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CATHRYNE R. BENNETT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR
BUREAU FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

U. S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Rm. 4889
WASHINGTON, DC 20523

(202) 647-4200

MAX GREEN:

Here are a couple
of speeches which
have the policy &
facts to
help you out.
Cathy B

Address by Peter McPherson, Administrator
Agency for International Development
to the Committee on Food Aid
Rome, May 26, 1986

hunger

Lessons Learned from the African Drought

Mr. Executive Director, Mr. Deputy Director General, Special Representative of the Secretary General, distinguished delegates of the Committee on Food Aid, observers and guests, it is a special privilege for me to be here today to share the United States experience in responding to the African drought emergency and to discuss how we can prevent a recurrence of another terrible famine in Africa. We know there will be another drought, but I ask, need there be terrible famine. .

The African food relief effort last year was both a sobering and uplifting experience -- sobering because of the drought's toll on human lives; uplifting because of the extraordinary response. Clearly the efforts of African governments, the donors and nongovernmental organizations saved millions of lives.

Looking back, we can take great pride in our remarkable accomplishments.

By the fall of 1984 the continent was facing a near catastrophe involving 200 million people in 22 countries. The lives of 30 million people were in immediate jeopardy.

The crisis called for a global commitment. And that commitment was forthcoming. Emergency food and other assistance saved literally millions of lives and reduced the suffering of millions more. Contributions flowed unsparingly from many nations. The United States alone committed more than two billion dollars of emergency assistance. Americans contributed over \$200 million through their churches, schools, nongovernmental organizations, and corporations. Individuals from other nations did the same.

This overwhelming response offered a graphic demonstration of the willingness of people of many nations to work together to relieve human suffering.

Today's agenda -- for donors and recipients alike -- is to learn from this experience. We must improve our capacity to mitigate the effects of future food droughts. Moreover, we must address

the root causes of hunger and starvation in Africa. It has been said "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." It's because of this truth that our lessons learned from the recent African food crisis are so important.

Overall, the response of the international community was magnificent. Unfortunately, it was not perfect. We need to do better and, we can do better. We can learn from our mistakes.

I'd like to quickly summarize for you a few of the lessons that we have learned from our experience. I would add that many of our findings reinforce the conclusions of WFP's own analyses which will be discussed later during this session. We congratulate WFP's Evaluation Service for its excellent work in this regard.

Let me start by drawing your attention to several of our most compelling findings and conclusions:

Lesson 1: Key information that was needed for early warning such as needs assessment, targeting and impact evaluation frequently was not available.

Although the drought was in its third or fourth year, African countries and the international community were not fully prepared for the severe conditions experienced in 1984-85. As a result, food requirements changed rapidly, straining planning and implementation capabilities. At times, neither host governments nor donors were able to act decisively in the absence of timely and accurate information.

The facts are that we now know a great deal about how to detect approaching famine. Many of the methods were refined and tested during the last famine. These methods include satellites to check weather and crop yields, weighing children to monitor the amount of malnutrition and tracking prices of food in local markets.

Lesson 2: The initiative for managing emergency food responses rests with host governments.

Niger, Chad, Kenya and other countries did assume real responsibility. For example, the Chadian government set up a special Ministry for the Control of Natural Disasters and it made a real contribution. It should be noted that most governments, however, have limited capacity to handle such large efforts. Selective strengthening of their general administrative capability in the next few years should be considered. This should be done in a way that does not just expand bureaucracies.

LESSON 3: Donor and host government coordination is critical to ensuring a more rapid and concerted response to drought emergencies.

Such coordination worked especially well when in-country donor coordination had been established prior to or early in the drought cycle. For example, in Mali, donors had already worked together on agricultural policy issues. Therefore, it was a logical step for them to be collectively involved in identifying and assessing the food emergency. In general, donor coordination worked best when the host government assumed the principal coordinating role at the national, regional and local levels, as they did in Chad.

Lesson 4: The private sector -- and particularly the nongovernmental organizations -- played a key role in the distribution of massive amounts of food, for example, to remote areas in Sudan, Mali, Chad and Ethiopia.

Nongovernmental organizations, both local and foreign, helped identify groups and areas in need. They helped get the food to the countryside and monitored its distribution and end use. The private sector played a major role in the logistics arena. Private trucks were often a crucial link in delivering food to the rural population.

Lesson 5: Traditional coping mechanisms, such as community sharing and the consumption of famine foods, were of critical importance in extending available food aid to more people and preventing many deaths.

The availability of famine foods was especially important in keeping people alive during the summer of 1985, just before the last harvest. We need to be more alert to these coping mechanisms so that our food aid is planned to complement and not to undermine them. A better understanding of the stages of drought and the techniques people employ to cope with each stage would also help in determining appropriate and timely food interventions.

Lesson 6: Special expertise, administrative procedures and funding mechanisms are essential for the successful implementation of emergency programs.

The skills needed are not the same as those involved in carrying out a development program under ordinary circumstances. Emergency programs are different from,

not an extension of, normal development activities. Harmonizing the requirements of "business as usual" with the demand for immediate action is not an easy task for any manager. Nevertheless, decisions on these conflicting goals must be dealt with during a drought.

Lesson 7: Food alone is not enough: other resources -- including money, transportation, seeds, tools, and technical assistance -- are also necessary.

Food for Work requires a broader mix and additional resources than those needed for general food distribution programs. Where complementary resources are available and linked with food, the results will be more positive and development ties will be stronger. Similarly, the impact of general food distribution programs can be increased by adding supplemental feeding and health care. The lack of a health component will weaken the impact of the overall effort, especially in meeting the needs of those who are most at-risk. And finally,

Lesson 8: Emergency food aid programs need to be designed and administered so they support longer-term developmental objectives, as well as keeping hungry people alive.

The lack of adequate income is at the root of both underdevelopment and food emergencies. Household income is an essential link between development and emergency activities for those affected by drought. While development activities are aimed at increasing the income level of the poor, they do not always reach the groups most vulnerable to drought.

By the same token, emergency activities, which do reach those most at-risk, are usually designed simply to feed them and reduce their suffering. We should note that the Food for Work program in Chad did succeed in meeting the immediate food needs of displaced farmers and nomads while at the same time exploiting the potential for wadi cultivation. I conclude that with better targeting of our development programs and more lead time, it should be possible to better bridge the gap between emergency and development.

A.I.D. takes these lessons seriously. They have important implications for all of us - both donors and potential recipients.

I raise them today to get your reactions during the course of this session, and in the weeks and months ahead. The threat of famine clearly calls for a response far greater than individual nations can or should be expected to bear. We in the United States are determined to find ways to incorporate these lessons in our own program planning and implementation process. This will require action on a number of fronts. Included among our actions will be the following:

- First, the United States will help build and strengthen an apolitical highly professional early warning system or systems. These systems should signal when emergency food aid is needed. They should also indicate when emergency programs can be concluded. Such systems must be professionally and technically sound. They must be free of political manipulation. Only highly professional systems will have credibility with donor budget people and decision-makers. There is rarely disagreement when our professional systems determine that there is an epidemic. Why not try to achieve the same for famine determination.

The system must be inexpensive and relatively simple to operate and maintain. If it is not inexpensive and simple it will not be kept up. The point is, that we cannot prevent drought but we should be able to prevent famine. We have the technology to determine when a problem is approaching. This technology ranges from satellites to the weighing of children in drought areas. A lot of the work is already going on. What is needed is a means to fill in the gaps and pull all the information together. I don't think this requires some new expensive bureaucracy.

I am not here to suggest any particular approach, but I will say that donors, international institutions and vulnerable African countries need to work together to develop an approach to this problem. Let me be clear about one thing, FAO, WFP, donor countries and African countries draw upon resources, technical expertise, institutional systems and experience which can be put to collective use. Moreover, a great deal of this expertise proved invaluable during the last couple of years, but further steps are required.

We will cooperate with other donors to assist host governments expand local information gathering capability, and to document stages of drought responses.

- Second, we will continue to support strong donor coordination. A.I.D. will support donor coordination efforts by host governments at central, regional and local levels.

We will seek and participate in donor coordination at the advance planning and need assessment stages and facilitate early concerted donor response to food emergency situations.

- Third, we will improve our management systems for drought emergencies.

Personnel inside and outside A.I.D. with food emergency experience will be identified. We will establish a locator system for keeping track of these people to enable us to draw on their expertise quickly in food emergency situations.

Jointly with the Canadians, the E.E.C. and WFP, we will be preparing a Food Aid Manager's Handbook.

A.I.D. will support efforts to improve the ability of nongovernmental organizations and other private sector entities to respond rapidly and to play expanded roles in future food emergencies.

As we think about the problems we face, we should keep in mind the experience of India as evidence that nations can move from recurring famine to grain self-reliance.

Only 20 years ago India suffered a famine worse than Africa's. India has now joined the community of nations donating grain to Africa. Africa too, can be self-reliant. In the 1985-86 crop year, but for bottlenecks in the distribution chain and the lack of income of the people, sub-Saharan Africa might have nearly enough production to cover its maize, sorghum and millet requirements. The technologies exist or can be developed. The resources of the international community, in concert with Africa's leadership, can sustain this momentum.

