

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 8, 1993

PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW DIRECTIVE/NSC-5

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT & BUDGET  
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT  
ACTING DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
ACTING ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SUBJECT: Somalia (S)

The presence of over 20,000 American forces in Somalia attests to the importance the United States attaches to creating a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance there. As we prepare to hand that mission to the UN, we need to review our future policy toward Somalia focusing on:

- What can be done to prevent Somalia from falling back into the anarchy and famine that existed in 1992;
- Ensuring that Somalia takes full advantage of the opportunity that the coalition has afforded for national reconciliation and reconstruction; and
- Placing Somalia into our overall priorities for assistance and peacekeeping. (S)

Toward that end, the following studies should be prepared and sent to the Deputies Committee by March 1. (S)

1. National Reconciliation: The Africa IWG should coordinate papers on:
  - a. Prospects for Reconciliation: The Intelligence Community should develop an assessment of various scenarios for Somali politics over the next 24 months, with some sensitivity analysis of the variables that could effect their probability. (S)
  - b. U.S. Diplomatic Strategy: State should develop an analysis, including evaluative criteria, of what political circumstances in Somalia the U.S. seeks, and those which we would find acceptable. The paper should then include an

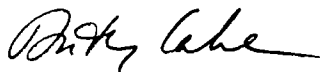
analysis of the ways in which the U.S. could affect the outcomes, taking into account the UN-lead in the negotiations. The paper should examine U.S. policy options in the event the Somalis fail to achieve political reconciliation and continue hostilities. It should develop options for UN withdrawal. It should also develop and evaluate options for dealing with the issue of northern secession, in the near and long-term. (S)

2. Humanitarian Relief and National Reconstruction: The African IWG, including AID and OMB, should coordinate a paper which responds, at a minimum, to the following questions:

- What are the requirements for a long-term supply system for food and its distribution in Somalia?
- What is required to achieve various levels of indigenous production?
- What assistance funding is needed for those levels and who can supply it?
- What are the reconstruction assistance requirements, their costs, and possible funding sources?
- What are the requirements and sources for U.S. assistance funding?
- What feasibly can be done to build functioning national and local administrative structures, including police?
- What feasible can be done to build a civil society that respects political and individual rights?

The paper should develop a strategy for international burden-sharing for Somali reconstruction and assess its probability of success. (S)

3. Funding: OMB, working with the Departments, should develop options for FY-93 and FY-94 support of Somali operations, including specific reallocations where necessary. (S)



Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs