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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT
(WHORM): SUBJECT FILE **Withdrawer**
DLB 3/15/2010

File Folder CO049 (ETHIOPIA) (398000-429999) **FOIA**
S10-306

Box Number CO049 **SYSTEMATIC**
375

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
87511	MEMO	JAY DUTCHER TO RODNEY MCDANIEL, RE: PROPOSED STATE LETTER TO ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT <i>R 1/2/2018 M422/1</i>	1	12/3/1986	B1
87512	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO JOHN POINDEXTER, RE: DRAFT LETTER FROM THE STATE DEPT IN REPLY TO A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM THE ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT <i>R 1/2/2018 M422/1</i>	1	11/26/1986	B1
87514	LETTER	DRAFT LETTER DAVID FISCHER TO HAGOS GHEBREHIWET <i>R 1/2/2018 M422/1</i>	1	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

February 18, 1986

Note To John Poindexter

CRS has decided to try to go public with the issue of the U.S. not providing sufficient food aid to Ethiopia. They met with Blaine Harden of the Post in Nairobi, who in turn called AID in Addis. Harden is likely to do a piece which might embarrass CRS as well as the USG.

Helen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

JV

CJ

March 3, 1986

398240

4500

C0049

HED03

WE

RMB31

FG006-12

FD003-02

Dear Bishop Reilly,

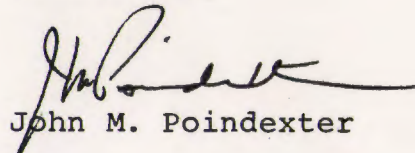
Thank you for sharing your concern with respect to emergency food needs in Ethiopia. The emergency food program in Ethiopia has benefitted from enormous public and private resources during the past year. The Administration continues its policy that a hungry child knows no politics, and that no African should die of famine if we can reach that person. We believe that the level of funds we have allocated in 1986 is consistent with this policy.

In Ethiopia, the Administration is committed to provide one-third of food aid requirements, as it did in 1985, with other donors providing two-thirds. We anticipate a deficit of about 1.2 million tons. Deducting the carry-over from last year and requirements for forced resettlement, which the U.S. strongly opposes, the net deficit is anticipated to be about 900,000 tons. After good rains last year, we expected food aid requirements to decline, and are concerned that food needs have remained high.

AID has worked hard to allocate food aid among the PVOs in Ethiopia. I understand that more than one third of U.S. food will be distributed by your organization, reflecting the excellent work which you carried out last year. If you want to distribute more food, then we will be pleased to facilitate contacts with other donors.

While we provide food to those starving in Ethiopia owing to drought, the Administration has strong reservations about providing food to alleviate the structural food deficit caused by the Ethiopian government's agricultural policies including forced resettlement and villagization, the forced regrouping of peasants into larger villages. Further, we must be on constant guard against the possibility that too much food aid may result in disincentives for local production. Finally, the lack of commitment of the Ethiopian government to feeding its people, as evidenced by the slow rate of food shipments from the port of Assab, continues to cause grave concern. I know that you appreciate these concerns, as well as the issue of the extent to which food aid has abetted the Ethiopian government to pursue policies which are detrimental to U.S. security interests.

Sincerely,


John M. Poindexter

Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Bishop of Norwich
Catholic Relief Services
1011 First Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

NSC 8600771

Hold until
we hear back
from Soos.
The changes
were not consistent
with what the
Adm. asked.

077W

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Catholic Relief Services
1011 First Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

0771
Jan I

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spell out what this means

spell out what this means

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Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Bishop of Norwich
Catholic Relief Services
1011 First Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,

Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Bishop of Norwich
Catholic Relief Services
1011 First Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 6, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: HELEN E. SOOS *H.S.***SIGNED**

SUBJECT: Letter to CRS re Food Aid to Ethiopia

Bishop Daniel Reilly of Catholic Relief Services, with whom you met in November, wrote you on January 22 to express concern that CRS will receive less food this year to distribute in Ethiopia.

In 1985, CRS received 238,000 of the 415,000 tons the U.S. sent to Ethiopia, since they rapidly developed a distribution system through local churches with which they were already working. This year, food requirements are lower owing to good rains. CRS would like to continue the same level of hand-outs as last year. They are unhappy with their present allocation, which is a 46% decline, but represents 35% of U.S. food aid to Ethiopia. No other organization is receiving more than about 15%.

CRS has lobbied on the Hill to receive more food. They agree with allocations to other PVOs, but want more U.S. food aid to Ethiopia. This would require a supplemental. They have stepped up their feeding operation beyond what AID has approved, and AID officials are concerned that they may try to embarrass the U.S. government for not being responsive to Ethiopia's needs, should they run out of food.

Your response is a measured one intended to hold the Administration position. It notes that food requirements have declined; that our estimate of food needs take into account the carry-over from last year and deducts the food which would support resettlement; that CRS is getting more than other PVOs; that we have reservations about providing food to alleviate the structural food deficit caused by misguided agricultural policies and forced resettlement or villagization; that we must be careful not to provide too much food because of disincentives for local production; that the Ethiopian government's lack of commitment to feed its people causes grave concern; and that we are concerned that food aid has abetted the Ethiopian government in a way inimical to U.S. national interests.

PR
Phil Ringdahl, Vince *H.S. (for)* Cannistraro, Jack Matlock, Richard Levine, *H.S. (for)*
Judy Mandel, Walt *H.S. (for)* Raymond and Paula *H.S. (for)* Dobriansky concur.

RECOMMENDATION:

Sign the letter to Bishop Reilly at Tab I.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

Attachments

Tab I Your letter to Bishop Reilly

Tab II Incoming Letter with Attachment

SIGNED

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 6, 1986

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Phil Ringdahl, Vince Cannistraro, Jack Matlock, Richard Levine, Judyt Mandel, Walt Raymond and Paula Dobriansky concur. *PR* *WR* *vc* *(By Phone)* *RS*

RECOMMENDATION:

Sign the letter to Bishop Reilly at Tab I. *Reilly*

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

Attachments

Tab I Your letter to Bishop Reilly
Tab II Incoming Letter with Attachment



0791

World Headquarters
Catholic Relief Services
1011 First Avenue
New York, NY 10022
Telephone: (212) 838-4700
Cable: CATHWEL New York

Washington Office
2010 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: (202) 466-4578

JAN 27 1986

January 22, 1986

RADM John M. Poindexter
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
National Security Council
White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Admiral Poindexter:

When you so kindly received Bishops Snyder and McCarthy, Ambassador Schaufele, and myself November 12, 1985, we had no idea we were meeting with the next National Security Advisor to the President. Please accept my warm congratulations on your appointment to a post of extraordinary importance and opportunity. Americans everywhere wish you all success in your new and demanding responsibilities.

Following up on our discussion, we are now encouraged to learn that the assessment of emergency food needs in Ethiopia for 1986 may well be increased from approximately 900,000 to about 1.2 million metric tons, (about the same as in 1985) of which the United States will presumably provide one-third. Such a development would not only confirm the humanitarian spirit and action so characteristic of this country and its people, but also enable us to be prepared for almost any eventuality. It is good management practice and sound policy to plan on the high side since the food in the pipeline can always be slowed down if necessary, whereas increasing it requires up to five months lead time. Because of its concern, Catholic Relief Services and its partners, at our expense, are completing an independent assessment which we will share with you and Peter McPherson on its completion later this month.

We are still concerned about the 1986 AID allocation of emergency food to CRS in Ethiopia. As you can see from the enclosed chart (based on the initial AID estimate of 900,000 metric tons with a U. S. portion of 300,000), the statistics of which have been informally confirmed by AID, CRS, including its partners, is slated for a large,

RADM Poindexter
January 22, 1986

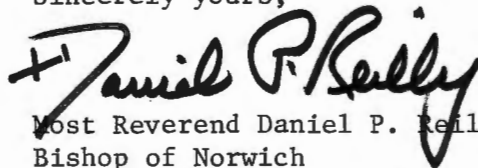
- 2 -

disproportionate reduction of almost 50 percent from its allocation in 1986. Again, from a management perspective, you will appreciate the magnitude and cost of dismantling the organization and structure of an effective operation which is now distributing monthly some 21,000 metric tons of food to over two million hungry people, the largest single feeding program ever carried jointly by PVOs. We are proud of the fact that what we do we do well.

