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Last Updated: 11/21/2023

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Date Correspondence 86 / 07/08 Received (YY/MM/DD) 86 / 07/08	2.1 51. 5 4
Name of Correspondent: <u>//Mr.//Mrs.//Miss//Ms.</u>	John Edwin omith
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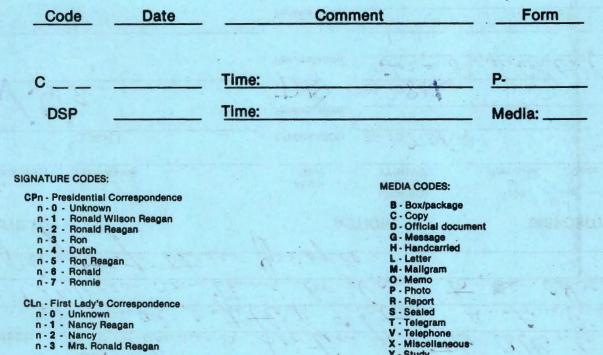
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RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents:	Media:	Individual Codes:	4.620	
Prime Subject Code:	049 Se	condary bject Codes: 10	016	

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY



- Telephone - Miscellaneous-- Study

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1986

6172

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of July 16, 1986, regarding the tragic situation in Eritrea and for your excellent and informative article which you enclosed. I share your deep concern for the Eritrean people and indeed for all Ethiopians who are caught up in this never-ending struggle. It is indeed a tragedy that the people of the region must bear the scourge of war in addition to the already heavy toll of drought, famine and socialist policies which reduce incentives for agricultural production. The government has also used famine as a weapon of war against peasants in the areas of insurgency. Resettlement, the mass relocation of people to the south, was intended to reduce support to insurgents, and caused untold death apart from the famine.

My speech before the United Nations General Assembly in October, 1985, included Ethiopia in the list of nations suffering from regional conflict. In this speech, I called on the Soviet Union, which is providing weapons for Ethiopia's wars, to help find a peaceful solution.

The United States has already done much to alleviate the suffering in Eritrea, as well as elsewhere in Ethiopia. Much of the food, medicine, and other humanitarian assistance you saw there came from the U.S. government, channeled through private relief organizations, to the feeding camps and emergency centers. We have also urged all parties to the conflict to seek a peaceable solution. So far, these entreaties have fallen on deaf ears. These difficulties will not diminish our hope for an end to attempts by the government of Ethiopia to impose a military solution in the region. We continue to believe that a political solution must be reached through negotiations of all parties to the conflicts. Meanwhile, we will continue to provide whatever humanitarian assistance is necessary.

Sincerely, Round Reagun

Mr. John Edwin Smith 72 Marietta Street Atlanta, Georgia 30302

National Security Council The White House

86 SEP 16	P4:02	System # Package #A/Q DOCLOGA/O
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Paul Thompson		
Florence Gantt		· · · ·
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

August 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SIGNED

6172

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Your Reply to Letter Re Eritrea

Issue

To reply to a letter from Mr. John E. Smith of Atlanta, Ga.

Facts

Mr. Smith, a reporter for the <u>Atlanta-Journal Constitution</u>, has written to you expressing concern for the people of Eritrea. He enclosed an article he had written about Eritrea after having spent a 31-day stint there.

Discussion

Mr. Smith's article, entitled, Eritrea, a Lonely War, tells the story of a valiant people he feels are very similar to Americans, in their love for liberty. He writes that not only have they adopted our value system regarding the rights of the individual liberties, religion and welfare of the oppressed, but they cling to an incredible dream that they will someday form a free nation in the manner our nation was formed.

State has prepared a response to Mr. Smith for your signature.

Recommendation

No

Sign your letter to John E. Smith of Atlanta.

Attachments Tab A Your letter to Mr. Smith Tab B Incoming letter

> Prepared by Phillip Ringdahl cc Vice President

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

August 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: PHILLIP H. RINGDAHL

SUBJECT: Presidential Reply to Inquiry About Eritrea

Mr. John E. Smith, a reporter for the <u>Atlanta-Journal</u> <u>Constitution</u>, wrote to the President expressing concern for the people of Eritrea in their fight for freedom. The State Department has drafted a response for the President's signature and the speechwriters have cleared the text of the reply.

Recommendation:

Sign and forward your memo to the President at Tab I transmitting his reply to Mr. Smith.

