

Press Coverage in Somalia: A Case for Media Relations
to be a Principle of Operations Other Than War

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Executive Summary

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For: Dr. Jack Matthews, Committee Chairman/1st Mentor; Major Dan Carpenter, 2nd Mentor; and Dr. Mark Jacobsen, 3rd Reader

Title: Press Coverage in Somalia: A Case for Media Relations to be a Principle of Military Operations Other Than War

Author: Major David B. Stockwell, USA, CG 9

Research Question: Does media relations have the impact necessary to be considered a principle of military operations other than war?

Discussion: The media's coverage of the United States' and United Nations' intervention in Somalia influenced military operations primarily because the press had unprecedented access to the battlefield. Somalia reinforced that public opinion is a military operation's center of gravity and that media access to the battlefield is a military operation's critical vulnerability.

Media images of starving Somalis got the world into Somalia and media images of a dead U.S. soldier being dragged through Mogadishu streets got the world out of Somalia. In between, the media's access to the battlefield influenced operations in a manner previously unseen. For example, consider the frustration that U.S. troops felt when the international press corps reported on Task Force Ranger's seemingly bungled raid on a U.N. compound in Mogadishu in August 1993. Three days later, a U.S. Army Quick Reaction Force patrol approached a suspected militia mortar firing position in Mogadishu that was housed in a humanitarian relief organization compound. This time, these soldiers knocked on the gate and asked the proprietor for permission to search the premises. Media coverage had influenced that patrol's actions. The likelihood is good that the media will have similar access to future operations-other-than-war battlefields.

If the military is to keep pace with the influential press on the operations-other-than-war battlefield, the military would be better-served if it considered media relations as a principle of operations other than war to give it the prominence it needs for proper planning and execution.

Conclusion: Media relations has the impact necessary to be considered a principle of military operations other than war and the U.S. military ought to adopt it as such.

**Press Coverage in Somalia: A Case for Media Relations
to be a Principle of Military Operations Other Than War**

A Master's Thesis

by Major David Stockwell, USA, CG9

April 18, 1995

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Introduction

Now to every army and almost every general a newspaper reporter goes along, filling up our transports, swelling our trains, reporting our progress, guessing at places, picking up dropped expressions, inciting jealousy and discontent, and doing infinite mischief.

Union Army General William Tecumseh Sherman, 1863

Introduction

The purpose of this document is to demonstrate how the military's relationship with the media, and the resultant press coverage that occurs in operations other than war, has become an operational function and not just a battlefield activity; dealing with the media has become strategically and operationally critical for the military. The thesis question this document seeks to answer: Does media relations have the impact necessary to be considered a principle of operations other than war?

First, there are procedural matters to discuss. This introduction and the conclusion are written in the first person, but the text is written in the third person. Many media outlets use "The" in their titles. I have dispensed with the use of "The" in media titles to make the text, endnotes and bibliography more readable and concise. Despite the Joint Military Intelligence College Style Guide's format, I prefer to use civilian-style dates rather than military-style dates in the bibliography. This is the only deviation from the style guide I have taken. Also, I interchange the use of "U.N." with "UNOSOM II" in the text. Unless otherwise noted, "U.N." and "UNOSOM II" refers to the United Nations

Operation in Somalia II. Likewise, I interchange the terms "journalist," "reporter," "correspondent," "press" and "media."

Second, some explanation on this document's organization. For this document's purposes, press coverage of UNOSOM II and planning for Operation UNITED SHIELD is highlighted. The reason for choosing these two periods is because the U.S. mission in UNOSOM II was long-range and under the aegis of the United Nations; the public affairs apparatus was understaffed and ill-prepared. UNITED SHIELD capitalized on the hard-learned lessons of UNOSOM II by incorporating UNOSOM II's after-action recommendations into its planning process in a precedent-setting way.

Somalia's media relations experience can't be examined in a vacuum. Therefore, the first chapter provides a brief historical overview of the military-media relationship, especially the Persian Gulf War as a counterpoint to Somalia. As you will read, the U.S. Defense Department's masterful control of the press in the Gulf War may have been too good by portraying war as bloodless. I contend that this legacy did not properly prepare Americans for the possibility of casualties in the world's first peace-making operation in Somalia barely two years later.

The purpose of chapter two is to examine the principles of operations other than war and show how the press coverage in Somalia impacted on those principles, actually influencing military operations. The U.S. Army's Field Manual 100-5, Operations, dated June 1993, is the source of information on these principles.¹ This field manual is among the first in the military to conceptualize operations other than war. The six principles of operations other than war in FM 100-5 are: objective, unity of effort, legitimacy, perseverance, restraint and security. This chapter demonstrates, through examples from Somalia, how press coverage impacted on each of these principles. But media relations was more than just a battlefield activity in Somalia. I contend that press coverage in Somalia so permeated and influenced military operations that

the U.S. military should add media relations as the seventh principle of operations other than war to give it the prominence it deserves to ensure proper planning and preparation in the future. I will repeat the notion that media coverage in operations other than war permeates and influences military operations several *Times* throughout this document to maintain that focus.

The purpose of chapter three is to round out the analysis in chapter two by providing significant lessons learned from Somalia, for example, the need to train troops and commanders how to plan for and deal with reporters on the operations-other-than-war battlefield. These lessons contribute to the argument that media relations is operational.

The purpose of chapter four is to show how operational planning for the last installment of U.S. intervention in Somalia, Operation UNITED SHIELD, actually used media relations as a principle for operations other than war based on UNOSOM II's lessons and became the combined task force commander's focus of effort during one phase of the operation.

For those readers less familiar with U.S. intervention in Somalia, the appendix summarizes those periods.

The key ingredient that separates media relations in war from media relations in operations other than war is reporter access to the battlefield; the military is able to control the press in war. In operations other than war, the press has unrestricted access to the battlefield. That fact alone created public scrutiny of military operations in Somalia so unprecedented that press coverage influenced military operations. Consider the frustration that U.S. troops felt when the international press corps reported on Task Force Ranger's seemingly bungled raid on a U.N. compound in Mogadishu in August 1993. Three days later, a U.S. Army Quick Reaction Force patrol approached a suspected militia mortar firing position in Mogadishu that was housed in a humanitarian relief organization compound. This Time, these soldiers knocked on the gate and

asked the proprietor for permission to search the premises. Media coverage had influenced that patrol's actions.

In military parlance, media access to the operations-other-than-war battlefield is a strategic, operational and tactical critical vulnerability.² Media relations in operations other than war requires an increased prominence to ensure proper planning and executing to make it less of a vulnerability to military operations.³

Further, support from the American people the military requires for a successful operation is a strategic and operational center of gravity.⁴ When public support for an operation wanes, as it did so dramatically in Somalia in the aftermath of the Battle of 3 October, the operation is terminated. The conduit for public support of a military operation is though the media.

Somalia-type missions may be in the offing for the U.S. military in the future. As such, the military will be better-served if it considers media relations as an integral part of its operational design instead of the peripheral component it is now.

Finally, my role was as chief UNOSOM II military spokesman from March 1993 to March 1994 which included concurrent duties as spokesman for U.S. Forces Somalia and spokesman for Task Force Ranger. I also served in Somalia during the Unified Task Force (for more information on UNITAF and the U.S. intervention in Somalia, see this document's appendix) and on the staff of Combined Task Force United Shield. Material in this document from UNOSOM II stems from my volume of unpublished notes written in Somalia. These notes and collection of original press briefings I have represent the only media-oriented catalogue of material from that period.

Chapter One

Historical Overview of the Military-Media Relationship

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The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief, historical overview of the military-media relationship in setting the stage for discussion of the thesis question, and also to establish the Persian Gulf War as a media relations counterpoint to Somalia.

It was an horrific image to anyone who saw it, a moment forever frozen in Time from mid-morning Monday, October 4, 1993, on the streets of Mogadishu, Somalia. The image was a photograph of a dead American soldier, his hands bound, his body clad in dirty olive-drab underwear, being dragged through the dusty alleyways by a throng of Somali youths.⁵

The image of the dead soldier is one of two images that most readily comes to mind when one hears the topic of U.S. involvement in Somalia. The other image is emaciated Somali men, women and children starving in a human-made famine caused by greedy warlords who seized humanitarian relief supply shipments after Somalia's dictator fled the country at the start of that country's civil war that began in January 1991. Popular consensus blames the media's images of starving Somalis in the media for having caused the United States' involvement in Somalia. Popular consensus also blames the media's image of the dead soldier being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu for having caused the U.S. to withdraw its support from that African nation. Simply put, the media got us into Somalia, and the media got us out of Somalia.⁶

The debacle in Somalia followed soon after the successful U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf War. The Gulf War, a conventional war on the strategic offensive, has become the antithesis for Somalia, an operation other than war on the strategic defensive, where the media's role is concerned. In the Persian Gulf War, the military corralled the press, showed reporters

Canadian Paul Watson, correspondent for the *Toronto Star*, took this photograph with a pocket camera (he is a print journalist, not a photojournalist) of Somalis dragging the body of a dead U.S. soldier in Mogadishu after the Baffle of October 3, 1993. This photo has come to symbolize the failure of U.S. foreign policy in the Horn of Africa and created a backlash of U.S. public opinion that forced the withdrawal of U.S. troops. Watson received a Pulitzer Prize for this picture.

what it wanted them to see and then screened their stories in the interest of security. In Somalia, the press traveled freely, often to places in Mogadishu where the United Nations military, of which the U.S. military comprised less than 10 percent of the U.N. force and was under the control of the UNOSOM's civilian-led political and humanitarian divisions, felt unsafe to go.⁷ The resultant environment in Somalia created a constant challenge for the United Nations public affairs apparatus, both civilian and military, to maintain credibility for what had become the world's first attempt at nation-building.⁸

On further examination, though, one might conclude that the success of the Persian Gulf War's military public affairs apparatus created too much of a notion that war was bloodless and had evolved to such a high state of technology that combat was like playing a Nintendo game.⁹ The American news-consuming public had not been properly prepared for the image of the dead soldier in Mogadishu during the U.S.'s involvement in Somalia and had not seen anything so upsetting since coverage of the Vietnam war.¹⁰ Perhaps somewhere in the U.S. strategic public affairs success in the Persian Gulf War lies, in part, the U.S. strategic and operational failure in Somalia.¹¹

The U.S. administration had not prepared Americans for the likelihood of U.S. casualties when Somali's mission changed from UNITAF's short-range humanitarian intervention to UNOSOM II's long-range nation building under the precedent-setting Chapter VII peace enforcement mandate that, in effect, authorized combat operations.¹² Instead perhaps the political goal was to exercise U.S. public policy through the aegis of the United Nations, hence the need to minimize potential for casualties and not get Americans unduly excited

that their troops were going in harm's way.¹³ Regardless of the reasons, Somalia's outcome was clear:

Images like this of Somali children starving at the hands of merciless Somali warlords who confiscated humanitarian relief food were responsible for the world's intervention in that African country in 1992.

Americans were not ready for the images they saw in the press of the aftermath of the Baffle of 3 October.¹⁴

The Persian Gulf War and Somalia certainly were not the first instances of the military's direct involvement with the press, and won't be the last. The United States military and the media have had a tempestuous relationship since reporters started sharing battlefields with soldiers in modern *Times*. The following summary discusses the evolution of the relationship between the military and the media in modern *Times*, as well as the evolution of technology and the importance of news from the battlefield.

A. Reporting from the Battlefield

A convenient starting point to document the relationship between the military and the media is the Crimean War in 1854. There, a British newspaper correspondent reported the ill-advised Charge of the Light Brigade that contributed to Britain's parliament unseating the prime minister with a vote of no confidence.¹⁵

The advent of the telegraph during the American Civil War sped up the reporting process which reduced field commander's patience with war correspondents. Union Army General William Tecumseh Sherman was so enraged with a New York *Herald* reporter's dispatch from Vicksburg that Sherman court-martialed the reporter for violating Sherman's order prohibiting battlefield reporting. The court found the reporter guilty.¹⁶

World War I saw a continuation of tension between the military and the media. General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force, became so furious at two reporters' dispatches that he fined one of them \$10,000 and expelled the other from Europe.¹⁷

This 1968 Tet Offensive photograph of Saigon police chief General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing a suspected Viet Cong major after allegedly murdering a South Vietnamese soldier's family earned photojournalist Eddie Adams, Associated Press, a Pulitzer Prize. The photo of this South Vietnamese official executing a man whose arms were tied behind his back helped create an uproar in the United States that resulted in a loss of support for the war and eventual withdrawal from Vietnam, a bold example of the media's influence.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower fared better in World War II. He recognized the importance of press coverage in maintaining public support. Eisenhower embraced reporters, considering them to be quasi-staff officers whose mission commanders must understand and assist.¹⁸ His relationship with reporters was so successful that Eisenhower got reporters to embargo then Lieutenant General George S. Patton, Jr.'s slapping incident of an enlisted soldier in Sicily to prevent the Germans from using it as propaganda.¹⁹

Reporting from Vietnam is the example of the military-media relationship that most Americans probably recall the easiest. Images from the 1968 North Vietnamese Army's Tet Offensive that gave Americans the mistaken impression that the enemy was winning the war have become legendary. Less heralded was how the military's public affairs posture contributed to that debacle. General William C. Westmoreland's overly-optimistic televised briefing to Americans from the Pentagon that "success lies within our grasp" set the stage for the avalanche of disbelief that coverage of Tet produced two months later.²⁰

B. Reporting in the Persian Gulf War

By the time Operation DESERT SHIELD began in the fall of 1990, relations between the military and the media had hardly improved since Vietnam; some referred to the relationship as "mutual hangovers."²¹ The media as an institution felt it had been "shut out of Grenada, cooped up in Panama and put

on the late plane to Saudi Arabia."²² The press pool that deployed to Saudi Arabia in August 1990 was the product of the aftermath of 1983's Operation URGENT FURY in Grenada.²³ The military had excluded the press in Grenada and afterward, a panel headed by retired Army Major General Winant Sidle, previously the Army's chief of public affairs, concluded the press should pool to cover the initial stages of a military operation.²⁴ A national press pool was formed in the Pentagon that included a representative from each of the major U.S. news outlets. The pool's first deployment to 1989's Operation JUST CAUSE in Panama had failed when reporters were deposited in a hotel and ignored.²⁵ And in Saudi Arabia, in 1990 and 1991, the U.S. Defense Department maintained the pool arrangement for months until 24 hours into the 100-hour ground war.²⁶ This arrangement was contrary to Sidle's design that pools are temporary organizations to cover only the initial stages of an operation, not the entire operation.²⁷

The overarching element that influenced the Persian Gulf War coverage, as the press pool arrangement illustrates, was the military's masterful control of the press and, as a result, the message. Silent gun-camera footage from "smart" bomb engagements played at the Riyadh press briefings portrayed the war as sterile and pristine. Some information, like the U.S. Army's 1st Infantry Division tactic of burying alive Iraqi soldiers in their trenches was not explained publicly although the soldiers in the division knew it.²⁸ Pat Sloyan, defense correspondent for New York's *Newsday*, reported it months after the war and won the Pulitzer Prize.²⁹ By not disclosing publicly the Army tactic, this evidence suggests that the Defense Department created the conditions for an expose. Had that fact been disclosed, Sloyan likely would not have won a Pulitzer for that story; rather, the tactic 'likely would have been a non-issue.³⁰

There were positive aspects to press control in the Persian Gulf War. One was the "feint" of a Marine amphibious assault on Kuwait's beaches that,

reported in the media, purportedly kept Iraqi military attention focused away from the coalition main effort in the west.³¹ In another instance, U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant General Walter Boomer, commander of Marine forces in theater, told reporters that the U.S. response to the speculation of Iraq's use of chemical weapons would be "terrible" when, in fact, he had no idea what that response would be.³² The war's

This photograph of a U.S. soldier weeping on learning that the body bag holds the remains of a fellow tank crewman was one of the relatively few combat photographs from the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The U.S. Department of Defense effectively controlled reporters throughout the buildup and air and ground campaigns, with the help of Saudi Arabian hosts. David Turnley took this photograph while a member of a DoD press pool during the ground campaign.

outcome regarding the lack of Iraqi chemical weapon usage suggests Boomer's message may have helped produce the desired effect.³³

The most enduring aspect of the Defense Department's control of reporters and the message in the Persian Gulf War became apparent in Somalia in the fall of 1993. Americans had not seen combat casualties (in a conflict the U.S. was involved in) in the press since Vietnam and they didn't see them in the Persian Gulf War. Instead, the Defense Department offered Americans images of a sanitized battlefield. That factor made the media images of the dead U.S. soldier being dragged through Mogadishu streets in October 1993 all the more shocking to Americans.³⁴

Summary. This chapter's overview of the military-media relationship highlighted the spectrum of the positive and negative aspects of that relationship. This chapter showed both how the media cooperated with the military in World War II and how the media's reporting infuriated the military in Vietnam. It also highlighted the spectrum of philosophy in military public affairs, from General Eisenhower's proactive approach in dealing with the press in World War II to General Westmoreland's overly optimistic "success lies within

our grasp" stance. Further, this chapter demonstrated how the Defense Department's control of the media during the Persian Gulf War provided unrealistic expectations in the American people's perception of combat that significantly influenced Somalia's outcome.

Chapter Two

Press Coverage in Somalia as it Relates to the Principles of Operations Other Than War

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Press Coverage in Somalia as it Relates to the Principles of Operations Other Than War

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the principles of operations other than war, as defined in FM 100-5, Operations, and examine how press coverage in Somalia impacted on those principles in that setting. This documents thesis is that press coverage of operations other than war -- as Somalia characterizes -- so permeates and influences military operations that it should be a principle itself to allow for proper planning. Without this increased emphasis, media coverage of operations other than war may have a negative impact on future military operations as they did on occasion in Somalia.

The media's freedom to move virtually unrestricted on the Mogadishu battlefield gave reporters unprecedented access to cover hostilities. In an interview with the author, CBS news correspondent Bob Simon said the closest he'd seen to Mogadishu's freedom for reporters was Beirut in the early 1980s but that access in Mogadishu was better.³⁵ March 1993 to March 1994, nearly 600 journalists from 60 nations passed through Mogadishu to cover the U.N. operation there and benefited from the freedom to cover both sides of hostilities.³⁶

There are three factors that influenced media coverage during UNOSOM II. First, the United Nations has no guidelines for the release of public information or for dealing with the press.³⁷ Unlike the U.S. Defense Department's Principles of Information, the U.N. has none.³⁸ Neither does the U.N. have rules for combat coverage like the Defense Department has, which are guidelines drafted after the Persian Gulf War when national news agencies protested the military's control of war correspondents that they claimed was another form of censorship.³⁹

This editorial cartoon, commenting on the U.S. amphibious landing at Mogadishu on December 9, 1992, depicts the difficulty military forces have in conducting operations other than war where reporters have complete access to the battlefield.

Second, the command guidance in UNOSOM II was broad and there was only one person to execute it. Unlike UNITAF's 35-member Joint Information Bureau to handle the press, UNOSOM II had one U.S. Army major later helped by three augmentees from the Pentagon.⁴⁰ It wasn't until after hostilities ended that the U.N. authorized staffing for a six-member Combined Information Bureau.⁴¹ Further, the commander of UNOSOM II, Turkish Lieutenant General Cevik Bir, avoided the media, instead deferring to his deputy, U.S. Army Major General Thomas M. Montgomery, who was dual-hatted as the commander of U.S. Forces Somalia.⁴² Montgomery reviewed and approved the spokesman's written press briefings only when -/ hostilities produced U.S. or U.N. casualties.⁴³ There was no guidance for day-to-day dealings with the press; Montgomery gave the spokesman wide latitude to use his own judgment.⁴⁴

Third, in a conventional war setting like the Persian Gulf, a line in the sand existed beyond which the enemy lived. In Somalia, like other operations-other-than-war settings, reporters interviewed both sides' leaders as much as those leaders would permit coverage. Mohamed Farah Aideed, the Somali faction

leader at war with the U.N., displayed his deftness at executing a public information strategy.⁴⁵

The Principles of Operations Other Than War

The principles of operations other than war provide general guidance for the conduct of operations other than war at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. But, unlike the principles of war, the principles of operations other than war have not withstood the test of Time; they are a recent creation.⁴⁶

The following analysis demonstrates that media relations, too, provides general guidance for the conduct of operations other than war at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. The media's coverage impacted on all the principles of operations other than war.

A. Objective. *Direct every military operation toward a clearly defined, decisive and attainable objective.*⁴⁷

This principle, which also applies to war, enables commanders to achieve success by requiring them to attain an overall goal.⁴⁸ One step toward this success is to maintain public support through the press, which General Eisenhower understood so well. Achieving public support through the media also means maintaining credibility with reporters. Withholding information from the press when reporters view incidents for themselves threatens the credibility of the entire mission.⁴⁹

UNOSOM II's mission was long-range: a two-year occupation at the end of which Somalia would hold the first democratic elections in its history.⁵⁰ Consider these two examples of media coverage in Mogadishu in light of UNOSOM II's objective:

B. Two TOW missiles fired, not one.⁵¹ A Reuters television crew videotaped a U.S. Cobra helicopter firing two TOW (Tube-launched, Optically-tracked, Wire-guided) missiles at the rusted hulk of a BM-21 Soviet-made multiple rocket

launcher (with 21 tubes that fire 122-millimeter missiles) near the U.N. headquarters on June 14, including footage of the first missile going awry and slamming into a tea shop on a crowded Mogadishu street, killing a woman and her young daughter. The U.N. command insisted it was a one-shot, one-kill engagement. Reporters excused that the engagement was not necessary -- they knew the BM-21 was junk but conceded that the U.N. force couldn't tell it was unfunctional from a distance, and that the U.N. had destroyed a fully-loaded, functional BM-21 just two days before -- but were outraged that the military would not confirm what they had witnessed and videotaped. Operational channels corrected the report after 24 hours, but left the appearance that the U.N. command had acquiesced only in the face of irrefutable evidence. The U.N. lost credibility temporarily and TOW misfires were a frequent problem in future engagements.

Task Force Ranger raids U.N. compound.⁵² Television crews atop the Sahafi Hotel (where the journalists stayed) took splendid night-scope footage just a few blocks away of the Rangers as they fast-roped from hovering helicopters onto their objective on August 30, but it wasn't until first light that they learned the target was the U.N. Development Program compound. The temptation to label the operation as a failure based on the perception of mistaken identity was overwhelming, not only for the international reporters in Somalia but for the national reporters in Washington, D.C. Despite the facts presented to reporters that day, it took several days before reasoned reports explained why the Rangers had hit the right target, the hasty ridicule was what dominated press coverage of the incident. The Pentagon hurried to distance itself from perceived failure and contributed to this debacle by providing a background briefing for reporters detailing the "intelligence failure" of the operation.⁵⁴

Three days later, a U.S. Army Quick Reaction Force patrol approached a suspected militia mortar firing position that was housed in a humanitarian relief organization compound. This Time, these soldiers knocked on the gate and

asked the proprietor for permission to search the premises.⁵⁵ Media coverage of the UNDP raid had influenced how the military conducted subsequent missions.⁵⁶

Media coverage also influenced how the military planned for those missions. After the UNDP incident, the U.N. military spokesman was consulted regarding the potential media impact when Task Force Ranger was planning an operation.⁵⁷

B. Unity of Effort. *Seek unity of effort toward every objective.*⁵⁸

Upon returning from Somalia, Major General Thomas Montgomery testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that the premier problem confronting UNOSOM II was poor unity of command which affected the operation's unity of effort.⁵⁹ In Somalia, press coverage scrutiny cast a public spotlight on the operation's lack of unity of effort.

Consider these two examples:

Italian ambush.⁶⁰ On July 2, 1993, Italian infantry soldiers finished conducting a cordon-and-search mission in North Mogadishu. On their way back to their headquarters, the soldiers were ambushed by a sizable Somali militia force belonging to Aideed's faction. Three Italian soldiers died and 30 were wounded in the firefight by the time U.S. Army Quick Reaction Force helicopters arrived on the scene. Criticism sprang up in the press when the Italians complained the U.S. had arrived too late. The U.N. balanced the criticism in the media with the fact that the Italian commander had not informed the U.N. commander of his mission that morning; otherwise, help would have been standing by.⁶¹ In an odd twist of logic, the U.N. also reported that the Italian commander had told Aideed's faction of his plan to conduct that mission but he had not told his higher headquarters.⁶²

Nigerian ambush.⁶³ The other incident occurred on September 5 in exactly the same location as the Italian ambush. The Nigerian contingent was replacing the Italian contingent in North Mogadishu. The Italians were banished from the city after the July 2 incident and because the Italian commander would not cease his

unilateral press briefings which criticized the U.N.'s operation and contributed to the appearance of a lack of unity of effort.⁶⁴ The Nigerian force was ambushed and suffered seven killed, seven wounded and one soldier taken hostage while the Italian force apparently refused to assist. This refusal was characterized in a Somali newspaper editorial cartoon the next day with remarkable accuracy -- the newly-established Somali press was learning quickly. (for more on the Somali press, see page 49). The Nigerian commander told the press that his force was ambushed because he had refused to pay Aideed's faction the same financial payment it had been receiving from the Italian contingent to operate in that part of North Mogadishu with impunity.⁶⁵

Reporters' coverage of these failings highlighted UNOSOM II's lack of unity of effort that widened the chasm of distrust between the U.N. command and the Italian contingent that ultimately resulted in the Italians' expulsion from Mogadishu.

C. Legitimacy. *Sustain the willing acceptance by the people of the right of the government to govern or a group or agency to make and carry out decisions.*⁶⁶

Consider these two examples that caused UNOSOM II's legitimacy to come into question in light of its objective:

"Mad" Abdi's house destroyed; press takes sides.⁶⁷ U.S. Cobras launched 10 TOW missiles on July 12 at the house of one of Aideed's lieutenants, "Mad" Abdi, and all of them hit their intended targets. The house was a command-and-control site where Aideed's hierarchy made key decisions, such as ordering the murder of six Somali U.N. workers five days prior, the first incident of terrorism by Aideed's militia since hostilities had begun.⁶⁸ U.S. ground forces cleared the objective and videotaped 13 adult male Somalis killed; Somali sources and the International Committee of the Red Cross put the death toll at 75, which included women and children. Reporters included both sets of figures in their stories, but clearly gave more credibility to the Somali claims even though it was impossible to tell if Somali-on-Somali violence in unrelated incidents had

caused the casualties in Somali hospitals or if the operation had.⁶⁹ Reporters' objectivity had ample reason to become clouded; a crowd of Somalis swarmed near the house after the strike and vented their rage on six journalists, killing four and wounding two despite Aideed aides assuring the journalists that day they would not be at risk.

Keith Richburg, *Washington Post*, and Mark Fineman, *Los Angeles Times*, who have covered Africa extensively, later cited the "Mad" Abdi house mission as the turning point in hostilities. According to them and other reporters, Somalis accepted retribution as a consequence of their actions. But when the U.N. decried the murder of its six Somali workers as terrorism, the Somalis said the same thing about "Mad" Abdi's house. Further, reporters noted from Somali sources that the U.S.'s predominant involvement in "Mad" Abdi's house was reason enough for Aideed to begin targeting Americans, which he did four *Times* in August and once in October by detonating explosive devices planted in roads when American vehicles drove over them, a tactic that caused the U.S. to send Task Force Ranger to Somalia to attempt to detain Aideed.

Ambush on 21 October Road; Senator Micatin takes sides.⁷³ A Pakistani infantry company and a U.S. Army engineer squad were clearing roadblocks in the afternoon along 21 October Road on September 9 when they were hit with the largest deliberate ambush Aideed's militia had conducted against U.S. or U.N. forces. More than 200 militiamen poured withering fire on the trapped soldiers and destroyed one of the Pakistanis' M-48 tanks with a 106-millimeter recoilless rifle round as women and teenagers resupplied the ambushers from behind the cover of nearby walls.⁷⁴ U.S. Army Cobras arrived and fired into the ambushers as the soldiers extracted.⁷⁵ CNN and others sent their hired Somali gunmen, drivers and interpreters to the site with cameras as the ambush raged because the Somalis had advised the reporters not to go due to the volume of fire and danger of crowds.⁷⁶ Nearly all of the media's Somali hires were from Aideed clan

and were sympathizers, if not active participants themselves, but correspondents never reported that fact.⁷⁷

The Somali hires returned to the Sahafi Hotel with reports and footage that the American helicopters had killed innocent women and children,⁷⁸ reports that, once released, started a maelstrom in the U.S. Congress questioning the U.S.'s mission and role in Somalia. The U.N. military spokesman's quote the next day, "There are no sidelines or spectator seats at an ambush," put the U.S. response to the ambush into perspective,⁷⁹ but President Bill Clinton was disturbed by the incident. He had loathed American tactics in Vietnam that often killed women and children and now he felt responsible for the same tactics.⁸⁰ Vietnam veteran, celebrated former Naval aviator and POW Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) was publicly critical over the characterization of Somali women and children as combatants without confirming its truth.⁸¹ McCain likened the incident to Vietnam's Ben Tre incident where a U.S. soldier commented that his unit had to destroy the village in order to save it.⁸² Somalia wasn't Vietnam, and it was disconcerting to U.S. service members in harm's way in Somalia to read in newspaper reports that a distinguished U.S. public official who served on the Senate Armed Services Committee had difficulty confirming Somalia for what it was; he belonged to the same Congress that had approved the mission's funding.⁸³

D. Perseverance. *Prepare for the measured, protracted application of military capability in support of strategic aims.*⁸⁴

In order to carry out a long-range mandate -- in this case, a two-year occupation of Somalia -- the American people deserved an explanation of that mandate.⁸⁵ That explanation never came. The earlier mission, UNITAF, was something Americans understood: avert the Somali starvation.⁸⁶ But in the aftermath of the Battle of 3 October, Congress publicly - questioned how the U.S. role changed from salvation to combat.⁸⁷ The answer is straightforward: U.N. Security Council Resolutions 814 and 837 changed the mission and the U.S.

wrote both of them.⁸⁸ Further, Congress had appropriated the funding for the U.S. military to participate in UNOSOM II and several Congressmen paid visits to Somalia before and during hostilities.⁸⁹

Consider, then, how media images from the aftermath of the Baffle of 3 October affected the future of U.S. participation in Somalia:

CNN's video and Paul Watson's photograph. A Somali stringer⁹⁰ had filmed a group of Somalis triumphantly dragging the body of a dead American soldier through Mogadishu streets on the morning of October 4 and an "interview" with captured American pilot Chief Warrant Officer Mike Durant. He sent the Hi-8 cartridge through Nairobi to London where CNN electronically relayed the footage to its headquarters in Atlanta for immediate broadcast.⁹¹ Likewise, *Toronto Star* reporter Paul Watson took the photograph of the dead soldier that appeared on newspaper front pages world wide the next day.⁹²

President Clinton's speech.⁹³ The impact of those images on U.S. foreign policy in Somalia was swift and exacting. On October 7, President Bill Clinton addressed the nation. The following excerpts from that speech clearly indicate that the president's foreign policy and use of the military was directly influenced by the media:

"A year ago, we all watched with horror as Somali children and their families lay dying by the tens of thousands -- dying the slow, agonizing death of starvation. A starvation brought on not only by drought, but also by the anarchy that then prevailed in that country.

"This past weekend we all reacted with anger and horror as an armed Somali gang desecrated the bodies of our American soldiers and displayed a captured American pilot. All of the soldiers who were taking part in an international effort to end the starvation of the Somali people themselves.

"I want to bring our troops home from Somalia...It is my judgment and that of my military advisors that we may need up to six months to complete these steps and to conduct an orderly withdrawal... All American troops will be out of

Somalia no later than March 31st, except for a few hundred support personnel in on-combat roles."

Media images had gotten America into and out of Somalia.⁹⁴ They had called America's bluff on perseverance because those images of casualties embodied the futility of the mission in Somalia. American people had not been prepared for what they saw in the press, but this was not the first time brutal images were broadcast from Mogadishu. CNN had broadcast footage in the aftermath of the Nigerian ambush that showed Somalis desecrating Nigerian dead.⁹⁶ But that footage ran only once on U.S. televisions -- pop singer Michael Jackson's arrest on child molestation charges that same day bumped it from the airwaves -- depriving Americans of the realization of what was happening in Somalia also might occur to American troops.⁹⁷

E. Restraint. *Apply appropriate military capability prudently.*⁹⁸

Of all the principles of operations other than war, the lack of restraint in Somalia was perhaps the most controversial as the following example illustrates. As with the previous examples of the "Mad" Abdi House raid and the debacle over two TOW missiles fired vice one, the use of firepower in a built-up area attracted attention, especially from a press corps with access to the battlefield.⁹⁹

The following is an example of the media's impact on military tactics when the press publicly questioned the military's lack of restraint:

Mortar response.¹⁰⁰ Mortar attacks against the U.N. headquarters at the former American embassy compound increased in frequency during August 1993. U.S. radar indicated that several of the attacks came from a field near Digfer Hospital, a Somali facility less than a mile away. As a response, the U.S. Army Quick Reaction Force fired mortars at the field near Digfer when the U.N. headquarters took fire regardless if the U.N. could verify that location as the source of fire.

On September 18, a mortar attack at the U.N. headquarters wounded a U.S. soldier. The U.N. could not verify that Digfer was the source of the fire, but U.S. mortars fired two high-explosive mortar rounds in response.¹⁰¹ The U.S. "spotter" helicopter hovering in the vicinity of Digfer reported not seeing the mortar rounds detonate. It was possible the two rounds could have impacted in the field without detonating.¹⁰²

At the next daily U.N. press briefing, Sam Kiley of *The (London) Times* brought a tail fin from an expended U.S. 81-millimeter mortar round as "proof" that the two rounds impacted on the hospital wounding 34 Somalis.¹⁰³ The international story that day about the incident persuaded the U.N. to rethink and retract its policy about responding with fire near Digfer Hospital unless it could verify that location as the source of fire.¹⁰⁴

F. Security. *Never permit hostile factions to acquire an unexpected advantage.*¹⁰⁵

FM 100-5 expounds on this principle by stating that commanders "should never be lulled into believing that the non-hostile intent of their mission does not put lives at risk. Inherent in this responsibility is the need to be capable of rapid transition from a peaceful to a combat posture should the need arise."¹⁰⁶

The following summary of the denial of armor to protect U.S. forces shows how the media's impact influenced that decision.

Armor denial.¹⁰⁷ The issue of the denial of armor to protect U.S. forces in Somalia is well known since it contributed to U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin's resignation. The primary reason for the denial was that increasing U.S. firepower in Somalia would send the wrong signal since U.S. troops were there for humanitarian reasons.¹⁰⁸ But the following evidence suggests that media coverage of Somalia directly impacted on the denial of armor.¹⁰⁹

There were two requests for armored vehicles.¹¹⁰ Major General Montgomery requested a battalion task force in August after Aideed began targeting

Americans. General Joseph Hoar, commander of U.S. Central Command, disapproved this request because of the improper perception it would broadcast.¹¹¹ Hoar was in Mogadishu and with Montgomery during the September 9 ambush that President Clinton and Senator McCain later loathed so much, and he told Montgomery to resubmit his request but make it a smaller force.¹¹² Montgomery did and the request went through the chain of command until it was passed to Aspin where it sat and received no action.¹¹³ Although this second request was not an actual denial, media requests in the aftermath of the Battle of 3 October portrayed it as such.¹¹⁴ The direct connection between the political upheaval after the much-publicized September 9 ambush and the inaction on the second request for armor is likely.¹¹⁵

Summary. This chapter demonstrated how media coverage in Somalia, an operation other than war, permeated and influenced operations as related to the principles of operations other than war. Two of the most pronounced examples of the media's advantage of freedom of movement in Mogadishu were the June incident of two TOWs fired vice one and Task Force Ranger's raid on the UNDP compound in August. But the pre-eminent example was the images from the aftermath of the Battle of 3 October that reversed U.S. foreign policy in Somalia.

Further, this chapter demonstrates how the media's access to the battlefield is a critical vulnerability, from the press coverage of the Italian-Nigerian debacle after the Nigerian ambush to the press taking sides after the "Mad" Abdi house raid. It also showed how Senator McCain came to oppose Somalia, based on the U.N. military spokesman's characterization of women and children as combatants after the September 9 ambush, regardless of the truth of that characterization. The senator did not check the facts of the ambush prior to conducting his media interviews.¹¹⁶

Chapter Three

Emerging Media Issues from Somalia

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Emerging Media Issues from Somalia

The purpose of this chapter is to explore significant lessons learned from Somalia's media relations experience. These lessons complement chapter two's elaboration of how media coverage impacted on the principles of operations other than war in Somalia by providing further examples of how media coverage in Somalia permeated and influenced military operations.

After the last of the U.S. combat troops withdrew from Somalia on March 25, 1994, reporters in Mogadishu gathered at the Sahafi Hotel and conducted their own post-mortem.¹¹⁷ Reid Muter, Nairobi bureau chief for the Associated Press and a long-time Africa correspondent nicknamed "Senator"¹¹⁸ by his colleagues for his calm but in-charge demeanor and his immense credibility, asked the question that everyone in the group had been thinking: Did we, the press, do the right thing by bringing the troops into Somalia? Never mind the stateside debate among editors and politicians pointing fingers over who was responsible,¹¹⁹ the correspondents in Mogadishu knew that ultimately their stories and pictures were responsible. Somalia was as much a story about the media as it was about the famine in that country. Specifically, it was a story about how journalists helped to feed Somalia's famine and created a crisis demanding international attention, then helped turn that crisis into a cause.¹²⁰

Further, journalist and book author Michael Maren, who served in Somalia in the early 1980s with USAID and covered UNOSOM II and its aftermath, speculates that the press settled on the 300,000-casualty figure (Somalis who died during the famine and civil war) because Mohamed Sahnoun, Special Representative to the Secretary General of the United Nations for Somalia from April to November 1992, conveniently gave them the price tag they needed to turn

Somali into a cause; the International Committee of the Red Cross' 100,000-casualty figure may have lacked the urgency reporters so eagerly sought.¹²¹

While Miller's question should have been asked before Somalia had been turned into a cause, his follow-up question to the group also should have been asked long before: Was the military intervention just a quick fix that ignored the underlying social and political problems that caused the famine in the first place?¹²² For the military, that question is today's quintessential issue: just how does a military fix social and economic problems since that is what America wants it to do?¹²³ Specifically, for this document's purposes, that quintessential issue begs the question: What did the military learn about media relations from Somali that it can apply to future operation-other-than-war situations?¹²⁴

A. Somalia, Persian Gulf War Were Back-to-Back, Opposite Scenarios. The Persian Gulf War was the U.S. military's best-case scenario in media relations: the military corralled the press, pooled reporters and showed them what it wanted them to see, and then reviewed their material before it was released for security reasons.¹²⁵ Somalia was the complete opposite of the Persian Gulf War; it was the military's worst-case scenario for media relations because of reporters' access to places on the battlefield where the military couldn't go; they did not need any resources from the military; and there was no security review.¹²⁶ This difference in the way the press was or was not controlled reflects the difference between war and operations other than war, and the military is more likely to face an operation-other-than-war Somalia scenario in the future than it is a Persian Gulf War scenario; Haiti, Bosnia,, Rwanda and Cuba are examples of today's or tomorrow's headline makers.¹²⁷

B. Somalia's Emerging Press. Despite its problems during the post-civil war period, one of the first institutions that emerged in Mogadishu in 1992 was a Somali press, significant primarily because Somalia has had a written language only since 1972.¹²⁸ The estimates of the extent of illiteracy in Somalia vary,

but most agree that it is high.¹²⁹ Still Somali newspapers contain political cartoons for those who can't read as well as considerable material for those who do. The Somali newspapers are an aid to the *fadhi-ku-didr* -- which means "those who fight while sitting" in Somali-- who crowd the tea shop stalls brimming with political talk along Mogadishu streets.¹³⁰

There were three primary daily Somali newspapers in Mogadishu that were mimeographed newsletters complete with political cartoons.¹³¹ The Somali reporters had all of the benefits of the outside press, including identification cards issued by the U.N. that allowed them to enter U.N. compounds for reporting purposes.¹³² However, the U.N. civilian spokesman frequently did not recognize them as "legitimate" reporters and forfeited the opportunity to speak through them directly to the Somali people.¹³³ Once, with only Somali reporters in attendance at a UNOSOM II press briefing, the U.N.'s civilian briefer canceled the session intoning that "no reporters are here." However, the military briefer presented his portion that day.¹³⁴

Not only were the Somali reporters allowed to attend the U.N.'s twice-daily press briefings, they also interviewed the U.N. military command and covered troop stories, like Thanksgiving and Christmas, just as the members of the international press corps did.¹³⁵ There also were several Somali television crew members who major U.S. networks had hired to cover the day-to-day events; only if anything spectacular happened would the networks send in their world-famous reporters.¹³⁶

This front page of the Somali newspaper *Qaran* (from "Koran") on September 6, 1993, depicts with uncanny accuracy the events that surrounded the ambush of Nigerian forces the day before in North Mogadishu. Despite Somalia's recently devised written language (created in 1972) and a high illiteracy rate among Somalis, the Somali newspapers were a prime source of news for Mogadishu residents who vented their opinions daily in the tea shop stalls lining Mogadishu streets. Somalis call these arm-chair quarterbacks *fadhi-ku-didr*, those "who fight while sitting."

There was no Somali radio, except for Aideed's Radio Mogadishu fixed station that broadcast his propaganda and was destroyed by U.N. forces on June 12, 1993, in response to Aideed's unprovoked attacks on U.N. soldiers June 5 (it was rebuilt and re-established several months later).¹³⁷ Aideed then created a vehicle-mounted "mobile" radio station that continued to broadcast throughout hostilities, but with considerably less wattage than the fixed station.¹³⁸ Many Somalis own radios, and the other sources of radio news were the British Broadcast Corporation and Voice of America, both broadcast from Nairobi, Kenya, in the Somali language.¹³⁹

Aideed also had his own newspaper until the U.N. inadvertently destroyed his printing press twice in combat operations.¹⁴⁰ Aideed's star reporter, Abdi Abshir, whose father had been a Somali Army general and was one of Aideed's key advisors until he was killed during the July 12 "Mad" Abdi house operation, attended the U.N.'s press briefings until the situation got too uncomfortable for him.¹⁴¹ But for a Time, the U.N. press briefings were life imitating art, in this case Saturday Night Live's 1991 spoof of the Persian Gulf War press briefings that included a reporter from the fictitious "Baghdad *Times*" who chimed in with the other international reporters asking for details on the upcoming allied offensive against Iraq. Like the non-existent "Baghdad *Times*" correspondent, Abdi Abshir never received the information he asked of the chief U.N. military spokesman.¹⁴²

Despite being novices, it was obvious that the Somali reporters had learned quickly from the visiting members of the international press corps.¹⁴³ Somali reporters quickly assimilated into the give-and-take of the briefing process and asked the same probing questions as the international press corps reporters.¹⁴⁴ Overall, despite the imposing specter of clan rivalries, the Somali reporters' stories were as accurate as any international stories throughout the hostilities.¹⁴⁵

The military briefer made three concessions to the Somali press.¹⁴⁶ First, the briefing was recited in a clear, even-paced voice to compensate for the Somalis' English-language difficulties. Second, hard copies of the briefings were provided afterward to Somali reporters if they wanted them. Third, the military briefer polled the Somali reporters after the briefings to ensure they understood the material. Sometimes, even after a briefing, Somali reporters were hesitant to approach the military briefer and ask questions; approaching the Somali reporters eased their embarrassment.

The Somali reporters also helped the military public affairs staff.¹⁴⁷ They provided tutorials on the clan system and other background information the military briefers needed to better understand the situation in Mogadishu. Somali reporters were an excellent way for the military spokesman to take the "pulse" of the Mogadishu streets in a way that the visiting international press corps reporters couldn't provide. Obviously, the Somali reporters also provided the same invaluable service to the international journalists.¹⁴⁸

C. Training Troops, Commanders to Meet the Press. The chief U.N. military spokesman's office conducted training for all brigade commanders (brigadier-general equivalents) in the U.N. operation, if they desired.¹⁴⁹ This training was modeled after the Pentagon's media training for general officers and prepared the Pakistani brigade commander, Brigadier Ikram Ul-Hassan, to answer several tough issues during his tenure, most notably the June 13 incident where his soldiers shot into a crowd of protesters at Kilometer-Four and the September 9 ambush on 21 October Road.¹⁵⁰ Each national contingent's liaison officer attended the twice-daily operational briefings in the U.N. headquarters, and the spokesman's office provided occasional updates to the attendees about the media situation and tips concerning how soldiers should interview with members of the media.¹⁵¹ The spokesman's office also trained the liaison officers to serve as a bridge between the U.N. command and their contingent; if a reporter wanted to interview a certain contingent's commander or soldiers, the spokesman's office

linked up the reporter with the liaison officer to facilitate the request, monitor the interviews and report back to the spokesman.¹⁵² Many contingents, which were never exposed to the press before becoming involved in UNOSOM II, became quite adept at handling reporters' queries.¹⁵³

A related sub-topic of this category is that the troops were there at the end of the mission were not necessarily the ones who were there throughout the mission.¹⁵⁴ As the U.S. began its troop withdrawal from Somalia in early 1994, reporters wanted to interview U.S. soldiers for their opinions on the mission.¹⁵⁵ The soldiers who were left in Somalia were unable to give the mission any perspective; they had arrived with Joint Task Force Somalia after the war had ended and had neither heard a shot fired in anger nor had the opportunity to meet Somalis and learn their language and culture.¹⁵⁶ Troop rotations from the beginning of UNOSOM II were four to six months; some troop units left Somalia before hostilities began, some left in the middle, but few individuals were there throughout.¹⁵⁷ The opinions of soldiers at the end of UNOSOM II as reported in the American media represented a compendium that cast an unfair light on the entire mission. Stories such as "Fighting Boredom in Somalia" quoted soldiers who were "bitter and grouching" because they thought they had come to Somalia to fight; these soldiers knew nothing of the mission that had gone before them.¹⁵⁸

D. Not All Reporters Knew Somalia, Either. Few reporters were experts on Somalia. The first journalists to report the famine that got the world involved had covered Africa regularly with an average of five years of experience on the continent, and were based primarily in Nairobi.¹⁵⁹ This included most of the world's major newspapers and wire services. As interest in Somalia peaked, journalists from around the world traveled there for a story, and eventually reporters from the 29 countries were involved in UNOSOM II.¹⁶⁰ Several other reporters arrived in Mogadishu for a short time even though their countries had no affiliation with the operation; these included reporters from Mexico, Spain,

Chile, Peru, Ukraine and Brazil.¹⁶¹ The reporter from Brazil arrived on October 25, 1993 to cover the expected Somali-on-Somali clash along the demarcation line separating North from South Mogadishu, called the "Greenline." He represented a television station and operated solo, without a soundman or producer. A bullet shattered his camera as he filmed the fighting that day, dazing him in a near-death experience. Back at the Sahafi Hotel, other reporters consoled him by claiming that close calls can't happen twice in one day, but as they spoke, bullets zinged in through the open windows in his hotel room. The reporter left Mogadishu by sundown.¹⁶²

When combat action in Mogadishu peaked in October 1993, the U.N. experienced a flood of journalists well-known throughout the world: Richard Blystone, Christiane Amanpour and Brent Sadler from CNN; Bob Simon and Allen Pizzey from CBS; Ron Allen from ABC; Tom Aspell from NBC; and others.¹⁶³ All were quick studies whose roles were to conduct an on-camera standup with Mogadishu in the background; they usually didn't stay in the city long.¹⁶⁴ In general, the Africa correspondents disliked networks' opportunism but treated their peers well.¹⁶⁵ Still, the infusion of reporters at peak *Times* -- up to 75 of them would converge in Mogadishu at the U.N.'s press briefings, and at least 10 of them were television crews -- made press briefings free-for-alls as the journalists competed for the opportunity to ask questions on the air, something Americans saw live for the first Time during the Persian Gulf War and were repulsed by.¹⁶⁶

Most reporters in Mogadishu learned fast but some at the expense of their credibility. One radio reporter from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in his first night at the Sahafi Hotel joined his comrades on the roof for a beer. A firefight began nearby, as they did with frightening regularity, and the reporter dictated a dramatic story into his tape recorder of descriptions of the Somali-on-Somali fight complete with commentary of "bullets winging over my head." The next day, angry editors from other news outlets called their

reporters in Mogadishu, livid that ABC had scooped them with combat coverage. The old hands convinced I their editors that the firefight was not only routine, but it was the ABC correspondent's first. Their editors dropped the issue.¹⁶⁷

Some reporters, however, were quite knowledgeable of Somalia. Michael Maren is one. Maren contends that the infusion of humanitarian relief food into Somalia since 1977 and the proliferation of Cold War arms into the country have empowered Somali youths to become Third World entrepreneurs, destroying the classic Somali clan culture where the elders were held in esteem and solved the clan's problems. Traditionally, when a Somali clan member has a problem, he turns to the clan elders to solve it. If he needs food, for example, the clan elders ensure he is fed. Guns made the humanitarian food free for the taking and young Somali men took advantage of this opportunity.¹⁶⁸ As an example, Associated Press correspondent and Mogadishu regular Paul Alexander wrote a story on the topic that the *Washington Times* ran on October 27, 1993 titled "Somali Youths Shatter Tradition by Firing on Elders."¹⁶⁹

E. Even Though Independent, Reporters Will Ask Military for Help. On two occasions, the U.N. military evacuated the Sahafi Hotel under duress when reporters were convinced their lives were in danger. There was no commitment on the military's part, other than moral, to do so, and the topic is controversial among military members.

The first instance occurred on June 17, the last day of the U.N. offensive to destroy Aideed's known and secret weapons caches and to unseat his enclave located in a residential area across Afgoye Road from the U.N. headquarters.¹⁷⁰ Crowds in the streets kept most of the reporters behind the Sahafi's walls.¹⁷¹ The correspondents felt that the hotel's armed guards would do little to protect them if the crowd burst in, and were further unnerved when a Somali man ran into the hotel lobby and told them they were all going to die in 30 minutes.¹⁷² One CNN reporter panicked and phoned the U.S. White House on his satellite phone in the morning, and the U.N. spokesman's subsequent discussions with cooler heads

at the Sahafi, like CNN producer Ingrid Formanek and the Associated Press' Tina Susman, via hand-held radio calmed down the situation.¹⁷³

Still, the streets grew uglier in the afternoon and the U.N. sent a mounted patrol of Pakistani soldiers, who successfully evacuated without incident some 30 reporters, about half of the hotel's residents, to a nearby Pakistani strongpoint for temporary safekeeping.¹⁷⁴ After the incident, the spokesman pointed out to the press that the Pakistanis had not shied away from this mission even though reporters had not initially given the Pakistanis the benefit of the doubt on the June 13 incident at Kilometer-Four when Somali gunmen provoked the soldiers into shooting into a crowd of women and children.¹⁷⁵ Pakistanis' professionalism was admirable.¹⁷⁶

The second instance occurred on September 3 when five Somali drivers CNN had hired were killed and four others were wounded in a firefight near the Sahafi Hotel with a rival clan over a disputed stolen vehicle.¹⁷⁷ Some of the barrage that peppered the hotel was large-caliber machinegun fire that bore easily through the hotel's porous cement walls.¹⁷⁸ The U.N. command sent a patrol of Malaysian armored personnel carriers to the hotel where it evacuated without incident some 15 reporters, about half of the hotel's residents, to the U.N. compound for safekeeping.¹⁷⁹

CNN's lack of mobility due to its drivers' deaths and the overall increased threat to journalists persuaded the U.N. military spokesman to have reporters moved onto the sprawling U.N. compound in Mogadishu, provided they adhered to strict ground rules, which they did.¹⁸⁰ It was a controversial move, opposed by the U.S. ambassador-equivalent whose office and quarters also were on the U.N. compound but not adjacent to CNN's location.¹⁸¹ Other reporters were given the same option, but some stayed at the hotel. These reporters were told that if they had trouble at any time, any U.N. compound would take them in for safekeeping without a prerequisite escort being present.¹⁸²

For a brief Time, CNN's move onto the U.N. compound gave it the unprecedented and tremendous advantage of reporting live from a secure vantage point, which clearly presented some unique challenges on the military's part.¹⁸³ One notable challenge was the live international press conference CNN held at the U.N. compound the day after the September 9 ambush on 21 October Road. If CNN had not been situated on the compound, the live press conference would not have occurred because CNN would not have had its satellite dish position on the U.N. compound which was necessary to conduct a live broadcast. Still, CNN faced some disadvantages. The CNN producer, Robert Wiener, told the author that he was forced to meet with top Aideed officials and convince them that they were not taking sides by moving in with the U.N.¹⁸⁴ Apparently, he was successful.¹⁸⁵

Summary. This chapter explored significant lessons learned from Somalia's media relations experience. These lessons further illustrate how media coverage permeates and influences military operations other than war. Military planning for media relations in future operations other than war should consider the extent to which the military can or cannot control the media; the credibility of the press in the target country; training troops and commanders how to meet the press; the different categories of media and reporters' experience level in the area of operations; and that reporters will turn to the military for help in an emergency.¹⁸⁶

Chapter Four

Press Planning for Operation United Shield: Media Relations as a Principle of Operations Other Than War

Chapter Four

Press Planning for Operation UNITED SHIELD: Media Relations as a Principle of Operations Other Than War

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight how the staff planning for Operation UNITED SHIELD (the 1995 U.S.-led operation to evacuate U.N. forces

from Somalia) created a model for media relations in future operations other than war. the architecture for UNITED SHIELD's model was drawn directly from UNOSOM II's media relations experience.¹⁸⁷ The plan incorporated: the lack of military control over the press; the use of the Somali press; training troops and commanders; categories of media; and contingencies of reporters ask for help.

A. Public affairs posture. The fifth and final installment of U.S. military involvement in Somalia was Combined Task Force United Shield commanded by USMC Lieutenant General Anthony Zinni that included six other nations. Zinni incorporated media relations into his operational plan in what he described as a precedent-setting move.¹⁸⁸

United Shield received oversight from the U.S. Defense Department and U.S. Central Command, two agencies that imposed a "passive" public affairs posture on the operation. The term "passive" is not conventional lexicon, and Zinni, a forward-thinker in media relations who understood that reporters' access in Mogadishu was a critical vulnerability, interpreted "passive" to mean "respond to query," not "do nothing."¹⁸⁹ He required his staff to explore how the operation could maximize the press.¹⁹⁰

DoD and CENTCOM imposed further constraints on United Shields public affairs plan. DoD planned to constitute the U.S. national press pool and send it to Somalia. Its arrival, planned for shortly before United Shield troops went ashore, would transition the public affairs posture from passive to active.¹⁹¹ Active, according to Zinni, was when the operation could proactively seek press coverage.¹⁹² Note that the press pool concept, originally designed to obtain coverage of military operations in their initial stages when there was no other way to obtain such coverage, continued to be misused by the agency that created it.¹⁹³

B. Categories of media. Besides the press pool, the staff identified five other classifications of media: independent reporters, Somali press, coalition press,

ABC's Nightline and media accompanying distinguished visitors. Each had varying degrees of expertise and different audiences.¹⁹⁴

Nearly 100 independent reporters were expected to flock to Mogadishu to cover United Shield. Most of these reporters covered previous phases of U.S. involvement in Somalia and knew the background of the country well.¹⁹⁵

C. Somali press. The Somali press, discussed in depth in chapter three, was the most obvious venue for United Shield to communicate with the Somali people prior to landing the troops. Zinni insisted that the operational plan contain no deception lest the Somali people misunderstand the military's intentions and attack U.S. or coalition forces. The best way for Zinni to communicate his intent to the Somali people so that they would not misunderstand or misinterpret was through the Somali press.¹⁹⁶ In the most unique, forward-thinking posture to date in an operation other than war, Zinni designated the Somali press as his focus of effort during phase three (the preparation-of-the-battlefield phase) of the operation.¹⁹⁷

The coalition media accompanying the other contingents was not perceived as a major influence in the operation but had significant impact in their respective countries. The make-up and intentions of the Italian media was scrutinized in order to obtain a sensing of any left-over angst from UNOSOM II toward the U.S. or U.N. None was detected.¹⁹⁸

This synchronization matrix from 1995's Operation UNITED SHIELD shows, near the bottom, that the staff considered the media a significant battlefield activity and estimated the media's impact in the planning for the amphibious landing.

ABC's Nightline was not a player for long. USNAVCENT disapproved Nightline's request to accompany Zinni on the operation because an ABC crew would be on the national press pool and that would give one network an unfair advantage over the other networks. The military regarded fairness as granting access to all major media outlets within its capability.¹⁹⁹

D. Training and contingency planning. As a result of the staff's analysis, Zinni required emphasis on training and contingency planning. Among them was media training for his commanders and troops. Another was a package of contingency responses to the press in the event things went wrong; in his parlance it was called a "playbook." One of the worst-case scenarios Zinni's staff planned for was if American reporters, in Mogadishu independently, called Zinni for help. This contingency was based on UNOSOM II's two similar occurrences, one in which reporters contacted the military directly and the other in which they phoned the White House.²⁰⁰

The staff further incorporated the media into the plan. "Media impact" was designated as an operational function in both future operations and future plans.²⁰¹ "Media impact" was added to both decision support and execution matrices.²⁰² This was a refinement from the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division's participation in UNITAF when it added "information" to its operational functions which lumped together public affairs and psychological operations. In United Shield's case, the impact of the media was evaluated against every conceivable contingency that could occur.²⁰³

Summary. In summary, media relations was recognized as endemic to United Shield's operation to the point that it was added as an operational function. Further, United Shield's commander incorporated UNOSOM II's emerging media themes -- among them the need to train troops and commanders how to deal with the press and maximize that relationship, and the need to use the target country's press to communicate directly to hostile factions -- into his operational design. From a public affairs standpoint, the operation was executed flawlessly.²⁰⁴ Perhaps United Shield's legacy in media relations is that its incorporation of media into operational planning for future operations is the preferred model.²⁰⁵

Conclusion

Look at it this way. News is what a chap who doesn't care much about anything wants to read.

Wire service correspondent Corker in Evelyn Waugh's Scoop.

Conclusion

Based on the information presented in this document, experience from Somalia demonstrates that media relations has the impact necessary to be considered a principle of operations other than war.

Military-media relations in Somalia created a template for future operations other than war. Somalia reinforced that the center of gravity for operations other than war is public opinion and the media as the military's conduit to win or lose that support. Somali also reinforced that the critical vulnerability in operations other than war is the media's access to the battlefield.

There are numerous examples from Somalia that demonstrate how media coverage permeated and influenced military operations. Several examples were cited in chapter two to show how media coverage affects the principles of operations other than war.

Chapter three discussed media lessons learned from Somalia that further illustrate the media's impact on military operations. The five lessons: the media's access; the importance of the target country's media; media training for the military; analyzing the media; and contingency planning if reporters call for help, were put to practical use in Operation UNITED SHIELD with success. The practical use was examined in chapter four, and is presented as a model for media relations in future operations other than war.

The public affairs annex to an operations order or plan, commonly referred to as Annex F, is clearly obsolete in light of the evidence presented in this document as it pertains to media relations. Media relations needs to be an

integral part of operational planning, as the successful execution of Operation UNITED SHIELD shows, and not just an afterthought relegated to an annex.

As we've seen from both recent and distant history -- as highlighted in chapter one -- correspondents will report on operations other than war with or without the military's help. Helping reporters get their story while safeguarding lives and the mission to get public support makes sense. Making media relations an integral part of the operational order or plan by elevating its prominence to a principle of operations other than war, which maximizes the opportunity for success, makes even more sense.

