CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 00133 01 OF 02 051902Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 AF-01 AID-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00
CISA-02 EB-01 EUR-01 FDRE-00 HA-09 H-01 IMMC-01
INRE-00 INR-01 IO-19 LAB-04 L-03 ADS-00 NEA-01
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01
P-01 SB-00 SCT-03 SIL-00 SNP-00 SP-00 SR-00
SSO-00 STR-17 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 RPE-00 /077W

051900Z JAN 93
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5055
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USLO MOGADISHU
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY RIYADH
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 00133

NSC FOR ORDWAY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: SO, PREL, UN, PGOV, UK, EAID, PHUM
       CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 00133 01 OF 02 051902Z
SUBJECT: TFS001: MORE ON SOMALI PERCEPTIONS VS. THE FACTS OF OPERATION RESTORE HOPE

REF: LONDON (92) 24463

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. [Blank line]
MORE DETAILED ANALYSIS DECEMBER 4 THAN REFTEL'S AS TO

United States Department of State
Review Authority: John S. Bledgett
Date/Case ID: 17 May 2005 200404554

UNCLASSIFIED
WHY SOME SOMALIS SAW THE U.S. INTERVENTION AS SUPPORTIVE OF GENERAL AIDEED AND THE HAWIYE. END SUMMARY.

BACKGROUND

3. IS NON-PARTISAN IN HIS DEALINGS WITH US. WE MET WITH HIM AT HIS REQUEST. WITHOUT FOR A MINUTE ENDORSING THE PERCEPTIONS HE RELAYED, HE NONETHELESS ARGUED THE U.S. HAD A GROWING IMAGE PROBLEM INSIDE SOMALIA. THIS WAS PARTLY BECAUSE SOMALIS (READ AIDEED AND JESS) "HAVE THE GENIUS OF TAKING SYMBOLS AND PROJECTING THEM" INTO SOMETHING THEY ARE NOT.

PERCEPTION VS. FACT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03  LONDON  00133  01 OF 02  051902Z

4. AMONG PERCEPTIONS CURRENT IN SOMALIA, ACCORDING TO

-- THE U.S. HAD MAINLY TARGETED TOWNS WHICH WERE OF IMPORTANCE TO THE HABR GEDIR AND THEIR ALLIES. CITIES AND TOWNS IMPORTANT TO THE ABGAL AND DAROD, LIKE BALAT, GALCAIO, AND JOHAR, WERE BYPASSED. THE CONSEQUENCE WAS AIDEED-ALLIED FORCES WERE FREE TO ROAM WHILE THE ABGALS AND OTHERS HAD TO STAY PUT TO PROTECT THEIR CITIES.

-- THE PULLBACK OF AIDEED'S TECHNICALS FROM MOGADISHU HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON THEIR MOVEMENTS BY UNITAF.

-- THE CONOCO COMPOUND IN MOGADISHU BEING USED BY THE AMERICANS WAS IN FACT OWNED BY OMAR ATTO, AIDEED'S BANKROLLER, PAYMASTER OF THE TECHNICALS, AND KHAT TRAFFICKER SUPREMO. THE DECISION NOT TO CONFISCATE WEAPONS FOUND IN ATTO'S HOME MADE IT APPEAR TO OTHER SOMALIS THAT AIDEED'S BANKROLLER WOULD BE FREE TO ACT AS BEFORE, TACITLY SUPPORTED BY THE U.S.
-- BOTH ATTO AND ALI MAHDI WERE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN
THE KHAT TRADE. (ATTO, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS
IN OCTOBER, RAN A THIRD OF THE TWENTY WORKSHOPS
THAT CONVERTED VEHICLES INTO TECHNICALS. IN
ADDITION, NEWS REPORTS SUPPORT THE ALLEGATIONS THAT
ATTO AND ALI MAHDI ARE DRUG KINGPINS.)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04    LONDON 00133 01 OF 02 051902Z
-- THE U.S. DECISION NOT TO MEET WITH MORGAN BECAUSE
OF HARGEISA AND OTHER SINS WAS SEEN AS CYNICAL IN
THE LIGHT OF U.S. DEALINGS WITH AIDEED ALLY JESS,
WHO HAD BEEN MORGAN'S CHIEF OF STAFF IN NORTHERN
SOMALIA WHEN THE HARGEISA KILLINGS WERE CARRIED OUT.

