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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 A-01 CA-02 SJK-01 DS-00 FBO-01

HA-09 MOFM-01 MOP-03 M-01 SCT-03 SS-01 /024W

R 220843Z OCT 91

FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0723

INFO AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 05 NAIROBI 25484

AF/E ALSO FOR CHESHE

DS/OF/AF FOR GALLANT

A/FBO FOR ESSINGTON

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PINS, PHUM, PNAT, EAID, ASEC, AMGT,

ABLD, AFIN, ACOA, CASC, SO

SUBJECT: MOGADISHU ASSESSMENT MISSION, OCT. 17-20:

PRELIMINARY REPORT

1. CONFIDENTIAL--ENTIRE TEXT.

INTRODUCTION

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2. FROM OCTOBER 17 TO 20, A TEAM LED BY BOB KOTT OF

AF/E AND CONSISTING OF MEMBERS FROM AF/E, AF/EX, DS,

AND A/FBO VISITED MOGADISHU. THE PURPOSE OF THEIR

TRIP WAS TO EVALUATE THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY

SITUATIONS AND TO EXAMINE AVAILABLE PROPERTIES, IN

ORDER TO GIVE THE DEPARTMENT THE INFORMATION REQUIRED

TO MAKE A DECISION REGARDING THE RE-OPENING OF A

SMALL DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN MOGADISHU.
3. DURING THEIR STAY, TEAM MEMBERS MET WITH LEADING MEMBERS OF ALL SOMALI FACTIONS AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR AND HIS STAFF. THEY ALSO HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH EXPATRIATE BUSINESSMEN AND RELIEF WORKERS RESIDENT IN MOGADISHU AND WITH POLICE, MILITARY, AND MILITIA COMMANDERS. THEY MET WITH LOCAL CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTORS AND BUILDINGS EXPERTS. FINALLY, THEY VISITED THE PORT AND AIRPORT.

FINDINGS

1. WE TEAM MEMBERS HAVE FOUND THE FOLLOWING:

A. THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC (GSR) HAS NOT YET CONSOLIDATED ITS POSITION. IT IS ATTEMPTING TO REESTABLISH THE POWERS OF THE STATE, INCLUDING OVER POLICE FORCES, BUT HAS ONLY BEGUN THIS PROCESS. IT IS UNCERTAIN WHETHER IT WILL SUCCEED.

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B. INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF ALL SOMALI FACTIONS HAVE EXPRESSED A STRONG DESIRE TO HAVE THE USG REESTABLISH A PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN MOGADISHU AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

C. THE SECURITY SITUATION IN MOGADISHU IS UNSETTLED AND IS CHARACTERIZED BY A HIGH RATE OF CRIME, PARTICULARLY AUTOMOBILE THEFT AND BURGLARY. THE PRESENCE OF ARMED MILITIAS IN MANY PARTS OF TOWN CONTRIBUTE TO A VOLATILE ENVIRONMENT. THERE IS A VERY LIMITED AND UNEVEN PRESENCE OF UNIFORMED POLICE OFFICERS IN THE CITY.

D. A SMALL PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE COULD BE ACCOMMODATED IN THE FORMER PREMISES OF THE OFFICE OF MILITARY COOPERATION (OMC). STAFF HOUSING COULD BE LOCATED BOTH THERE AND IN THE NEARBY K-7 COMPOUND. THE OMC COMPOUND, ALTHOUGH LOOTED, IS IN FAIR CONDITION AND COULD BE RESTORED TO USABLE CONDITION WITHOUT UNDUE DIFFICULTY.

E. THE PORT AND AIRPORT OF MOGADISHU ARE OPERATING.
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PORT FACILITIES ARE ADEQUATE FOR IMPORTATION OF
CONTAINERIZED CARGO. THE AIRPORT IS ADEQUATE FOR
BOTH ROUTINE AND, IF NECESSARY, MEDICAL AND OTHER
EVACUATION FLIGHTS.

RECOMMENDATIONS
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5. THE INTERESTS OF THE USG IN SOMALIA ARE FEW BUT
SIGNIFICANT. THEY INCLUDE, POTENTIALLY, PLAYING A
ROLE IN POLITICAL RECONCILIATION, DIRECTING RELIEF
AND RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS, AIDING US FIRMS, PRO-
VIDING SERVICES TO AMERICAN CITIZENS, AND REPORTING
ON CONDITIONS WITHIN THE COUNTRY. EACH OF THESE
INTERESTS WOULD BE BEST SERVED BY A PERMANENT
DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN MOGADISHU.

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SUBJECT: MOGADISHU ASSESSMENT MISSION, OCT. 17-20:
6. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE FOLLOWING STEPS BE TAKEN:

A. A SECOND EVALUATION TEAM SHOULD VISIT MOGADISHU IN APPROXIMATELY ONE MONTH. THIS TEAM WOULD PREPARE A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF SECURITY AND BUILDING REQUIREMENTS FOR A RESTORED DIPLOMATIC CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESENCE AND WOULD ASSESS THE EVOLVING POLITICAL SITUATION.

B. BEFORE A FINAL DECISION IS MADE TO RE-OPEN A DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN MOGADISHU, A FURTHER ASSESSMENT TEAM, CONSISTING OF AF AND DS PERSONNEL, SHOULD TRAVEL THERE EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR. THIS TEAM WOULD ASSESS WHETHER THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATIONS ARE SUCH AS TO ALLOW RE-FURBISHING OF BUILDINGS TO BEGIN.


D. A POLITICAL OFFICER COULD ALSO BE RETURNED TO MOGADISHU DURING THIS PERIOD TO PROVIDE A
CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT OF THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATIONS IN THE CAPITAL.

US INTERESTS

7. THESE ARE FEW, BUT THE USG DOES HAVE SEVERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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POTENTIAL ROLES TO PLAY. SOMALIA IS A DEVASTATED COUNTRY AND NEEDS–TO PUT IT BRIEFLY–EVERYTHING. US EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN AID IS NOW HANDLED BY A SINGLE OFDA CONTRACTOR BASED IN NAIROBI AND WHO MAKES PERIODIC, BRIEF TRIPS INTO SOMALIA. WE COULD CONTINUE THIS ARRANGEMENT. NEVERTHELESS, RELIEF REQUIREMENTS COULD BE BETTER ASSESSED AND ITS DISTRIBUTION BETTER MONITORED BY A PERMANENT MISSION. THIS WILL BE PARTICULARLY TRUE IF RELIEF LEVELS ARE INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY, A STEP THAT WE BELIEVE IS JUSTIFIED BY SOMALIA'S GREAT AND PRESSING NEEDS.

8. ALL SOMALI Factions HAVE ASKED THE USG TO INVOLVE ITSELF IN THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. ALTHOUGH WE MUST FACE SUCH REQUESTS WITH DUE RESPECT FOR THE GREAT COMPLEXITY OF SOMALI POLITICS, THE PRESENCE OF US DIPLOMATS ENCOURAGING A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO SOMALIA'S MANY PROBLEMS COULD HAVE A STABILIZING EFFECT ON THE SITUATION. WE OUGHT ALSO TO KEEP IN MIND THAT SOME OTHER DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS WOULD PROBABLY RE-OPEN IF WE DID, THEREBY INCREASING WHATEVER FORCE FOR STABILITY AND PEACE SUCH MISSIONS CAN EXERT. THE PRESENCE OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN MOGADISHU WOULD ALSO FURTHER ISOLATE THE SECESSIONIST NORTH, WHICH IS A GOAL OF US POLICY.


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ATTAINED, WE MAY FIND THAT THESE INTERESTS CAN BE
PROFITABLY PURSUED IN SOMALIA, WHICH, BEFORE SIAD
BARRE CAME TO POWER BY A COUP D'ETAT, TOOK PRIDE IN
ITS DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. ALL SOMALI FACTIONS ARE
LOOKING TO THE US FOR LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL
DIRECTION, CONFIRMING US IN OUR VIEW THAT THE US MAY
HAVE--IF IT WISHES--A ROLE TO PLAY IN ENCOURAGING THE
DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN SOMALIA.

10. THERE ARE, AT PRESENT, FEW AMERICAN CITIZENS IN
SOMALIA. CONOCO (SOMALIA), LTD., HOWEVER,
ANTICIPATES RE-COMMENCING OIL EXPLORATION WORK IN
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OF 1992. SUCH A COMMUNITY WOULD JUSTIFY A CONSULAR
PRESENCE IN MOGADISHU.

11. THERE ARE, AT PRESENT, ONLY TWO US FIRMS (CONOCO
AND TURNKEY) OPERATING IN SOMALIA. OTHERS,
ESPECIALLY IN THE OIL SECTOR, ARE CONSIDERING
RESUMING OPERATIONS. THESE FIRMS WILL SOMETIMES
REQUIRE THE TYPE OF DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT BEST PROVIDED
BY A PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC MISSION.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

12. ON OCTOBER 1, A NEW SOMALI GOVERNMENT WAS SWORN
IN. IT CONSISTS OF MEMBERS FROM ALL SOUTHERN SOMALI
FACTIONS (THE NORTH HAS DECLARED ITSELF TO BE INDEPEND-
ENT AND HAS REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEW GOVERN-
MENT). ONE IMPORTANT MILITARY COMMANDER, GENERAL
AIDEDDIN, AND PORTIONS OF SEVERAL FACTIONS OPPOSE THE
NEW GOVERNMENT. SIAD BARRE'S CONTINUING PRESENCE ON
SOMALI SOIL IS A SOURCE OF POTENTIAL INSTABILITY.

13. AT PRESENT, THE GSR IS ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH
ITS AUTHORITY IN MOGADISHU, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA
OF SECURITY. IT IS ATTEMPTING TO REMOVE WEAPONS FROM
THE CITIZENRY AND TO PERSUADE THE HEAVILY-ARMED
MILITIAS TO ABSORB THEMSELVES INTO THE SECURITY
FORCES OF THE STATE.

14. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BROADLY-BASED GOVERNMENT,
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AFTER MONTHS OF CIVIL WAR, IS A HEARTENING STEP. IT IS ALSO ENCOURAGING THAT LEADING MEMBERS OF ALL Factions, INCLUDING THAT OF GENERAL AIDED, HAVE STRONGLY AND REPEATEDLY ASKED THE USG TO RE-ESTABLISH A PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN MOGADISHU.

15. HOWEVER, THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY SUCCEED IN ASSERTING ITS AUTHORITY, OR IT MAY DISSOLVE INTO ITS COMPONENT Factions. WHICH OF THESE TWO POSSIBILITIES WILL BE REALIZED WILL PROBABLY BECOME CLEAR OVER THE NEXT THREE MONTHS OR SO. THE SITUATION CALLS FOR CLOSE MONITORING.

16. RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF A SMALL DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN MOGADISHU CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED IF EXTRAORDINARY SECURITY MEASURES (I.E., A MODIFIED BEIRUT SECURITY PACKAGE) ARE IMPLEMENTED TO SUPPORT A CHIEF OF MISSION AND STAFF. A PROTECTIVE SECURITY DETAIL WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR THE COM, WHO WOULD TRAVEL IN A FULLY-ARMORED VEHICLE. THERE ARE NO LOCAL GUARD COMPANIES OPERATING, SO A LOCAL GUARD PATROL WOULD HAVE TO BE CREATED THROUGH PERSONAL SERVICES CONTRACTS.

17. SECURITY SUPPORT WOULD BE PROVIDED BOTH BY UNIFORMED POLICE AND BY A LOCAL MILITIA UNIT UNTIL THE SECURITY OF EMBASSY FACILITIES CAN BE ASSURED BY CONFIDENTIAL

18. THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN MOGADISHU REMAINS UNSETTLED AND POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE OWING TO THE LACK OF AUTHORITY EXERCISED BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ON THE STREETS OF MOGADISHU. RANDOM GUNFIRE FROM WEAPONS OF VARIOUS CALIBERS WAS FREQUENTLY HEARD DURING THE TEAM'S VISIT.
19. POLICE SERVICES IN THE CAPITAL AREA NEARLY NON-EXISTENT, AS THEY WERE DESTROYED DURING THE FIGHTING IN MOGADISHU. THE NEW POLICE COMMISSIONER

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E.0.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINS, PHUM, PNAT, EAID, ASEC, AMGT, ABLD, AFIN, ACAO, CASC, SO
SUBJECT: MOGADISHU ASSESSMENT MISSION, OCT. 17-20: STATED THAT HE HAS NO TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS, OR FOOD TO PROVIDE TO HIS 6,000 PERSONNEL. THREE THOUSAND UNIFORMS FOR POLICE OFFICERS ARE SUPPOSED TO BE PROVIDED SHORTLY BY THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT. THERE ARE ONLY SEVERAL HUNDRED UNIFORMED AND LIGHTLY-ARMED
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

POLICE NOW DEPLOYED IN MOGADISHU. THESE ARE CONCENTRATED AT SEVERAL DIPLOMATIC, GOVERNMENTAL, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FACILITIES. THE ITALIAN EMBASSY—THE ONLY FULLY-OPERATIONAL DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN MOGADISHU— IS SATISFIED WITH THE SECURITY PROVIDED IT BY UNIFORMED POLICE OFFICERS.