Appendix

Overview of U.S. Intervention in Somalia, 1992-1994

Appendix

Overview of U.S. Intervention in Somalia, 1992-1994

The following narrative was derived from a United Nations reference paper titled "The United Nations and the Situation in Somalia," April 30, 1993, and provides a basic understanding of the events that caused the U.S. and U.N. to intervene in the Horn of Africa.

Civil War. Recall the circumstances that got the world involved in Somalia. The starvation and famine the Somali people suffered during and after their recent civil war caused the United Nations to intervene, the first Time the U.N. did so in a country uninvited. In Somalia's case, there was no government to invite the U.N. in.

The civil war began in January 1991 when clan elder and militia faction leaders Mohamed Farah Aideed and Au Mahdi Mohamed ousted Somalia's dictator Siad Barre, who fled to Nigeria. Aideed and Ali Mahdi then fought each other for control of Mogadishu as other militias fought each other for control of regions

of the country engulfed in anarchy. Militias seized the sea port and airport with "technicals" -- trucks mounted with machine guns and other weaponry -- and charged fees for the humanitarian aid ships and aircraft to unload their relief supplies. The usual fee the militias charged was a sizable portion of the relief shipments themselves.

As a result, little relief aid reached beyond Mogadishu. Now-familiar media images of the resulting starvation that killed many innocent Somalis ultimately grabbed the world's attention of the Somali people's plight. The civil war and starvation reportedly caused some 100,000 Somali deaths, but U.N. statements at that time guessed the death toll at 300,000 even though the International Committee of the Red Cross used the 100,000-casualty figure; 300,000 is the figure that prevailed in the press.²⁰⁶

UNOSOM. On April 24, 1992, the U.N. Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 751 created the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) to provide a secure environment so that humanitarian relief agencies could help avert the starvation. Negotiations between the U.N.'s special representative to the secretary general and militia leaders proved fruitless and UNOSOM was created under the auspices of the U.N. Charter's Chapter VI peacekeeping mandate, a role with which the world was familiar. A battalion of soldiers from Pakistan's 7th Frontier Force regiment arrived at Mogadishu airport in September 1992 with the U.N. mission to protect food convoys, but the heavily-armed Somali militias pinned them down at the airport, rendering them ineffective. Relief supplies could not get through to the Somalis who needed them.

The U.N. Security Council authorized the United States, per the U.S.'s proposal, to send a force of up to 30,000 troops to do what UNOSOM could not. This unanimous decision, in the form of UNSCR 794 approved on December 3, 1992, was halfway between a Chapter VI peacekeeping mandate and the much stronger Chapter VII peace-making mandate. In common lexicon the mission was referred to as a "Chapter Six-and-a half." The Security Council's decision sought the use of

"all necessary means to establish, as soon as possible, a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia." The Security Council created the Unified Task Force (UNITAF).

Peace making/enforcement. The difference, between Chapter VI and Chapter VII missions is significant. In a Chapter VI mission, soldiers can only fire their weapons when fired upon, and are prohibited from undertaking offensive combat operations. In a Chapter VII mission, soldiers can fire their weapons when they are threatened, a vague condition that purposely offers soldiers wide latitude. Also, a Chapter VII mission authorizes offensive combat operations like, for example, sweeps of built-up areas to search for weapons. Further, a Chapter VII mission authorizes the military a larger organizational structure, to include combat aircraft and intelligence-gathering capability. A Chapter "Six-and-a-half" mandate provided UNITAF with the authority to use the appropriate level of force to get the job done. The U.N. Security Councils creation of UNITAF forecast positive results. It promised a mighty fist.

UNITAF. The first embodiment of that promise waded ashore at Mogadishu on December 9, 1992, as the lead elements of the U.S. Marine Corps-led UNITAF landed on the beach. UNITAF, organized as combat units capable of conducting combat operations, came under sporadic sniper fire within 24 hours of entering Mogadishu and encountered this type of resistance until it departed Somalia on May 4, 1993. With Somalia virtually lawless, UNITAF's combat-oriented organization was the right answer. While effective, however, UNITAF was never meant to be the U.N.'s long-term solution for Somalia. UNITAF was comprised of 28,000 U.S. Marines and, later, 9,000 soldiers from 12 other nations.

The U.N. studied the problem some more. U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposed a transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II in a report to the Security Council on March 3, 1993. The report addressed several areas.

UNITAF's presence and operations clearly had a positive impact on the security situation and effective delivery of humanitarian assistance. Despite

these improvement there was no functioning Somali government, to include an organized police force, capable of sustaining or improving security. Without a continued military presence, the risk to U.N. agencies and humanitarian relief organizations in Somalia would be grave.

There was a need to expand troop presence to the rest of Somalia. UNITAF troops occupied only the southern third of Somalia; there were no U.N.-sanctioned troops in the central, northwest or northeast regions or country, nor in the vicinity of the Somali-Ethiopian border like there were near the vicinity of the Somali-Kenyan border. U.N.-sponsored security in these portions of Somalia was absent.

It was clear that UNITAF's combat unit-oriented structure and Chapter "Six-and-a-half" authority were the proper ingredients for a military force to be successful in Somalia. Boutros-Ghali concluded that precedent-setting Chapter VII powers were a must for UNOSOM II, particularly since it would become involved in disarming Somalia's militias.

The United Nations proposed the military operation in four phases: transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II; consolidate UNITAF's nine humanitarian relief sectors into five UNOSOM II areas of responsibility and expand the force into the central and northern regions of Somalia; transfer military functions to civilian institutions; and redeploy the military force.

UNOSOM II. It was an ambitious military mission which supported UNOSOM II's equally ambitious political goal to have democratic-style elections in Somalia within two years. The Somali militias concurred with the initial plan's concept in effect by unanimously signing an agreement at a U.N.-sponsored conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in mid-March 1993. They gave their assurances they would honor a ceasefire and cooperate in disarmament. These assurances, however, did not constitute a brokered peace. On March 26, 1993, UNSCR 814 created UNOSOM II. On May 4, 1993, UNOSOM II took over from UNITAF in a military ceremony in front of the former U.S. Embassy's Chancery Building in Mogadishu.

The UNOSOM II force had only 25 percent of its staff and 16,000 soldiers, roughly 55 percent of what the U.N. had authorized. At its height the U.N. military force would have 30,000 troops from 29 nations. Only 3,300 Americans would wear the U.N. blue beret, and they were logisticians. Another 1,200 American combat troops were under strict U.S. control, to assist the U.N. force if it got into a fight with a militia it couldn't handle. Further, the military was subordinate to UNOSOM II's political and humanitarian divisions, an imposed bureaucracy UNITAF did not have. Later, after hostilities began and U.S. soldiers were killed by Aideed's militia, 400 U.S. service members comprising Task Force Ranger arrived in Mogadishu with the mission to detain Aideed and his top lieutenants. This mission was under the auspices of UNSCR 837, passed on June 6, 1993, the day after Aideed's militia ambushed and killed 24 Pakistani soldiers in Mogadishu.

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Somalia

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In contrast to the Persian Gulf War, reporters had complete access to the battlefield in Mogadishu and got their stories. They did not feel compelled to write about their relationship with the military in Somalia like they did in the Persian Gulf War because there was no military impediment to their work in Somalia. The articles and commentary listed here represent a definitive breadth of the stories about UNOSOM II, and in reading them, one can gain an understanding about the relationship the reporters had with the U.S. and U.N. militaries.

Another reason so many reports are listed here is because they are listed nowhere else, and the author wanted to capture them in bibliography form for posterity. Posterity is the author's secondary purpose for writing this thesis.

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Photographs

There were many fine photographs taken in Somalia by exceptionally brave photojournalists. The drama of Paul Watson's 1994 Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph, however, eclipses them all, and listing the others here would have been superfluous.

Watson, Paul. *Toronto Star*, October 4, 1993. Depicts Somalis dragging the dead body of an American soldier through Mogadishu streets.

Political Cartoons

Political cartoons are often overlooked as sources of information, and are considerably different forms of expression than other media; the artist can communicate a lot in a small space. Newspapers and magazines prioritize their news coverage so that a minor story on Somalia might receive mention in a couple of paragraphs buried deep in the publication. A major story on Somalia might rate front-page coverage with one or more photographs and follow-up stories in subsequent editions. But major newspapers generally run one political cartoon a day, some not at all, and the cartoon has to be exceptionally topical to run. Most of the cartoons listed here scrutinized the evasive U.S. political objectives for Somalia that plagued the operation.

Alif. *Xog-Ogaal* and *Qaran* (Somali newspapers), September 6, 1993. Depicts airborne U.S. and ground-based Italian soldiers idly watching Nigerian soldiers get ambushed; September 6, 1993, depicts an Italian troop lounging on a tank and a Pakistani troops stopping at a stop sign while a Somali clubs a Nigerian soldier to death in the street.

Anderson, Nick. *USA Today*, October 4, 1993. Titled "A line drawn in the sand," depicts a U.N. soldier drawing a box in the sand around him in Somalia.

Auth, Tony. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October, 1993. Depicts Americans viewing Mike Durant's image on television screaming, "We've got to get out of Somalia! My God, a hostage! Withdraw now!" while a Haitian military officer watches their reaction on a television set marked "educational television"; October 1993, depicts two U.S. soldiers pinned down by fire at night with one saying to the other, "What's all this, don't they realize we're armed with good intentions?"

Brooks, Peter. *The Times* (London), June 15, 1993. Depicts the U.N. seal transforming into a gun sight zeroed in on dead Somalis.

Herblock (Herbert Block). *Washington Post*, October 13. Depicts two men in a sack, each hopping in the opposite direction, one marked U.S. and the other marked U.N., with the U.N. person holding a sign that says, "We're in this together"; October 15, 1993. Depicts an American administrator in Washington, D.C., switching a file marked "More troops, more armor," from his out-box to his in-box, and a file marked "By March 31" from his in-box to his out-box.

Hulme, Gretta. *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 26, 1993. Depicts soldiers stealthily moving down a road at night followed by a bus full of reporters marked "Press, Secret Raid Charters."

