

million people died: some directly from bullets, bombs, mines and shells. But the tragedy of it is many more died from starvation and disease, the indirect result of war."⁵

Focussing mainly on Ethiopia, the outside world is trying desperately once again to find adequate resources for emergency food supplies, and to secure effective assurances, particularly from the Ethiopian government, that these supplies will be allowed to go through to areas controlled by the Eritrean and Tigrean rebels.

In support of a wide range of peace making efforts now underway, the Soviet Union has signalled that its previously large supplies of arms to the Mengistu government are no longer assured. The US administration has lent close but informal support to Mr. Carter's mediation efforts. But a series of negotiation meetings on the various fronts all ran into serious snags toward the end of 1989, and the prospect grows ever more immediate that desperately needed relief assistance will not be able to get through in the coming months, and that another gigantic human tragedy will unfold, with the world outside standing by in helpless frustration.

This looming tragedy in the Horn of Africa could provide the most powerful test of the unprecedented improvements in superpower relations, and in the will of the international community to promote greater order and human well-being. Even if parallel, or even joint pressure by the superpowers should not prove adequate in the near-term to expedite negotiated ends to these unwinnable wars, it is not now inconceivable for the international community, through the UN Security Council, to agree that the withholding or disruption of food and relief supplies cannot be used as a weapon, and that appropriate measures will be taken to prevent any such actions. Under the authority of the Security Council, inspectors could certify that relief and humanitarian shipment and convoys contain no military material. They could then maintain liaison with the relevant military command structures on all sides to pass along these assurances, together with information on the routes and timing of shipments. Observers could be deployed along the routes to monitor the free and safe passage of humanitarian supplies, and identify any violators, with the Security Council to determine appropriate sanctions. If these measures were judged insufficient, UN escort forces could be deployed for such shipments and routes.

We recognize that the kinds of function suggested here would constitute a departure for the United Nations and the international