APPROVE ______ DISAPPROVE_

ISAPPROVE

Attachments

Tab IYour memo to the PresidentTab APresident's letter to Mr. SmithTab BIncoming letter from Mr. SmithTab IIIncoming memo from State

H.S.W.

National Security Council The White House

86 AUG 27	P 2: 03	System # Package # DOCLOG	IV 8
Bob Pearson Rodney McDaniel Rodman/Cockell	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
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I = Information A = Action cc: VP Regan Bu COMMENTS	ichanan Ot	D = Dispatch her een by:	

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

August 26, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR HELEN SOOS

FROM:

JOSH GILDER SPEECHWRITER TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft of Ethiopia Letter

The enclosed remarks are fine. However the absence of any real information on the Communists' use of famine as a weapon of war and the mass relocations to the south gives a less than full picture of the situation. It sounds like our differences with the Soviet Union are relatively minor. You might want to insert an additional paragraph or two of a more substantive nature.

Thank you.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

86 AUG 23 P1: 17

SYSTEM LOG	NUMBER:	_#6172
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COMMENTS			



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 8624864

August 22, 1986

#6172



MEMORANDUM FOR VADM JOHN M. POINDEXTER THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Letter for the President's Signature Replying to an Inquiry about Eritrea

A draft letter is attached for the President's signature which is in reply to a letter from an Atlanta Journal-Constitution reporter. The letter expresses concern for the people of Eritrea. In the reply, the President shares this concern, draws attention to his October, 1985, speech at the UNGA on regional conflicts, and points out that the United States provides humanitarian assistance to Eritrea, as well as the rest of Ethiopia, and continues to urge a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Nicholas Platt Executive Secretary

Attachment: Draft Letter





UNCLASSIFIED

86 AUG 23 PI2: 48 **INPLASSEED**

SUGGESTED DRAFT

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of July 16, 1986, regarding the tragic situation in Eritrea and for your excellent and informative article which you enclosed. I share your deep concern for the Eritrean people and indeed for all Ethiopians who are 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. My 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, I called on the Soviet Union, which is providing weapons for Ethiopia's wars, to help find a peaceful solution.

The United States has already done much to alleviate the suffering in Eritrea, as well as elsewhere in Ethiopia. Much of the food, medicine, and other humanitarian assistance you the saw there came from U.S. government, money, channeled through private relief organizations, to the feeding camps and

10 Speechanten Mr.

Mr. John Edwin Smith,

72 Marietta Street,

Atlanta, Georgia.

emergency centers. We have also urged all parties to the conflict to seek a peaceable solution. So far, these entreaties have fallen on deaf ears.

These difficulties will not diminish our hope for an end to attempts by the government of Ethiopia to impose a military solution in the region. We continue to believe that a political solution must be reached through negotiations of all parties to the conflicts. Meanwhile, we will continue to provide whatever humanitarian assistance is necessary.

Sincerely, Ronald Reagan

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

AUGUST 12, 1986

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED: DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF: PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

- ID: 434435
- MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JULY 16, 1986
- TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
- FROM: MR. JOHN EDWIN SMITH 72 MARIETTA STREET ATLANTA GA 30302
- SUBJECT: ENCLOSES A SECTION FROM THE ATLANTA JOURNAL ENTITLED "ERITREA, A. LONELY WAR"; URGES SOMETHING BE DONE TO EASE THE PLIGHT OF THESE PEOPLE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE (OR DRAFT) TO: AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

> SALLY KELLEY DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

3624864

The Atlanta Lournal THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

27

Post Office Box 4689

(404) 526-5151 Atlanta, Georgia 30302

, AD

3- Mar Rithard John Edwin Smith 72 Marietta Street Atlanta, Georgia 30302

16 July 86

434435

Mr. Ronald Reagan President of the United States The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I have enclosed a special section our newspaper recently put out pertaining to a tiny corner of the world that is little known to most Americans. I am speaking of Eritrea, the northernmost province of Ethiopia.

The special section, "Eritrea, A Lonely War," tells the story of a valiant people very similar to Americans. These people have a love for liberty that I have not experienced since my days in the Marine Corps. Not only have they adopted our value system regarding the rights of the individual liberties, religion and welfare of the oppressed, but they cling to an incredible dream that they will someday form a free nation much in the manner that our great nation was formed.

I have never written to a President before, but I feel that I would be remiss in my duty as a citizen if I did not bring the Eritrean plight before your eyes.

As you will see by reading my stories obtained by a 31-day stint in this small corner of Africa, the cause of the Eritreans is worthy. For 25 years they have fought and died for their dream of liberty. For the past 12 years, Eritrea has faced the might of the Soviet Union. More important, sir, is that in that time the Eritreans have held their own. Their food is supplied through donations, including U.S. church groups; the Eritreans must rely on the weapons they glean from the battlefield. They manufacture much of their medicines, yet they have but 32 doctors to care for a nation of almost three million. They have suffered through drought, famine and war with the steadfast determination that enabled our forefathers to withstand the might of the British during the time of our own revolution.

Eritreans, for 25 years, have fought and died for the one concept of "We the People ... "

Mr. President, I know you are faced with incredible pressures that I, as a humble servant of this magnificent country, will never truly comprehend. But sir, if you can find a free moment, I beg you to read the story of a people who are truly crying out from the wilderness.

The Atlanta Iournal THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

(404) 526-5151

Page 2

I ask you to read "Eritrea, A Lonely War," Mr. President, not to show off my writing style or to glorify anything that photographer Neil McGahee or I may have experienced while covering Africa's longest war.

No, sir, that is not the case.

My motives are only for the welfare and preservation of a truly wonderful and courageous people -- the Eritreans. It was my 14-year-old daughter, Jill, who came up with the idea of writing to you. As she told me, "Mr. Reagan will love these people. Maybe he can help them."

So, Mr. President, at the urging of the youth of America, I humbly submit the story of a gallant people for your perusal. I pray that you will be as touched by their plight as I was during my journey through their devastated land.

Thank you, Mr. President, for taking the time to read this letter. May God always bless you.

Sincerely

John Edwin Smith Staff Writer The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

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Newspaper Article

The Atlanta Journal Constitution Sunday, June 22, 1986 (Section S) "Eritrea: A Lonely War"

ID 8606172 NSC/S PROFILE UNCLASSIFIED RECEIVED 25 AUG 86 10 DOCDATE 22 AUG 86 TO POINDEXTER FROM PLATT, N RINGDAHL 27 AUG 86 SMITH, JOHN EDWIN KEYWORDS: ETHIOPIA UN SUBJECT: DRAFT LTR RE PRES SIGNATURE REPLYING / INQUIRY ABOUT ERITREA ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES DUE: 29 AUG 86 STATUS C FILES WH FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO RINGDAHL SOOS MCDANIEL PEARSON RODMAN COMMENTS LOG REF# 8624864 NSCIFID (LF JF) ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO W/ATTCH DISPATCH FILE

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

CO 049 FG 006-12

September 23, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD K. PETERSON

FROM: RODNEY B. MCDANIEL BA for

SUBJECT: Legislative Referral: Congressional Bill Opposing Resettlement Policy of Ethiopian Government

The NSC staff has reviewed and concurs with the Department of State in opposing Section 3 of the proposed bill.

Attachment Tab A - Legislative Referral

NSC#8606767

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

September 22, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. McDANIEL

FROM: HELEN SOOS

SUBJECT: Legislative Referral: State Draft Report on Bill "Expressing the Opposition of Congress to Ethiopian Government's forced Resettlement Policy with Respect to Ongoing Famine in Ethiopia."

The attached Congressional bill (Tab A) is intended to oppose the Ethiopian Government's forced resettlement policy. Attached at Tab I for your signature is a memo to Ronald Peterson, advising NSC views on the bill. NSC concurs with the Department of State in opposing Section 3 which includes legislated sanctions.

Clark Murdock, Steve Farrar, Paula Dobriansky and Ron Sable concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to Peterson at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments Tab I

Memo to Peterson Tab A - Legislative Referral



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

SPECIAL

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02

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

September 17, 1986

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

TO:

Legislative Liaison Officer -

National Security Council Agency for International Development (Lester 647-8404) Department of Agriculture (Clemans 382-1516)

SUBJECT: State draft report on a Congressional draft bill "expressing the opposition of the Congress to the Ethiopian Government's forced resettlement policy, expressing the concern of the Congress with respect to the ongoing famine in Ethiopia."

(NOTE: The Economic Policy and Trade Subcte. of the Foreign Affairs Cte. will be holding a hearing on this subject on 9/25/86, and has requested State's views by 9/23.)

The Office of Management and Budget requests the views of your agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

A response to this request for your views is needed no later than MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1986.

Questions should be referred to SUE THAU/ANNETTE ROONEY (395-7300), the legislative analyst in this office.

RONALD K. PETERSON FOR Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

Enclosures

cc: J. Eisenhour

- B. Bostick
- R. Landis



United States Department of State

FAIM

Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am pleased on behalf of the Secretary of State to reply to your letter of August 7, 1986, requesting the Department's comments on a draft bill "expressing the opposition of the Congress to the Ethiopian Government's forced resettlement policy, expressing the concern of the Congress with respect to the ongoing famine in Ethiopia, and for other purposes."

The State Department supports Sections 1 and 2 of the bill. However, we oppose Section 3, which would amend Section 620 (f) (1) of the Foreign Assistance Act to list Ethiopia specifically as a communist country. Section 620 (f) prohibits assistance under the Act to such countries, and other legislative provisions impose certain sanctions on such communist countries, such as a prohibition on Export-Import Bank loans and a requirement that the U.S. Executive Director to the IMF vote against the use of IMF facilities.

There is no need for such legislative action in the case of Ethiopia. The Congress has just adopted a provision suspending economic assistance to Ethiopia (Section 812 (d) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985); it has been our general practice to vote against the use of IMF facilities for Ethiopia; and the President already has statutory authority to deny Export-Import Bank loans (under the "Chafee Amendment" in Section 2 (b) of the Export-Import Bank Act).

While we might consider taking additional steps against Ethiopia, as a general principle of foreign policy the Administration opposes legislated sanctions on individual countries, which restrict the President's flexibility in dealing with difficult foreign policy problems. We therefore oppose Section 3.

The Honorable Dante B. Fascell, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives. We do not oppose Section 4. We appreciate that the bill does not legislate sanctions but asks the Administration to consider them. If passed, the Administration would examine the case and report to the Congress. We would only note again that we are opposed to such sanctions in principle.

The Department appreciates Congress' role in pressuring the Ethiopian Government to halt resettlement. This role was instrumental in getting Chairman Mengistu to temporarily halt resettlement in December 1985/January 1986. Since then it has entered into a period of "consolidation" which the Ethiopian Government states is an attempt to improve the situation in the resettlement areas. However, they have made it clear they intend to resume resettlement in the near future, albeit in smaller numbers. The Ethiopian Government's temporary suspension of forced resettlement already indicates its vulnerability to world opinion. We will continue to monitor the situation and make sure Ethiopia knows the world is watching.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that there is no objection from the standpoint of the Administration's program to the submission of this report.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

J. Edward Fox Assistant Secretary Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

drafted AF/E:JSzymanski 9/2/86 647-8852 01355 cleared AF/E:DJFiscorr AF:JKBishop H:ESpiro AF/RA:BAllen AF/RA:BAllen AID/AA/AFR:MWCELman HA:JMonToomery IO:NSSAth L/AF:ECUININGS OMB:GNOSER 99TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

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H. R.

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

A BILL

Expressing the opposition of the Congress to the Ethiopian Government's forced resettlement policy, expressing the concern of the Congress with respect to the ongoing famine in Ethiopia, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives
 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

ELC

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2 1 J

1 SECTION 1. FINDINGS.

2 The Congress finds that--

3 (1) a significant hunger crisis continues to threaten
4 thousands of lives in Ethiopia, despite the concentrated
5 . efforts of Western donors;

6 (2) the American people, along with the worldwide 7 humanitarian community, find the suffering in Africa due 8 to famine an enormous tragedy and seek ways to relieve 9 the sickness and hardship of starvation victims;

10 (3) the aid contributed by Western donors is given in 11 good faith, with the understanding that it will reach the 12 actual victims of the famine;

(4) the United States Government monitors the
 distribution by private and voluntary organizations of
 American-donated food through the Agency for

16 International Development;

17 (5) the United Nations, through its Office of
18 Emergency Operations in Africa, oversees and helps direct
19 the efforts of donor countries;

(6) the Ethiopian Government has engaged in a program
of resettlement designed to move significant numbers of
people from some areas of the country to resettle them in
other areas;

24 (7) the Ethiopian Government has stated that
25 resettlement should be voluntary, that it should not

2

3 1 separate family members, and that it should be conducted 2 without causing undue suffering of the participants; 3 (8) reputable international voluntary agencies have alleged that the Ethiopian Government has used coercive 4 . force in this resettlement; 5 (9) allegations have been made that the Ethiopian 6 Government misused non-United States food assistance as 7 part of its resettlement program; 8 (10) allegations have been made regarding inhumane 9 conditions prevailing in many resettlement camps; 10 (11) Ethiopian authorities have not met their 11 commitment to international donors to distribute 2,500 12 metric tons of food and relief goods per day from the 13 port of Assab; 14 (12) all resources are needed to deal with the 15 continuing hunger crisis and should not be diverted to 16 resettlement efforts; and 17 (13) the United States, the United Nations, and all 18 other donors seek the cooperation of the Ethiopian 19 Government in aiding the vast number of Ethiopians who 20 21 are victims of the current famine. SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES. 22 23 It is the sense of the Congress that --(1) the United States, in cooperation with other 24 25 members of the international donor community, should call

upon the Ethiopian Government to recognize that resources donated for famine relief should be used for that purpose and not diverted to resettlement efforts or other purposes;

5 (2) the Ethiopian Government should give its 6 strongest consideration to suspending its resettlement 7 program for the duration of the drought so that all 8 available resources can be focused on famine needs and so 9 that, during its announced consolidation period, the 10 Ethiopian Government can make progress toward improvement 11 of conditions of the settlements already in place;

(3) the international donor community should jointly
call for a halt to all forced resettlements by the
Ethiopian Government, just as the Congress hereby calls
for the end of coercive resettlement activities;

16 (4) the United Nations, through its Special
17 Representative in Ethiopia, should monitor any
18 resettlement effort so that coercion is not used and
19 there is total freedom to move into or out of any
20 resettlement camp;

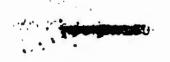
(5) the United Nations, through its Special
Representative in Ethiopia, should insist that the
Ethiopian Government provide free access to all
resettlement sites for all international observers and
the news media;

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1 (6) the United Nations, through its Office of 2 Emergency Operations in Africa, should immediately report 3 on the conditions in the resettlement camps; and 4 (7) the Ethiopian Government should commit sufficient . resources to move donated food and relief goods from the 5 6 port of Assab to distribution centers so that the minimum rate of 2,500 metric tons per day necessary to meet the 7 8 needs of its people is maintained. SEC. 3. ADDITION OF ETHIOPIA TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT LIST 9 10 OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. Section 620(f)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 11 12 (22 U.S.C. 2370(f)(1)) is amended by inserting after Estonia. the following: 13 -. Ethiopia. 14 15 SEC. 4. REPORT BY PRESIDENT. The President shall report to the Congress, not later 16 than 45 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, on 17 progress in achieving the objectives set forth in section 2, 18 including an end to forced resettlements. The President shall 19 include in the report his recommendation as to whether the 20 21 United States should impose economic sanctions against Ethiopia, including--22 (1) denying nondiscriminatory trade treatment to the 23 products of Ethiopia; 24 (2) prohibiting the importation of coffee and coffee 25

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84:51 38/71/60



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נ	products produced or grown in Ethiopia;
2	(3) prohibiting loans or other extensions of credit
3	to the Government of Ethiopia;
4	(4) prohibiting new investments in Ethiopia; and
5	. (5) instructing all United States representatives to
6	international financial institutions to oppose the
7	furnishing of any assistance by those institutions to
8	Ethiopia.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

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SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 6767

ACTION OFFICER: Murdock DUE: 20 Sept.						
Prepare Memo For President						
Prepare Memo For Poindexter		Memo McDaniel to Dolan				
Prepare Memo <u>MCDar</u>	niel to Pe	terson				
CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*	PHONE* to action officer	at ext				
FYI	FYI	FYI				
Brooks		C C Ringdahl				
Burghardt	Lavin	Ross				
Burns	Lenczowski	Sable				
Cannistraro	Levine	Sachs				
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THE WHITE HOUSE

March 31, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN POINDEXTER

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN

SUBJECT: DESIGNATION OF ETHIOPIA AS "COMMUNIST" COUNTRY

Toby Roth, Republican Congressman from Wisconsin, has written in protest against a proposed State Department paper which would exclude Ethiopia from designation as a "Communist" country, despite a year's work by Roth and allies to get that designation -- unanimously -- through the House Foreign Affairs Africa subcommittee. Given Mengistu's rather barbaric behavior, in both withholding food and "resettlement" we will have a problem, if we do not treat them with a least the severity we now treat South Africa.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

TOBY ROTH WISCONSIN

March 26, 1986

Mr. Patrick Buchanan Assistant to the President for Communications The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Pat:

I would like to bring to your attention a ludicrous State Department draft position paper which is presently working its way through the system. My colleagues and I have dedicated close to one year's work drawing congressional and media attention to the Communist-nature of the Ethiopian regime. Last week, the House Foreign Affairs Africa subcommittee unanimously agreed with me that Ethiopia ought to be classified as a Communist country and that the President ought to consider selective sanctions against the Mengistu government in order to stop its "resettlement" campaign which is claiming up to an estimated 1,000 lives a day.

Further progress at the Full Committee expected immediately following the Easter Recess will be severely threatened if this draft position paper becomes Administration policy. If we can't even declare Ethiopia a communist country, then the conservative foreign policy agenda is indeed in jeopardy. I urge you to review this matter with appropriate White House staff at your earliest convenience.

Toby Roch Member of Congress

STATE DEPARTMENT POSITION ON ETHIOPIA AMENDMENT (H.R. 4076, Roth Bill)

INCLUSION OF ETHIOPIA ON THE LIST OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

Strongly oppose. Due consideration has not been given to severe implications of putting Ethiopia on list of Communist countries (Section 620f of the FAA). That list has purposefully been restricted (Peoples' Republic of China has now been removed from the list) largely because of serious legal, commercial, and immigration ramifications of inclusion on it. If enacted, law could immediately affect status of Ethiopians already in US. Aid to Ethiopia is already severely restricted under various US laws; inclusion on list would also preclude EXIM financing to US firms like Boeing Aircraft. Precedent set by adding Ethiopia is dangerous; many nations throughout the world which are not deemed communist under existing standards may also be so classified without due consideration.

PROPOSED SANCTIONS:

<u>Oppose</u>. Appreciate that present bill does not legislate sanctions but asks Administration to consider them. Legal and policy ramifications of these sanctions are great, including possible violation of US treaty obligations. Bill calls for unilateral action rather than original Roukema bill's multilateral approach. Ethiopia has repeatedly demonstrated it is more susceptible to multilateral pressure than to bilateral pressure from US. Forty-five day reporting requirement is extremely unrealistic. Current US policy is to provide no US Government aid, except humanitarian aid, to Ethiopia.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1986 / PAGE 3A

House panel labels Ethiopia communist, urges sanctions

By Rita McWilliams THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A House subcommittee approved a bill yesterday that would add Ethiopia to the list of communist nations, a move the State Department has been hesitant to make.

The measure, approved on a voice vote by the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, also would urge the president to impose economic sanctions against the Marxist government of the drought-stricken nation if it does not halt all forced resettlement within 45 days.

The debate in the subcommittee at times sounded like the debate on South African sanctions last year, with Republicans and Democrats switching sides.

Both sides agreed the Ethiopian government has been responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people by forcing famine victims to move from northern areas — a stronghold of resistance to the government — to southwestern regions.

During the peak of the program last April, relief agencies said 70,000 people a week were moved under miserable conditions to the southwest, where government promises of clinics, plowed land, oxen, farm tools and seeds never materialized.

Democrats, including subcommittee Chairman Howard Wolpe of Michigan, said sanctions against Ethiopia could hurt those the bill is designed to aid and help push political moderates out of the government.

But Republicans said Democrats were hypocritical if they opposed sanctions against Ethiopia after insisting on those against South Africa. Rep. Mark Siljander of Michigan called the forced resettlement "another moral situation."

"What's good for South Africa ought to be good for Ethiopia," said Mr. Siljander, who had opposed the South African sanctions.

Mr. Wolpe said the United States has no leverage with the Ethiopian government, while South Africa has been a longtime U.S. ally. But Rep. Toby Roth, Wisconsin Republican, who sponsored a tougher measure than the one approved, said the United States has leverage because of the \$300,000 in drought aid it gave Ethiopia last year.

The bill would not cut off food aid. The Agency for International Development already has restricted the food program: It can be used only outside of the resettlements so as not to encourage the program.

Classifying the government of Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam as communist would end Ethiopia's eligibility for all loans from the Export-Import Bank, according to an aide to Mr. Roth.

The Ethiopian government received a \$3.2 million direct loan for building commercial hotels in the capital in 1984 and a \$48 million loan guarantee to buy two planes for the government-owned airlines, the aide said.