Keefe, Mike. *USA Today*, October 5, 1993. Titled "The Mohamed Farah Aideed Mole Hunt," depicts U.N. soldiers shooting their weapons frantically into holes in the ground.

McNeely, Jeff. *Chicago Tribune*, October 1993. Depicts President Clinton bailing out of a shot-down jet marked "Somalia" while President Carter floats down alongside him beneath an umbrella marked "Carter legacy"; October 1993, depicts U.S. troops on a tank in Vietnam with one soldier saying to the other soldier with the map marked "Somalia," "Check the map again. Somewhere back there we took a wrong turn."

Oliphant, Pat. Universal Press Syndicate in *Washington Post*, October 1993. Depicts Somalis staring at a bombed out wall on which they'd written earlier "Yank go home." An American soldier has written the reply "You got it, I'm outa here" and is walking away down the alley; October 1993, in frame one, depicts a U.S. soldier feeding a starving Somalia child, in

- frame two, the child, having recovered from its hunger, shoots the soldier.
- Ramirez, Michael. Winner of the 1994 Pulitzer Prize for editorial cartooning. Copley News Service in *Orange County Register*, September 1993, titled "The blind leading the naive," depicts U.N. dog headed toward the edge of a cliff, leading U.S. policy soldier saying, "I know, I know, but he says he knows where he is going," to a U.S. soldier trailing behind; October, 1993, depicts a broke U.N. soldier modifying a backboard message from "Today's Mission: Pursue Aideed" to "Today's Mission: Pursue Aid"; October 1993, depicts Aideed as "Butt-head" saying, "My military strategy is to use women and children as shields ... heh ... heh," to Aspin, also as "Butt-head," saying, "What's a military strategy? ... heh ... heh."; October 1993, depicts Somalia as a person drowning. A U.S. helicopter marked "Humanitarian Aid" arrives and lowers a ladder. The helicopter's marking changes from "Humanitarian Aid" to "Police Action." The drowning person grabs the ladder and pulls the helicopter down into the water; October 1993, in a cartoon mocking Gen. Schwarzkopfs Gulf War Mother of All Briefings, a military briefer pointing to a map says, "And here we exchange Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Les Aspin and Warren Christopher for the captured U.S. forces"; October 1993, barking U.N. dogs are eagerly dragging a U.S. soldier into a crocodile's open jaws marked "Protracted Engagement."
- Shelton, Mike. *Orange County Register*, October 8, 1993. Depicts President Clinton carrying a wounded soldier saying, "Maybe Somalia isn't such a good idea. Let's go to Haiti!"
- Smith, Mike. *Las Vegas Sun*, October 1993. Depicts two voices emanating from the White House: "General Aideed is on the loose in Somalia, the war in Bosnia rages on and Russia is still a mess. When will it all end?" "That's a good question, President Powell."
- U.N. Military Headquarters, unpublished, October 1993. Titled, "Somalia, a Joint Operation, the True Story," depicts Special Operations soldier in the rain saying, "I wish it would suck some more here," the Army saying, "It sucks here," the Marines saying, "I love how it sucks here," the Navy saying, "I bet it sure sucks over there," and the Air Force saying, "What? No Cable? That sucks!"
- Wilkinson, Signe. *Philadelphia Daily News*, June 18. Depicts gang members in typical American big city. One is in shock, reading the newspaper headline, "U.N. Attacks Armed Gangs, weapons Destroyed," while his composed compatriot says, "Relax, it's only Somalia"; October 1993, depicts a crocodile marked "Somalia" swallowing Uncle Sam who exclaims, "Aha! An exit strategy!"
- Wright. *Providence Journal Bulletin*, October 1993. Titled "A chain is only as strong as it's weakest link," depicts Clinton as the link between Somalia" and "Policy"; October 1993, depicts a human hand holding a bowl of U.N. aid and protruding from the barrel of a U.S. tank, being bitten by a ferocious cat marked "Somali warlords."

Leaflets

The author considered this a sub-category of Political Cartoons, but it does not include those leaflets produced by the U.S. Army's Psychological Operations, and there were many leaflets that PSYOP produced. Among the leaflets not included here were messages persuading Somalis to stay away from an on-going U.S. or U.N. military operation, or not to point anything at a helicopter or ground vehicle that might be perceived as a weapon.

The leaflets detailed here were produced by the United Nations International Children's Education Fund (UNICEF) cartoonist Christian Clark from January to March 1994, and were titled "The Kids." While they were persuasive,

they also provided a running commentary on the political situation in Mogadishu from a universal, non-Somali point of view.

In March 1994, Clark illustrated several anti-cholera leaflets for the Somali- United Nations Cholera Crisis Group to help combat the epidemic.

1. A Somali man tries to hand an AK-47 to a Somali youth who responds, "No, no, no. I asked if I could have some *gum*."
2. A Somali man tries to hand an AK-47 to a Somali youth who responds, "Thanks, really, but would it be possible to get an education instead?"
3. A Somali man with an AK-47 slung across his back gestures to a destroyed urban landscape and explains to a Somali youth, "Some day, son, this will all be yours."
4. A Somali U.N. worker sits beneath a UNICEF banner at a desk with an in-box labeled "IN DANGER" and "OUT DANGER."
5. Two Somali youths stand amongst urban ruins, and one says to the other, "Actually, no, I don't think I really want to play war today."
6. Two Somali youth amputees lie in side-by-side beds in a Somali hospital. One says to the other, "Maybe we could ask the government which provided the guns to the men who did this to us if they could now supply us with arms." (The original copy read, "Maybe we could ask the *foreign* government which provided the guns to the men who did this to us is they could *be so kind as to* now supply us with arms.")
7. A Somali youth sits on Santa Claus' lap and explains, "Clean water, access to education and health care and a future..."

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BBC's Roger Hearing Reports on Americans Missing in Action, October 4, 1993.

BBC's Mark Doyle Reports on Mike Durant, October 8, 1993.

National Public Radio's All Things Considered. "Secretary Aspin Interview," September 28, 1993.

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ABC's Good Morning America. "Secretary Aspin Interview," September 29, 1993;

"Jonathan Howe Interview," October 7, 1993.

ABC's Nightline. "Interview with Secretary Les Aspin," October 7, 1993;

"Analysis of Somalia Policy," October 6, 1993.

ABC World News Tonight. "4 GIs Killed," August 9, 1993; "Rangers Arrive in Mogadishu," August 27, 1993; "Ambush," September 10, 1993; "Helicopter Shot Down," September 28, 1993; "Rangers Killed," October 4, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 5, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 6, 1993; "Crisis in Somalia," October 7, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 19, 1993; "Pullout," March 11, 1994; "Coming Home," March 13, 1994; "Lessons Learned," March 18 and 28, 1994; "Lessons from Mozambique," April 4 and 5, 1994; "Medal of Honor Ceremony," May 25, 1994.

CBS Evening News. "Outbreak of Violence in Somalia," June 7, 1993; "4 GIs Killed," August 9, 1993; "Rangers Arrive in Somalia," August 27, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," August 31, 1993; "Ambush," September 10, 1993; "Helicopter Shot Down," September 28, 1993; "Rangers Killed," October 4, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 5, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 6, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 19, 1993; "AC-130 Crash," March 14, 1994; "Medal of Honor Ceremony," May 25, 1994.

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NBC Nightly News. "Outbreak of Violence in Somalia," June 7, 1993; "4 GIs Killed," August 9, 1993; "Rangers Arrive in Somalia," August 27, 1993; "Ambush," September 10, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," September 14, 1993; "Three Americans Killed in Somalia," September 25, 1993; "U.S. Role in Peacekeeping Operations," September 26, 1993; "Helicopter Shot Down," September 28, 1993; "Rangers Killed," October 4, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 5, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 6, 1993; "U.S. Involvement in Somalia," October 19, 1993; "AC-130 Crash," March 14, 1994; "General Shalikashvili Visits Somalia," March 15, 1993; "Major General Thomas Montgomery Returns Home from Somalia," March 28, 1994; "Congressional Testimony," May 12, 1994.

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32 Molly Moore, *A Woman at War*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1993, 318.

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38 The DoD Principles of Information are: Information will be made fully and readily available, consistent with statutory requirements, unless its release is precluded by current and valid security classification. The provisions of the Freedom of Information Act will be supported in both letter and spirit. A free flow of general and military information will be made available, without censorship or propaganda, to men and women of the Armed Forces and their

dependents. Information will not be classified or otherwise withheld to protect the government from criticism or embarrassment. Information will only be withheld when disclosure would adversely affect national security or threaten the safety or privacy of the men and women of the Armed Forces. The Department's obligation to provide the public with information on major programs may require detailed public affairs planning and coordination within the Department and with other government agencies. The sole purpose of such activity is to expedite the flow of information to the public: propaganda has no place in the Defense Department's programs.

39 Spokesman's notes and Fialka, 6. The rules for combat coverage are: Open reporting is the principle means of coverage of U.S. operations; pools may be the only access early in an operation and will be discarded at the earliest opportunity; pools may be appropriate for coverage in remote locations or when space is limited; the U.S. military will credential journalists to cover U.S. military operations in a combat zone and journalists must adhere to ground rules, the violation of which may result in suspension of credentials or expulsion from the combat zone; access will be granted to all major military units, but special operations units may limit access in some cases; military public affairs personnel should act as liaisons and not interfere with the reporting process; when there is open coverage, commanders should permit reporters to ride on military vehicles and aircraft whenever feasible; public affairs personnel must, within their capabilities, furnish journalists Timely transmission of pool material that may be limited due to electromagnetic operational security needs within a combat zone; and these principles apply to the standing DoD press pool system. The military and the media could not agree on the principle of security review and one was not adopted.

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71 Keith Richburg, correspondent for *Washington Post*, and Mark Fineman, correspondent for *Los Angeles Times*, interviewed by the author, March 1993.
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82 Lloyd Grove, "The Fog of War and Words," *Washington Post*, October 17, 1993.
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86 Michael Maren, "Feeding a Famine," *Forbes Media Critic*, Fall 1994.
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93 Presidential Statement to the American People on the Situation in Somalia, October 7, 1993.
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193 Author's conclusion based on the evidence presented here.

194 Spokesman's notes.

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