20. LOCAL MILITIAS UNDER THE COMMAND OF VARIOUS POLITICAL Factions ARE IN CONTROL OF THEIR RESPECTIVE AREAS OF THE CITY. THESE MILITIAS HAVE TRANSPORTATION AND HEAVY WEAPONS AND ARE, GENERALLY, MUCH BETTER EQUIPPED THAN THE POLICE. THEY COMMAND THE RESPECT OF THE POLICE AND THE POPULATION. EFFORTS TO DATE BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO DISARM THE MILITIAS AND REMOVE THEM FROM THE STREETS HAVE BEEN ONLY PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL.

21. CRIMINAL ACTIVITY ON THE STREETS OF THE CAPITAL SURPASSES THE DEPARTMENT'S STANDARDS FOR A CRITICAL THREAT RATING. DURING THE FIGHTING IN JANUARY, PRISON INMATES WERE RELEASED AND HAVE NOT, FOR THE MOST PART, BEEN RECABTURED. THESE CRIMINALS HAVE OBTAINED WEAPONS AND ARE PRACTICING THEIR TRADES ALMOST UNHINDERED. ALMOST ALL VEHICLES HAVE ARMED GUARDS RIDING WITHIN AND/OR FOLLOWING TO PREVENT THEFT.

22. THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING IN THE WRONG PLACE AT THE WRONG TIME INCREASES RISK. A WEEK BEFORE OUR TEAM ARRIVED, CONOCO (SOMALIA), LTD. HAD A VEHICLE STOLEN AT GUNPOINT—THE ONE ARMED GUARD WAS OUTGUNNED AT AN INTERSECTION. RECENTLY, SEVERAL RANDOM GUNSHOTS PENETRATED A PRIVATE RESIDENCE WHERE MEMBERS OF OUR TEAM WERE STAYING. HAPPILY, THERE WERE NO INJURIES, BUT THE RESIDENCE IS ONLY A FEW BLOCKS FROM THE CONOCO COMPLEX WHERE THE TEAM WAS ACCOMMODATED DURING ITS VISIT. IT IS ALSO NEAR THE OMC FACILITY, PROBABLY THE BEST LOCATION FOR A TEMPORARY CHANCERY.
BUILDINGS

23. THE K-7 COMPOUND, CONSISTING OF A SEVEN-STORY APARTMENT BUILDING, FOUR DUPLEX COTTAGES, AND A RECREATION COMPLEX, HAS NO MAJOR STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCIES. THE OMC COMPOND, CONSISTING OF A LARGE VILLA AND AN OFFICE BUILDING, ALSO HAS NO MAJOR STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCIES. MAKING THESE FACILITIES HABITABLE WOULD REQUIRE REMOVING TRASH, RE-WIRING THEM, INSTALLING GENERATORS, AND RE-FURBISHING KITCHENS AND BATHROOMS.


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25. RE-ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING EVEN A SMALL USG PRESENCE IN MOGADISHU WOULD BE, AT THE VERY LEAST, AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND LOGISTICAL CHALLENGE. SUPPLYING AND SERVICING A USG PRESENCE WOULD REQUIRE MASSIVE AND CONTINUED LOGISTICAL SUPPORT THROUGH THE USE OF SHIP AND CHARTERED AIRCRAFT.

26. MOGADISHU'S INFRASTRUCTURE HAS LARGELY BEEN DESTROYED BY CIVIL WAR. BASIC HUMAN SERVICES ARE NEARLY NON-EXISTENT. ALTHOUGH THE MOGADISHU AIRPORT IS OPEN, THERE ARE ONLY LIMITED COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS.

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       ABLD, AFIN, ACOA, CASC, SO

SUBJECT: MOGADISHU ASSESSMENT MISSION, OCT. 17-20:
THE MOGADISHU PORT IS OPERATIONAL AND SUITABLE FOR
THE IMPORTATION OF CONTAINERIZED CARGO. DAY LABOR IS
AVAILABLE AND SOME COMMERCIAL AND BUILDING SUPPLIES
CAN BE OBTAINED.

27. ALL TEAM MEMBERS CLEARED THIS CABLE IN DRAFT
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BEFORE LEAVING NAIROBI.
SOUTHWICK##