-- SINCE CLANS OTHER THAN THE HAWIYE WERE NOT
REPRESENTED POLITICALLY IN MOGADISHU, THERE WAS A
SENSE THAT THEY COULD NOT COUNTERBALANCE THE ACCESS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01    LONDON 00133 02 OF 02 051902Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO  LOG-00  AF-01  AID-01  CA-02  CIAE-00  C-01  OASY-00
      CISA-02  EB-01  EUR-01  FDRE-00  HA-09  H-01  IMMC-01
      INRE-00  INRE-01  IO-19  LAB-04  L-03  ADS-00  NEA-01
      NSA-00  NSCE-00  OIC-02  OMB-01  PA-01  PM-02  PRS-01
      P-01  SB-00  SCT-03  SIL-00  SNP-00  SP-00  SR-00
      SSO-00  STR-17  TRSE-00  T-01  USIE-00  RPE-00  /077W
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02  LONDON 00133 02 OF 02 051902Z

SUBJECT: TFS001: MORE ON SOMALI PERCEPTIONS VS. THE FACTS OF OPERATION RESTORE HOPE

THE HAWIYE HAD TO THE NEW "DECISION MAKERS" IN SOMALIA, I.E. THE U.S. SOME WERE NOW LOOKING TO THE FUNDAMENTALISTS FOR TACTICAL SUPPORT AGAINST AIDID.

4. [] SAID LOOTERS AND THE TECHNICALS WERE BECOMING BOLDER AGAIN, SEEMINGLY CONVINCED THAT THE U.S. WOULD NOT SEEK TO DISARM SOMALIS EN MASSE. (BRITISH PRESS REPORTS HAVE ASSERTED SECURITY IS DETERIORATING AGAIN IN MOGADISHU, WITH JOURNALISTS AND AID WORKERS BEING PARTICULAR TARGETS OF HOLD-UPS.)

5. [] NOTED THE FUNDAMENTALISTS WERE NOT AT THE ADDIS CONFERENCE, BUT WERE HOLDING ONE OF THEIR OWN AT BORAU. (WE HAVE SEEN NO OTHER REPORTS OF SUCH A MEETING.) THE ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION AL-ITIHAD WAS SPREADING LIKE WILDFIRE. A YEAR EARLIER, THE FUNDAMENTALISTS WERE NOWHERE TO BE SEEN. NOW THEY WERE PRESENT AT LAS KHOREH, LAS ANOD, BORAHA, AND BORAU IN THE NORTH; IN
MERCA IN THE CENTER; IN THE WADAJIR DISTRICT OF MOGADISHU; AND WERE DEVELOPING ALLIANCES IN BARDERA AND AMONG THE OGADENI. [___] SAID THE FUNDAMENTALISTS WERE PATIENT; THEY MOVED INTO AN AREA BY BUILDING CELLS WITH LOCAL CONTACTS. THEY WERE NEVER SHORT OF MONEY.

6. [___] HAD ONE SUGGESTION REGARDING DISARMAMENT. UNITAFT COULD MOVE TO SECURE "HEAVY" WEAPONRY LIKE THE TECHNICALS AND THE MORTARS AND IGNORE SMALL ARMS. IT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LONDON 00133 02 OF 02 051902Z
WAS THE "HEAVY" WEAPONRY, AFTER ALL, WHICH GAVE THE MILITIAS THE POTENTIAL FOR DISRUPTION.

7. USL.PO MOGADISHU MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SEITZ

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED