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SUSPENSE 1200, 16 May 86
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3637 (10-81)

14 May 86
Date

Washington, DC 20520

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May 12, 1986

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 - Mr. Frank Ward
 - Mr. Leonard Iuzza

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FROM:

AP

- Chester A. Crocker *CAC*

SUBJECT:

IG Review of NSDD-57, US Policy in the Horn of Africa

As agreed at last week's meeting, we are forwarding draft terms of reference for a fresh inter-agency review of NSDD-57. We believe we are all in agreement that dramatic changes in Sudan, Mengistu's and Siad's apparent willingness to negotiate, and the growing threat of expanded Libyan activities and influence require us to review US objectives in the region and to examine possible US initiatives to further our objectives in these changed circumstances. The study should address the following issues:

1. Redefine US Objectives in the Horn

A. US military access/requirements. NSDD-57 identifies this as the first US objective in the region. To what extent have we met those requirements? Are new arrangements desired or necessary? What should be done about repositioning of equipment for CENTCOM?

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B. Deter and counter attacks and destabilization efforts against friendly states. Ethiopia remains a major force for destabilization in the region. Libya's growing influence in Sudan is a major concern. What are the possible/appropriate US responses? What are the roles of Egypt, Kenya and other friendly states in the region?

C. Improve the economic and political stability of friendly countries in the Horn. We have large economic assistance programs in several of the countries of the region. How should we use our aid resources in Sudan during what will inevitably be a slow process of restoring strong economic management, recovery of exports and ability to meet even minimum debt service? To what extent should that aid be linked to economic reform as distinguished from its use to advance political goals?

D. US response to local conflicts. Mengistu's overtures to Somalia offer the possibility of a negotiated settlement to a conflict of long standing. To what extent should we support this process? Are there opportunities to influence peaceful resolution of other conflicts, especially that within the Sudan. How do we address the Ethiopian insurgencies in the current context?

E. To reduce and ultimately remove Soviet and Soviet-proxy influence in the region. Ethiopia remains the principal Soviet base of influence in the region. How do we galvanize our Allies to restrict growing amounts of long-term assistance to Ethiopia, and condition that assistance on changes in Ethiopia's economic, foreign and internal policies? How might we exploit Mengistu's fears about Soviet intentions? How should we use any residual US relief aid beyond 1986 to maintain positive images of the US within Ethiopia and strengthen non-governmental organizations such as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church? How should we use Ethiopia's human rights violations as part of a strategy to pressure Mengistu both at home and in his regional policies?

II. Current Situation in the Horn: Trends for the Future

A. Political Review of the Horn. In general NSDD-57 needs to be updated to take account of new political developments in the region. What does the impact of continued instability in Sudan mean for the region? What can we do to promote stability? What are the anticipated roles/influence of the Soviets, Libyans and others hostile to US interests? How can we best confront these challenges?

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B. Economic review. What are prospects for economic growth for key friends: Sudan, Somalia, Kenya? How should we use our aid programs in these difficult circumstances? What are the views of other donors and outlook for assistance flows in the near term? How can we achieve greater donor consensus and coordination in the key countries? What are appropriate levels and forms of US assistance, particularly in Sudan and Ethiopia?

C. Security. How do we deal with the threat of terrorism? How can we adopt our programs to maintain our objectives while reducing staff?

III. Description of Current Policies in the Region.
Recommendations for Future Actions.

A. Military/security assistance.

B. Economic assistance.

C. Instruments of leverage and US influence: with our allies, with friendly countries in the region, with our enemies.

D. Domestic and Congressional Basis for support.

This review should include US regional approaches, bilateral actions, as well as possible joint actions with allies and other friendly states with interests in the region.

We would appreciate your comments and suggestions by May 16. You can forward them to David Fischer, Director for East Africa, Room 5240 (647-9742).

Drafted: AF/E:DJF [initials]
5/12/86: 647-9742
6042F

Cleared by: AF: JK Bishop

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