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MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 61, Folder 2, International Rescue Committee, January-June
1979.

Jan 2/79

Bare plan to aid Asia boat refugees

MANILA, Philippines (UPI) — A U.S. congressional team flew over a stranded refugee ship in Manila Bay today and announced a rehabilitation plan that would turn Asia into a "haven" for Vietnamese refugees.

Rep. Lester Wolff (D-N.Y.) told reporters the Asian Development Bank had agreed to finance the projects for the establishment of permanent "self-sustaining" refugee communities "in various nations throughout Asia."

The idea behind the plan, he said, was to remove the economic obstacles to the resettlement of refugees "so that some of the nations which have not accepted the refugees will be moved into accepting them."

Wolff and his party had a first-hand look at the refugee situation when they flew over Manila where 2,400 Vietnamese refugees lay packed in the Hong Kong freighter *Tung An*, unable to land after Philippine authorities denied them temporary asylum last week.

Werner Blatter, representative of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees who has been screening the refugees, indicated that at the least a third or about 800 of them would be resettled in industrialized countries. These are refugees with family links overseas.

Philippine authorities indicated they would insist that those refugees who might not be repatriated should go to Hong Kong, their first port of call.

A government spokesman said today the Philippines might banish the refugee crowded *Tung An* to Hong Kong if no outside nations offered to resettle the Vietnamese boat people.

He said Hong Kong authorities also are insisting the *Huey Fong*, which has 2,700 refugees appealing for temporary shelter, sail to Taiwan — its original destination.

The right to demand that a vessel sail to its first port of call is provided under international law, the spokesman said.

A Philippine newspaper suggested the United States accommodate the refugees at its naval base 90 miles northwest of Manila while resettlement arrangements were made.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman said the United States had not officially received a formal request that it give temporary shelter to the refugees at the base.

The spokesman said the embassy also was awaiting word from Washington on a Philippine appeal to reunite some of the *Tung An* refugees with their relatives in the United States and had not yet received a list of Vietnamese eligible for reunification.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Werner Blatter was expected to complete interviews with the refugees today.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

1028 CONNECTICUT AVE. N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • (202) 659-9447

To: Members of the Citizens Commission Date: January 15, 1979
From: Louis A. Wiesner *LAW* Subject: Refugee Statistics

As of December 31, 1978, there were: 136,512 overland refugees in the Thailand camps, and 61,729 boat refugees in the camps of Malaysia (46,286), Thailand, and other East Asian countries. 129,333 overland refugees and 55,915 boat people had no known resettlement opportunity at year's end.

Arrivals of refugees in East Asia during 1978 were as follows:

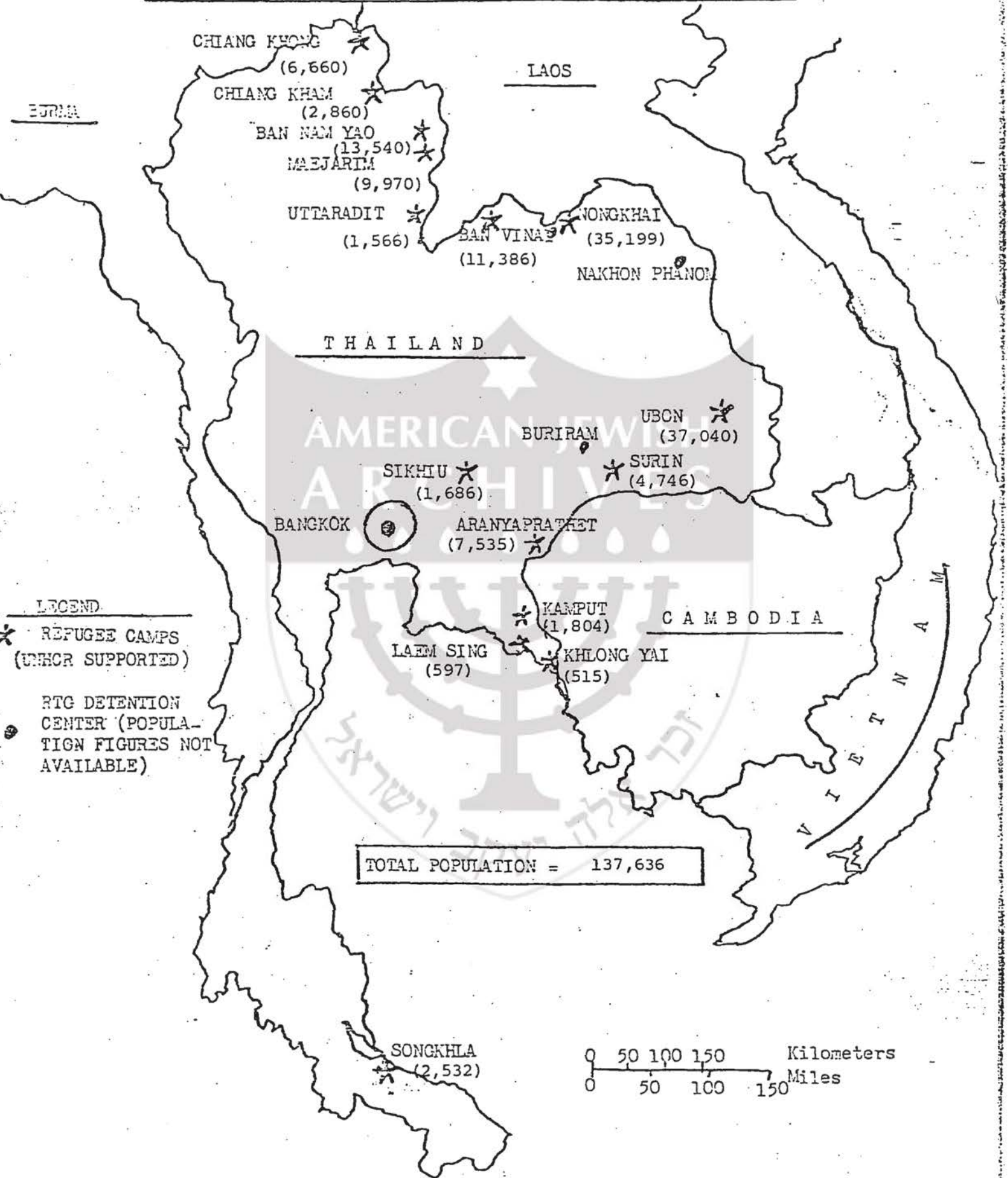
	<u>Boat People</u>	<u>Land refugees</u>	<u>Totals</u>
January	1,741	4,914	6,655
February	1,405	624	2,029
March	2,047	1,284	3,331
April	4,920	2,166	7,086
May	5,856	4,327	10,183
June	4,995	11,524*	16,519*
July	6,137	3,443	9,580
August	4,344	3,044	7,388
September	7,432	3,092	10,524
October	12,165	9,350*	21,515*
November	21,888	17,129*	39,017*
December	17,339	2,984	20,323
	<u>90,269</u>	<u>63,881</u>	<u>154,150</u>

These statistics come from the State Department.

Enclosed are a map of the Thailand camps and a table showing the refugee situation there, compiled by Bill Sage, the Joint Voluntary Agency Representative.

*Includes previously uncounted refugees living outside UNHCR-supported camps who were incorporated into the camps during the month.

INDOCHINESE REFUGEE CAMPS IN THAILAND



UNHCR CAMP POPULATION FIGURES AS OF 1 DECEMBER 1978

SUMMARY OF REFUGEE SITUATION IN THAILAND
30 NOVEMBER 1978

REFUGEE POPULATION (1975 - 1978)

	ARRIVALS	DEPARTURES	RESIDUAL POPULATION	% INCREASE OVER PAST YEAR
1975	77,241	12,755	64,486	-
1976	35,558	24,178	75,866	18%
1977	35,750	14,021	97,595	29%
1978 TO DATE	63,833	23,792	137,636	45%*
TOTAL	212,382	74,746	137,636	

CURRENT REFUGEE POPULATION

	LAND	BOAT	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
LAO	118,085	0	118,085	86%
KHMER	14,628	202	14,830	11%
VIET	1,794	2,927	4,721	3%
TOTAL	134,507	3,129	137,636	100%

CUMULATIVE DEPARTURES (1975-1978)

UNITED STATES	34,792
FRANCE	30,843
AUSTRALIA	4,890
OTHERS	4,221
TOTAL	74,746

CURRENT RATE OF GROWTH

AVERAGE MONTHLY ARRIVALS	4300
AVERAGE MONTHLY POP. INCREASE	5700***
AVERAGE MONTHLY DEPARTURES	2100
NET MONTHLY INCREASE	3600

U.S. REFUGEE PROGRAMS IN THAILAND (AS OF 30 NOVEMBER 1978)

	CEILING	APPROVED	DEPARTED	REMAINING ALLOCATION
1975 LAO PROGRAM	3,466	3,412	3,412	54
1976 EXPANDED PAROLE PROGRAM	10,050	10,050	10,050	0
1975-1978 VIETNAMESE/CAMBODIAN PAROLE, CONDITIONAL ENTRY, HUMANITARIAN PAROLE, AND IMMIGRANT VISAS	INDEFINITE	7,740	7,730	INDEFINITE
1977-INDOCHINESE PAROLE PROGRAM				
LAND	8,000	8,000	7,111	0
BOAT	2,306	2,306	2,284	0
1978-INDOCHINESE PAROLE PROGRAM				
BOAT	1,648	1,648	1,535	0
1978-LONG RANGE PAROLE PROGRAM				
LAND	12,500	7,878	2,207	4,622
BOAT	INDEFINITE	918	465	1,582
TOTAL	48,197**	41,952	34,794	6,258

* PROJECTED (THROUGH 31 DECEMBER 1978)

** INCLUDES SPECIAL PROGRAM APPROVALS

*** INCLUDES ACTUAL ARRIVALS PLUS PREVIOUS ARRIVALS WHO LIVED IN THAILAND FOR A TIME BEFORE REGISTERING IN A REFUGEE CAMP



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bangkok, Thailand

16 January 1979

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious
Affairs Director
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022
U.S.A.

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Thank you for your kind note. It was our pleasure to have you
in Bangkok.

I'm enclosing a letter I wrote to a White House Staffer who wanted to
know what they could do to help. Maybe my suggestions will get
somewhere. Mort and I look forward to the return visit of the
Commission. Best wishes to you and your colleagues.

Sincerely,

Sheppie Abramowitz
Refugee Section Staff

Encl: O'Keefe letter



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bangkok, Thailand

16 January 1979

Mr. Charles O'Keefe
Special Assistant to The President
The White House
1600 Penn. Ave NW
Washington DC 20036
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. O'Keefe:

I enjoyed the chance we had for a brief chat. I hope the necessary cables have arrived for Ambassador Dobell's attention.

You asked for comments about the refugees in Thailand. I have two suggestions that could be very helpful. The first: Some additional White House support and recognition for the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees, chaired by Leo Cherne. (I enclose a few details on the Commission.) The Commission has been a major force in encouraging sponsorships among private citizens, and seeking legislative and federal government action on these refugees. Acknowledgment of this role could be helpful.

The next suggestion regards a bureaucratic action. I've enclosed an article from the Trib for this week. If you could somehow help the voluntary agencies continue their important role in the resettlement process, this would be of great importance.

I hope these thoughts might be helpful. I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Sheppie Abramowitz
Refugee Section Staff

Encl: An Article

ALTON KASTNER

1/19/79

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

Dear Marc-

You may wish to see the enclosed IRC fund raising report for 1978. Our income from private sources will actually exceed \$2,200,000, but my reports (issued four times a year) include only direct fund raising income.

With regards,



INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016 • (212) 679-0010

To: Executive Committee

Date: January 18, 1979

From: Al Kastner

Subject: Fund Raising Report: Jan.1 - Dec.31, 1978

A strong final quarter brought IRC fund raising income for 1978 to a record \$1,598,000, about 29% more than the \$1,244,000 raised in 1977. A statistical report is attached.

All fund raising sources contributed to the higher returns. Direct mail income of \$409,000 was about 30% higher than 1977, with the spring, fall and Christmas mailings reaching record levels. Close to two thousand donors made between two and seven contributions each. Foundation income rose by 44%. Six grants were \$15,000 or more, topped by \$50,000 from the Pew Memorial Trust, followed by \$25,000 from the Smith Richardson Foundation. (Excluded from this report is a Ford Foundation payment of \$25,000 to our Nairobi office, the first of four installments of a \$106,000 grant for IRC refugee operations in Kenya.)

Corporate grants, including \$25,000 from Exxon, were almost 90% higher than 1977. IRC's income from the federal employees program - both the domestic and overseas campaign of the International Service Agencies - increased by about 16%. A January 1979 report indicates that the percentage of contributions designated for IRC through this program is continuing to rise. Gifts from Board members rose by more than 25%.

Contributions stemming from publicity efforts were almost double the 1977 figure -- including some \$20,000 from Leo Cherne's appearance and fund raising appeal on William Buckley's "Firing Line" program, which was carried by scores of educational television stations throughout the country.

We are off to a good start in 1979 -- including a special grant of \$46,000 from the Smith Richardson Foundation. Leo has been informed that we can expect an \$80,000 Ford Foundation grant to defray expenses of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees. And there is no doubt that activities of the Commission have been a substantial contributory factor to the overall 1978 fund raising results.

AK: jc

a. k.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE FUND RAISING REPORT

	<u>Oct. 1 - Dec. 31, 1978</u>		<u>Total Returns - Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 1978</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u># Returns</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u># Mailed</u>	<u># Returns</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1. <u>Direct Mail</u>					
a. Spring Mailing: IRC list	212	\$ 5,203.50	52,000	5,204	\$ 151,486.46
b. Spring Mailing: Outside lists	138	1,916.00	236,000	2,667	32,727.14
c. Vietnam Mailing	58	2,051.00	229,000	1,226	25,736.00
d. Fall Mailing: IRC list	1,278	35,388.29	53,000	2,543	76,574.93
e. Fall Mailing: Outside lists	1,498	22,430.57	150,000	1,511	22,741.57
f. Christmas Mailing: IRC list	2,226	55,737.81	53,000	2,226	55,737.81
g. Christmas Mailing: Outside lists	666	6,372.69	83,000	666	6,372.69
h. 1977 Mailings	50	738.18	--	1,451	37,667.42
<u>DIRECT MAIL TOTALS</u>	<u>6,126</u>	<u>\$129,838.04</u>	<u>856,000</u>	<u>17,494</u>	<u>\$ 409,044.02</u>
2. Board of Directors		35,809			65,232
3. Corporations		48,125			92,185
4. Foundations		65,124			235,200
5. Organizations (Federal campaign, unions, churches, schools, etc.)		194,675			724,772
6. Media/Publicity		17,141			54,941
7. Special Events (Art portfolios)		5,375			7,875
8. Bequests		522			3,000
9. Miscellaneous		2,831			6,216
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>		<u>\$499,440</u>			<u>\$1,598,465</u>
					<u>\$ 317,250.59</u>
					51,548
					49,077
					163,889
					618,200
					28,128
					2,500
					11,278
					2,955

LEO CHERNE
Chairman

WILLIAM J. CASEY
Co-Chairman

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CITIZENS COMMISSION ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

CARE OF INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

TEL. (212) 679-0010 • CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK

January 24, 1979

The Honorable Lester L. Wolff
Chairman
House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Wolff:

I am delighted I had the opportunity to read your statement on return from your seven-country, two-week inspection trip through Asia. You could not have taken a more important trip at a more propitious and sensitive time nor reached conclusions with which all of the members of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees would as readily find themselves in agreement.

We also completed a three-week study trip which concentrated on Hong Kong, Malaysia and Thailand, with other members of our Commission going as well to Geneva and Taiwan. We once again eagerly look forward to an opportunity to testify before your Committee.

The problem of the Indochinese refugees has changed to such an extent in magnitude as to have brought about changes in fundamental character as well. We undertook this second study trip in the hope that we could return with recommendations appropriate to the new circumstances and we are now eager to share our observations and conclusions with you and your colleagues.

With my deep regard,

Sincerely,

Leo Cherne
Chairman

Committee on International Relations

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE LESTER L. WOLFF, CHAIRMAN,

HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS

Between December 28 and January 13, my colleagues and I undertook a seven-country, two week inspection mission through North, East and Southeast Asia. In each country, and with our ambassadors during the Chiefs of Mission conference in Bangkok, we explored several major themes which were regional in nature:

- 1) The need for concerted, world-wide action by the international community and individual nations to break the log-jam and help share the burden of the refugees still pouring out of Indochina.
- 2) Improving cooperation in the international struggle against illegal narcotics trafficking. This was particularly stressed at the meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, of the State Department's Southeast Asian Narcotics Coordinators Conference, attended by personnel from State, DEA, the intelligence community and Customs.
- 3) Reviewing the political and strategic implications of normalization of relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States.
- 4) Discussing and, where appropriate, inspecting areas of direct U.S. military presence in Asia, in particular, the bases at Clark and Subic in the Philippines, and the U.S. forces in South Korea and their relationship to regional stability.
- 5) Assessing regional stability, in particular, the nature, impact and implications of the "third Indochina war" which reached such critical proportions during our stay in Bangkok.
- 6) Seeking to re-state what has been a consistent theme of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs for the past two years -- that the United States is and will remain a Pacific nation; U.S. economic and security interests in Asia will be maintained, and where appropriate, enlarged.
- 7) Discussing in each nation the need for a more organized, more aggressive U.S. export trade posture. While Asia is presently America's largest trade partner, this is due to the effort of a few large U.S. companies, rather than U.S. government tax policy to stress investment growth over short term profits, or export initiatives by the vast majority of American business and industry.

Our itinerary originally was scheduled to take us to Hanoi just prior to our mission to Taipei. But after full consultation with the Department of State, and after careful consideration on our part, the members of the delegation reluctantly concluded that to visit Hanoi at this critical juncture was not appropriate.

I say "reluctantly" because we very much wanted to discuss with Hanoi the problems caused by the continued flow of refugees from areas under its control. We wished to discuss the continued heartbreak caused by Hanoi's failure to provide a final accounting for the many hundreds of Americans still listed as missing in action from the war. We wanted to discuss the issue of regional stability, and how Hanoi planned to reassure its neighbors, and particularly the ASEAN nations, as to its intentions. Finally, we wished to discuss the issue of normalization of relations between Vietnam and the United States.

But this was not to be.

We strongly regret that Vietnam has violated the most basic principle of international relations -- namely the self-determination of states. We all earnestly hope that the Government of Vietnam will be able to take sufficient steps in the near future so that Vietnam's neighbors will be reassured as to their prospects for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia, and in the region as a whole.

On this mission we visited seven countries: Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Taiwan. I have spoken of our over-riding major themes. In each country we also discussed specific bi-lateral concerns. A brief summary of our discussions follows:

- 1) Japan -- Discussions in Japan centered on economic matters, regional security and Japanese views on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the P.R.C. Having themselves recently concluded a treaty of cooperation and friendship with the People's Republic of China, the Japanese are supportive of the U.S. move. The Japanese Government has stated that the establishment of diplomatic relations will add to the stability and security of the region.

Japan continues to regard the Soviet Union as a potential security threat and is taking a number of measures to improve its defensive posture. The delegation expressed its appreciation for the recently concluded cost-sharing agreement on U.S. bases in Japan, and urged that greater efforts be made in this direction.

As a country extremely dependent on foreign trade and secure sea lanes, Japan will continue to be concerned about the security and economic well-being of Taiwan, a major trade partner which sits astride its principal sea transportation routes. Japanese leaders stressed the necessity of a peaceful solution to Taiwan's future in order to ensure regional stability.

2) Philippines -- The Mission arrived in Manila just as the final touches were being given to the agreement on continued American use of the bases at Clark and Subic. This new agreement, technically an amendment to the 1947 agreement which would have expired in 1991, has been basically completed to the satisfaction of both parties. On its part, the delegation sought to stress that the Administration has pledged its "best effort" to seek Congressional authorization on an annual basis for a five-year program of security and economic supporting assistance totaling some \$500 million dollars. Initial authorization of these funds each year will require action by the International Relations Committee. The Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs will begin reviewing these budget proposals, and the technicalities of the base agreements, as an initial order of business in the 96th Congress.

The delegation discussed the human rights situation in the Philippines since the elections of last year, and sought to encourage the continued progress toward moderation which has been made in recent months.

The delegation also visited a major refugee camp in Manila, and held discussions with the Asian Development Bank on possible financing of development projects to aid refugees which will be more fully discussed in a later section of this report.

3) South Korea -- While in Korea, the Mission discussed the progress and implications of the continued program of withdrawing the 2d Infantry Division, particularly in light of recent information that the strength of North Korean forces may have been underestimated in the past by U.S. Intelligence.

The delegation would stress that before the next contingent of U.S. Army personnel are withdrawn from South Korea, all new information concerning North Korea strength must be re-evaluated by both the executive branch and the Congress.

The delegation would note, however, that for the past several years the U.S. has been engaged in a continuous review of its assessment of North Korean force levels, and that U.S. and South Korean analysts have stated that North Korea has been devoting increasing amounts of its resources to strengthening its offensive capability. The Congress has already approved an \$800 million program to compensate South Korea with equipment and training over the next several years, as well as an annual \$275 million F.M.S. appropriation.

Also discussed with Korean officials was the anticipated effect on stability on the Korean peninsula of normalization of relations between Washington and Peking. Korean officials expressed hope that favorable results would be forthcoming, but warned against excessive optimism without solid evidence of performance by Peking or Pyongyang.

The delegation expressed its support of recent actions favorable to human rights in South Korea, and met with key figures in that movement.

4) Thailand -- The delegation arrived in Bangkok just as the joint Vietnamese-Cambodian rebel invasion reached Phnom Penh, and threatened the eastern border of Thailand itself. The issue of regional stability, and the direct threat to Thailand posed by uncertainty over Vietnamese intentions was fully discussed.

The delegation expressed its full support for a continued strong U.S. relationship with Thailand, including the security aspects of the Manila pact.

The joint work of Thai, U.S. and regional narcotics efforts were pursued by the delegation, and the need for greater cooperation along the border areas with Burma stressed.

The delegation visited three major refugee camps in Thailand (Aranyaprathet on the Cambodian border, Nong Khai and Ubon) and expressed its support for Thailand's response to the refugee situation. (The delegation's specific findings and recommendations on refugees will be presented at the conclusion of this survey of each country.) The delegation also held extensive meetings with U.S. State Department Refugee Officers, representatives from the United Nations High

Commissioner on Refugees, and members of the various volunteer organizations working with the Thai Government to provide the refugees with the bare necessities of life.

5) Burma -- The mission to Burma represented the first Congressional delegation to that nation in a decade. In that time, Burma and the nations of the golden triangle have come to supply nearly one-third of the U.S. domestic heroin market through an annual crop of some 400 tons of opium poppies.

Through extensive cooperation by Burmese authorities, the delegation was able to carry out on-site inspection of the utilization of 25 helicopters and four fixed-wing aircraft supplied by the U.S. to aid the Burmese Government in eradication of the opium poppy fields, interdiction of the opium caravans, and destruction of heroin refineries along the Burma-Thai border.

The Burmese have also mounted an impressive campaign to prevent drug abuse by their citizens, a serious and growing problem which now reaches into every strata of Burmese society, just as it does in the United States.

The delegation, which also represented the select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, will be working with U.S. executive agencies and international organizations such as the United Nations to help promote crop substitution and other methods of providing the opium farmers with viable alternatives to their presently deadly crop.

The Burmese consider the narcotics trafficking problem and their insurgency problem to be two sides of the same coin. They thus feel that by combatting the narcotics traffic they will eliminate the insurgents' means of support. We encouraged the Government of Burma to initiate a dialog with those insurgent groups which are not involved in the opium traffic in hopes of resolving a political conflict which goes back to the end of the second World War. We stressed to the Burmese that narcotics control assistance was not being supplied to suppress the human rights of the minority peoples of Burma which are guaranteed by the Burmese constitution.

6) Malaysia -- Malaysian officials stressed that in the absence of a coherent international program to pledge resettlement of refugees in third countries, they fear they will be permanently saddled with a major "residue" of refugees who cannot be resettled.

The delegation flew out to inspect a Vietnamese boat refugee camp at Pulan Besar, and also overflowed the huge camp established on Pulan Bedon Island off the coast at Trengganu.

The delegation stressed its dissatisfaction with the organization and pace of the UN program of resettling refugees in third countries. Quicker action is needed to relieve the burden on the temporary host nations of Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines. Also discussed was minister Ghazali's proposal, endorsed on the day of the delegation's arrival by the ASEAN ministers, that an island or islands be set aside to serve as a temporary holding facility for all Indochina refugees until permanent third country homes could be found.

7) Taiwan -- The delegation was the first Congressional mission to visit Taiwan since President Carter announced the breaking of diplomatic relations with Taipei and the termination of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China.

The delegation sought to stress the continued determination of the Congress and the American people to safeguard the economic growth and stability of Taiwan, and noted the Administration's determination to continue in force more than 50 treaties and agreements between Taiwan and the United States. Under this policy, Taiwan will continue to have status as a legal entity in the world community and the U.S.

The delegation noted that in every Asian nation it has visited in the past year, the importance of securing a peaceful solution to the future of Taiwan was expressed by government officials and private and business contacts. Further, the importance to regional stability of a peaceful solution was stressed by the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs during its mission to Peking last July.

In particular, the Subcommittee discussed in Peking the intention of the United States to continue supplying needed security assistance to Taiwan in the event of normalization, and in the absence of a formal mutual defense treaty.

In Taipei, the delegation stressed that President Carter specifically stated the determination of the United States to continue to supply arms and equipment as is deemed necessary in the future.

One of the Subcommittee's first orders of business in Washington will be to begin work with the Administration in drafting and reviewing legislation necessary to guarantee that the traditional social and economic relationship between the United States and Taiwan will continue to flourish.

REFUGEES

AMERICAN JEWISH

I have saved for the conclusion a more full discussion of our preliminary findings and recommendations on the refugee situation. As noted, we inspected 6 major refugee camps in the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia. On previous missions, we had discussed the refugee issue with officials in Hong Kong and Singapore. On the basis of this experience, and that of hearings held by the Subcommittee over the past two years, we make the following preliminary findings and recommendations:

1) Until and unless the United Nations, the voluntary organizations, and the individual members of the international community break the log-jam by embarking on a serious, full time effort to re-settle the Indochina refugees, the temporary host nations will be unable to provide any but the bare necessities of life for those refugees who live to reach their shores.

2) Once a long-range program of assured re-settlement for the great majority (if not all) of the refugees is underway, the particular problems presently existing in the camps will be much easier for the host nations and the volunteer organizations, working together, to resolve. In this regard, it should be noted that a proper balance must be struck between resettling land refugees and boat people, since land refugees constitute by far the vast majority.

3) The United States, France, Australia and Canada have almost entirely served as havens for resettlement, as have Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines almost entirely borne

the burden of initial refuge. The delegation suggests that there is no moral excuse for this situation. The United Nations, and particularly those nations which were so vocal in condemning the Vietnam War, have shirked their responsibilities now that that war is over.

4) The delegation would stress that a key to stimulating the re-settlement of Indochinese refugees is to stop thinking of these people as burdens for the potential host nations. The facts are that Indochinese refugees are a good investment in the future. They are hard-working, have high skill levels, and are obviously motivated to participate in a free enterprise system.

5) The delegation recognizes that economic constraints exist in the form of initial costs of accepting large numbers of refugees because of the time it will take for the refugees to become economically self-sustaining. With that problem in mind, the delegation suggested that the Asian Development Bank favorably review applications from host-nations for joint development projects which would allow communities and regions with refugee populations to be economically self-sustaining, and not be a burden on the host countries or on the world.

6) The delegation notes that even under the present conditions which limit the ability of the temporary host nations to meet the needs of refugees, more can be done to ease the plight of the residents of the camps. While sensitivity to local political and social factors must be borne in mind, the fact is that the food, water, and sewage situation in most camps is still inadequate. Camp conditions can be improved, in some cases dramatically, in order to relieve the human suffering. Key to this process is a more sustained effort by United Nations officials to back up the work of UNHCR field representatives and members of the voluntary service organizations who actually work in the camps. The delegation notes that efforts to raise the morale of camp residents -- particularly in Malaysia, where mail deliveries are prevented as an act of policy -- would appear to offer dividends far in excess of any presumed benefit of with-holding such amenities from human beings cut off from their families for months, even years, without word.

These and other specific recommendations will form the basis of hearings and a full report by the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs in the new Congress.



THE ROYAL THAI EMBASSY
2300 KALORAMA ROAD, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

No. 108 /2522

January 25, 1979

Mr. Leo Cherne
Citizens Commission
on Indochinese Refugees
c/o International Rescue Committee, Inc.
386 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Mr. Cherne:

Thank you for your letter of 12 January 1979, in which you were kind enough to inform me of your recent trip to study the problem of the Indochinese refugees in Southeast Asia.

I wish to commend you and the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees for having organized such an important and timely study mission, and for the valuable contribution you are making to the general humanitarian effort to relieve the plight of the Indochinese refugees in Thailand and neighbouring countries. My Government highly appreciates the understanding and sympathy you have shown in regard to the problems facing us in Thailand. And we are confident that the new insights you have gained into the situation will enable the Citizens Commission to plan and act even more effectively in the future.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Klos Visessurakarn)

ambassador

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

DATE Jan. 24/79

FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

TO: Mort Yerman

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- ____ Please Handle
- ____ Read And Return
- ____ Returned As Requested
- ____ Telephone Me
- ____ Your Comments, Please

REMARKS:

Mort This is obviously long - but
feel free to edit it. I will
try to have a text by Thursday
afternoon. Many thanks!
Marc

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE in associa

Marc: Bert doesn't
want us to invite press
to the Monday forum.



~~Letter of invitation (or mailgram) to press on Vietnamese boat people forum~~

Dear *Friend*:

I am pleased to invite you to cover a report on "A Major Challenge to Christians and Jews - the Vietnamese Boat People and Indochinese Refugees," to be presented at the American Jewish Committee on Monday, Jan. 29, 12 noon, in Room 800-A.

This update account of the present state of the Indochinese refugee problem - rightly called, in our view, the "greatest humanitarian crisis of this decade" - will be delivered by AJC's national director of interreligious affairs, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum.

A member of the Citizens' Commission on Indochinese Refugees of the International Rescue Committee, Rabbi Tanenbaum has been a key member of two intensive fact-finding missions to Southeast Asia refugee camps, the latest of which took place in mid-December.

Rabbi Tanenbaum will provide a detailed report on his experiences with Vietnamese boat people, Cambodian refugees, ethnic Chinese, Hmong tribesmen and other Indochinese refugees against the background of the current Vietnamese-Cambodian conflict. He will also make a series of important recommendations ~~calling~~ calling for collaboration between Christians and Jews throughout the United States in interreligious sponsorships of refugees and joint rehabilitative activities.

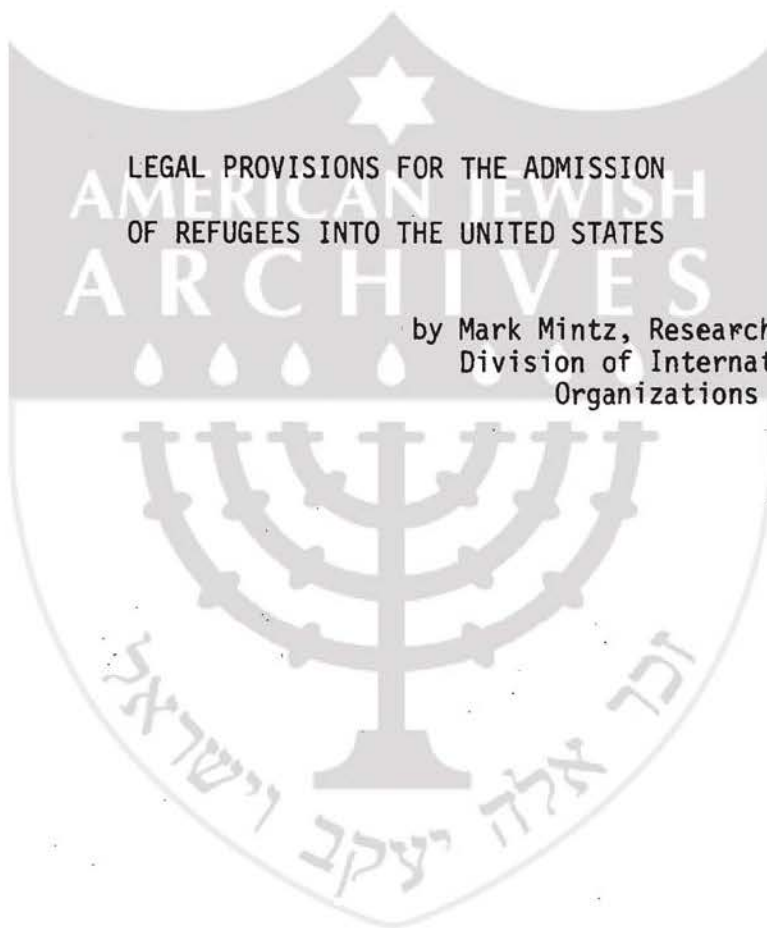
There will also be some discussion of the role of the organized Jewish community in helping bring relief to these unfortunate people whose problems are expected to reach monumental proportions of tragedy during the coming three to five years.

We hope you will find it possible to attend this significant event, which is the first report of its kind on this concern by a representative of the Jewish community.

Cordially,

Mort Yarmon

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT



LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR THE ADMISSION
OF REFUGEES INTO THE UNITED STATES

by Mark Mintz, Research Analyst
Division of International
Organizations

Sidney Liskofsky, Director
Division of International
Organizations

January, 1979
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LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR THE ADMISSION OF REFUGEES INTO THE UNITED STATES

In a speech, "Issues in U.S. Immigration Policy for 1979; the Administration's Plans and Views," delivered before the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference on November 10, 1978, Michael J. Egan, Associate U.S. Attorney General, suggested that the United States adopt the definition of refugee as used by the United Nations.(1) In its wake, a concern has been expressed that such a re-definition would have a negative impact upon the admission of refugees to this country. This concern is unfounded; in fact, such a re-definition would have a liberalizing effect. The re-definition of refugee, however, is only one of a number of proposed changes in the present immigration law which would affect the admission of refugees into the U.S. Proposed changes of particular import would affect the interplay between two provisions of the immigration law--conditional entry under the seventh preference and the Attorney General's Parole authority.

Current U.S. Definition

While there are two important provisions in the immigration law affecting the admission of refugees, only one is dependent on a definition of refugee. The provision commonly referred to as the seventh preference (2) authorizes the conditional entry, within the annual worldwide quote of 290,000, of up to 17,400 refugees. Such admissions, which require approval by the Attorney General, apply to two categories of refugees. The first consists of any alien, providing that he is not a national of the country in which his application for conditional entry is made, who because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion, has fled a Communist or Communist-dominated country or any country in the Middle East, (3) and who cannot return to such country for these same reasons.(4)

The second category of refugees who may obtain conditional entry are "persons uprooted by catastrophic natural calamity as defined by the President who are unable to return to their usual place of abode."(5) This standby authority has not been utilized. In any event, the limited annual allotment for both categories of seventh preference refugees, which each year is completely taken by first category refugees, most likely precludes its effective use in the future.

Parole Authority

The other important provision in the present U.S. law affecting the admission of refugees to this country is the parole authority of the Attorney General to admit aliens.(6) This authority does not depend upon a definition of refugee, but simply provides that "the Attorney General may in his discretion parole into the United States temporarily under such conditions as he may prescribe for emergent reasons or for reasons deemed strictly in the public interest any alien applying for admission to the United States....." Although

originally intended only for the admission of a limited number of individuals rather than of large groups, along with special legislation it has become the means for the admission of such large groups of refugees.

U.N. Definition

The United Nations definition of refugee contained in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as amended by the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees,(7) is more liberal than the present U.S. definition in that it extends the definition of refugee to those persons fleeing in fear of persecution for reasons of nationality and social group, as well as for reasons of race, religion and political opinion. (While the U.N. definition does not include the natural calamity category of refugee as contained in the U.S. law, proposals to adopt the U.N. definition have never been interpreted to mean deleting this category.)

The U.N. definition does not have any of the ideological or geographical limitations contained in the U.S. definition. Its adoption would be liberalizing in that it would expand the U.S. definition so as to apply to all refugees from any country, and not just those fleeing the Middle East or Communist states.

Historical Note

Throughout most of the history of the United States there had been no special provision for the admission of refugees. In response to the large number of refugees resulting from World War II, the United States first turned to the use of special legislative authorizations. The first legislative enactment was the Displaced Persons Act of 1948,(8) which with its amendments permitted the entry of over 400,000 refugees. Another 214,000 refugees were admitted within 3½ years under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.(9)

During this same general period, the parole procedure was evolving as a product of administrative ingenuity.(10) It was first codified in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952,(11) which was originally intended as a recodification of then existing law. Its usefulness as a flexible tool for dealing with large refugee problems became evident during the Hungarian crisis of 1956. 38,000 refugees were admitted from Hungary, 6,000 under the Refugee Relief Act and 32,000 by parole.

Since the Attorney General had virtually unlimited power under this authority to admit refugees, a sentiment developed within Congress to establish more predictable and particularized standards for their admission. Toward this end in 1965, conditional entry for refugees under the seventh preference with a specified numerical ceiling was created.(12) Surprisingly, the parole authority was left in force unchanged.

Comparison of Conditional Entry and Entry By Parole

Conditional entry under the seventh preference and admission by parole

differ essentially in their relative degrees of flexibility. For emergent reasons or for reasons of public interest, the Attorney General may admit by parole an unlimited number of aliens, free from ideological and geographical restraints and national quotas, for as long a period as he determines. The only constraints are Congressional political pressure upon the President or himself. On the other hand, conditional entry under the seventh preference is limited by a definition of refugee with political and geographical restraints and a fiscal year quota of 17,400. Seventh preference conditional entry is for a maximum period of two years, after which the entrant must apply for status adjustment to that of permanent resident via normal INS channels.

Conditional entry is further restricted by a national origin quota.(13) The seventh preference is only one of eight categories of preference priorities under the United States immigration law.(14) The other preferences include qualified immigrants who are related to American citizens, related to aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, members of the professions, or exceptionally able in the sciences or the arts. The national origin statute provides that the total number of immigrant visas and conditional entries made available to natives of any single foreign state under all these preferences shall not exceed 20,000 in any fiscal year. In other words, if 20,000 natives of a particular state in one fiscal year were already admitted under the other preferences, no refugees from that state could be admitted that year under the seventh preference even if all 17,400 seventh preference slots were still available.

Because of these restrictions on conditional entry, more than 600,000 Cuban refugees had to be admitted by parole authority since 1965, the year when the seventh preference was created. In 1975, approximately 140,000 Southeast Asian refugees were admitted by parole. By late 1978, parole admissions for that year had passed 37,000. This obvious inadequacy of the seventh preference provisions for dealing with contemporary refugee problems and dissatisfaction with the abuse of parole authority to admit large groups of refugees are the impetus for the recent proposals to reform the immigration law and establishment by Congress of the Select Committee on Immigration and Refugee Policy in 1978.

Pending Proposals for Re-Definition and Other Reforms

There are presently three proposals for re-defining refugee and reforming other provisions in the U.S. immigration law: 1) the policy statement of Associate Attorney General Egan, 2) H.R. 7571 introduced on May 13, 1977, by Rep. Eilberg, and 3) S. 2751 introduced on March 15, 1978 by Senator Kennedy. All three suggest similar formats: 1) a re-definition of refugee, 2) a regularized procedure for the admission of a specified number of refugees, 3) a regularized procedure for the admission of an unlimited number of refugees during a specific emergency refugee situation, and 4) an amended parole authority provision for the admission of individuals in special need. While the Kennedy bill is the most liberal of the reform proposals, they are all more liberal than the present law.

All three suggest the adoption of the U.N. definition of refugee which deletes the present discriminatory limitations as to the geography and politics of the state from which an alien has fled. The Kennedy bill is significantly more liberal in that it alone contains a definition of displaced person (such persons to be treated under the law the same as refugees). (15) Under the definition of displaced person, an alien who was uprooted by catastrophic natural calamity, civil disturbance, or military operations could be admitted without a showing of persecution or fear of persecution in his state of origin.

The Kennedy bill is also more liberal in that those aliens admitted as refugees or displaced persons under the regularized procedure containing a numerical ceiling would receive immigrant visas. Under the other proposals, such refugees would only be admitted conditionally and would later have to apply to have their status adjusted to permanent resident.

The proposed procedures for the admission of an unlimited number of refugees during a specific emergency situation are meant to replace the present abuse of the parole authority. They are more restrictive than the present parole authority only in that they mandate consultation with Congress and other more specific procedures to be followed. In practical effect, they should be no more restrictive than the present parole authority.

Eilberg Bill

The Eilberg bill would adopt the U.N. definition of refugee which deletes all geographical and ideological qualifications in the present law. The seventh preference format would be eliminated and a new Sec. 207 of the Act of 1952 would be created. The new section would provide for conditional entry in two ways: 1) by the authority of the Attorney General under normal circumstances, and 2) by the authority of the President in special emergency situations. Under normal circumstances, the Attorney General might admit conditionally up to 20,000.

In addition, the President might admit in consultation with the House and Senate Judiciary Committees:

1. conditionally, from any single emergent refugee situation, the following number in excess of the Attorney General's 20,000 annual limitation:
 - a. The lower of 5,000 or 15% of the total caseload of an international refugee migration organization, or
 - b. the total caseload of such an organization upon appeal by that organization to the Secretary of State, or
 - c. the number determined by the Secretary of State in consultation with such an organization; and
2. conditionally, on his own, up to an additional 20,000 for any single refugee situation of special concern.

In effect, the only numerical ceiling in an emergency refugee situation would be the actual caseloads of the international refugee migration organizations. Most important and undetermined as yet is the definition of such an international refugee migration organization.

As these new emergency provisions are intended to replace the present ad hoc admission of large groups of refugees under the Attorney General's parole authority, the Eilberg bill would limit this authority to the admission of "particular aliens" whose parole would be warranted for "compelling reasons in the public interest."

A major negative provision in the Eilberg bill relates to the adjustment of refugee status. The purpose of conditional and parole admission is to provide a temporary place of refuge in this country. If a refugee so admitted desires to remain here permanently, he must apply subsequent to such admission for adjustment to permanent resident status. The Eilberg bill would only permit 5,000 refugees admitted conditionally or by parole to so adjust their status per fiscal year. Such refugees could apply for status adjustment two years after admission. This means that if 100,000 refugees were admitted in one year, beginning two years later it would take twenty years for all of them to have their status adjusted.

Administration Policy

The Egan statement could very well serve as a general outline of the Eilberg bill. He suggested that the non-discriminatory definition of refugee as used by the United Nations be adopted for the seventh preference and that the annual ceiling for such conditional entry be raised from 17,400 to 50,000. As the administration did not believe that the parole authority was the appropriate mechanism for bringing in large groups of refugees, he proposed that regularized procedures be established for the admission of refugees during special emergency situations. In such an emergency situation, there should be no numerical ceiling, but consultations with Congress should be required. He emphasized that this emergency provision would not be used just to clear up a simple build-up of cases which should be handled through normal seventh preference procedures. As for parole, he stated that it should only be used for the entry of individuals for humanitarian reasons, who would not otherwise be eligible for admission.

Egan felt that the unrestricted use of the parole authority by the Attorney General encouraged other states and international agencies to rely upon the United States as the ultimate refuge for those dislocated in emergency situations. By more clearly defining the limitations upon emergency refugee admissions into the United States, he believed that these states and international agencies would better understand their own responsibilities in such situations.

Kennedy Bill

The Kennedy bill is the most liberal of the three reform proposals. It would also adopt the United Nations definition of refugee and, in addition,

expand the present second category of refugee (persons uprooted by catastrophic natural calamity) to include persons uprooted by civil disturbance or military operations without the requirement of a determination of the nature of such events by the President. The Kennedy bill refers to this second category of refugees as displaced persons. There would be no distinction in treatment between refugees and displaced persons. Like the Eilberg bill, the Kennedy bill would abandon the present seventh preference format and instead would utilize a new Sec. 207 of the Act of 1952.

Under the proposed Sec. 207(a), the Secretary of State may make available up to 40,000 immigrant visas to refugees and displaced persons. This would be a very positive change in the immigration law, not contained in any other reform proposal. It is positive in that aliens admitted under this subsection would not be admitted conditionally, but would be granted immigrant visas and, therefore, would not have to apply two years later for an adjustment to permanent resident status.

Under the proposed Sec. 207(b), the Secretary of State may recommend to the Attorney General that an unlimited number of refugees or displaced persons be admitted conditionally, if the admission of such aliens under subsection (a) is not possible or practical; is justified by emergent or humanitarian reasons; or is in the public interest. The Attorney General would have to consult with the appropriate House and Senate Committees. Such conditional entrants could apply for adjustment to permanent resident status after two years. During the fiscal year of such adjustment, however, for each such adjustment the Secretary of State would reduce by one the number of immigrant visas authorized for the class to which the alien would normally be chargeable, including visas authorized under the proposed Sec. 207(a).

The Kennedy bill would also expand the Attorney General's parole authority by authorizing him to parole into the United States temporarily any individual alien for humanitarian reasons, as well as for the other reasons already enunciated in the present statute.

Political Future of Proposed Reforms

The political future of these various proposals is rather unclear. For certain, none will be adopted in whole. Egan, in his statement, hoped for legislative action by May when the current Southeast Asian parole authority expires. The Select Commission is only now being appointed and it will be some time before hearings are begun. Senator Kennedy apparently sees immigration reform as third in priority to health care legislation and criminal law reform.

Jewish Concerns

Jewish concern would support the expansion of refugee admissions under regularized procedures, as well as unlimited provision for admission in emergency situations. Taking the present Iranian situation as an example, under present law, Iranian Jews could be admitted as refugees to the United States in three ways. As Iran is a state defined by statute as being in the Middle East, if a

Jew fled from Iran because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion, he would meet the definition of refugee contained in the seventh preference provision. (An Argentine Jew fleeing for the same reasons would not be a refugee under this provision as Argentina is neither in the Middle East, nor Communist-dominated.) The seventh preference, however, has a fiscal year ceiling of 17,400 and admission is further limited by the national origin quota for all preferences of 20,000 per country of origin. Such a Jewish refugee would be treated as an Iranian. It is most likely both that much of the seventh preference allotment will have been filled and that a good number of Iranians would already have been admitted under other preference categories.

As a result, the admission of such refugees in an emergency situation would be dependent either upon admission by parole or by special legislation. The Attorney General could admit by parole an unlimited number of Iranian Jews without being bound by any definition of refugee. However, he would be subject to all the political pressures extant in the country. Admission by parole is most important in that it can be instituted almost immediately. On the other hand, while emergency admission by special legislation could be as unrestricted by numerical ceiling or refugee definition as admission by parole, action by Congress would be much more cumbersome, time-consuming, and subject to political forces.

Among the reform proposals, the Kennedy bill is the most responsive to Jewish concerns. Most important is its expanded definition of displaced persons (treated the same as a refugee) to include persons uprooted by civil disturbance or military operations. If a Jew were uprooted by such events in Iran, he could be admitted to the United States as a displaced person, although there was no persecution on account of religion or political opinion. An Argentine Jew could also be admitted as a refugee or displaced person, as the Kennedy bill would delete the ideological and geographical limitations in the present definition of refugees.

The Kennedy proposal for unlimited conditional entry is almost as unrestricted as the present parole authority provision, only adding the requirement of consultations with the appropriate House and Senate Committees. Admission of any large group of Jewish refugees would be no more difficult than under the present parole provision.

The major drawback in both the Administration proposal and the Eilberg bill is that they do not define as refugees or displaced persons aliens who are uprooted by civil disturbance or military operations. An Iranian or Argentine Jew would only be admitted under the regular refugee provision if he could show that he fled because of persecution or fear of persecution. Also, regular refugee admissions under the Kennedy bill would be twice as large as under the Eilberg bill (40,000:20,000).

Lastly, an Argentine or Iranian Jew would have the same possibility of admission under any of the proposals for single emergency refugee situations.

Note on Political Asylum and Voluntary Departure

It has been the purpose of this paper to address the problem of refugees seeking admission into the U.S. For some, however, the issue is remaining in this country rather than gaining admission.

A non-immigrant alien already in the U.S. as a tourist, student, etc., who fears persecution in his home state on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group, or political opinion, may seek political asylum here. If granted by the INS, asylum permits such an alien to remain temporarily with his status to be reviewed yearly. Such an alien may work while he remains in the U.S.

There is no U.S. statutory provision for political asylum. The right of asylum is guaranteed by the U.S. ratification of the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees which incorporates the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. In effect, these international agreements are considered as part of U.S. law. Article 33 of the Convention provides that "No Contracting State shall expel or return a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion."

A decision whether or not to grant asylum is highly political and depends greatly upon the current relations between the United States and the alien's state of origin. If the relations are good, the U.S. will not want to characterize the country as being engaged in a policy of persecution, and it will be disinclined to grant asylum.

The administrative device of voluntary departure may also enable an alien to remain in the U.S. Under this provision, (16) the Attorney General may, in his discretion, permit any alien under deportation proceedings to depart voluntarily from the U.S. at his own expense in lieu of deportation, which allows him to reapply without prejudice. The alien is usually given thirty days in which to voluntarily depart. In certain refugee situations, however, there may be no time limitation for voluntary departure.

If an alien obtains political asylum during a deportation proceeding, he will be given voluntary departure status for a period of one year. Such status can be renewed in yearly increments. Cuban refugees have been granted indefinite voluntary departure status with no limitation being placed on their time of departure. Presently, Ethiopian, Lebanese, and Ugandan nationals are being given extended voluntary departure status. Nationals of these states may remain for six months and subsequently renew this status every six months. All such refugees may work while they remain in the U.S.

As with the granting of political asylum, the granting of indefinite or extended voluntary departure status is a highly political determination. Not just any alien can seek extended voluntary departure. First, a determination must be made by the INS and the Attorney General that an unstable situation exists in a particular state. **Second**, the State Department must decide that it will not oppose the granting of extended voluntary departure to nationals of that state. Last, a national of that state must demonstrate compelling humanitarian need.



FOOTNOTES

1. Although the United States is a party to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as amended by the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, and is thereby bound by its terms, which arguably means that the United Nations definition of refugee is already United States law; the Board of Immigration Appeals has held that differences in the language between the Protocol and present United States law do not require a change in the standards under which claims of persecution are to be decided in this country (see Matter of Dunar, I.D. 2192 (1973)).
2. 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1153(a)(7). See Appendix.
3. The statute defines the Middle East as the area between and including Libya on the west, Turkey on the north, Pakistan on the east, and Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia on the south.
4. Under Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) regulations, such refugees can only apply for conditional entry at INS offices in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, or Hong Kong.
5. This provision is an extension of prior special legislation under which persons so uprooted in the Azores were granted asylum in the United States.
6. 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1182(d)(5).
7. See Appendix.
8. Act of June 25, 1948, 62 Stat. 1009, as amended June 16, 1950, 64 Stat. 219, and June 28, 1951, 65 Stat. 96.
9. Act of Aug. 7, 1953, 67 Stat. 400.
10. See Matter of R., 3 I.N. 45 (1947).
11. Act of June 27, 1952, P.L. 82-414, 66 Stat. 163, 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1101 et seq.
12. Sec. 203(a)(7), Act of 1952, 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1153(a)(7), as amended by Act of Oct. 3, 1965, P.L. 89-236, 79 Stat. 912.
13. 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1152(a).
14. 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1153(a)(1)-(8).
15. See Appendix.
16. 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1254(e).

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX

Definitions of Refugee

Present Law

8 U.S.C. Sec. 1153(a)(7)

"Conditional entries shall next be made available by the Attorney General, pursuant to such regulations as he may prescribe and in a number not to exceed (17,400)....., to aliens who satisfy an Immigration and Naturalization Service officer at an examination in any non-Communist or non-Communist dominated country, (A) that (i) because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion they have fled (I) from any Communist or Communist-dominated country or area, or (II) from any country within the general area of the Middle East, and (ii) are unable or unwilling to return to such country or area on account of race, religion, or political opinion, and (iii) are not nationals of the countries or areas in which their application for conditional entry is made; or (B) that they are persons uprooted by catastrophic natural calamity as defined by the President who are unable to return to their usual place of abode. For the purpose of the foregoing the term "general area of the Middle East" means the area between and including (1) Libya on the west, (2) Turkey on the north, (3) Pakistan on the east, and (4) Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia on the south....."

Kennedy Bill S. 2751

"The term 'refugee' or 'displaced person' includes (A) any person (i) who is outside the country of his nationality or who, not having a nationality, is outside the country of his habitual residence, and who is unable or unwilling to return to such a country because of persecution or well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, or (ii) who has been uprooted by catastrophic natural calamity, civil disturbance or military operations and who is unable to return to his usual place of abode, and (B) the spouse and children of any such person if accompanying or following to join him."

U.N. Definition in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as amended by the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees:

"...the term "refugee" shall apply to any person who....owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

Parole Authority of Attorney General

8 U.S.C. Sec. 1182(d)(5):

"The Attorney General may in his discretion parole into the United States temporarily under such conditions as he may prescribe for emergent reasons or

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX (2)

for reasons deemed strictly in the public interest any alien applying for admission to the United States, but such parole of such alien shall not be regarded as an admission of the alien and when the purposes of such parole shall, in the opinion of the Attorney General, have been served the alien shall forthwith return or be returned to the custody from which he was paroled and thereafter his case shall continue to be dealt with in the same manner as that of any other applicant for admission to the United States.



SYNOPSIS A

SYNOPSIS

PRESENT U.S. LAW

Seventh Preference Conditional Entry: 17,400 ceiling; available to those fleeing a Communist-dominated state or state in the Middle East because of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion or to those uprooted by a catastrophic natural calamity and unable to return to their usual place of abode.

Parole Authority: Attorney General may admit any number of aliens, not subject to a definition of refugee, for emergent reasons or reasons deemed in the public interest.

ADMINISTRATION POLICY PROPOSAL

Seventh Preference: 50,000 ceiling; deletes ideological and geographical restrictions on alien's state of origin; and defines refugee as one who has fled because of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, social group, or political opinion.

Emergency Admission Process: Need to define special procedures and circumstances, without a numerical ceiling, but with required consultation with Congress.

Parole Authority: Restrict to its original purpose: the admission of individuals in special need; and not use for the admission of large groups of refugees.

EILBERG BILL

Seventh preference format eliminated.

New Definition of Refugee: Deletes ideological and geographical restrictions on alien's state of origin and defines as refugee one who has fled because of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, social group, or political opinion.

New Sec. 207(a): Attorney General may admit 20,000 refugees conditionally.

SYNOPSIS B

New Sec. 207(b): President may admit conditionally, in consultation with House and Senate Judiciary Committees, from any single emergent refugee situation, 20,000 at his discretion and an additional number based upon the refugee caseloads of international refugee migration organizations, but without a maximum limit.

Parole Authority: Attorney General may admit "particular aliens" whose parole would be warranted for "compelling reasons in the public interest."

KENNEDY BILL

Seventh preference format eliminated.

New Definition of Refugee and Displaced Person: Deletes ideological and geographical restrictions on alien's state of origin; defines as refugee one who has fled because of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, social group, or political opinion; and defines as displaced person one who is uprooted because of a catastrophic natural calamity, civil disturbance, or military operations.

New Sec. 207(a): Secretary of State may make available up to 40,000 immigrant visas to refugees and displaced persons.

New Sec. 207(b): Secretary of State may recommend to the Attorney General that an unlimited number of refugees or displaced persons be admitted conditionally if such admission is not practical under subsection (a); is justified by emergent or humanitarian reasons; or is in the public interest. Attorney General must consult with the appropriate Congressional committees.

Parole Authority: Retained and amended to include "humanitarian reasons" as a basis for the parole of aliens into the United States by the Attorney General.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016 • (212) 679-0010

To: Citizens Commission

Date: February 8, 1979

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: Attached letter & article

Attached is a letter from Lionel Rosenblatt in Bangkok as well as an article on him which appeared in the January 21 Washington Post.

The editorial Lionel refers to in his letter is The Wall Street Journal one which was circulated to you earlier.

Best regards,

Bob DeVecchi

RPDeV:bg
Enclosures



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bangkok, Thailand

13 January 1979

Dear Leo,

I won't belabor the point. Needless to say, the visit of the Commission was the highlight of the whole year and a beacon for the new year, particularly in light of the present crisis. I am enclosing one of the best editorials on the problem to come down the pike, so that you as well as we can draw from its spirit. Please keep in touch and let us know if we can do anything for you.

Enclosure

cc: Carel Sternberg
Bob DeVecchi

Jimel



[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



Inside Indochina, Helping Out

By Mario Ridder

Special to The Washington Post

BANGKOK—The man and the problem first met surreptitiously for four days while his State Department superiors thought he was on his sick bed at his home in Chevy Chase. Lionel Rosenblatt had actually slipped half across the world to take on, personally and secretly, a problem his government seemed to be ignoring. He went to South Vietnam and helped 200 Vietnamese, who had worked with the Americans, escape before the fall of Saigon.