In closing, I have emphasized today steps that can be taken to improve future response to food emergencies. However, I must not conclude without acknowledging the outstanding performance of the World Food Program in addressing the famine. In particular, we owe a great debt to Jim Ingram and WFP for outstanding leadership in managing food logistics. We thank you, Jim. The WFP African Task Force Secretariat performed what appeared to be administrative miracles in overcoming serious obstacles that all too often threatened to shut off the food pipeline. Eric Moller, the head of the Task Force, deserves special recognition for his accomplishments and dedication in this regard.

I would also like to congratulate the United Nations Office of Emergency Operations in Africa for its leadership in successfully orchestrating the many voices of the United Nations in a concerted

attack on the African famine. Brad Morse and Maurice Strong were excellent. This is a model both at the headquarters level and in the field for future emergency situations.

For hundreds of years, records show a pattern of recurring drought and famine across Africa. This is a lesson we have clearly learned from the history books. But I have come here today with a sense of optimism and hope. There will, of course, be other droughts but I am firmly convinced that we have within our power the possibility to break the cycle of famine. I believe that we have a future where the scourge of terrible famine need never again ravage Africa. For the first time in the history of mankind we have the knowledge, the techniques, and the resources to prevent widespread famine.

The natural climatic cycles will always bring us more or less rain. The seven lean years and seven years of plenty which have been a part of man's history forever will likely continue. But the possibility of controlling our common destiny to prevent widespread starvation and famine is new to our generation. It is only now, in the last half of the 20th century that we can put in place the measures needed to ensure that millions of people will not die from hunger when the rains fail.

We have the tools, the experience and the commitment. Working apart, we will fall short of our purpose. Together, we can win the battle against famine.

REMARKS

M. PETER MCPHERSON, ADMINISTRATOR

WORLD FOOD DAY

PRESS CONFERENCE

October 15, 1985

The purpose of World Food Day is two-fold.

It is to honor people and institutions which have made significant contributions to the alleviation of world hunger.

It also helps fulfill the objective of promoting greater public understanding of the problem of hunger and its solution.

The award winners result from many nominations by thousands of individuals and organizations involved in hunger issues.

The panel of judges consists of distinguished representatives of the corporate, academic, media, and international development community sectors.

The recommendations of the judges were presented to President Reagan. and he made the final decision.

There are six categories this year, plus a special awards category.

The winner of the Educator/Scientist category is -- Dr. Norman Borlaug.

Dr. Borlaug is the Director of Wheat Research and Production Program of the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1970 as a principal in the research which lead to the Green Revolution. He has been a member of the Presidential Commission on World Hunger. He is currently serving on several international boards formed to address the issue of hunger.

The winner of the corporate category is -- Land O'Lakes, Incorporated.

Land O'Lakes has made a great contribution to the hunger issue by making its food and agriculture technology, management 'know-how,' and products available to help solve hunger problems in many developing countries.

Representing Land O'Lakes today is Dr. Lavern Freeh.

The winner of the Government/Legislative category is -- Senator John Danforth.

The Senator from the 'Show Me' state of Missouri has always 'Shown America' his outstanding leadership in finding solutions to the problems of world hunger. Especially important have been his successful efforts in Congress to obtain hundreds of millions of dollars for aid to the hungry of the world. Also outstanding is his work for private, voluntary organizations; the Peace Corps; and, world agencies supplying food and development aid to the impoverished of many nations.

In the celebrity category -- Mr. John Denver.

I think we all know of John's long commitment and active participation in the hunger issue. Since 1977, he has brought attention to world hunger matters through his actions and music. In 1984 he traveled to Africa and brought back his assessment of the seriousness of the famine. Following that, he has given generously of his time and first-hand knowledge to raise public awareness of the famine through countless media interviews.

In the category for Private and Voluntary Organizations and Cooperatives, the winner is -- CARE.

With its 35 country programs -- including 17 in Africa -- CARE has been a leader in development education as well as providing effective assistance to the people of the world in their times of greatest need. For example, CARE efficiently delivered close to one hundred thousand tons of food to over 700,000 refugees in thirty-five emergency camps in Somalia this year.

Representing CARE is Executive Director Philip Johnston.

The award winner for outstanding individual achievement is -- Brad Morse.

Mr. Morse Brad is the Administrator of the United Nations Development Program and Director of the United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa. He was nominated for his work in 1984 as Director of the U.N. Office for Emergency Actions in Africa and for his life-long commitment to end hunger. Mr. Morse has been involved in all aspects of development. He served as an outstanding member of congress from the state of Massachusetts for many years. During that time he contributed significantly to the fight against hunger.

This year there is a Special Awards category. There are three winners whose outstanding efforts have done much to raise the awareness of the American people -- and the people all over the world. The effort has been to bring attention to the great need in Africa. Their work and talent is a wonderful example of how the people of the world can work together to end hunger.

There are three winners:

USA for Africa. Accepting the award on behalf of the group is Marty Rogol.

Next, The Live Aid Foundation.

Here to accept on behalf of Live Aid Trust is David Fein producer of the live aid information segment visual, and Anselm Rothschild, production coordinator.

And, The Band Aid Trust.

Here to accept on behalf of Band Aid Trust is Father Harold Bradley of Georgetown University.

On behalf of President Reagan, congratulations to all of the winners of the 1985 World Without Hunger awards.

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REMARKS

M. PETER MCPHERSON, ADMINISTRATOR

WORLD FOOD DAY

BERENDZEN DINNER

October 15, 1985

The events of the past year have shown us once again how small the world has become.

The miracle of instant, global communications has brought the suffering of Africa -- especially the children -- into our homes and hearts as never before.

Those same global communications have brought the words and songs of hope into the front room of millions.

We have been reminded that indeed, "we are the world."

Whether we're desert nomads or Iowa farmers, we depend on each other for our lives and futures.

Millions of people in sub-Saharan Africa were -- and are -- in need.

Millions of people in America have responded -- and are responding.

We can be proud of what has been done.

During the past year, the United States has approved a total of over three million metric tons of food valued at more than one billion dollars for the hungry of Africa.

The American people have given \$143 million to 34 private, voluntary organizations.

Added to that is \$62 million given by Americans in response to the Live Aid and USA for Africa events.

Children, adults, corporations, the news media -- the whole cross-section of American society -- worked together with the African people. Thousands -- even millions -- of lives have been saved.

The work goes on.

More than ever, we need the focus of global communications and the spirit of cooperation to attack and solve the long-term problems of agriculture and economic development in the poor nations of the world.

The 1985 World Without Hunger award winners, announced this morning, have shown us the way.

All of us are better for their work and dedication.

All of us live in a better world because of them.

Dr. Norman Borlaug; Senator John Danforth; Bradford Morse; John Denver; CARE; Land O'Lakes; and, USA for Africa, The Live Aid Foundation, and The Band Aid Trust...

Thank you from our hearts.

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REMARKS BY
M. PETER McPHERSON, ADMINISTRATOR
WORLD FOOD DAY
USDA PATIO CEREMONY
October 16, 1985

World Food Day has taken on special significance this year.

The famine in Africa is a grim reminder of the urgent need to develop the means to bring an end to hunger in the world.

Yesterday, on behalf of President Reagan, I was honored to present the annual World Without Hunger awards.

They were won by people who have been doing outstanding work in the effort to end hunger. People like....

Dr. Norman Borlaug -- Nobel Prize winner and Green Revolution leader;

Senator John Danforth -- a strong voice in Congress for the hungry of the world;

John Denver -- who has successfully combined his musical career with his work to raise public awareness of hunger issues;

Brad Morse -- the Administrator of the United Nations Development program who has devoted a life-time to ending poverty and hunger;

Land O'Lakes, Incorporated -- which has taken a strong corporate leadership position in finding solutions to world hunger;

CARE -- which provides a standard of excellence for all private voluntary organizations; and,

three special award winners this year....

Live Aid, Band Aid, and USA for Africa.

These people and organizations are an inspiration to all of us. But there are others that should be recognized.

For example, the American farmer, whose great productivity supplied the food that has saved literally millions from famine this year.

For that matter, all Americans can be proud of the action of their country on behalf of the hungry of Africa.

During the past year, the United States has approved more than three million metric tons of food valued at more than one billion dollars for the people of Africa.

Sixty-two million dollars was given by Americans in response to the Live Aid and USA for Africa events.

Another \$143 million was sent by Americans to 34 Private Voluntary Organizations.

I have seen the results of this giving with my own eyes.

On my trips to the hardest hit areas of Africa, I have seen thousands of children change from just skin and bones to laughing, playing youngsters with another chance at life.

The difference has been the tons of food and other supplies sent from the fields and hearts of America.

The food has traveled by ships, trains, trucks, airplanes -- even by camel caravan. It's been a huge undertaking. But the larger job of helping these people become food self-sufficient still lies ahead.

We know it can be done.

The presence of Dr. Borlaug at the Awards ceremony yesterday is living proof that a green revolution for Africa can be a reality.

As recently as the 1960's, India was considered by many as beyond hope. Hunger was everywhere. Starvation was common. Yet today in India, rice production has tripled and wheat production has increased by seven times. India is grain self-sufficient. This didn't happen by accident:

- International scientists like Dr. Borlaug developed the new 'miracle' seeds;
- price-incentive policies for farmers were implemented;

- agricultural universities were created;
- farmers adapted to the new farming methods and passed their knowledge to their neighbors;
- and there was more.

But the important thing is that it was made to happen -- and it can be made to happen in Africa.

Indeed, if the cycle of starvation is to end, it must be made to happen.

World Food Day is a time to re-dedicate ourselves to the goal of ending hunger in the world.

From experience, we know how to develop the tools of technology; the policies of incentive; and the institutional framework.

Tools must be developed and placed in the hands of those who can use them and profit by them -- the researcher, the student, the small-business man, the farmer.

It's going to take hard work and determination. A green revolution for Africa and the other food deficient regions of the world can succeed if all of us work together to make it succeed.

In the light of what has happened in Africa during the past several months -- and continues even today -- we know that we have no other choice.

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HOTSPOTS

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR JUNE 1986 Pg. 25

BEHIND ETHIOPIA'S HUNGER

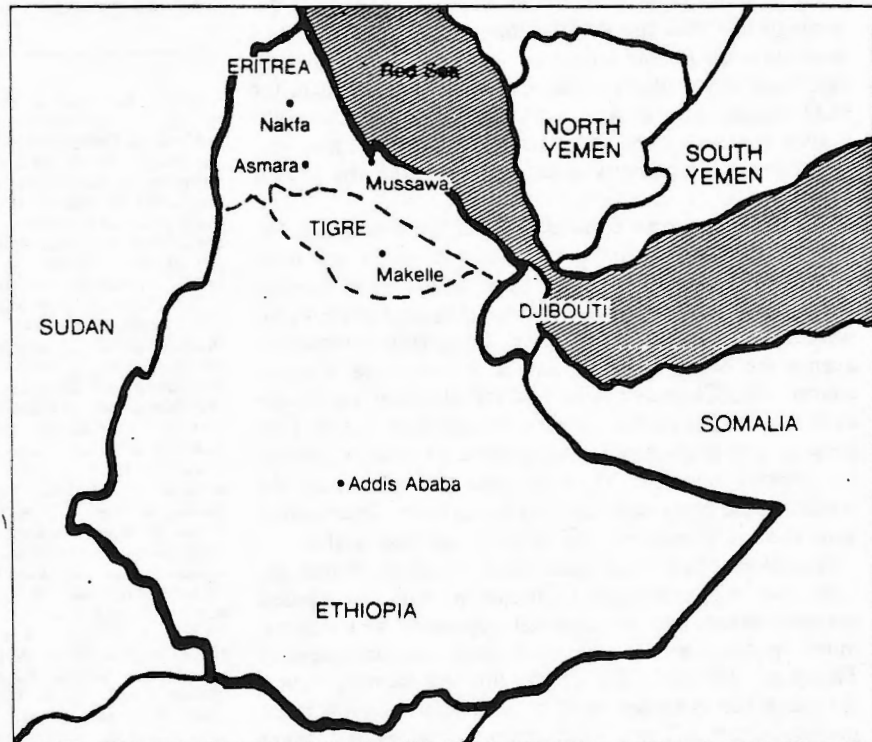
by Robert D. Kaplan

It is one of the longest-running conflicts of our time, fought with state-of-the-art Soviet hardware and involving tens of thousands of casualties. Hospitals are bombed, wells poisoned. Crops are burned by government soldiers in the midst of famine; anti-government guerrillas live in underground cities to protect themselves from aerial attack. For many years, the Communist government controlled little more than the major roads and towns in the northern provinces where the principal rebellions are taking place. As in Afghanistan, the Soviets are deeply committed in support of the government. The only missing element is the American media, which has managed to provide exhaustive coverage of the famine while virtually ignoring the savage fighting that lurks in the background, fighting that in many respects is the cause of the hunger.

Area diplomats say they are baffled by the absence of American coverage of even the most dramatic recent events of Ethiopia's civil war. On January 14, for example, in the northern province of Eritrea, commandos of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) launched an attack against the air base at Asmara, the government-held Eritrean provincial capital, used by the Americans until 1977 and since then by the Soviets. As many as forty Russian-built aircraft—MIG-23's among them—were damaged or destroyed, according to Western diplomatic sources.

Not to be outdone, between midnight and 3 a.m. on February 8, the Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF) broke open the Makelle jail in central Tigre, also in the northern region of

Robert D. Kaplan is an Athens-based correspondent for the Atlanta Journal-Constitution and ABC Radio News. He also writes for the Atlantic and the Wall Street Journal.



Ethiopia. The TPLF claimed 1800 prisoners were freed. While not disputing that claim, Western diplomats confirm that at least 700 prisoners escaped, many of them political prisoners of the Ethiopian regime for more than a decade. The break was accomplished by staging two diversionary attacks, one on the Makelle airfield and another on one of the roads leading out of town, which had the effect of drawing off two *Dergue* (government) brigades: an operation of great cunning and dramatic execution. In America, where taxpayers have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into famine relief in the very region of the fighting, both events went unreported.

Makelle, the site of the prison break, stands as a symbol of how the media have ignored a conflict specifically labeled by President Reagan, in his speech at the United Nations last fall, as one of the handful of superpower

flashpoints around the globe. Hundreds of journalists have flown into Makelle airfield, enroute to visiting nearby famine relief camps. The airfield is studded with Soviet helicopter gunships, used by the Addis Ababa regime in its war against the Tigrean and Eritrean rebels. Yet few Western visitors have written about the war. During a visit to Makelle in June 1985, the singer Harry Belafonte was told by officials of the *Dergue's* Relief and Rehabilitation Committee that food was being delivered all over the province of Tigre. In fact, large sections of Tigre haven't been in government hands for more than ten years. Just miles away from where Belafonte stood, *Dergue* troops had instead been burning crops and bombing market stalls a few weeks before, in the course of capturing the town of Abi Adi from

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

ETHIOPIA . . . CONTINUED

rebels' last hurrah.

A few days after re-occupying Barentu in late August, the *Dergue* took Tessenei, lying on Eritrea's western plain between Barentu and the Sudanese border. Upon taking Tessenei, the *Dergue* destroyed a 12,000-acre network of irrigated Eritrean farms in the midst of a region hard-hit by drought.

Having chopped off the EPLF's western territorial flank, *Dergue* forces attacked the eastern coastal plain of Eritrea by the Red Sea, which they "rolled up like a hot knife through butter," according to a Western diplomat in Khartoum. This left the Eritrean rebels in control of only an oval-shaped tract extending southwards from the Sudanese border and covering Eritrea's central mountain region. Mengistu spent the autumn of 1985 trying to take the EPLF-held town of Nakfa in the southern tip of this oval. Napalm, cluster bombs, T-54 and T-55 Russian tanks, and MIG-23's were used. But after thousands of *Dergue* dead and wounded, Nakfa remained in the guerrillas' hands.

Authoritative figures are impossible to obtain, but it is estimated that the fighting in Eritrea in the summer and fall of 1985 resulted in over 10,000 dead and wounded on both sides. (The fighting in Tigre was on a somewhat smaller scale and achieved less dramatic gains for the *Dergue*.) Many of the casualties were ethnic Oromos, people taken from the southern lowlands and forced to fight in the north. Many of Mengistu's troops were teenagers, given only a few weeks of training before being thrown into the offensive.

At the moment, the war in Ethiopia

is quiet. Diplomats and guerrilla sources in Khartoum say the *Dergue* is preoccupied with another mass recruitment of young Oromos, in preparation for another assault on Nakfa. The 33,000 Oromos who recently fled across the border into Somalia were reportedly escaping "villagization," a scheme in which whole villages are being relocated. (It is entirely possible, however, that many of the Oromos were escaping military recruitment as well.) Soviet advisers have recently been seen scouting EPLF defenses at Nakfa—another indication that a new offensive is imminent.

The American press devoted only a handful of stories to the last cycle of Ethiopian carnage, even though it was larger in scope than what has taken place in Angola or Central America. The war's effect on millions of drought victims, moreover, remains untold—the same drought victims who gave the press one of its great human interest stories of late 1984 and early 1985. In fact, Ethiopia was never more than a human interest story: starvation was graphically depicted, and the resulting American relief effort provided the press with most of its material—an American story, about America's involvement in an African famine. But the real story—the famine as a manipulated consequence of war—was largely passed over. Had Mengistu been a right-wing American ally instead of a Soviet puppet, perhaps his atrocities would have garnered as much attention as Bruce Springsteen singing "We Are the World." For now, the outlines of the story remain to be filled in, as the strategic dénouement of the tragedy begins. □

ETHIOPIA . . . CONTINUED

the TPLF. Like other Americans, Belafonte's USA for Africa entourage was largely ignorant of the war, except as a vague presence far less interesting than the famine. But one cannot be understood separately from the other.

War has disrupted Ethiopia's entire agricultural pattern: it has destroyed crops, sparked mass migrations of peasant farmers into Sudan and Somalia, and siphoned off valuable resources—especially trucks—from the famine relief effort. Moreover war, rather than drought, is behind the infamous resettlement scheme of the Marxist government. According to *Médecins sans Frontières* (Doctors Without Borders), a French relief group, and the Cambridge, Massachusetts-based Cultural Survival, the resettlement has resulted in 50,000 to 100,000 deaths. Interviews with Tigrean refugees in the Damazine camp in eastern Sudan indicate that the real purpose of resettlement is to depopulate strategic swaths of territory where rebels are active.

Yet the various civil conflicts lacerating northern Ethiopia may be too complex to excite an American audience. Neither the Ethiopian government nor the Tigrean and Eritrean guerrillas have permitted journalists into the region during an offensive. And traveling with the rebels between offensives, as I have, requires weeks away from one's base and telex, and the ability to endure bad food and little sleep. In addition, the fact that the rebels—like the government—are themselves Marxists, takes the sting out of the story. How can you tell the good guys from the bad?

But here the media and the public have been deceived. The Marxism of the EPLF and the TPLF is largely irrelevant to American interests, for both rebel groups are fiercely anti-Soviet. Both groups, moreover, operate model famine relief operations, which have transported American-donated grain to populations under their control far more effectively than has the Ethiopian government. In the current cross-border feeding program, for example, the United States, the International

Committee of the Red Cross, various other charities, and the EPLF and the TPLF are cooperating to truck upwards of 200 tons of food daily into Eritrea and Tigre. (Relations between the U.S. and the Tigreans have been severely strained, however, by the March killing of two famine relief workers by the TPLF.) While peasants flee from areas controlled by the *Dergue*, 80,000 Tigreans are migrating back to their homes in rebel-held Tigre from refugee camps in Sudan—an unambiguous indication of the rebels' popular support. For the United States, the EPLF and the TPLF are the best weapons against the regime of Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, a Soviet puppet whose cruelty has been compared with that of Pol Pot.

But it is Mengistu's imperial ambitions, which are identical to deposed Emperor Haile Selassie's, that lie at the heart of the tragedy in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia has been independent for thousands of years, tracing its roots back to the Roman-era Semitic kingdom of Axum, centered in present-day Tigre. In the late nineteenth century, Emperor Menelik II restored Ethiopia to its former Axumite greatness, bringing Tigre in the north under the rule of his own Amharas, who inhabited the center of the country in the region of Addis Ababa, the capital which Menelik himself founded. An Ottoman form of exploitation ensued. The peasants of Tigre were heavily taxed and the men conscripted into the Emperor's army. Meanwhile the people of Eritrea, even farther to the north, were suffering likewise under the Italians. The decades of Italian domination over Eritrea, from 1889 to 1941, encouraged a feeling of political separateness, whereby the Eritreans saw rule from Addis Ababa as little more desirable than rule from Rome.

After World War II and the Italian defeat, Menelik's successor, Haile Selassie, continued the policy of imperial exploitation of Tigre, while adhering to a tenuous autonomy agreement with Eritrea. The autonomy agreement broke down in late 1961: civil war between the central govern-

ment in Addis Ababa and guerrillas in Eritrea has continued ever since. The fighting in Tigre erupted in 1975, when Tigrean rebels took advantage of the general anarchy prevailing after the fall of Haile Selassie to launch a war. Ethiopia is plagued by other rebellions as well: in the Wollo, Gondar, Oromia, and Ogaden regions, although these are being fought on a much smaller scale than those in Eritrea and Tigre.

While the West is preoccupied with the famine, Mengistu is preoccupied with the rebellions. The Soviets share his priorities, and the stakes are high. Eritrea's Red Sea coastline gives Ethiopia great strategic value. Had it not been for shelling from Soviet warships offshore in 1977, the Eritrean port of Massawa would have fallen into EPLF hands, and Ethiopia today would be almost a landlocked nation. The Soviets have been amply rewarded. They have use of the Asmara air base, and have a naval anchorage off the Dahlak Archipelago, along Eritrea's coast. Ethiopians are not allowed to enter the bases.

Mengistu has put as many as 200,000 soldiers—two-thirds of Black Africa's largest standing army—into the battle against the EPLF. Helping out are 8,000 East bloc advisers. The Eritreans, by contrast, have up to 50,000 troops, as well as tanks and armored personnel carriers captured from the *Dergue*.

For several years running, the battle lines remained stable. But last summer, after American interest in Ethiopia had slackened, the map of the country started changing. In early July, the EPLF captured the strategic hilltop town of Barentu, in southwest Eritrea. Diplomatic and other sources reported that the *Dergue* suffered 2,000 casualties in thirteen failed attempts to retake Barentu throughout July and August. Finally, in the face of a massive *Dergue* troop build-up—which required the redeployment of two divisions from the Ogaden Desert—the EPLF withdrew from Barentu, having captured large amounts of Soviet weaponry stored there by the *Dergue*. As it turned out, the staged withdrawal was the

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

10/14

TO: Max
FROM: BRENDA WONG
RE: Attached Staffing Memo

Comments due by 1pm tomorrow
Thanks.

gn.t - tele Brenda & agree w
Lines 1007,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

World Food Day

Comments from Linas:

Paragraph 1, First Sentence:

Being fed is not a right, it is a need. Examples of rights are the right to free speech, to practice religion, to protest, etc. Food is a basic human need that people cannot live without.

I suggest the end of the first sentence be changed to read "...the most basic of human needs -- the need for sustenance."

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/14/86 · ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 10/15/86

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON ENDING HUNGER IN AFRICA

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | MILLER - ADMIN. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| REGAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | POINDEXTER | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MILLER - OMB | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | RYAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BALL | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | SPEAKES | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BARBOUR | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | SPRINKEL | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BUCHANAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | SVAHN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| CHEW | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | THOMAS | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DANIELS | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | TUTTLE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| KING | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| MASENG | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS: Please provide comments directly to Michael Driggs by 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday, October 15th, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

86 OCT 14 P 4: 37

RECEIVED OPL-WW

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

FOR RELEASE ON OCTOBER 16 -- WORLD FOOD DAY

DRAFT -- HOLD CLOSE

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON ENDING HUNGER IN AFRICA

Last month, in accordance with an act of Congress, I proclaimed October 16 World Food Day and called upon the American people to reaffirm their commitment to those who do not enjoy that most basic of human ~~rights~~ -- the right to be fed. Commitment and desire alone, however, are not enough when the topic is hunger. We must act. And the most appropriate area to which we should direct our attention is the region of the world where the problem is most severe: Sub-Saharan Africa.

Therefore, I have chosen World Food Day to announce my intention to focus all U.S. assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa toward the objective of ending hunger in that tragic region by the end of the century, through economic growth and private enterprise.

In recent years, Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed unparalleled economic decline in both per capita food production and income. The people of some parts of the region have suffered from severe fluctuations in food production and intermittent famine for over a decade. This decline has occurred despite increased economic assistance and resource flows from all sources. For example, my administration has worked with the countries of the region for the last six years to promote economic incentives and forge a sense of cooperation for policy reform. Some results have begun to be shown through the provision of incentives for farmers and the disassembling of ineffective statist enterprises.

Our efforts to date still have not been enough as shown by the continued economic decline. Even as the 1984-85 famine recedes, many countries remain dependent on foreign food aid just to meet their citizens' basic food needs. Unless basic changes occur, the next famine will doom millions of innocent Africans to death or arrested physical development.

This cannot be allowed to happen. The time to avoid a crisis is to act before it occurs. I believe the United States should respond to an African commitment to undertake effective action which produces sustainable results. What is required is broad-based growth, based on indigenous private enterprise as a basis for economic progress and social justice. This is the only way to reduce the poverty which is the root cause of hunger in Africa. Without such an effort, the African people will continue to face the threat of famine.

Four months ago the world came together in New York to consider Africa's economic problems at the historic U.N. Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa. African leaders courageously committed themselves to undertake reforms designed to promote economic growth and social justice. For many, this was the first time such a commitment was made. Their willingness to do so showed a desire to place the welfare of their citizens above ideological considerations.

I join with all Americans to applaud those brave leaders who committed themselves to rebuilding their agricultural base. They recognize the crucial role of incentive economic policies in building a strong private sector which provides a framework for all African people to participate in national development and to meet their basic needs.

The commitment of Sub-Saharan Africa deserves a reciprocal commitment from the world. America will do its part. I have directed my Administration to undertake an initiative to help end hunger in Africa in this century by:

- Establishing a common goal for U.S. bilateral and multilateral economic programs and policies: end hunger in Sub-Saharan Africa through economic growth and private enterprise development by the end of the century. All U.S. economic policies and programs for the region will be focused in accordance with this goal. They will promote the growth of the private sector as much as possible. I realize that the ultimate responsibility rests with Africans themselves. Thus, the level of U.S. aid provided individual countries will be directly related to their willingness to adopt incentive policies and private sector programs.
- Promoting donor coordination on comprehensive structural adjustment and policy reform as well as assistance programs. Other donors provide more than 80 percent of non-emergency assistance to Africa. Building on the Bonn and Tokyo Summits, the IMF Structural Adjustment Facility and the U.N. Special Session on Africa, I invite other donors to join in a coordinated and concerted effort to help Africa achieve the goal of ending hunger in this century through economic growth and private enterprise.
- Mobilizing the U.S. private sector. Americans are eager to continue to help Africa. The humanitarian response of Americans to the famine of 1984-85 was extraordinary. I challenge all Americans to remain committed until the job is done, through humanitarian contributions, continued private voluntary involvement, and a renewed corporate commitment to help end hunger in Africa.

I have established a Task Force to implement this African Initiative. The Task Force will be jointly chaired by Peter W. Rodman, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security, and Michael A. Driggs, Special Assistant to the President for Policy Development. The Task Force will report to me on how to implement my goal before the end of this year.