TO MOVE TO PHASE II AFTER THE ADDIS CONFERENCE IS NOW BEING REPHRASED AS A DECLARATION OF INTENTION NOT TO MOVE TO A NEW RESOLUTION UNTIL THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TAKES OFFICE. THIS POSITION NEITHER MEETS OUR NEEDS, NOR DOES IT CONFORM WITH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF HOW WE AND THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD PROCEED. THE FACTS ON THE GROUND, MOREOVER, PERMIT EARLIER UN ACTION. THIS SAID, BOUTROS IS NOT GOING TO MOVE ON THE BASIS OF TALKING POINTS. HE HAS A LONG MEMORY AND CLINGS TO THE VIEW THAT US MISLED EGYPT AND HIMSELF OVER AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS AT THE TIME OF TRANSITION BETWEEN THE CARTER AND REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. HE HAS MENTIONED THIS CONCERN REPEATEDLY TO US WHICH AT THE SAME TIME REMINDING US THAT THE UN IS OVERCOMMITTED WORLD-WIDE AND CANNOT ACCEPT A NEW AND LARGER SOMALI RESPONSIBILITY UNLESS IT HAS THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE US COMMITMENT.

13. BOUTROS WILL NOT BE BULLIED. HE CAN BE MOVED WITH A MIXTURE OF PERSUASION AND PRESSURE. ONCE THE ADDIS CONFERENCE IS OVER, WE SHOULD LAY OUT OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND COMMITMENT IN WRITING AND UNDER THE SECRETARY'S SIGNATURE. THE SECRETARY SHOULD TELL BOUTROS THAT WE MUST MOVE TO A NEW RESOLUTION. HIS LETTER COULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT. THIS APPROACH SHOULD BE SUPPORTED WITH A GENERAL MESSAGE OF SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD BEGIN DISCUSSIONS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND WITH OUR COALITION PARTNERS OVER A NEW RESOLUTION, MAKING IT CLEAR WE BELIEVE THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR THE UN TO GET ON WITH ITS SOMALI TASK. WE SHOULD ALSO CARRY OUT PLANS TO DRAW DOWN U.S. FORCES IN SOMALIA, AND BRING IN UNDER THE COALITION BANNER THIRD COUNTRY FORCES WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THE BACK BONE OF THE NEW UNOSOM.. ABRAM##

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1. yes
2. yes
3. yes
4. yes