On April 20, nine days before Saigon fell in 1975, Rosenblatt and another young foreign service officer, Larry Craig Johnstone, fed up with what they felt was an immovable bureaucracy, took personal leave, and without telling anyone, flew at their own expense to Saigon. Both spoke Vietnamese and had many Vietnamese friends so they were able to set up their own underground without much difficulty. Working out of a Vietnamese apartment, they arranged meetings on street corners or on the veranda of the old Hotel Continental where they filled out the necessary forms before smuggling the Vietnamese to Ton Son Nhut airport and through various police checkpoints to where they were finally loaded onto empty U.S. military planes returning home.

The American Embassy in Saigon was instructed to look for the

The Foreign Service Officer's Way With Refugees
Has Brought Him Plenty of Risk—And Recognition



Lionel Rosenblatt at the Nong Khai refugee camp.

two young men, but harassed by the problems of dismantling the huge U.S. complex they were either too busy or simply reluctant to stop the two Americans from running their own secret escape route.

When on April 25 they boarded a plane crammed with refugees for the return trip home, they were sure they had lost their jobs.

Within hours of their arrival in Washington they were summoned to appear before the Secretary of State. A stern Henry Kissinger warned them never to do such a thing again, using words like "irresponsible" or "over-dramatic," and then the Kissinger smile appeared. He embraced the two saying that he hoped he might have had the courage to do the same if he had been in their positions. Both were subsequently given Foreign Service Association Awards.

Johnstone continued his regular foreign service career, but from then on, Lionel Alexander Rosenblatt has devoted his life to Indochinese refugees. Now, three and a half years later, he heads the American effort to speed the flow of refugees from Thailand to the United States. Now the whole grim business has escalated—as mass migrations from Laos and Cambodia, overland, and by boat from Vietnam, daily swell the numbers looking for homes. More than a half million Indochinese have become refugees in the last four years. Some 150,000 are currently in camps in Thailand.

See REFUGEES, F2, Col. 3

REFUGEES, From F1

The enormity of the problem and the paucity of available alternatives for these unfortunates would discourage many, but Rosenblatt and a small staff, many of them former Peace Corps volunteers, attack the daily task of selecting that tiny number who will make it to the United States. Approximately 35,000 will be rescued from the hopeless no man's land of a refugee camp in a country that can provide neither farm land nor jobs for newcomers, a land already overpopulated and underfed.

"I get up each morning," says Rosenblatt, "wondering who I can fit into the criteria of eligibility today. Who will I have to turn down? Someone whose case I know and care about? So many of these application forms become real people to me and certainly to their case workers. We get pretty involved."

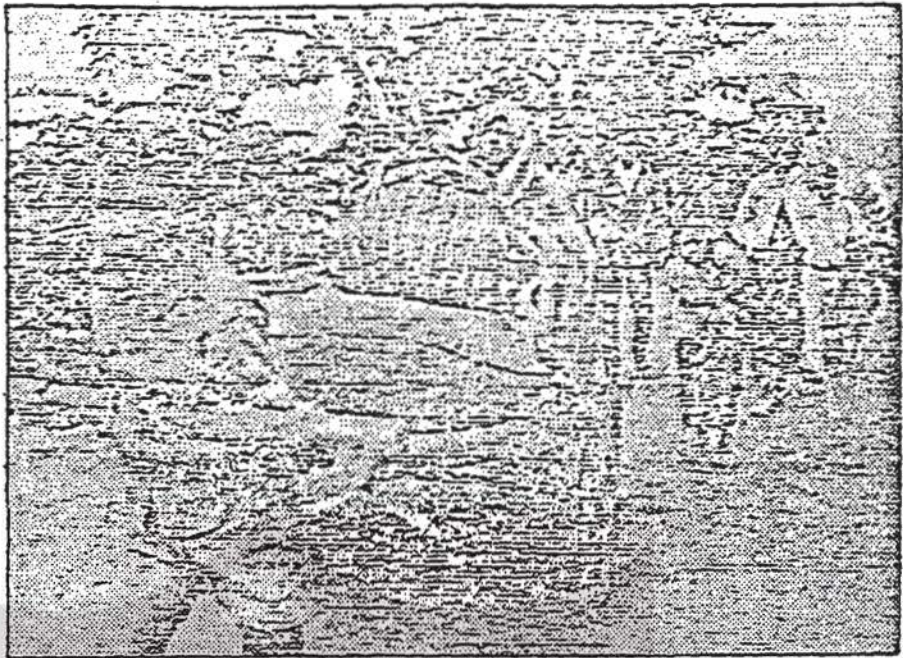
Rosenblatt worries that the United States isn't taking more refugees. He and his staff feel that we have a moral obligation towards the hundreds of thousands whose lives have been so disrupted by the war in Vietnam. The fact that the Thais currently feel inundated and unable to cope with the hordes makes it imperative to find other alternatives.

"We are," says Rosenblatt, "dealing with mass migrations. The whole of the Mhong tribal nation is being eliminated or forced out of Laos. We are speaking of hundreds of thousands of people."

The enormity of the problem must be reduced to the technicalities of doing what is possible. So Rosenblatt and all his staff go to work in their small, paper-strewn office across the street from the spacious U.S. embassy, seven days a week, 14 to 16 hours a day.

Former Ambassador to Thailand Charles Whitehouse remembers Rosenblatt's dedication with a smile. "When I saw Lionel coming down the hall I would duck into an office or behind a door. I knew he would be coming along with a request I couldn't possibly fill. Lionel pushed me—and the department—long before I had any feeling that Thailand was going to be swamped by a human invasion. I venture to say Lionel knew many more would come. He felt we were in for a dramatic time. He was right."

Lionel Rosenblatt, 35, is tall and dark. Sitting in his shirt sleeves surrounded by the clutter of his work and continually interrupted by the flow of Indochinese coming to see him about their lives, he seems relaxed. Louis Wiesner of the International Rescue Committee, who has worked with Rosenblatt for years, says "Lionel is very disorganized but somehow it doesn't matter. In the end he is extraordinarily effective."



Associated Press photo

A Cambodian child pulls a wagon as his family flees Phnom Penh in 1974.

Lionel Rosenblatt was brought up in Bellport, Long Island, where his father, a nuclear physicist, was the director of the U.S. government's Frankfort Arsenal at Brookhaven.

Bellport High was divided between the "lab" children and the town ones. Lionel, a lab child, became president of his class. He went on to Harvard and then, after a year at Stanford Law School, joined the foreign service.

"It was a natural choice," says his cousin, Ambassador Peter Rosenblatt, who is the president's personal representative for the negotiations in Micronesia. "We have all been brought up traveling. Our grandfather was an early Zionist so we spent many of our vacations in Israel."

Rosenblatt's younger brother, Josiah, is also a foreign service officer, currently serving as a special aide to Ambassador Samuel Lewis in Israel. His youngest brother, Nathaniel, has just been accepted by the diplomatic corps but is delaying a final decision until he finishes law school.

Rosenblatt was well on his way to a successful conventional foreign service career before his brief visit to Saigon. Says his ambassador cousin, "Lionel has been given many chances to go to other jobs, ones that lead up the career ladder, but he believes we owe these people an attempt to help them, that this is truly a part of our original commitment to Vietnam."

Rosenblatt's name was not on the September promotion list.

His wife—they met when they were both on assignment in Colombo, Ceylon—has become a nurse and currently works for the medical unit of the International Rescue Committee in Nong Khai, the largest of the refugee camps. During the week Anne Rosenblatt lives an austere life. She sleeps in a dorm and eats in the mess set up for the personnel of the various voluntary agencies working in the camp. The medical problems she cares for run the gamut from men and often infected wounds of those shot while escaping, to the ever-present, universal maladies caused by parasites (malaria, amoebic dysentery). On Friday night she takes the overnight train to Bangkok to see her husband.

AMERICAN ARCHIVES

The U.S. refugee office in Bangkok has only one job, the selection and transportation of those Indochinese going to the United States. The Thai government has the primary responsibility of receiving and housing the refugees. Except for a brief period in 1977 the Thais have allowed the inundation. The Thais are constantly concerned that communist troublemakers will come in under the guise of being refugees. They are worried because many refugees leave the 15 established camps and disappear into the Thai economy taking either land or jobs from needy Thais. Though the United Nations High Commission for Refugees assumes many of the costs of establishing and maintaining the camps—and voluntary agencies from all over the world have supplemented the food, clothing and medical care—the Thais find themselves absorbing many costs, like extra border guards. Additional police are needed to keep the peace in areas where the local population is actively reluctant to accept the refugees. The Thais are becoming increasingly concerned that they will be left to provide for most of the refugees.

Life as a refugee varies from camp to camp. Some camps are large enough so that the refugees, many of whom have been in camp for two or three years, have built their own huts and started vegetable gardens. Others are overcrowded, totally dependent on the meager rations provided by the camp kitchen. But what they all have in common are thousands of people yearning to come to the United States.

Indochinese who think he should be included in one of the categories of criteria required for eligibility in the Indochinese Parole Program.

The basic selection process in Thailand is done, under a contract with the Department of State, by the staff of the International Rescue Committee. These young people are mostly former Peace Corps volunteers. They all speak Thai, several speak Khmer or a tribal dialect. Their experience in the Peace Corps has given them some preparation for the extremes of Thai climate and the hardships that living in a refugee camp entail. It did not prepare them to rescue drowning mothers and babies from the Mekong River at flood tide, as exhausted members of the Mhong tribe tried to escape a pursuing Lao militia. It did not prepare them to console decimated families. Nor did it teach them how to deal with the problem of selecting a few from so many. It is a heartbreaking job with few simple answers.

The Mhong, for example, are Moslems. Many have several wives. The U.S. Immigration Service is prepared for only one per family. Some must be left behind.

Even those who have acquired a precious visa cause problems for case workers. Frequently when one realizes he is really leaving camp, that he will once more be able to care for a family, he recrosses the perilous Mekong to find that family. His immigration visa was made out only for him as prior to acceptance he had never mentioned a family, so the weary staffer has to begin all over again and include a family in the new application.

There are five separate programs under which a refugee can apply for a U.S. visa, making the process something of a bureaucratic dice game.

The Mhong tribesmen are the cause of greatest concern in Thailand currently. They are being gassed and napalm-bombed by Lao military using old American planes. Their crops are being systematically destroyed, their water supplies poisoned.

Rosenblatt, in Bangkok, worries that the boat refugees are getting all the attention. People floating hopeless around at sea present a more photogenic story than the starving Mhong coming down their mountain paths. He hopes there will be places for both groups.

Possibly Lionel Rosenblatt can, for just one day, sit at his desk, and reflect with contentment that, after all, 165,000 Indochinese have already made it to the United States.

"Lionel worries about his people even after they are here," says his father. "He is always writing me to look up so-and-so to find out how they are doing."

"I think," he says, "my son must be guided by the Talmudic teaching: 'He who saves a human life is as if he saved the whole world.'"

[end]

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000

February 9, 1979

Dear Editor/Broadcaster:

The subject of refugees is one that has particular concern for Americans since we are a nation of refugees, and it is of continuous interest.

Today the subject seems destined to become of immediate concern because of three current series of happenings: the plight of the so-called Indo-chinese "boat people"; the evolving situation in Iran; the issue of illegal aliens in the U.S., especially coming from Mexico.

I am pleased to send on to you the enclosed memorandum, prepared by a legal expert on our staff, which summarizes the current status of the laws that have bearing on the legal admission of refugees into the U. S.

You will undoubtedly find it of a good deal of interest, and we recommend it to you accordingly. Perhaps you will see fit to include it in a live file titled "Refugees" for the time when the issue erupts on to the nation's front pages and network broadcasts.

Cordially yours,

Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations

MY:lf

Enc. Legal Provisions for the
Admission of Refugees into the U.S.

79-960-D=3

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CITIZENS COMMISSION ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

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February 9, 1979

TO: Members of the Citizens Commission

FROM: Al Kastner

I am enclosing several items relating to recent Citizens Commission activities:

1. The Commission's statement and recommendations as published in the Congressional Record by Senator Kennedy, with his introductory remarks.
2. An article by Leo Cherne published on the Op Ed page of The New York Times.
3. An Associated Press article based on the Washington, D.C. press conference of the Commission on January 17.
4. A summary of IRC's worldwide activities during 1978.
5. And, for your information, a page from a Forbes magazine indicating the low cost of IRC's fund raising effort in relation to program expenditures.

Please let me know if you wish to have additional copies of any of the above-mentioned items.

A.K.



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 96th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 125

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1979

No. 5

S 467

CITIZEN'S COMMISSION REPORT ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

● Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the continuing plight of tens of thousands of Indochinese refugees—and the urgent need for greater concern and action in their behalf—was forcefully stated last week in a report prepared by the Citizen's Commission on Indochinese Refugees, formed last year under the auspices of the International Rescue Committee.

Members of the Commission recently returned from extensive travel in Southeast Asia, assessing firsthand the many problems confronting Indochinese refugees—especially the boat people strewn along the coasts of the region in squalid and overcrowded camps.

The Citizen's Commission report underscores once again the growing resettlement needs among Indochinese refugees, and the humanitarian obligations our country has in helping to meet those needs.

I strongly support the Commission's recommendation that—

The United States should declare its readiness to extend its resettlement program for Indochinese beyond the present target date of April 30, 1979.

Mr. President, we are confronted today in Southeast Asia with an escalating crisis of people—perhaps the most critical refugee problem anywhere in the world. New efforts by the international community are clearly needed to deal with the mounting tide of boat people and refugees throughout the region, and the Citizen Commission's report reminds us that the United States must continue to support this effort.

I commend to the attention of the Senate the report of the Citizen's Commission on Indochinese Refugees, and ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The report follows:

STATEMENT BY THE CITIZENS COMMISSION ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

1. The exodus from Indochina by land and sea continues unabated, and so do the attendant horrors and human tragedies. People killed while trying to cross the Mekong river from Laos and the Cambodian border. Vietnamese boat people pushed back into the open seas, drowning when boats capsize, sometimes close to land or to indifferent ships. Boats pillaged, women and young girls raped by pirates. Camps unfit for human existence. Women and children sleeping on beaches under torrential rains. Polluted drinking water and abhorrent sanitary conditions, meager medical and food supplies, infectious diseases spreading rapidly. Major epidemics a constant threat.

While all this is happening, and even growing worse, the countries of first asylum have not been assured that the free nations of the world are ready to accept the fact that responsibility for the fate of the refugees does not rest with the countries adjacent to

Indochina. Nor the fact that this is a worldwide human rights issue. Affluent nations argue endlessly about the problems of finding homes for the most ardent seekers of freedom.

2. The circumstances in which the refugees live—and die—compels priority action, including immediate steps by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to meet at least the minimal needs of all refugees in countries of first asylum with speed, confidence and decisiveness. We must in particular point to the disaster of Palau Bidong, the island of Malaysia, where 26,000 boat people live on 85 inhabitable acres. In spite of valiant efforts by the refugees to help themselves, they live in subhuman conditions: shortages of food, water, medicines, and medical care, rampant sickness and disease, unimaginable sanitation facilities, with 16 toilets for 26,000 people. Yet there seems to be no bottom to this human disaster, as new refugees keep arriving.

3. The more than tenfold increase in the numbers fleeing Vietnam by boat during the last 11 months, and the more than doubling of those fleeing from Laos and Cambodia during the same interval, has placed an onerous burden on Asian countries of first asylum, particularly Malaysia, Thailand, and Hong Kong. It is clear that interim measures as well as permanent resettlement assurances on an international scale are vital if these countries are to keep their shores and borders open to refugees, thus averting the broader tragedy of tens of thousands forced back into the hands of governments from whose oppression they fled. There is no margin of uncertainty in this conclusion: the denial of first asylum rights—unless their countries and people were relieved of their burden—was made clear during full, frank discussions with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Malaysia and Thailand.

4. The additional fact of the large numbers now fleeing, and those still to come, makes it obvious that resettlement efforts must be shared more generously by the few countries, including the United States, which have already provided the overwhelming number of resettlement opportunities. Of equal importance is the direct involvement of additional countries which have thus far not taken part in the final asylum process.

The Consultation held in Geneva on December 11 and 12 under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was intended as a step toward the internationalization of the issue. It brought the severity of the problem before the governments that had sent representatives to Geneva. The presentation of the U.S. delegation was forceful and constructive. The United States has increased its quota to about 50,000 through the end of April 1979. But except for France, none of Europe's democratic countries has thus far gone beyond a token reaction to the tragedy that has overtaken Southeast Asia. Japan, a country that has always encouraged its citizens to seek opportunities in other lands, has remained closed to the exiles from Indochina. And Latin America, where there is space and a tradition of openness, has remained unresponsive.

5. The figures have an eloquence of their own. There are now 145,000 "first asylum" refugees in the camps of Thailand; 45,000 on the islands, beaches, and inland camps of Malaysia; 6,000 in Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan; others in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Singapore. These exclude the 160,000 Sino-Vietnamese reported to be in the People's Republic of China, and 150,000 Cambodians in Vietnam.

While more than 3,000 Hmong, Laotian Cambodian refugees enter Thailand each month overland, in December alone almost 20,000 Vietnamese refugees made it across the South China Sea. At this moment, countless thousands are in boats, seeking asylum anywhere. There is no end in sight. At the same time, the total acceptance by countries of resettlement does not exceed 10,000 a month for both land and boat cases.

6. A frequent excuse offered by government that prefer to look the other way is that boat people who "bought" their way out of Vietnam, or left with the connivance and extortion of Vietnamese officials, are migrants who do not deserve the compassion of their fellow men. This position flies in the face of the accepted definition of a refugee, and is not consonant with historical precedents.

In the thirties, Jews were allowed to leave Nazi Germany with outrageously priced passports, exorbitant fees for ship passage and, of course, the seizure of all their possessions. It was indifference and lack of comprehension on the part of free countries that prevented more from leaving, and thus from being condemned to die in the Nazi concentration camps. More recently, Cuban refugees were permitted to leave Cuba if they bought their way out by surrendering all their belongings.

There are Indochinese refugees who flee in the dark of night, through mine-fields and closely guarded borders. Many are captured or shot. And there are Indochinese refugees whose escapes seem to be less dramatic even though their losses are no less severe. Yet all are refugees leaving homelands where they were persecuted for reasons of religion, nationality, ethnic origin, membership in a particular social or economic group. If returned to their countries, harsh punishment, even death, would be decreed. They are all, beyond question, refugees.

7. A particular refugee group among the many suffering in primitive camps is deserving of special attention—the hill people of Laos, the Hmongs. They are the survivors of the undeclared war against the Hmong community being waged by Laotian and Vietnamese troops who have been reported to use lethal chemicals and gases. The Hmongs' homes are being destroyed and their families decimated. These people were our allies during the years of the ambiguous conflict in Laos up to the very end in 1975. Hmongs from different areas of Laos told identical stories of efforts to destroy their ethnic identity, their culture, their livelihood and even their lives.

8. The Indochinese refugees are a resilient and resourceful group. Their presence provides us with a body of people who deeply value freedom, and a culture with an intense work ethic. The refugees make a positive economic contribution. It was the understanding of this reality, in addition to humanitarian concerns, that last March led to the endorsement of a wide resettlement program for Indochinese refugees by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and by over 100 of the nation's most distinguished black and hispanic leaders, and by a number of civic groups. No country has ever bled because it has been moved by the suffering of refugees; indeed, nations have benefited by not growing callouses on their hearts.

9. But resettlement and integration cannot be achieved at bargain rates. In the United States, resettlement is the responsibility of voluntary agencies. Several represent the major religious denominations, the others are nonsectarian, among them the International Rescue Committee which assisted in the organization of the Citizens' Commission. These organizations have for more than a generation cooperated in the resettlement of uprooted victims of tyranny and terror.

Inflation has greatly added to the cost of the operations, even as governmental assistance to their functioning has declined. Finding and assisting sponsors—or directly sponsoring refugees in the accelerated numbers now required—is a vast and costly undertaking. It is incumbent upon the federal government and the Congress to enable the agencies to perform so major a task.

10. The numbers of refugees involved necessitate an active campaign of conscience and concern to generate greater public awareness within and without the borders of the United States. The magnitude of the task justifies a call to action by the White House, supported by the leaders of the major faiths, business and labor, as well as an international initiative spearheaded by the United States, France and Australia. To an Administration that deserves credit for making human rights its continuing preoccupation, helping these victims who have been denied their basic rights must be a high priority and continuous job.

11. The Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees submits its recommendations sensitive to the fact that the United States is confronted with serious inflation, and consequent austerity and budget-cutting programs. The time is an awkward and difficult one. Nevertheless, this is a refugee crisis of such compelling humanitarian urgency, a matter of life-or-death for so many thousands of Indochinese, and a human rights issue of such overriding importance, that the Commission must urge the adoption of its recommendations. All the measures recommended are essential lest the dismal history of the 1930's repeat itself.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CITIZENS COMMISSION ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

(The Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees was formed in late 1977. It visited Southeast Asia in February 1978, and submitted its first series of recommendations upon the conclusion of its mission. It returned to Southeast Asia in December 1978. On January 10, 1979, it adopted the following recommendations. An amplifying statement of the Commission is attached.)

Recommendation 1. The United States should declare its readiness to extend its resettlement program for Indochinese refugees beyond the present target date of April 30, 1979. We must move toward a continuous program that will go on as long as refugees are being created by the policies of the governments of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. United States acceptance of refugees must be doubled to 100,000 for the year 1979 to assure countries of first asylum that they will be relieved of their burden. This resettlement program must be directed equally to the refugees escaping by land as well as by boat.

Recommendation 2. More countries will have to accept a fair share of the Indochinese refugee population, and those that have been generous will have to increase their participation. It will not do to expect the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to achieve these results. A governmental initiative at the highest level is called for, and the cause must be carried to the churches, civic bodies, trade unions, political parties, indeed the people of the Free World.

Recommendation 3. The funds provided to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees must be increased immediately to a level which will enable him to improve the living conditions in those refugee camps which lack a minimum of shelter and hygiene. At the same time the financial support to the Voluntary Agencies in the United States must be substantially augmented if they are to cope successfully with the resettlement of refugees coming to this country whose numbers have tripled.

Recommendation 4. While urging the nations of first asylum to remain open to both the boat people and land refugees—a necessity dramatized by the spectacle of disintegrating ships off Asian ports unable to discharge their human cargoes and by the appearance of a new wave of Cambodian refugees at the borders of Thailand—we must implement measures to assure them that they will not be penalized for their humanitarian actions.

Recommendation 5. Toward this end we recommend consideration of a U.S. transit center or centers at appropriate locations to permit the rapid movement from countries of first asylum of refugees approved for resettlement in the United States.

Recommendation 6. We further propose that the United States establish, in consultation and cooperation with other governments, an international holding center or centers, reasonably close to the areas of refugee flow. We are persuaded that no other step or combination of steps will do to avert tragedy, sustain the patience of the countries of first asylum, and provide the time required for the international community to mount a resettlement effort adequate to the exodus which now exists and which may grow even larger.

Recommendation 7. Beyond these interim measures, the Commission endorses the concept of territories which, with massive international financial support, could be converted into permanent homes for all those for whom resettlement in industrialized countries is neither feasible nor desirable.

Recommendation 8. Continuing non-compliance of vessels of many registries with the "law of the seas" requiring captains to come to the rescue of disabled vessels, commands an effort by governments and trade unions to impose compliance by persuasion and, if necessary, sanctions.

Recommendation 9. We recommend that the United States request the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations to conduct an investigation into actions directed against the Mhong hilltribe minority of Laos. There is substantial evidence of attempts to obliterate the hill people by Laotian and Vietnamese ground and air forces. Interviews with recent arrivals lend credence to these charges with such consistency as to make it impossible for the Commission to disregard them.

Recommendation 10. We urge the President of the United States to take the lead in a nationwide effort to increase public awareness of the plight of the Indochinese refugees, and the need to respond quickly and generously to this fundamental human rights emergency.®

The New York Times

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1979

Hell Isle

By Leo Cherne

As I left Pulau Bidong, an island about two and a half hours by fishing boat from the Malaysian resort town of Trengganu, a Vietnamese refugee said: "Please don't pity us in spite of what you saw here. We're alive, unlike our people who drowned trying to reach land, any land. But when you return to America, please try to make your people understand...."

In December, with members of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees, set up with the help of the International Rescue Committee, I saw on Pulau Bidong's 85 habitable acres 26,000 "boat people" living on the edge of disaster. (There are now 30,000, and the number keeps growing.)

We examined their food "stocks." Their skimpy food ration would last about a day, with no assurance that more would get through the choppy seas tomorrow. Medicines and drugs in short supply. A meager and polluted water supply, with the dry season a month or so away. Sanitation? Imagine 16 toilets for 26,000 people. In one week, the number of infectious-hepatitis cases — 108 of them — had almost doubled. New arrivals sleep on the open beaches under heavy monsoon rains. Yet, "Please don't pity us."

And how can one pity such extraordinarily brave and spirited people who are pooling their skills to make their lives, and the lives of their thousands of children, more bearable on this hellish island? Besides, does pity help? The only thing that will help is concrete action to rescue Indochinese refugees from desolate camps — there are close to 200,000 in Thailand and Malaysia alone — and resettle them in countries that will have them.

The reason for the trip to Southeast Asia was to obtain the facts about the refugees' situation first-hand and to return to grapple for solutions. Our first fact-finding trip, last February, led to a series of recommendations that since then have been echoed almost in their entirety by a series of United States Government actions. The commission's second mission stemmed from our conviction that the refugee situation was escalating toward an explosive crisis. We visited a score of refugee camps, transit and detention centers in Malaysia, Thailand, Hong Kong and Macao.

We had intensive discussions with

Government leaders, including the prime ministers and foreign ministers of Thailand and Malaysia. (Afterward the officials rushed some additional food, water and medical supplies to Pulau Bidong.) We consulted with American Embassy, consular and immigration officials, with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and voluntary agencies. We spoke at length with many refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Something has got to be done quickly on a huge international scale if a human disaster is to be averted. An immediate danger is that unless action is taken, the two major countries of first asylum, Malaysia and Thailand, will turn away all new refugees. The result will be thousands of more deaths — Vietnamese "boat people" as well as Laotian and Cambodian "land people."

These are the principal recommendations of the Citizens Commission:

1. The United States should double its present intake of Indochinese refugees to 100,000 during 1979, the effort to be directed equitably to those escaping by land and sea. We have a particular concern for the Hmong refugees from Laos; there are convincing reports of attempts by Laotian and Vietnamese forces to drive this proud and independent hill-tribe people from their historic land in the highlands by methods that have the effect of exterminating a large number of them.

2. More countries must be persuaded to accept the refugees, and those few countries that have been generous must increase their share. Countries of first asylum will continue to receive new refugees only if such action is taken.

3. The United States should establish a reception center for refugees approved for admission in order to relieve first-asylum countries of their burden quickly, and to facilitate the resettlement work of our voluntary agencies that are reaching the end of their financial resources. At the same time, an international reception center should be established in Asia close to the areas of the refugee flow and first-asylum countries.

4. Finally, we urge President Carter to take the lead in creating public awareness in the United States of this fundamental human rights emergency and, by setting an example, in the other countries of the free world.

All of these measures are essential lest the dismal history of the 1930's repeat itself.

Leo Cherne is chairman of the International Rescue Committee.

This Associated Press story followed the Citizens Commission press conference in Washington, D.C. on January 17.

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Philadelphia Inquirer
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
D. 417,206 SUN. 817,537

JAN 19 1979 *Bjfk*

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

U.S. eyes more Vietnamese refugees here

By RICHARD PYLE

WASHINGTON (AP) — Carter administration planners hope to double the quota of Indochinese refugees to be admitted to this country later this year to at least 100,000, official sources say.

While a precise figure remains uncertain, "we are not thinking small," one official said Wednesday after senior State Department officials met with members of a private commission of prominent Americans to discuss the growing refugee crisis in Southeast Asia.

The commission, organized in 1977 by the International Rescue Committee, predicted "human disaster" if the United States and other nations do not sharply expand efforts to help the escapees from communist Indochina. There are now an estimated 205,000 unsettled refugees scattered among several countries.

The United States has received 180,000 Indochinese refugees and will have taken in 207,000 when the present increment — 50,000 between last June and next April 30 — is completed.

Based on a recent inspection of the squalid camps in countries neighboring Vietnam — Cambodia and Laos — the private commission recommended that the United States double its quota of refugees admitted as resident immigrants. Among the other recommendations was one for an "international holding center" somewhere in Asia to lift what the commission called an "intolerable burden" from such countries as Thailand and Malaysia.

According to official estimates, the camps in Thailand now contain some 140,000 refugees and those in Malaysia about 50,000. The remainder of the refugees are in

camps elsewhere — mostly in the Philippines, Taiwan, Singapore, Indonesia and Hong Kong.

The commission said the "holding center" could replace the camps and provide more suitable facilities, under international control, for refugees who had not been admitted to any countries as immigrants.

It also proposed that the United States set up a new transit facility for refugees who have been approved for entry to this country.

"We are persuaded that no other step or combination of steps will do to avert tragedy," the group said.

State Department officials declined comment on the commission's proposals but said they would be taken into account when a new administration proposal on refugee admissions policy is sent to Congress.

International Rescue Committee

Chairman Leo Cherne, who also is co-chairman of the commission, said Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and other senior officials had offered "very substantial agreement on some points and no disagreement on any."

Cherne said Okinawa, which is part of Japan but has extensive military facilities built by the United States, had been suggested as a possible site for an international holding center.

The idea has not been put to Japanese officials thus far, he said.

Japan, like most other Asian nations, has resisted allowing Indochinese refugees to settle permanently and has accepted only three. Cherne said Japan "has not been very responsive to this human need," but added that he had learned recently that it "may be ready to reconsider" its admission policy.



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THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE IN 1978

(A Summary of IRC Activities on Five Continents)

The exodus of Indochinese refugees escalated steadily during 1978. Since the Communist take-overs in 1975, more than 450,000 people have fled from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia -- not counting the Vietnamese who crossed over to China, and Cambodians to Vietnam. Tens of thousands were captured, killed or drowned in their desperate attempt to find asylum in other countries. Boats reaching land were pushed out to sea to continue their search for sanctuary. Those which managed to stay afloat reached areas as distant as Australia, Hong Kong and the Philippines.

By the end of 1978, the Thailand camps alone were filled with 140,000 refugees. They included Laotians who crossed the Mekong River, Cambodians who fled across closely guarded borders, and boat-people from Vietnam. Another 45,000 boat-people were in Malaysian camps, including 26,000 crammed into the 80 habitable acres of Pulau Bidong Island.

Although IRC devoted a large measure of its worldwide programs during 1978 to the Indochinese, many other refugee groups were helped -- among them Russians, Cubans, Chileans, Haitians, Angolans, Ugandans, Chinese, Ethiopians and East Europeans. The basic elements of IRC's refugee work consisted of emergency aid (food, clothing, shelter, medical care), resettlement services overseas and in the United States, job placement, educational support, vocational and language training, self-help projects, assistance with immigration problems, family counseling and child care. The work of IRC was made possible by the financial support of thousands of concerned people in the United States and other parts of the world, foundations, corporations, labor unions and community groups.

THE INDOCHINA REFUGEE CRISIS: In November and December, the exodus of boat-people reached 500 to 1,000 a day. The total for November was 20,000. Worldwide attention was given in particular to the Hai Hong and its human cargo of 2,517 Vietnamese; the Malaysian government refused to allow them ashore for several weeks, until other governments had guaranteed their acceptance. In addition, an average of 3,000 refugees a month were making it across the Mekong River to Thailand from Laos, among them the Hmong hill tribe people of Laos; there was substantial evidence of efforts by Laotian and Vietnamese ground and air forces to obliterate this minority group. Thousands more escaped the holocaust in Cambodia which has been compared to the genocide under Hitler. A 15-year old

Cambodian boy who reached Thailand - and was brought to the United States by IRC - had seen 78 of his townspeople slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge, including his parents, six brothers and sisters.

Altogether, more than 100,000 Indochinese refugees escaped during 1978, and IRC was active on their behalf. In Thailand, teams of IRC doctors, nurses and paramedics, including many refugees, provided medical assistance in crowded camps. Special nutrients were given to sick and hungry children at IRC camp hospitals and clinics. A program to train refugees to serve as medical aides - in keeping with IRC's emphasis on self-help - produced several hundred paramedics who are now helping their countrymen. A letter from the chief IRC doctor at Nong Khai camp described the refugees' plight in the following passage: "The horror and misery of the refugees' flight is etched in their blank, tearstained faces. Men and women weep readily at the nightmarish memory of their ordeal. Husbands, wives, children, parents have been lost in the attempt to find safety. God, they deserve every little help we can give them!"

At the same time, IRC assumed resettlement responsibility for several thousand of the Indochinese refugees who came to the United States during 1978. Since 1975, a total of 27,000 Indochinese had been resettled by IRC. The work was carried out at eleven offices in areas of the high refugee concentrations. The goal of the resettlement effort is the absorption of the refugees into the economic and social fabric of American life by providing jobs, housing, educational support, language and vocational training, child care. About 45% of the refugees are school-age children from 5 to 16. A comprehensive survey published in November by the University of Maryland reported unemployment of only 5.8% among the "employable" Indochinese granted asylum in the U.S. The processing of all refugees in Thailand accepted by the United States was another function of IRC in 1978, and the Paris office of IRC provided assistance and family reunion services for separated refugees. Other IRC offices, Hong Kong in particular, had substantial Indochinese caseloads.

THE CITIZENS COMMISSION ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES: In February 1978, an independent Citizens Commission organized by IRC went to eight Southeast Asian countries. The Commission returned with a set of recommendations most of which were adopted by the government -- including the admission of 25,000 additional Indochinese to the U.S. and a special program for Cambodian refugees. As the crisis deepened, the White House announced in November its intention of admitting an additional 21,835 of the refugees. In December, the Commission returned to Asia. It urged a massive international resettlement effort for the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian refugees, and a doubling of the number of sea and land refugees to be accepted by the United States. The Commission also urged the President to take the lead in increasing public awareness of the plight of Indochinese refugees, and the need to respond generously to this fundamental human rights emergency. The Commission's Co-Chairmen were Leo Cherne, Chairman of IRC, and William J. Casey, former Undersecretary of State.

SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN REFUGEES: The flow of Russian emigres during 1978 dominated the refugee scene in Europe. In 1976, an average of 275 Russians a week were departing. In 1977, the rate increased to 400 and steadily rose to more than 500 a week. Altogether, 30,000 refugees left the Soviet Union in 1978. From Vienna, their first stop en route to homes elsewhere, about half proceeded

to Israel and half to the United States. They included prominent dissidents -- scientists, writers, artists, musicians, scholars. IRC's European offices provided maintenance aid as well as counseling, reunion and resettlement services for about one thousand Russian, Armenian and Ukranian refugees, and continued to assist hundreds of those entering the United States. Some were helped to go on to Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

A similar number of East European refugees from Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia were helped by IRC in western Europe and the United States during 1978. Many, as in the case of Russians, were assisted to go on to other countries of final asylum. Some had escaped in dramatic fashion, such as two Romanian sailors who jumped overboard at 2:00 a.m. while their ship was anchored in New York Bay. They swam for two hours in freezing waters to Staten Island.

AFRICA: From late 1977 through 1978, an additional 90,000 refugees fled to Zaire from Angola, bringing the total to some 600,000, among them about 50,000 from the Cabindan enclave which appears to be controlled by Cuban forces. In cooperation with local Catholic and Protestant groups, IRC stepped up its relief and medical aid for the refugees, many of whom suffered from severe malnutrition. Food (especially rice, beans, powdered milk, dried fish, meat) was obtained and distributed in the border areas. Blankets and other emergency supplies were also provided.

Several doctors participated in the IRC medical and feeding program, including volunteers from France. In one area, an IRC doctor established a feeding unit at a hospital to provide protein-rich food and milk for the children in particular. "But alas," he reported, "many patients were admitted too late, and despite energetic treatment, plus transfusions and multi-vitamins, many have died." Among prevalent diseases are malaria, pneumonia, tuberculosis and parasitical afflictions. Doctors often must travel long distances through difficult terrain to reach refugee settlements where no clinics exist.

In Kenya, several thousand Ethiopians were added in 1978 to the refugees fleeing from Idi Amin's Uganda. An IRC clinic in Nairobi, opened in September 1977, was treating an average of 50 patients a day. The clinic is staffed by refugee doctors, nurses and aides. In Western Kenya, IRC hired Ugandan personnel to serve in local hospitals and clinics; otherwise the refugees would have no medical help.

In addition, IRC enabled Ugandan students to attend schools in Kenya by employing refugee teachers. Refugee social workers were also supported. Scholarships offered by IRC enabled some refugee students to enroll in technical and vocational schools (accounting, commercial, secretarial, printing and tailoring courses), giving the students their only hope of becoming employable. A grant from the Ford Foundation in late 1978 will enable the International Rescue Committee to expand its educational services.

LATIN AMERICAN REFUGEES: The number of Cuban refugees entering Spain had decreased to a trickle early in 1978 but started to rise again in the late spring. By the end of the year 200 Cubans were entering Spain each month. At first, they were mostly old people, but as the year progressed a greater number of younger refugees joined them. The IRC office in Madrid continued to offer

support services to newly arriving Cubans with help from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as resettlement processing. Since Castro seized power in Cuba in 1959, more than 600,000 Cubans entered the U.S., among them 14,000 who have rowed, floated or been washed up on Florida beaches.

In the fall of 1978, Castro started releasing limited numbers of political prisoners whose cause IRC has long espoused. The first group consisted of a number of women who were permitted to go to Venezuela. In October, Castro admitted the existence of 3,400 political prisoners, though the number may safely be assumed to be far greater. Among those still in jail is Huber Matos, the Cuban teacher who was imprisoned in 1959 for expressing criticism of Castro's policies. In March 1978, Matos managed to send out a letter which was published in The London Times and included the following passage:

"No arbitrariness or vileness of Castro and his system can surprise me. I am more than used to suffering, to my own flesh and spirit, mistreatments and vexations in these forgotten and tortuous paths of offence to the human race that are called Castro's jails, but there is something I cannot understand. Why isn't this denounced, loud and clear, day after day in the streets of Caracas, in the universities of Mexico, in the pulpits of churches in Scotland, on French television, in the Canadian press, in the United Nations...."

In November, disturbed by reports that the U.S. government might act slowly to admit Cuban prisoners, the IRC Board of Directors sent a telegram to President Carter and Attorney General Bell which included the following passage:

"It was with deep concern that we read newspaper reports to the effect that the United States will admit about 50 prisoners and 100 family members a month. We cannot believe that this is your position. At that rate the release of Cuba's prisoners will take many years, and Castro will be able to blame our lack of compassion for an utterly unnecessary extension of the suffering of thousands of his opponents. Moreover, unwarranted delays on our part harbor the danger of Castro's reneging on his offer. Let it not be said that we were niggardly and callous, in disregard of promises made and never revoked. Let it not be said that we were unmoved by the plight of suffering people, many of whom have languished in Cuban jails for close to 20 years. If there ever has been a need for speedy and effective action, it is now."

On November 28, the Attorney General announced that the United States would admit another 3,500 Cuban political prisoners and their families at a rate of 400 a month.

In 1977, IRC sent a representative to Buenos Aires to facilitate the emigration of Chilean and other South American refugees who had obtained temporary asylum in Argentina and had applied for admission to the United States. Some had undergone torture and urgently needed medical care. In April 1978, the U.S. government announced its intention to admit 500 additional South American refugees and detainees. But their movement was slow, and during all of 1978 only about one hundred of the refugees were able to come to the U.S. IRC also continued to assist political refugees from Haiti by providing emergency aid, job placement, family reunion services, and assistance in deportation and adjustment-of-status proceedings.

HONG KONG: The number of Chinese refugees escaping to Hong Kong escalated sharply in 1978. The total by the end of the year was approximately 20,000 (in November alone there were about 4,000) compared with some 4,000 in 1977. No exact figure is available, as most of the refugees slip in undetected. The refugees were largely "freedom-swimmers" who risk their lives to cross the turbulent waters separating China and Hong Kong. Those who were apprehended by Hong Kong authorities were returned to China in accordance with the deportation policy adopted in 1974. A correspondent of The Washington Post reported one attempted escape as follows:

"Shum Mei-ying, 22, had gone through a seven-day hike during a typhoon and a one-mile swim across shark-infested waters to escape China and join her husband in Hong Kong. She was semi-conscious, paddling desperately with the help of fellow female-escapees when, just in sight of Hong Kong's shore, all hope vanished. The marine police, under orders to send all refugees back to China, chugged up in a launch and picked the two women out of the water."

In addition to the swimmers, many Chinese refugees and family groups escaped across the land border or in fishing boats and rafts. In Hong Kong, IRC carried out its broad-ranged program started in 1961, including the operation of five day nurseries for some 900 refugee children and two hostels to accommodate new refugees. Cash assistance, clothing and other forms of emergency aid were provided, as well as general counseling, job and emigration assistance.

During 1978, close to 6,000 refugees from Vietnam managed to reach Hong Kong - a thousand miles away - in their frail craft or on rescue boats. Among them were 400 Vietnamese crammed into a 60-foot fishing junk; they had been without food or water for days. A U.S. Navy frigate rescued the refugees as their boat was sinking. IRC became the resettlement agency for several hundred of the Vietnamese refugees entering the United States.

OTHER REFUGEE GROUPS: In 1978, refugees from the following 32 countries were assisted by the International Rescue Committee: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bulgaria, Burma, Cambodia, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Iraq (Armenians and Kurds), Laos, Lebanon, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Soviet Union, South Africa, Syria, Uganda, Uruguay, Vietnam, Yugoslavia. None of the refugee groups helped by IRC in 1978 were able to return home; on the contrary, all countries they had come from have continued to produce refugees. Thus the present commitments of IRC continue into 1979.

OTHER FACTS: IRC was established in 1933 at the time Hitler seized control of Germany. Today, IRC is the major American nonsectarian voluntary agency devoted to helping refugees. IRC is governed by a Board of Directors, the members of which serve without compensation. In 1978, the combined administrative, fund raising and promotional costs of IRC were under 10% of total expenditures, with more than 90% of expended funds applied directly to refugee programs. IRC meets the standards of the Council of Better Business Bureaus, the National Information Bureau and the United States Civil Service Commission, and is registered with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the State Department.

Getting and giving

How do you decide whether a charitable organization is expending its funds wisely and well? New York's National Information Bureau worries especially over what proportion of funds raised is absorbed by the cost of fundraising (col. 2, below). Washington's Philanthropic Advisory Service pays more attention to what proportion of total funds is committed to programs the funds were raised for in the first place (col. 3). Both worry about how much of the total funds an agency raises it actually spends on anything (col. 4).

Year	Name	1 Income (millions)	2 Fundraising expense	3 Program expense	4 Unexpended income
Child sponsorship					
1977	Foster Parents Plan	\$ 18.3	8%	79%	0.1%
1977	Save the Children Federation	11.6	11	55	NC
1978	Christian Children's Fund	31.1	11	82	0.1
1977	U.S. Committee for UNICEF	9.5	25	76	d0.6
Conservation					
1977	National Audubon Society	10.5	17	88	2.1
1977	National Wildlife Foundation	22.7	19	85	10.6
Foreign assistance					
1976	International Rescue Comm	6.1	6	90	0.1
1977	American Friends Service Comm	10.1	14	69	4.1
1977	Care	186.1	23	96	0.2
1978	Project Hope	9.6	24	90	d8.3
Health					
1976	Nat'l Assn of Retarded Citizens	130.7	9	83	4.8
1977	Muscular Dystrophy	59.2	12	66	20.4
1978	Amer Found for the Blind	8.5	13	74	9.4
1977	American Cancer Society	126.8	13	75	2.7
1977	National Council on Alcoholism	3.4	13	91	d1.8
1976	American Diabetes	8.5	14	71	10.4
1976	Multiple Sclerosis	18.0	15	66	11.7
1976	Cystic Fibrosis	8.6	16	76	1.5
1977	Mental Health Association	1.6	17	75	d0.5
1977	American Heart Association	77.6	17	71	4.3
1978	Nat'l Found/March of Dimes	68.5	18	69	7.6
1977	Runyon-Winchell Cancer Fund	2.3	18	61	30.7
1976	Arthritis Foundation	15.6	19	70	6.2
1977	Leukemia Society	9.8	22	63	d0.3
1976	Easter Seals	81.6	24	72	5.5
1977	United Cerebral Palsy	50.5	26	78	0.8
1977	American Lung Association	49.9	28	65	4.4
1976	Epilepsy Foundation	7.8	40	52	7.7
Individual services					
1977	Planned Parenthood	104.3	12	90	3.5
1977	American Red Cross*	349.6	23	81	10.8
1977	Disabled American Veterans	29.1	34	38	30.2
Minority groups					
1977	National Urban League*	13.4	6	83	d2.2
1977	United Negro College Fund	15.1	17	79	—
1977	NAACP Special Contrib Fund	2.8	22	61	4.1
1976	Congress of Racial Equality	4.1	40	38	3.5
Religious groups					
1976	United Jewish Appeal	272.3	5	98	17
1976	Catholic Charities	318.0	13	106	d6.0

Note: Fundraising expense is a percentage of direct support only; program expense and unexpended income are percentages of total support/revenue.

*National only. NC-Not comparable. d-Deficit.

Source: National Information Bureau, Agency Annual Reports.

seals, pens, letter holders, plastic key chains, greeting cards, sweepstakes tickets, postage stamps, return address labels. It's a promotional gimmick that the industry's two watchdog agencies—New York's National Information Bureau and Washington's Council of Better Business Bureaus' Philanthropic Advisory Service—consider unethical, as putting undue pressure on the recipients. And it's helped keep American Lung Association's fundraising costs at 28%, Easter Seals' at 24%, the Epilepsy Foundation's at 40% and Disabled American Veterans' at 34%. But at least one agency, the St. Labre Mission School, which for 18 years sent out plastic thermometers, letter holders, and so on, found that when they stopped doing so two years ago their response dropped by 50%. Though St. Labre saved \$2 million in labor and premium costs, its total take dropped from \$6.4 million to \$5.4 million.

Many of the big health agencies turned to direct mail a few years ago because the traditional door-to-door fundraising method no longer worked. The March of Dimes was built on the Mothers' March—millions of women ringing doorbells and asking for money—but these days people are afraid to open the door, and besides, mother is probably working. So the yield from the Mothers' March dropped from nearly \$15 million in 1955 to \$8.1 million last year. Now the substitute, direct mail, is getting too costly. Says MOD's Arthur Galloway: "It costs us \$26 a thousand to do a mailing, including \$7 for postage. In three years, we expect it will cost us \$26 for postage alone. That's why we're determined to develop another source of funding."

The March of Dimes has had considerable success with its Walkathon, raising \$17.5 million last year at an 8% cost, but many of the newer and more bizarre fundraising methods are either costly or difficult to control: There's a veritable *ibon-ic* boom in fundraising these days—readathons, skatethons, swimathons, bikethons, dancethons, and so on. But those that reach for large markets—telethons, radiothons—sometimes run out of control (see box, p. 51). And special events—dinners, entertainments—are often more costly than they're worth.

"Telethon costs can run anywhere from 45 to 60 cents, special events 30 to 35," says fundraiser Ernest M. Frost, who's raised funds for the March of Dimes, American Heart, Diabetes and, currently, the National Energy Foundation. "Special gifts run around 10%, but 30% to 35% if you use direct mail. Wills and bequests are under 5%. A well-run, well-advertised campaign using a variety of methods will run 25%, and anybody who says he's doing it for less, I want to see his books."

All the rules of thumb, the fundraisers say, are no more than that. Any agency

December 17, 1978

"SPONSOR AN INDOCHINESE REFUGEE"

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

From the distance, Pulau Tengae looks like a South Sea island paradise about 10 miles off the coast of Malaysia. A year ago, it was completely unpopulated except for its palm trees. Today, there are 10,000 refugees, ethnic Chinese and Vietnamese boat people, who are jammed together in jerry-built thatched huts. During the coming month, another 5,000 refugees from Communist oppression in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia will overwhelm that island. Pulau Tengae dramatizes the harrowing human problems that the International Rescue Committee's Citizens Commission found during our fact-finding mission to refugee camps in Malaysia, Thailand, and Hong Kong, during the past ten days. Indochina has now become the scene of the greatest migration of refugees in this decade, a movement of tens of thousands of refugees who will be desperately seeking asylum during the coming 3 to 5 years. In the island boat people camps and in the land refugee transit centers, the problems stand out starkly -- inadequate water, meager food rations, poor sanitation, malnutrition, need for medical care. A number of relief agencies are being pressed to meet those needs in the mushrooming camps. But the greatest need of all is to help get these unfortunate people out of those camps and resettled. We need churches and synagogues to sponsor 50,000 of these refugees for resettlement in America during the coming months. What better Christmas or Chanukah gift can you give yourselves than to help redeem these human lives from further despair?

*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is National Interreligious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

RPR

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

1078 CONNECTICUT AVE. N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • (202) 659-9447

TO: Hon. William J. Casey
Hon. Warren C. Meeker
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum ✓
Hon. Cecil B. Lyon

DATE: March 1, 1979

FROM: Louis A. Wiesner *Last.*

SUBJ: Mission to Brazil, Venezuela,
and Colombia

Even though we do not yet have confirmation from the governments concerned that they will be prepared to receive us during the period March 18 to March 28, we have confirmed airline and hotel reservations. Should one or more of the governments ask us to postpone our visit, I shall call you to arrange later dates which fit your schedules. It might be better, in the light of the considerations outlined below, if we did go later.

I have been remiss in not providing information about how and why this project was set in motion and the factors bearing on its feasibility. This memorandum and its enclosures will attempt to make up that deficiency.

The sheer numbers of refugees in the camps of Southeast Asia and the monthly outflow from Indochina (even though down to 10,508 boat people in January, but increased to 7,200 overland refugees in that month) are beyond the absorptive capability of the traditional resettlement countries, *i.e.*, the US, France, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Yet the UNHCR has been unable, even with strong diplomatic support from the United States, to open up significant new resettlement opportunities. The UNHCR's Geneva international "consultation" last December, which Bill Casey attended at Under Secretary Newsom's invitation, hardly made a dent in the problem.

Our mission will seek to do what intergovernmental negotiations have thus far failed to do: induce three South American countries with large undeveloped land areas to receive large numbers of Indochinese, especially Hmong and Lao but possibly including also some Vietnamese and Cambodians, for rural resettlement. That is our objective. If the governments concerned express a willingness to do this, we are assured by the UNHCR that it will follow through to develop concrete resettlement projects, and by Shep Lowman, Director of the Refugee and Migration Office (ORM) of the State Department, that he will seek substantial funding support in response to a UNHCR appeal. In fact, I suspect that we would probably have to nudge both the UNHCR and ORM from time to time to carry through on these promises in the event that Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, - or any of them - agrees to open the door. In other words, our task is not likely to be completed quickly, unless we get a flat turn-down from all three governments, which is, of course, possible.

The three countries are not the only ones in South America which could receive large numbers of Indochinese refugees. My explorations have indicated that Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina, and Surinam can also do so. For various reasons, which will be discussed below, it seems advisable that we not attempt to visit or approach the governments of those countries now, though we may wish to do so later.

Background

As the enclosed memorandum of August 31, 1978, points out, the idea of settling Indochinese refugees in South America was first broached by Ivan Glick, a Mennonite and official of Sperry New Holland, which has branches and sales agencies in Brazil and

other countries. The Mennonites have successful settlements, some dating back to the 1920's, in Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, and other Latin American countries.

Subsequent explorations, described in the August 31 memorandum and my memorandum of November 20, 1978, enclosed, have revealed that the idea evokes a positive response of greater or lesser degree in the State Department, the UNHCR, ICEM, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Inter-American Foundation, and the Mennonites Central Committee.

The attached copy of our grant application to the Public Welfare Foundation (which thus far is fairly lukewarm toward the idea of funding something this speculative) sets out why we think resettlement of Indochinese refugees is feasible in Latin America, and how the prospects look in various countries. As you know, the IRC Executive Committee on February 14 decided to support our mission, whether or not the Public Welfare Foundation agrees to fund it.

Building Support

As the Citizens Commission has found in getting its recommendations adopted in the US and some other countries, the keys to success are: (1) showing that what we advocate is in the self-interest of those whom we are trying to convince, and (2) enlisting the support of influential groups and individuals, so that governmental decision-makers can feel that positive actions on their part will not endanger them politically. (Warren Meeker has been particularly adept at identifying points of self-interest, e.g., to Taiwan).

In the case of Brazil there seems to have been a rush by wealthy ranchers and others to acquire land in Amazonia. The Brazil desk officer in the State Department says that the government is sensitive to the settlement of foreigners there, because the area may have oil. On the other hand, Sinop, an Amazon Valley land development corporation, has offered (for a price) to settle thousands of Indochinese refugees. Another expert on Brazil (in AID) reports that the Brazilian Air Force has long had an interest in putting armed settlements on the western frontiers, which are poorly marked and subject to quiet incursions by settlers from Brazil's neighbors. The Mato Grosso is another area which the Brazilian authorities would like to have settled.

Venezuela's agriculture has long been neglected, and, as a high State Department officer put it, "is in a mess". The government would now like to do something about it. Indochinese farmers are used to cultivating lateritic soils, such as those in parts of Venezuela, Brazil, and other Amazon Valley countries. The Hmong refugees could not practice slash-and-burn farming, as they used to do in the mountains of Laos, but many of them have had to learn sedentary agriculture already, as the land available to them in Laos, then in Thailand, has been limited. They and the other Indochinese farmers are hard-working, inured to hardship, and well-adapted to pioneering.

In Colombia only three per cent of the population lives in the Llanos Oriental, the eastern half of the country, which is flatland merging gradually into the Amazon jungle. I visited that area in 1973, together with another State Department Foreign Assistance Inspector, who was an agriculturalist. We found that it had enormous potential. The Turbay Government of Colombia is extending the road network and otherwise trying to open up the region.

We are still rather weak in finding support among indigenous groups and individuals. Pope John Paul II, during his visit to the Latin American Bishops' Conference, on January 27 appealed to the diplomatic corps accredited to Mexico to be generous in receiving Indochinese refugees. He then instructed the Papal Nuncios to follow up with

appropriate governments. This was, at least in part, a result of a State Department request through Robert Wagner, and of a letter from Leo Cherne to Wagner on January 24.

On the recommendation of Msgr. Ahern and Marc Tanenbaum, Leo has invited Father J. Bryan Hehir, Associate Secretary of the US Catholic Conference, to succeed John Ahern on our Commission; we also asked him to approach his friend Cardinal Lorscheider of Brazil. Father Hehir pointed out, however, that relations between Church and State in Brazil are not good. Cecil Lyon has been in touch with an old friend in Brazil. Rabbi Tanenbaum will be writing Jewish friends in the three countries. Bill Casey is in discussion with business associates. Through the AFL-CIO I have been assured of some trade union support, though that is of limited value. The Mennonites have assured me that they support our objectives, but they may prefer to work independently.

We need to do much more in this sense to prepare the ground for our visit.

It had been intended that we would go to Paraguay also on our initial trip. However, Leo and Carel pointed out that, although Paraguay's human rights record has improved, the perception of it in the United States hasn't. Therefore, visiting that country now could weaken the Commission's domestic support base. The same applies to Argentina, where, in addition, right and left-wing extremists still kidnap and kill Latin American refugees and might be even more hostile to new Oriental refugees. Bolivia has scheduled elections in July; the State Department accordingly advised that we postpone our visit to that very promising country.

Enclosed are the State Department's background notes on the three countries we intend to visit.



LAW/all

Enclosures

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JEANNE MacDANIELS
Washington Regional Director

To: Carel (cc Leo and Bob)
From: Louis A. Wiesner

Last

Date: August 31, 1978
Subject: Possible Resettlement
of Indochinese Refugees in
South America

On August 15 Ivan Glick, an official of the Sperry Rand Corporation in New Holland, Pa., called me at the suggestion of ORM to discuss his idea of resettling some Indochinese refugees in the Amazon Valley of Brazil, or possibly in Paraguay. The following Sunday, August 20, he and Theo Van Tricht, the Sperry Rand farm machinery division's representative in Brazil, drove down from New Holland to visit me at my house. We talked for about two hours. Glick, who is a Mennonite, wants to do something for the Indochinese like what was done years ago in resettling European Mennonite refugees in Paraguay, and like what his family had done in resettling European refugees in Pennsylvania. Van Tricht brought information about the opening up of Amazonia in Brazil, including literature from Sinop, a land development company there. He had been in touch, through Sinop, with an official of the External Affairs Ministry to see whether Brazil would admit Indochinese refugees.

In our discussion we quickly identified the need for capital as a principal problem in any such resettlement, assuming the countries in question were prepared to accept refugees. It was understood that we were talking of rural resettlement, in the remote areas, where natives had been largely unwilling to go. Therefore, only those Indochinese refugees with farming experience could be considered—probably mainly Hmong and Cambodians. Van Tricht pointed out that money invested in rural development in Brazil is tax-deductible there, and he was prepared to talk with Volkswagen, Mercedes, and other foreign companies about this. Glick felt that the Mennonites could raise some money and said also that he had a friend in the World Bank. They were thinking of 500 families to start with.

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I mentioned that Food for the Hungry is undertaking a pilot project in Bolivia, and that the French had resettled some Hmong in French Guiana. I felt that the UNHCR or ICEM should be closely involved with such projects.

We agreed that I would talk with my friends in the State Department and the UNHCR, unofficially and without any IRC commitment, and that they would pursue their contacts.

Subsequently I have discussed the idea with Jim Carlin and Shep Lowman, Jack Kelly of the UNHCR, and three officers of the State Department's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA). All are favorably disposed. Carlin wants to pursue the matter vigorously through ICEM. We both remembered John Thomas's fruitless efforts in 1975 to recruit settlers for Latin America from the camps in the US, but agreed that the attitudes of those now in the Thailand camps who have little prospect of going to the US, France, or Australia would no doubt be different. Shep Lowman was intrigued with the idea of possible World Bank financing. To Jack Kelly this was a new idea but one worth following up with Geneva. The ARA officers wanted to know whether the Department should approach the countries concerned; they suggested adding Colombia (whose largely uninhabited eastern half I had visited in 1973) and Venezuela, as well as Bolivia. I said that it would be preferable for the UNHCR, ICEM, or interested private individuals to take the initiative.

With your permission, I should like to maintain contact with those interested in possible Indochinese refugee resettlement in Latin America. This is obviously not something which will come to fruition overnight. However, if the various components can be assembled in the future, IRC might be interested in having a piece of the action (to mix a metaphor).



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JEANNE MacDANIELS
Washington Regional Director

To: Carel Sternberg
Leo Cherne
(cc: Al and Bob)

Date: November 20, 1978

From: Louis A. Wiesner *Lasz.*

Subject: Possible Resettlement of
Indochinese Refugees in South
America

Since my memorandum of August 31 on the above subject (copy attached), I have had a number of additional exploratory conversations. Each of these has concentrated on possible rural resettlement in remote areas, since there is too much urban unemployment throughout Latin America for even a consideration of urban settlement.

Inter-American Development Bank

On October 10 E. Jay Finkel, Alternate U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) found the idea unfamiliar but interesting. He said that the Bank had been agent for ICEM for a resettlement in Brazil and had been involved in colonization of some Salvadoreans in Bolivia. The charter of IADB provides that the benefits of its financing are to be enjoyed by the member countries. Loans are made to governments or institutions enjoying government guarantees. It is possible, said Finkel, that some Executive Directors from over-populated Latin American countries might not look too kindly on the idea of using the Bank's resources to finance the importation of people from outside the Continent. Nevertheless, Finkel said, choosing his words very carefully, if there were a concrete proposal, approved by the host country, he and, he thought, Executive Director Ralph Dungan would start leaning on the Bank's management to give it full consideration.

Santiago Sindich, who is head of the "analysis team" examining a loan request for a European Mennonite colony in Paraguay and who had just returned from a three-week survey on the ground, said the following:

The Chaco has 62 percent of the area of Paraguay but only 70,000 people (out of the country's total population of 2,700,000). About 10,000 of these are the Mennonites, who started arriving about 1928, Old Colony Russians, then the Vollendam group from Germany, then post-war refugees and 11,000 are local Indians

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living with the Mennonites in the middle of the Chaco. The Chaco is semi-arid, with 400 to 600 mm of rain per year and no good ground water. The farmers use large cisterns to collect rain water. Nevertheless, said Sindich and his chief, Caesar Cainelli, there are about 500 rather prosperous dairy farms and some local industries, whose modernization is the purpose of the IADB loan. The National Development Bank of Paraguay has requested \$6.8 million, but \$8 million is needed and will probably be loaned. The Mennonites will put up \$4 million of their own funds and will provide their own technical assistance.

Comment

It seems clear from the foregoing that IADB funding might be possible at a later stage of refugee resettlement, i.e., after the refugees were settled and had become credit-worthy, but could probably not be obtained to finance the resettlement itself.

Inter-American Foundation

At the suggestion of Jay Finkel, I talked with Leon Parker, Executive Officer of the Inter-American Foundation, on November 3. The Foundation, an independent Government agency, which was established by the Congress in 1969 and began operations in 1971 with an initial appropriation of \$50 million, had also received \$79 million in AID-loan repayments through the Social Progress Trust Fund of the IADB through 1977. Its current annual budget is \$23 million, to assist local self-help efforts in Latin America by making grants and providing technical assistance. As of November 1978 it had made grants totaling over \$10 million to more than 700 projects. Parker said it is the only agency which funnels money directly to private groups in other countries without going through governments or voluntary agencies. The basic requirement is that project applications come from private, non-profit indigenous organizations. Parker and a good deal of the Foundation's other staff members are former Peace Corps people. Although saying that the history of international resettlement efforts had been dismal, Parker agreed to give further thought to possible Foundation-assisted resettlement of Indochinese.

Mennonite Central Committee

On November 11 Ivan Glick (Sperry New Holland) and I met with three officials of the Mennonite Central Committee in Akron, Pennsylvania. The three were: Edgar Stoesz, Associate Executive Secretary for Overseas Services; Vern Preheim, head of the Asia Department; and Herman Bontrager, head of the Latin American Department.

Mr. Preheim had been in Viet-Nam and Laos in July. He was aware of the rapidly increasing outflow of Vietnamese, Lao, and Hmong, which he attributed partly to drought, then floods, and bad economic conditions; and he favored humanitarian assistance to those countries. He agreed with Stoesz, however, that the Mennonites themselves should consider taking on a couple of thousand Indochinese refugees for trans-continental resettlement.

Resettlement in South America

Page 3

November 20, 1978

Stoesz said there is land to be had in Paraguay, Bolivia, and Brazil. Mennonites are now moving to Paraguay by the hundreds from Mexico. Land values in the Chaco have gone up, because generals are acquiring vast tracts, but good land is available in the Concepcion area (on the Paraguay River). Resettlement possibilities would be even more readily available in Bolivia. Some 10,000 Mennonites, mainly Old Colony Russians, have settled in the Santa Cruz area in the last ten years, coming from Chihuahua and Durango in Mexico. Good land is also to be found in the lowlands of Bolivia.

Mr. Bontrager thought that the Mato Grosso region in Brazil and neighboring areas of Paraguay and Bolivia would be the most promising.

Mr. Stoesz gave me a list of possible contacts in Paraguay and Bolivia and offered to write to one of the most influential, Kornelius Walde, who, he said, is close to President Stroessner. A copy of Stoesz's letter is enclosed. He thought that there was no chance that the Mennonites in Bolivia would sponsor Indochinese but that those in Paraguay might.

The Mennonites said that at least 2,000 people should be resettled together, in order to provide mutual support and to justify necessary infrastructure. Their own international resettlement projects which had been of this size or larger had succeeded, while smaller ones had failed.

* * *

Archie Lang of HA/ORM has called to my attention an editorial in a prominent newspaper in Surinam urging the government of that country to receive at least 2,000 Indochinese refugees. Our Ambassador has encouraged this but does not wish to create the impression that the U.S. would fund it.

Enclosed is a copy of the Food for the Hungry project for resettling Hmong refugees in Bolivia. Larry Ward, President of FH, is in South America now; he has been asked to call me when he returns. The Bolivian Government has granted 15,000 hectares of land for this project.

Virendra Dayal, Chef de Cabinet to Mr. Hartling, told me on November 16 that Latin American countries attending the UNHCR Consultation on December 11-12 will be asked to resettle some Indochinese refugees, but Dayal didn't seem very hopeful that they would.

Comment:

I think I have gone about as far as one can in exploring this matter, short of approaching the Embassies of Latin American countries or visiting the countries themselves. It seems likely that Paraguay, Bolivia, Surinam, and possibly Brazil would agree to receive some Indochinese refugees, but vigorous follow-up on the ground would be necessary to realize these potentials. As I said in my memorandum of October 19 to Leo and you, a decision has to be made on whether IRC or the Citizens Commission wants to get involved in such a program. If the Citizens Commission does not get sufficient funds from the Ford Foundation, I am willing to write a proposal for Public Welfare Foundation or other foundation funding for a Citizens Commission survey mission to the area, provided you approve. If any

November 20, 1978

of the countries would agree to receive substantial numbers of Indochinese refugees and to donate land, I think the UNHCR and ICEM could be persuaded to issue world-wide appeals for funds; the State Department would undoubtedly do its best to encourage and support this kind of resettlement. The Inter-American Foundation and the IADB could be approached by indigenous sponsoring groups.

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JEANNE MacDANIELS
Washington Regional Director

February 6, 1979

Mr. Davis Haines, President
Public Welfare Foundation
2600 Virginia Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Mr. Haines:

As chairman of the International Rescue Committee and also Chairman of the IRC-sponsored Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees, I am privileged to submit to you a grant request for a Citizens Commission effort to develop refugee resettlement opportunities in South America.

The Commission recently returned from its second visit to East Asia to assess the refugee situation there. The sheer magnitude of the multiplied flow out of both Viet-Nam and Laos, with the possibility of a renewed exodus from Cambodia, made it very clear to us that we would have to recommend to the United States Government that it quadruple the number to be resettled here which we had recommended less than a year ago. We have, in fact, urged that 100,000 be resettled in this country this year. For the same reason, it is evident, at a time when in one month as many as 20,000 Vietnamese flee by boat and reach shore in Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries and an additional 3,000 at great risk cross the Mekong from Laos into Thailand, that the United States, France and Australia, which have in the past been the principal countries of resettlement, can not themselves meet the minimum demands of humanity. A much greater internationalization of the problem is necessary.

I wish I could report to you that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had achieved or was in the process of achieving that degree of internationalization which the desperate plight of the refugees requires. Unfortunately, he is far from doing so, even with powerful support from the United States. Just as well-planned and persistent mobilization of opinion by our Commission in the United States has been necessary to move our Government, so a combined effort through both governmental and private channels will be needed to move other countries. We have already begun this effort in Taiwan and Japan. We now propose to do likewise in some South

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Mr. Davis Haines
February 6, 1979
Page 2

American countries with large land areas that they want populated.
The project that we are submitting to you would see that effort
through. I ask your support.

Sincerely yours,



Leo Cherne

all



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February 8, 1979

JEANNE MacDANIELS
Washington Regional Director

Project Proposal

To support the continuing effort of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees to contribute to policy development and implementation for the care and resettlement of Indochinese refugees.

Amount requested: \$ 21,000.00

Purpose of Grant: To fund a Citizens Commission project to stimulate the resettlement of Indochinese refugees by selected South American countries.

Applicant: International Rescue Committee
386 Park Avenue, South
New York, NY 10016
telephone: (212) 679-0010

Contact person: Louis A. Wiesner, Counselor
International Rescue Committee
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Date submitted: February 8, 1979

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Project Proposal

Stimulation of Indochinese Refugee Resettlement in South America

I. Background

A. The Indochinese Refugees

The exodus of refugees from Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, which had tapered off after the original massive evacuations and flight in 1975, increased in 1977 and 1978, until by the end of the latter year, well over 20,000 refugees a month were arriving in East Asian countries of first asylum. (Cf. tab A, statistical tables compiled by the Department of State). Despite a number of special "parole" programs admitting various categories to the United States, the steady immigration of about 1,000 a month to France, and increased intake by Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, total permanent resettlement opportunities for the Indochinese refugees have lagged far behind their outflow rates. The result has been a buildup of refugee numbers in countries of first asylum, particularly Thailand (with about 140,000 in camps at the end of 1978) and Malaysia (over 46,000 in camps). Fearing for their own political and social stability, various East Asian countries have periodically restricted refugee admission, often turning refugee boats back to sea, where many boat people drown, and, in the case of Thailand, thrusting refugees back across the Mekong River and the land frontiers into Laos and Cambodia, where they are killed. There is an increasing threat that both Thailand and Malaysia may close their doors to further refugees unless the rest of the world finds some way to relieve those two countries of their growing burden.

Primary responsibility for finding refugee resettlement opportunities throughout the world rests with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), but that body has been singularly unsuccessful in broadening opportunities for the Indochinese. In part this stems from the political imperatives that condition the scope of action of any United Nations agency, which must be responsive to the wishes of both Communist and anti-Communist members, as well as the uncommitted majority. In part it is a consequence of weak leadership and a staff that includes many incompetents who are retained in office for fear of offending the countries whose nationals they are. The UNHCR has held a number of meetings and conferences on the Indochinese refugee problem, most recently in Geneva on December 11-12, 1978. The United States sent a very powerful delegation to the Geneva "consultation", headed by Under Secretary of State David Newson, who was seconded by Associate Attorney General Michael Egan and supported by Senator Claiborne Pell, Representatives Elizabeth Holtzman and Hamilton Fish, Jr., and others. The United States delegation was able to point out that this country has thus far received almost 200,000 Indochinese refugees since 1975 and will admit about 40,000 more under parole programs currently in progress. The delegation strongly supported the High Commissioner's appeal to the countries of the world to receive more of these wretched people. However, only a few small offers to accept additional refugees were made at the conference or subsequently.

Most of the Vietnamese boat people come from urban areas, a majority being ethnic Chinese from Cholon, the twin city of Saigon - now Ho Chi Minh City. Many of the lowland Lao refugees are also of urban origin, principally from Vientiane, which is only a few miles from Nong Khai, Thailand, across the Mekong River. However, a substantial proportion of the 64,000 Lao in the Thailand camps, all the 54,000 Hmong (Lao hill tribespeople), and most of the 14,500 Cambodians are from rural areas of their homelands. To be sure, many thousands of their forerunners have come from the camps to the United States and made a good adjustment to urban life in

this strange country. But those remaining in the camps would be happiest if they could again settle on the land and make a living as farmers. For many Thailand is their country of first choice, and in due time Thailand may quietly resettle some thousands. However, it has a large and rapidly growing population, much of it desperately poor-and resentful of any privileges given to foreign refugees. The Thais also have a domestic Communist insurgency in their border regions, and they fear that the refugee population, whose camps are located in the same border areas, may be infiltrated by Communist agents. For these and other reasons, resettlement of significant numbers of refugees within Thailand is not an immediate prospect. The choice for most is either continued, debilitating refugee camp existence, possibly blocking the entry of others who wish to flee from Laos and Cambodia, or emigration. (As a result of the recent Vietnamese conquest of Cambodia, some of the Khmer refugees in Thailand, especially those who had to abandon their families, are watching developments and thinking about possibly returning. However, none is known to have done so yet; conversely there are reports that some thousands of Khmer Rouge and others are waiting on the Cambodian side of the border for the opportunity to escape).

B. Latin American Colonization Possibilities

A number of South American countries have vast amounts of undeveloped land, which they are anxious to populate and bring under cultivation. While much of this, especially in the Amazon Valley, is rain forest which should be preserved or at most carefully thinned, for ecological reasons, large areas could be farmed with benefit both to the settlers and to the nations' economies. Yet, because of climatic and other adverse or simply strange conditions in the unoccupied regions, the nationals of many countries will not settle in these parts of their own homelands.

Research and consultations by the writer, including discussions with officials of the State Department, AID, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Inter-American Foundation, the Mennonite Central Committee, and others, have indicated that the following countries and areas might offer favorable prospects for Indochinese resettlement:

Brazil: parts of the Amazon Valley, the Mato Grosso, and other border areas which the government is anxious to secure against incursions by neighboring countries. Brazil would also like to have some doctors, engineers and other professionals come to both urban and rural areas.

Japanese have accomplished some quite successful rural settlements in Brazil; now most have graduated to the cities as professionals and business people. One is Brazilian Minister of Mines. Groups of European Mennonites have also settled successfully.

On the other hand, wealthy ranchers and other landowners, as well as commercial colonization companies, have acquired huge tracts of land in the Amazon and, according to some newspaper accounts, have expelled or even killed small farmers and native Indians. Moreover, serious ecological damage has reportedly been done by ruthless deforestation and improper care of the exposed lateritic soil (a kind of soil which Indochinese have cultivated for centuries).

Paraguay: parts of the Chaco and the Concepcion area. About 10,000 Russian Mennonites have been settled in the Chaco for decades and, despite the semi-arid nature of the area, have become such prosperous farmers and owners of allied businesses that the IDB is processing an \$8 million loan to help them modernize.

However, the human rights record of Paraguay is anything but good; so resettlement in that country will be approached with great caution.

Bolivia: the Santa Cruz region. About 10,000 Mennonites have settled there in the last ten years. The voluntary agency Food for the Hungry has been working for the past two years on a project to settle Hmong refugees in Ballivian Province, Department of Beni, for which it was granted 15,000 hectares free of charge. However, the Banzer government which made the grant, was subsequently replaced, and the government or President Pereda has not validated the enabling agreement. Food for the Hungry has been trying to realize this project without any UNHCR or US Government help, which undoubtedly accounts for part of its problem.

Bolivia is interested in populating its undeveloped areas and has an extraordinarily liberal immigration law. Political instability is an obstacle. New elections are scheduled in July.

Colombia: The Llanos Oriental. About half the area of Colombia contains two per cent of its population, and the poor peasants in the highlands refuse to move to the hot, humid lowlands. The government of President Turbay, now completing the first of a five-year term, has undertaken a road-building program in an effort to open up the area. But, rural insurgency has frightened off some potential settlers.

Venezuela: The present government, having accepted as many as 30,000 Chileans, plus refugees from Nicaragua and some Cuban political prisoners, is not disposed to receive Indochinese. The new administration which takes office on March 12 may be more receptive.

Surinam: On October 10, 1978, a leading newspaper, De West, editorialized that it had quite often pled for admission of Indochinese refugees. Surinam, it said, is under-populated and could well admit a couple of thousands of capable farmers; it would be necessary only to make land available, as the UN would pay all costs.

There seems to have been no follow-up by the UNHCR to this advocacy.

Argentina: The administrator of the Corfo-Rio Colorado project of the Ministry of Economics wrote to a friend in Pennsylvania last November that he had 700,000 hectares of land, of which 150,000 can be irrigated, and was interested in settling some Indochinese refugees on it. He had found that Portuguese from Angola were not satisfactory settlers and had recently invited some Japanese and Koreans to come in. This letter was referred to IRC, which in turn asked its representative in Buenos Aires for an opinion. He replied that the attitudes of the governmental authorities and influential people toward non-whites and refugees in general were ambiguous. He will report further.

The foregoing brief accounts indicate that vigorous follow-up might well produce some viable resettlement opportunities in certain countries.