We do not question the allocations offered to the other PVOs who are performing an invaluable humanitarian task. But, we do question the sharp reduction in our program which would leave in jeopardy approximately 600,000 famine victims in our programs who would not be covered by allocations to other private voluntary organizations. The professional targeting strategy we are undertaking should provide the basis for more precise allocation of available U.S. food resources.

On behalf of our Board of Directors and the United States Catholic Conference we would welcome a constructive re-evaluation of this situation which, I am certain, would demonstrate that, on the basis of its performance and experience, CRS seeks only equitable treatment.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Daniel P. Reilly". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "D".

Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Bishop of Norwich
Chairman - C.R.S. Board of Directors

COMPARATIVE PVO ALLOCATIONS, 1985 and 1986 (AS OF DEC. 15, 1985)

1 ORGANIZATION	2 Approved Allocations 1985	3 Arrived 1985	4 Recommended Allocations 1986	5 Difference bet. 2 & 4	6 Percent- age	7 Difference bet. 3 & 4	8 Percent- age
CARE	41,527	39,305	45,000	+3,473	+8.3	+5,695	+14.4
CRS - EMERGENCY (CDAA)	201,752		90,000				
- REGULAR	11,869		12,783				
- NORTHERN INITIATIVE	9,000	238,347	16,826	-104,666	-46	-115,743	-48.5
- MOC	4,654		3,000				
ICRRC	33,870	19,927	25,000	-8,870	-26	+5,073	+25.4
ICRC/CRDA (SEEDS)	5,000	5,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
LICROSS	11,610	11,589	5,000	-6,610	-56.9	-6,589	-56.8
RRC	50,000	50,203	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
SAVE THE CHILDREN	17,401	10,369	20,000	+2,599	+14.9	+9,631	+92.8
WFP/LEER - WORLD FOOD PROGRAM	9,973	9,979	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
WVI	35,464	32,013	40,000	+4,536	+12.7	+7,987	+24.9
WVI - NORTHERN INITIATIVE	8,100	-0-	16,200	+8,100	+100	-0-	-0-

---UNALLOCATED--- 20,000

**National Security Council
The White House**

System # I
 Package # 0771
 DOCLOG dm A/O _____

86 FEB 14 AIO: 59

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>2</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
Rodney McDaniel	_____	_____	_____
Don Fortier	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	<u>3</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
Florence Gantt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	<u>4</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>
Rodney McDaniel	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	_____	<u>D</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
<u>Soos</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2/19 chr</u>	<u>Redo</u>

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
 (Date/Time)

~~Original in Chief~~ 2/14
~~to TWP~~ Redone
~~for signature~~ dm

National Security Council
The White House

jm

86 FEB 10 P 6: 19

System # I
Package # 0771
DOCLOG JM A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Rodney McDaniel			
Don Fortier			
Paul Thompson	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	
Florence Gantt	<u>3</u>		
John Poindexter	<u>4</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>A</u>
Rodney McDaniel			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

I = Information **A = Action** R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other SRF/LBM

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

Modify Tab I.
J

RECEIVED 29 JAN 86 18

TO POINDEXTER

FROM REILLY, DANIEL P

DOCDATE 22 JAN 86

KEYWORDS: ETHIOPIA

HUMAN RIGHTS

FOOD

MP

SUBJECT: LTR TO POINDEXTER FM REILLY RE AID TO ETHIPIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR POINDEXTER DUE: 03 FEB 86 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RINGDAHL

✓ CANNISTRARO

✓ MANDEL

✓ MATLOCK

✓ RAYMOND

✓ LEVINE

✓ DOBRIANSKY

✓ SOOS

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8507492

NSCIFID

(DR)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>JP</i>	X 2/6	<i>Lo Ling</i>	2/15	
<i>Soos</i>	S 2/14	<i>for memo</i>		
<i>JP</i>	X 2/14	<i>Lo Ling</i>	2/19	
	C 3/03	<i>Poindexter repl ltr</i>		<i>HS, PR, VC, gm Lv, Jm, WR, Pd</i>

DISPATCH ✓

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

To Pat Buchanan
Fep!

400072

CD049
NDD16
PLU

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Friday, April 4, 1986

Keep Ethiopia Part of the Reagan Doctrine

By ORRIN HATCH

Since seizing power in 1977, Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam has imposed a Stalinlike reign of terror on his people. His forced resettlement campaigns, collectivization of agriculture and disregard for human rights have wreaked economic and social havoc and resulted in the suffering of millions of people. Not surprisingly, Mr. Mengistu, who is closely aligned with the Soviet Union, also has meddled in the internal affairs of neighboring Somalia and the Sudan.

The challenge for U.S. foreign-policy makers is to devise a strategy to persuade Mr. Mengistu to halt external meddling and institute sweeping reforms internally. Regrettably, the Reagan administration seems to be sending mixed signals on Ethiopia. When the president articulated what has come to be known as the Reagan Doctrine in his 1985 State of the Union message, he said the U.S. should support freedom fighters in Angola, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Cambodia and Ethiopia.

Since that time, however, Ethiopia has appeared on and then mysteriously disappeared from what might be called the administration's "freedom-fighter list." George Shultz included Ethiopia in his February 1985 freedom-fighters speech, and the president mentioned the country in his October 1985 U.N. speech in the context of regional disputes that we need to resolve with the Soviets. However, Ethiopia was not included in the State of the Union message this year, although I've heard that Mr. Reagan included it in a subsequent statement. What gives? Does the Reagan Doctrine apply to Ethiopia or not?

I believe this on-again, off-again approach reflects the influence of the defeatists at the State Department who want to see Ethiopia bumped from the freedom-fighter list. As Yonas Dereessa, president of the Ethiopian Refugees Education and Relief Foundation, has noted, the department's stance with respect to Ethiopia "seems to be implementing the Brezhnev Doctrine [which proclaimed the inviolability of communist states] as opposed to the Reagan Doctrine [which seeks to aid democratic resistance groups fighting communist oppression]."

The State Department does not favor sanctions imposed by Congress as a rule, and will probably oppose legislation recently reported out by the House Subcommittee on Africa. That legislation, which contains elements of a bill proposed by Rep. Toby Roth (R., Wis.), adds Ethiopia to the State Department's list of Communist countries (making it ineligible for Ex-Im Bank loans), requires the president to report to Congress within 45 days on the status of Mr. Mengistu's forced resettlement campaign, and gives the president the option of imposing sanctions against the Ethiopian government. Two Senate resolutions, sponsored by Sens. Paul Trible Jr. (R., Va.) and Robert Kasten Jr. (R., Wis.), express U.S. opposition to the systematic oppression of the Ethiopian people. All of these are worthwhile measures.

At the same time, there is an additional, and potentially very effective way, to pressure Mr. Mengistu: The U.S. should support a little-known group of pro-democratic resistance forces known as the Ethiopian People's Democratic Alliance (EPDA). Although there are a number of Marxist-oriented resistance groups operating in Ethiopia, such as the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the Tigre People's Liberation Front, both of which want to secede from the country, to my knowledge the EPDA is the only non-communist, non-secessionist movement.

Based in the Sudan, the EPDA aims to rid Ethiopia of Soviet imperialism. The group publicly supports democratic self-government, social justice (including equal rights for women), genuine independence, accelerated economic development, private ownership of land and a political order that ensures individual freedoms. EPDA statements advocate creation of a constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and religion, the right of workers to strike, freedom from arbitrary arrest and seizure, and the right to due process of law. A multi-ethnic group, the EPDA accommodates the rights of all religious, cultural, ethnic and linguistic groups that respect democratic pluralism.

According to press reports, EPDA leader Dereje Dereessa claims that with political and financial support, the group

could put 50,000 men in the field within months. The U.S. should back the EPDA in order to pressure Mengistu into negotiations with the EDPA. A presidential envoy and regional negotiations to this effect ought to be considered.

While Washington vacillates, the Soviets, who have had a deep interest in Ethiopia for more than 25 years, have established a firm foothold there. They have access to air bases in Ethiopian cities, have established a naval support facility on the Dahlac Archipelago, and have shipped more than \$4 billion of arms to the country since 1977. The Ethio-Soviet alliance poses a serious threat to Western security because Ethiopia is the linchpin of the strategic Horn of Africa. The country's proximity to the Persian Gulf oil fields and its location bordering the Red Sea could assist any Soviet effort to choke off Western energy supplies. (Significantly, Ethiopia and the Soviet Union recently signed an accord for bilateral cooperation in oil drilling and natural-resources exploration and exploitation.)

While we should support freedom fighters in Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Angola, we cannot afford to ignore the democratic resistance movement in Ethiopia—a country whose population of 42 million is greater than that of the other four countries combined. Nor can we afford to let the Soviets tighten their noose around the strategically important Horn of Africa any further.

Mr. Hatch, a Republican senator from Utah, is vice chairman for foreign policy on the Senate Republican Steering Committee.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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Lee Heffner Vice President/Advertising	

good friend of mine

who would like to meet you

Mariam, MENGISTU Haile

DERESSA, YONAS

1

Name	Date
D. Engler	8/29/86

JV

1110

COO49

NDD16

PL

CO141

January 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR PAT BUCHANAN

FROM MONA CHAREN

MC

SUBJECT HOLOCAUST IN ETHIOPIA - -

While our press and Congress convulse every time a white spits at a black in South Africa, a full-scale holocaust is underway in Ethiopia. [See attached articles from today's Wall Street Journal.]

Doesn't the President have a moral obligation to at least talk about this?

CC. BEN ELLIOTT

Alton - can you make up for Presidential Reading? Pat

Attached

Ethiopian Resettlement: Vomit and Death

Peter Niggli, a Swiss free-lance journalist, wrote the report excerpted below for the German church group Berliner Missionswerk after conducting extensive interviews last year with Ethiopian refugees in the Damazine camp in Sudan. The camp is administered by the Relief Society of Tigre, an indigenous humanitarian group affiliated with the Tigre People's Liberation Front, one of the main anti-government guerrilla movements. Most of the refugees were escapees from the Asosa resettlement region who originated in Tigre and Wollo provinces (see today's editorial nearby).

The resettlements take place without prior warning: Villages in the vicinity of the garrisons are enclosed by military troops or militia at night or in the early morning hours, and all inhabitants the troops can get hold of are rounded up. . . . It often happened that marketplaces were searched by the army on several succeeding days and every peasant, and everyone taken to be a peasant because of his rags, was arrested and sent to a resettlement camp.

As can easily be imagined these seizures caused panic in the towns: People tried to run away in all directions, to hide in the houses of acquaintances or fled to neighboring villages. After the troops had locked up their captives in administration buildings, schools and prisons, they began a large-scale search in the town and in the rural vicinity in order to capture the run-aways. . . .

To prevent resistance the resettlement candidates are set on a hunger diet, water is supplied only in minimal quantities and fighting for survival of one against the other is encouraged. Drastic physical punishments were executed in public in cases where this was not enough. . . .

First one has to imagine the masses of people penned up for two to four weeks during the time of transport to the resettle-

ment areas: They were rounded up by the hundreds in their villages and in the towns; in the collection camps they already numbered by the thousands. The truck and bus convoys included 30 to 100 vehicles; the helicopters and planes shuttled several times a day. There were waiting periods of several days between the different transports. The people were detained in the courts of public buildings or in the open field. . . .

It is not easy to provide food and drink for such masses of people—this task was solved in a careless and negligent manner. Often the peasants did not receive anything to eat in the first collection camps. . . .

This systematic regime of shortage turned the distribution of bread and water into a daily, ugly battle, where the young and strong fought their way through the masses to the front to get the best places to fight for food rations for their wives, children or other relatives. . . . There were two water pipes in May Daero near Mekelle for 4,000 to 8,000 people waiting there for transport. One of the water pipes was reserved for the soldiers, the other could be used by the resettlers as long as the soldiers did not use it to wash their uniforms, which had priority.

Making water a scarce resource had further consequences. No one could wash himself, not even women; the clothes were filthy and "there were clouds of flies around us. . . ." In most camps there were no latrines or separated, distant places for defecation. From this situation a new sludge field resulted every day in Mekelle where "we had to hop around like donkeys in order not to step into fresh excrement."

Many of the resettlement candidates were weakened by hunger before they reached the collection camps. Others only got to know hunger here. I was told that many healthy people fell sick in the camp;

the reason for this was seen in the catastrophic sanitary conditions. The sick people suffered from permanent diarrhea and frequent vomiting. According to these symptoms there could have been dysentery or cholera in the camps. Usually sick and healthy people were not separated. . . .

The sick people were laid on the floor in the middle of the plane during the air transport from Mekelle to Addis, if there was enough space. At takeoff, many of the others, who were standing packed closely, fell on top of the sick, and since usually most passengers vomited and many could no longer control their bladder, the sick people ended up in a puddle of vomit and piss. On Bole airport in Addis Ababa, men were already waiting with stretchers to carry away the dead and the squashed passengers. The rest of the people were immediately, without a break, driven to the buses; protesting was ineffective and, of course, the fouled clothes could not be cleaned. . . . The passengers only received one cup of water . . . which was barely enough to swallow the bitter taste of vomit. But water was not scarce: After each landing the planes were washed with a huge gush of water by the fire brigade from Addis Ababa. . . .

At the center of each settlement . . . huts served as shelter for the Wollo as well as for the Tigre who came later. About 200 to 300 people slept in them, body to body: "If you lay down on your left side you had to stay in that position because there was no space to shift." Under these circumstances many preferred to sleep in the open, which was not always permitted because it complicated control. . . .

Frequently fires broke out because the grass was dry as dust. Since the huts were built close together, the fires spread easily. . . . Fires at night had bitter consequences: Not all sleepers could run to safety, particularly those men, women and children who had been close to starvation or who were ill.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Today's Holocaust

The word is finally out that the second government-organized group murder in a decade is under way, this time in Ethiopia. The Western public response is showing that the pattern of denial that greeted first reports of the Nazi Holocaust wasn't a fluke. A widespread refusal to believe that the worst could actually happen clears the way for its realization.

French relief workers were touring Washington last week with awful news that had already been reported by eyewitnesses from the U.S. Agency for International Development. The Ethiopian government's year-old "relocation program," now greatly stepped up by the military *Dergue*, or junta, and its Russian patrons, has already claimed the lives of 20% of its targets, a death toll of some 100,000. It shapes up as a mass extermination on the order of the Khmer Rouge killing fields and the deportation of Armenians in 1915, with the added horror that it wouldn't have been possible without the aid and silence of Western famine relief.

Now, however, the big relief agencies have to explain why they have been holding their tongues. Administration critics like U.S. Rep. Howard Wolpe who have been whitewashing the *Dergue* may have to admit that President Reagan's officials haven't just been making anti-Marxist propaganda. Warnings from people like AID administrator M. Peter McPherson have indeed been the awful truth.

The extracts alongside show how ghastly things have really been. They come from a summary of interviews Swiss citizen Peter Niggli conducted with escapees from the Ethiopian relocation camps. Refugee interviews have been available for a long time. (See our editorial "Death in Asosa," Feb. 20, 1985). But the West has hardly listened, let alone reacted.

Indeed, the Addis Ababa regime has found the famine and the Western response to be a stroke of great fortune. Contrary to the government's lies to gullible, or cynical, Westerners, the relocations have nothing to do with fighting hunger. They are part of Ethiopia's civil war with at least five ethnically based guerrilla groups. They were planned as early as 1981, a former Ethiopian general told the head of a Swiss humanitarian group, after the failure of Lt. Col. Mengistu's "Red Star" offensive in the rebel-dominated northeastern provinces of Eritrea and Tigre. According to the government's own maps, the bulk of the conscripts for resettlement come from the strategic corridor connecting Addis Ababa to the coast. The program is directed, not by the regime's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, but by its "Office for the Na-

tionality Problem," complete with 25 Russian advisers.

To the Tigre and Wollo rebel movements, whose constituents bear the brunt of the relocations, the Mengistu regime's ultimate aim is simply to exterminate their rural base. There is nothing in the conditions of the forced move or the ultimate site to contradict these fears. The "empty fertile lowland" that the *Dergue* claims to be developing is relatively empty because it is infested by malaria, water parasites and even, at some relocation sites, the deadly tsetse fly. The relocated northerners come from temperate highlands and lack the immunities of the indigenous peoples (who themselves are being forced from their lands). AID's Mr. McPherson began his public condemnations last month after several of his staff managed an unescorted visit to the Pawe relocation camp in the northwest and discovered a continuing death rate from disease of seven to 15 people per 10,000 a day.

Famine relief has helped support "relocation." Its trucks have been diverted to move people, while grain rots at the ports. The roundups have disrupted harvests and forced abandonment of whole herds of livestock. Grain has been taken from famine areas and sent south to maintain the concentration camps. In the meantime, Lt. Col. Mengistu's army has launched its biggest offensives ever into the heart of the famine regions, drawing logistical support from the relief stockpiles while burning the rebels' crops.

The U.S. government deserves credit for its diplomatic resistance to the relocation program, but Western allies have been breaking a previously united front. Italy, with its own memories of Ethiopia, has promised \$190 million for a particularly harebrained project at the headwaters of the Blue Nile. Canada and Australia are said to be letting their food aid be diverted. The United Nations World Food Program has buried internal reports that confirm the high death rate.

Denial of the holocaust by Westerners is symptomatic of the larger problem, an unwillingness to do the hard things necessary to stop it. Relief workers kept quiet too long but perhaps can be excused considering the lack of any hard-fisted political action by the governments they represent. At the very least and based on what is now known, relief should be suspended. Then it will be time for the U.S. and Europe to look at what further steps should be taken against Lt. Col. Mengistu and his friends for having so cynically and grossly abused the world's humanitarian impulses.

EF

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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December 4, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUBJECT: Reply to a Letter to the President from the Eritrean
People's Liberation Front (S/S 8633361)

The National Security Council staff concurs in your proposed reply to Hagos Ghebrehiwet's September 24, 1986 letter to the President.

We believe it is most appropriate for Mr. David Fischer to reply in the President's stead.



Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 3, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: JAY DUTCHER *JD*

SUBJECT: Proposed State Letter to Eritrean People's
Liberation Front

Hagos Ghebrehiwet, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front representative to the US, recently wrote to the President requesting a discussion of the Horn of Africa conflict "with your representatives at a higher level". State proposes that their reply at Tab II be sent instead of a reply from the President.

It is US policy not to communicate with the EPLF at high official levels. The EPLF is avowedly Marxist and only opposes Soviet aid to Ethiopia because the Addis Ababa government receives it, instead of themselves.

Your memo to Nicholas Platt at Tab I endorses the proposed State reply.

CM
Clark Murdock concurs.

RECOMMENDATION:

Sign your memo to Nicholas Platt at Tab I.

APPROVE *LDG* DISAPPROVE _____

Attachments:

- Tab I Your memo to Nicholas Platt
- Tab II Incoming package from State

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M4221 #87511

BY *RW* NARA DATE 1/2/88

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

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United States Department of State

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Washington, D.C. 20520

November 26, 1986

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR VADM JOHN M. POINDEXTER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Letter from the State Department in Reply to a
Letter to the President from the Eritrean People's
Liberation Front

A draft letter is attached from the Director of the Office of East African Affairs in response to a letter to the President from a representative of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). We propose this letter be sent instead of a reply from the President. In accordance with U.S. policy, we do not communicate with the EPLF at high official levels. It is a sad fact that the viable opposition groups to Chairman Mengistu--including the EPLF--are often as bad as the evil they seek to overthrow. The EPLF is avowedly Marxist; its primary opposition to the Soviet presence in Ethiopia is that Moscow supports the government in Addis Ababa, not themselves.

Nicholas Platt

Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Draft Letter
2. Incoming Correspondence

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DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRRM4221 # 87512

BY fw NARA DATE 1/2/18

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft letter from the State Department in support of
Liberation Front (LF) in the Congo. The letter should
highlight the LF's role in the Congo's liberation.

A draft letter is attached for the President's review. The letter is addressed to the President of the United States and is intended to be read by the President. The letter discusses the LF's role in the Congo's liberation and the need for U.S. support. It also discusses the LF's role in the Congo's liberation and the need for U.S. support. It also discusses the LF's role in the Congo's liberation and the need for U.S. support.

Very truly yours,
Richard Nixon
President

Attachment

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

86 NOV 26 11:17

CONFIDENTIAL 86 NOV 28 8:44

87514

DEPARTMENT OF STATE SUGGESTED DRAFT

Mr. Hagos Ghebrehiwet
Eritrean People's Liberation Front
Post Office Box 1281
Cathedral Station
New York, New York 10025

Dear Mr. Hagos:

The President has asked me to reply to your letter of September 24, 1986, regarding the tragic situation in Eritrea. As you are aware, our policy is based on respect for the territorial integrity of Ethiopia. This does not, however, diminish our hope for an end to human rights abuses and attempts by the government of Ethiopia to impose a military solution in the region. Nonetheless, we are deeply concerned for everyone who is caught up in this never-ending struggle. It is indeed a tragedy that the people of the region must bear the additional scourge of war in addition to the already heavy toll of drought and famine. President Reagan's speech before the United Nations General Assembly in October 1985, which included Ethiopia in the list of nations suffering from regional conflict, expressed this concern. In this speech, he called on the Soviet Union, which is providing weapons for Ethiopia's wars, to help find a peaceful solution. Meanwhile, we continue to believe that a political solution must be reached through negotiations among all parties to the conflicts.

Sincerely,

David J. Fischer
Director, Office of
East African Affairs

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR M4221 # 87514
BY RW NARA DATE 1/2/18

429325



ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT

P.O. Box 1281, Cathedral Station, New York NY 10025

Telephone: (212) 864-1127

Telex: 220310 NUES UR

8633361

h. Kijelis

September 24, 1986

The Hon. Ronald W. Reagan
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20520

Dear Mr. President:

For 25 years, the Eritrean people have been waging an armed struggle to gain their right to national self-determination. In addition to the hardships of war, they also face the problems of drought in recent years and now the scourge of locust infestation. The Ethiopian military junta is not interested in solving these problems. The junta has openly rejected the Eritrean People's Liberation Front's (EPLF) proposals for ceasefires to permit the distribution of famine aid and the spraying of locust control pesticides. In fact, in this situation when attention should be focused on humanitarian policies and programs to meet the needs of the peoples of the Horn, the Ethiopian junta is trying to organize another military offensive in Eritrea. It is preparing 100,000 troops supported by Soviet advisors to carry out this offensive.

The Addis Ababa government, supported by the Soviet Union, is the main problem in the Horn of Africa. It is suppressing the democratic rights of the people of Ethiopia and is now trying to impose a one party system on them. It is continuing its colonial war in Eritrea. It is a threat to neighbouring countries. The Ethiopian military junta is not interested in solving any of these problems peacefully. Without pressure it will continue to pursue its present policies. The EPLF is the main democratic force obstructing the full implementation of the Ethiopian junta's policies and deserves the support of all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

In your speech to the United Nations General Assembly on September 22nd, you noted Ethiopia as an area of regional conflict. We find your three point proposal to solve this conflict encouraging and believe you will take steps to implement your proposal.

We are ready to solve this problem peacefully and have issued a proposal which gives the Eritrean people a free choice from among the various alternatives. Our proposal calls for an internationally-supervised referendum allowing

the Eritrean people to freely select from among the options of independence, federation with Ethiopia or regional autonomy within the Ethiopian state (the Ethiopian military government's proposal).

This right to self-determination is a fundamental right of our people and of all the peoples of the world. It is a right for which we have long struggled and for which we will continue to struggle. We recognize the truth of Faulkner's words which you quoted: "man will not merely endure: he will prevail." We believe that "someday all the world--every nation, every people, every person--will know the blessings of peace and see the light of freedom."

We think the United States has a big role to play in resolving the regional conflict in the Horn of Africa. We are prepared to meet and discuss the situation with your representatives at a higher level.

Sincerely,

Hagos Ghebrehiwet

Hagos Ghebrehiwet
Representative to the United States
Eritrean People's Liberation Front

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

FD 8608544

RECEIVED 02 DEC 86 10

TO PRESIDENT

FROM GHEBREHIWET, HAGOS

DOCDATE 24 SEP 86

PLATT, N

26 NOV 86

KEYWORDS: AFRICA

MP

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM ERITREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION FRONT

ACTION: MEMO MCDANIEL TO NICK PLATT DUE: 06 DEC 86 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MURDOCK

SOOS

RODMAN

STARK

COMMENTS

REF# 429325

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ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>McDaniel</i>	<i>X 12/4</i>	<i>For Sig</i>		
	<i>C 10/4</i>	<i>Pearson Sgd</i>		<i>Murdoch, Duluth</i>
				<i>RBm</i>

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DISPATCH

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