The bill, a compromise between a resolution by Rep. Marge Roukema, New Jersey Republican, and a stiffer sanction measure proposed by Mr. Roth, would call on the Reagan administration to report on the resettlement program in 45 days. If the program continues, it would ask the president to consider sanctions similiar to those imposed against South Africa last year, such as cutting off U.S. investments.

A similiar sanctions measure has been introduced in the Senate by Sen. Paul Trible, Virginia Republican. It has the support of Sen. Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Yonas Deressa, president of the Ethiopian Refugees Education and Relief Foundation Inc., said he was pleased that a sanctions measure was approved by the House subcommittee but said he favored the tougher Roth measure.

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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. Mengitu's "Red Star" offensive in the 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 contra-dict 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. McPhèrson 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.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1986

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 runaways. . . .

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 resettlement 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 alrport 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 bitte: 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.

NEWS from CONGRESSMAN MARK SILJANDER

4th District Michigan



20515 202/225-3761

SILJANDER: SAY ETHIOPIA'S COMMUNIST, MR. SHULTZ!

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Contact: Ron Brackin

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1986 -- Is Ethiopia a communist country or not?

When Congressman Siljander, Ranking Minority Member of the Africa Subcommittee asked the State Department that question recently during a Foreign Affairs Committee markup of Toby Roth's bill to add Ethiopia to the official list of communist countries, the State Department wouldn't say.

"Now its official position paper says it 'strongly opposes' adding Ethiopia to the list," Siljander said. "Could the State Department possibly believe that Ethiopia is <u>not</u> a communist country?

"Since 1977, every move the Mengistu regime has made has been with the advice and consent of the USSR. The State Department's own Human Rights Report describes Ethiopia as a country 'ruled by Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam and a small group of associates who exercise power through arbitrary arrest and intimidation... The stated goal of the party (Workers Party of Ethiopia) is to transform the country into a Marxist-Leninist state. Marxist-Leninist ideology is pervasive...' It is noteworthy that Ethiopia is the only African nation to be ruled by an official communist party, a fact the State Department seems to stumble over.

"The report goes on to describe the Ethiopian government in more detail: 'Ethiopia's record on human rights is deplorable, and 1985 saw no improvement. The country remains without civil or political freedoms and without institutions or laws to protect its citizens' human rights. The Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia (PMGSE) maintains complete control over the media, labor, education, internal and external movements of Ethiopian citizens, and all political processes. Mengistu has never held a general election of any kind to legitimize himself or his Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE). Persons expressing opposition to the regime or suspected of not supporting it are routinely arrested by security police and subjected to torture in varying degrees; some executions have been reported as well.'

"The State Department complains that recognizing Ethiopia as communist 'could immediately affect (the) status of Ethiopians already in (the) U.S.'

"Here is what would happen to the 50,000 Ethiopian refugees: If they want political assylum in the United States, they have to prove that the Ethiopian government would harm them if they returned. The Ethiopian government, of course, would deny anything of the kind. If, however, the Ethiopian government were officially recognized as being communist, the burden of proof would be on the communists, making it much easier for the Ethiopian refugees to obtain assylum and, through that, permanent residence and potentially U.S. citizenship. "The State Department position, then, is in opposition to U.S.

"The State Department position, then, is in opposition to U.S. citizenship for 50,000 Ethiopian refugees. Coupled with the fact that not one black African nation appears on the State Department list of communist countries (even though Bemin, Angola and Mozambique clearly qualify in addition to Ethiopia) this position smacks distinctly of racism.

"Finally, the State Department position paper bemoans that 'Aid to Ethiopia is already severely restricted under various U.S. laws; inclusion on (the) list would also preclude EXIM financing to U.S. firms like Boeing Aircraft.' What the State Department neglected to mention is that it is a two-way street. It would also preclude Ethiopia from getting direct loans through the Export-Import Bank subsidized by American taxpayers. That would force the Soviets to pay their own bills for international colonization.

"In the meantime, the State Department would do well to leave Wonderland behind and take a good, long, realistic look at the continent of Africa. And, if it is still unable to recognize a communist when it sees one, it need only spend an afternoon reviewing the hundreds of hours of film which shows the hollow faces and flesh-covered skeletons of the starving Ethiopian people. It need only talk with the American organizations that shipped tons of food to these people only to have it left to rot in ships' holds or on loading docks at the orders of Mengistu and his comrades. It need only talk to some of the tens of thousands of refugees who fled to America and who are waiting for the U.S. State Department to take the blinders off."

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