C. The Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees

In December 1977, when the United States Government was stalemated on what to do about the continuing refugee emergency in Southeast Asia, IRC's chairman, Leo Cherne, put together a commission of distinguished religious, labor, business, black, and humanitarian leaders to look into the situation and propose solutions. A list of the Citizens Commission members is enclosed (tab B). The Commission visited South-

east Asia in February 1978 and formulated a number of recommendations, almost all of which have been put into effect by our Government and the international community. (tab C, the statement to the House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs on June 8, 1978). However, as reported on Section IA above, the rapidly increasing flow of Indochinese refugees in the latter part of 1978 overtook the constructive responses of the United States and other countries. In December 1978, a smaller group of Citizens Commission members paid a second visit to East Asia, concentrating on Hong Kong/Macau, Malaysia, and Thailand. The group was told in no uncertain terms by the Prime Ministers of both Thailand and Malaysia that unless the rest of the world relieves them of many more refugees, they will close their borders. A new set of recommendations (tab D) to cope with the changed circumstances was developed and has been presented to Secretary Vance and others, including Congressional leaders. While there is a good chance that the United States may greatly increase its intake of Indochinese refugees, in accordance with the Commission's recommendation no. 1, the crisis will not be alleviated unless many other countries also do their part, as set out in recommendations 2 and 7. The response of the international community, reported in Section IA above, has been anything but encouraging, and both the UNHCR and the US Government have had little success in developing significant new resettlement offers. Therefore, IRC and the Citizens Commission propose to approach directly certain countries, both at the governmental level and through influential private groups, and to stay with the effort until we get results. We have already started this process with Taiwan and Japan.

II. Goals and Objectives

Our objective is to bring about viable resettlement of many thousand Indochinese refugees in various South American countries. We aim primarily at resettlement on the land but hope that some countries, such as Brazil, will also accept refugees, especially professionals, unconditionally.

We seek the agreement of various governments to accept specified numbers of refugees, to grant sufficient land for their economic re-establishment, and to provide security, public services and the opportunity eventually to become full-fledged citizens.

We seek acceptance of responsibility by the UNHCR to fund and administer the selection of the refugee groups (except where the receiving countries wish to make their own selections), the movement from countries of first asylum to the resettlement sites, and the resettlement process itself. IRC is prepared to become the implementing partner of the UNHCR in some of the resettlement countries if that is desired.

Since the United States will have to be principal contributor to the UNHCR's resettlement programs, we shall seek to maximize the US contribution.

We also wish to involve the private sector as much as possible: international and South American National Voluntary agencies, private business companies, opinion leaders, and local communities.

III. Plan of Action

1. Consultation with the Department of State, the UNHCR, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM, the agency which transports refugees to resettlement countries), the Inter-American Development Bank (for possible funding of later stages of resettlement), and some private groups (e.g., the Mennonite Central Committee) has already begun.

2. By the end of February we plan to have discussed this project with the Ambassadors in Washington of Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, and Paraguay. We shall also have made contact with influential leaders and non-governmental groups, such as the Catholic Church, in the above-mentioned countries.

Pope John Paul II, during his recent visit to Mexico met with Ambassadors of Latin American countries and urged that their governments accept Indochinese refugees. In a letter to his friend Presidential Envoy Robert Wagner, dated January 24, the Chairman of the Citizens Commission, Leo Cherne, suggested that the Vatican be asked to follow up that request, through its own diplomatic corps and through the Church. This is being done.

3. Also by late February we expect that the State Department will have informed the American Ambassadors in Brazil, Paraguay, Colombia, and Venezuela that a small group of the Citizens Commission intends to visit those countries during the period from about March 19 to April 6, and will have requested the Embassies to arrange meetings with government and interested private leaders as well as UNHCR and ICEM representatives, and visits to areas of potential resettlement.

4. Travel to the four countries is planned for the period March 19-April 6.

5. Upon return, the Commission group will report to the State Department, the White House, the UNHCR, and others as appropriate. Follow-up by these agencies to any resettlement offers will be sought, and IRC assistance will be proffered. The group will also consult with Congressional leaders.

6. The commission does not intend to assume responsibility for implementation of resettlement in any country. Its role is to explore and develop opportunities and to stimulate active cooperation among the receiving and sending countries, the UNHCR, ICEM, and the US Government. It will continue this stimulative and monitoring role only as long as necessary.

7. The Commission will urge that Surinam, Bolivia, and other potential resettlement countries be approached through official channels. If and when a stable Bolivian government is established, one or more Commission members may visit that country to explore resettlement possibilities.

IV. The applicant agency-International Rescue Committee

The 1977 Annual Report, the most recent financial statement, and a report on its 1978 activities are attached. (tab E,F, and G)

V. Project Budget and Administration

IRC staff costs	\$ 4,000.
Travel of Commission members	
To Latin America	\$ 10,000.
To Washington, Geneva (UNHCR), New York	\$ 4,000.
Production and dissemination of reports	\$ 2,000.
Miscellaneous	\$ 1,000.
Total	\$ 21,000.

Staff will be furnished by IRC, principally the part-time services of its Counselor Louis A. Wiesner.

VI. Evaluation

The success of the project will be measured by (1) the number of refugees for whom resettlement opportunities are offered and (2) the number for whom actual resettlement is initiated under UNHCR and host country auspices. It is not intended that the Citizens Commission will remain in being long enough to see resettlement projects through to viable re-establishment. That is the function of the UNHCR and its principal contributing member countries.

VII. Other Funding Sources

The Citizens Commission was started with IRC funds and the contributions of its members. The Ford Foundation has given a grant of \$80,000, which is now almost exhausted.

IRC funds will be used to support this project initially, pending a decision by the Public Welfare Foundation. The Foundation's grant will make the completion of the project possible.

VIII. Previous Public Welfare Foundation

In 1977 the Foundation granted \$10,000 for a rural paramedic training program in Indochinese refugee camps of Thailand. This project was successfully completed in 1978.

Louis A. Wiesner
Drafter

LAW

all
Enclosures



TO: Bert Gold

FROM: Marc Tanenbaum

DATE: June 19, 1979

RE: AD IN N.Y. TIMES (& WASHINGTON POST) RE INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

Just talked with Bookie and Carel Sternberg of IRC.

Bookie suggests:

- 1) we try to place ad as quickly as possible, before Sunday;
- 2) we send a telegram from Richie Maass to President Carter, a friendly telegram, "in light of your leadership in advancing the cause of human rights, we urge that everything possible be done to provide emergency shipping to rescue the refugees from the South China Sea, to double the U.S. quota for Indochinese refugees during the coming year, to open Guam or some other safe haven as an immediate asylum for the thousands of human beings who are floundering at sea."

Bookie says we should publicize such ~~xxxxxx~~ a statement soonest.

Sternberg suggests:

- 1) Ad on a three-faith basis a very good idea, also needs to be done quickly as possible.
- 2) Ad should include:
 - a) U.S. should send ships from Subic Bay installation in Philippines to lift refugees from South China Sea, encourage other maritime powers to join in emergency sea-lift.
 - b) Call on President and Congress to authorize immediate doubling of refugee quotas, and encourage other governments also to undertake such emergency admission programs;
 - c) Call on President and Congress to open Guam or some other transit camp as safe haven as quickly as possible in order to prevent loss of thousands of lives of refugees who will otherwise perish at sea.

There is apparently no need for calling for sponsors at this time; there seem to be enough sponsors available.

I talked with Dr. Eugene Stockwell of Church World Service; he is interested in the ad and will call me back tomorrow. Father Brian Hehir of USCC will call me back today or tomorrow. His aide, Father Nangle is interested but doesn't have authority to proceed.

The attached articles could provide some text for an ad

Tan

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 19, 1979

to Irving Levine

from Gary Rubin

subject Meeting of the National Coalition for Refugee Resettlement, Washington, D.C., June 18, 1979

The meeting of the National Coalition for Refugee Resettlement was planned months ago to lobby for the Refugee Bill now before Congress. Because of the crisis in Southeast Asia, however, attention was drawn to broader refugee problems. Specifically, the following points from the meeting are of interest to the AJC:

1. Charles Freeman, Deputy Coordinator of Refugee Affairs in the State Department, described the deteriorating situation in Southeast Asia. He noted that 60,000 persons are arriving in refugee camps each month. At current rates, there will be a half million people in these camps by September and over one million a year from now. Only about 1/6 of the flow is currently being permanently settled in receiving countries and this threatens to drop to 1/10 in the future. This has discouraged countries of first asylum such as Thailand and Malaysia who see many people coming in and few leaving. To cope with this problem, these countries need assurances that Western nations will resettle their fair share. In the meantime, they have threatened drastic action against the refugees and have started forcing some back to Vietnam and preventing others from entering their borders. Freeman called the Coalition's attention to the following plans currently being pursued:
 - a) Britain has proposed and the United States has supported the calling of an international conference to discuss the settlement of refugees. This conference should both put pressure on Vietnam and Cambodia to stop expelling ethnic Chinese and encourage Western nations to accept more refugees.
 - b) Freeman called attention to current problems in funding the American refugee program. The House has granted the Refugee Affairs office's request for a \$10 million emergency fund appropriation. The Senate has cut this to \$7½ million. Freeman urged that interested organizations push for the \$10 million level when the bill is discussed in conference.
 - c) The U.S. now takes in about 7,000 Indochinese refugees a month. The danger exists, however, that some boat people may find their way directly to Guam and that their number will be subtracted from the refugee quota. This would only increase the backlog of cases now clogging the camps in countries of first asylum.

MEMORANDUM

- d) The Refugee Act is pretty sure of passage in the Senate this year. But action on the floor has not been scheduled in the House and it will take a significant lobbying effort to get the bill considered and passed. The organizations represented at the meeting saw this as a crucial objective.
2. Senator Kennedy gave the major speech of the day. In addition to deploring the situation in Southeast Asia, he made these proposals:
- a) He endorsed the idea of an international conference, preferably under UN auspices.
 - b) The U.S. should seek a military ceasefire in Cambodia and make an effort to stop expulsions there.
 - c) The international community must make sure that Thailand, Malaysia, etc., act as countries of first asylum until refugees can find permanent homes.
 - d) Those Vietnamese who profit by taking bribes for getting people out of the country must be vigorously condemned.
 - e) The U.S. and UN High Commissioner should persuade other countries to resettle large numbers of refugees.
 - f) The U.S. should reinvolve itself in Vietnam to alleviate the problems causing the refugee crisis. We should give humanitarian aid and help alleviate the food shortage there. This would strike at the root of the problem.
 - g) The Refugee Bill must be passed to allow for a rational handling of the refugee flow.
3. Congresswoman Holtzman argued that the quota should be raised from 7000 to 8000 per month.
4. Congressman Solarz made the most dramatic presentation. He supported the idea of an international conference but noted that history indicates that such a meeting would do little good. He supported putting pressure on Vietnam though he also doubted the effectiveness of this move. Solarz stated a need to do something dramatic. To convince the countries of first asylum that we are indeed serious about refugees, we should increase the monthly quota not to 8000 but rather should double it to 14,000. This was the most well-received proposal of the day, and Solarz stated that he intended to introduce it as legislation this week.

5. The meeting acted on Solarz' proposal. Hy Bookbinder of our Washington office offered, and the Coalition accepted, a motion in three parts:
 - a) The Administration should double the number of Indochinese refugees allowed into the U.S. to 14,000 per month. (Wells Klein, Executive Director, American Council for Nationalities Services, assured the meeting that sufficient opportunities existed in the U.S. for this proposed flow.)
 - b) The President should enunciate this as a long range policy so that countries of first asylum will be assured that America will continue to do its part in solving the problem.
 - c) The U.S. should strive to establish safe havens in Southeast Asia.

This resolution had broad support and passed by acclamation. Two other resolutions were passed, one supporting the Refugee Bill, with request for greater funding for the voluntary agencies, and the other to have the Coalition give consideration to Senator Kennedy's proposal to renew ties to Vietnam as a way of approaching the refugee situation.

6. Jerry Tinker, Assistant to Senator Kennedy, reported on the current status of the Refugee Bill. It is currently being marked up in committee. One amendment added to the bill was that Displaced Persons in their country of origin made homeless by civil, military, or natural disturbances will now come under the definition of refugee. This was the change the AJC had sought in its statement to Congress. After his speech, I asked Tinker why this had been left out of the original bill and what chances the new language had of passage. He stated that DP's were included in Kennedy's 1978 bill but left out in 1979 in a compromise with the Administration. The language was returned in markup in both houses, and Tinker seemed to think it had a good chance of passage. Continued monitoring will be necessary, however. The text of the revised bill will be available soon. Other amendments in markup to the original bill include clarification of procedures for consultation with Congress, definition of the principle of asylum, extension of certain types of aid to resettlement agencies, and legislative sanction for the Coordinator of Refugee Affairs (now Dick Clark) whose position currently exists by executive order only.
7. One theme running throughout the conference was the analogy of the present situation to the Holocaust. There was a determination not to let genocide happen again. This, of course, carries a very special message to Jewish groups involved in this issue. Bookie stressed this in his remarks on the motion discussed in point #5.

8. Finally, this was the first involvement AJC has had with the National Coalition for Refugee Resettlement. I discussed this with Norman Lourie, the Coalition's chairman, and he warmly welcomed our participation. Since Bookie introduced the key motion of the day, AJC was very much a part of the meeting. This is a good coalition. Senator Kennedy and Congs. Holtzman, Solarz, Lester Wolff, and Dan Lundgren and Ambassador Dick Clark all mentioned it as a key force for refugee legislation reform. I think we should contact Lourie and get more involved with the coalition in the future. It is a broad-based group, made up of 130 state, voluntary and private agencies. If yesterday's meeting was any indication, we can work smoothly with it and play an important role in its deliberations. Catholic and Lutheran groups have taken key roles in this coalition in the past. Lourie told me Jewish participation had been missed and urged us to come in.



CALL
LETTERS

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CHARGE
TO

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 E. 56 St., N.Y., N.Y., 10022

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

JUNE 20, 1979

YOUR LEADERSHIP IN ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS A DISTINCTIVE HALLMARK OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION. IN KEEPING WITH THAT ENLIGHTENED POLICY WHICH THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAS ACTIVELY SUPPORTED, WE RESPECTFULLY URGE YOU TO LEAD OUR GOVERNMENT, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF NATIONS IN MOBILIZING ON AN EMERGENCY BASIS AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO HELP SAVE THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS OF VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE, ETHNIC CHINESE, AND CAMBODIAN REFUGEES. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FOLLOWING THREE ACTIONS NEED TO BE UNDERTAKEN AS QUICKLY AS HUMANLY POSSIBLE.

END OF SHEET ONE

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CHARGE
TO

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

PAGE TWO

JUNE 20, 1979

IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE FURTHER TRAGIC LOSS OF HUMAN LIVES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: FIRST, WE PLEAD WITH YOU TO UNDERTAKE AN EMERGENCY SEA-LIFT INVOLVING MARITIME AND U.S. NAVY VESSELS IN SUBIC BAY AND SURROUNDING AREAS TO RETRIEVE THE REFUGEES WHO ARE BEING CAST OUT TO SEA ON UNSEAWORTHY BOATS. WE WOULD URGE ALL MARITIME POWERS WHOSE SHIPS PLY THIS SEA TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT. SECOND, WE SUPPORT THE PROPOSAL TO DOUBLE THE QUOTAS FOR THE ACCEPTANCE TO OUR SHORES OF REFUGEES, AND TO PROVIDE THE NEEDED EMERGENCY FUNDING. THIRD, WE SUPPORT THE OPENING OF GUAM ISLAND OR SOME OTHER SOME TRANSIT CENTER AS A TEMPORARY PLACE OF REFUGE FOR THESE HAPLESS PEOPLE. AS JEWS WHO HAVE SUFFERED THE TRAUMA OF BEING ABANDONED BY THE WORLD WHEN OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS WERE BEING SYSTEMATICALLY PUT TO DEATH, WE FIND IT MORALLY IMPOSSIBLE

END OF SHEET TWO

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PAGE THREE

JUNE 20, 1979

TO STAND BY IDLY WHILE SUCH DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIVES ALL CREATED IN THE SACRED IMAGE OF GOD TAKES PLACE BEFORE OUR EYES. WE SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT THE MORAL SANITY AND CIVILITY OF THE HUMAN FAMILY DEPENDS ON OUR WHOLEHEARTED RESPONSE OF CARING AND COMPASSION WHICH MUST BE OUR SUPREME PRIORITY AS A NATION AND AS A PEOPLE.

RICHARD MAASS, PRESIDENT
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE



NEWS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, June 20....A national Jewish human rights organization today urged the United States to take the lead in "spearheading an international movement to open up the doors of nations for the homeless victims of Vietnamese cruelty."

Maxwell E. Greenberg, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said that in support of such an effort, the ADL plans to "convene a meeting of leaders of religious and other groups concerned with human rights to devise plans for mobilizing their constituencies and all Americans in behalf of the relief and rescue of these victims."

In a report to the 66th annual meeting of the League's national commission at the Plaza Hotel last weekend, the ADL leader commended the United States and other nations which have opened their doors to these refugees. He noted that the U.S. has "responded to this international tragedy" by taking in 210,000 refugees with 7,000 more being accepted every month.

"It is clear, nevertheless," he pointed out, "that continuing cruelties are producing more refugees in numbers that exceed the presently available places of asylum."

(more)

He went on to say that it is a tragedy that is assuming "world proportions" which requires the mobilization of world opinion against "the mounting inhumanity of the Hanoi regime."

He stressed that Jews, having been refugees throughout history, are particularly sensitive to the plight of the hundreds of thousands of men, women and children whom the Communist government of Vietnam have made homeless in a "racist onslaught against its entire ethnic Chinese minority."

He noted, further, that the massive expulsions, accompanied by forced expropriations, "have been followed by tragic reports of drownings at sea and death from hunger, thirst and exposure."

"To dramatize this challenge to civilization," Mr. Greenberg urged the U.S. to involve the United Nations, its constituent bodies and other instruments of international diplomacy "in creating havens of security and opportunity for the victims of totalitarianism in Indochina."

LEO CHERNE
Chairman

WILLIAM J. CASEY
Co-Chairman

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ROBERT DE VECCHI
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CITIZENS COMMISSION ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

CARE OF INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

TEL. (212) 679-0010 • CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK

THE PRESENT INDOCHINESE REFUGEE CRISIS

The Indochinese refugee emergency has increased in magnitude over the past several weeks to a level unequaled since April 1975. The most dramatic developments involve boat refugees from Vietnam. Of equal intensity are events affecting Khmer, Lao and Hmong land refugees.

The highlights of recent developments include:

1. One year ago, the average arrival rate of boat refugees in countries of first asylum was 5,000 per month. In May 1979, over 59,000 boat refugees were recorded. It can only be assumed that the estimated 50 to 70% lost at sea rose accordingly. There are at present over 174,000 identified boat refugees in countries of first asylum, and undoubtedly thousands more on isolated beaches or deserted islands. The major areas of concentration are:

Malaysia - over	75,000	(May arrivals -	15,000)
Hong Kong - "	50,000	" "	20,000
Indonesia - "	35,000	" "	20,000
Thailand - "	8,000	" "	2,400
Philippines - "	4,000	" "	1,000
Other - "	<u>2,000</u>	" "	<u>1,000</u>
TOTAL -	174,000		59,000

2. During May, only 7,017 boat refugees were resettled in third countries, about one-half to the United States. In all, there have been some 230,000 boat people since 1977, of whom only 67,000 have departed for permanent resettlement in third countries. The United States has taken 40,000. As a result, countries of

first asylum such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand see not only no end to their problems but dramatic increases in the numbers coming to their shores. This fear has manifested itself in the recent draconian measures announced by these countries, and in particular Malaysia's stated intent of not only preventing new boats from landing but of systematically putting refugees on land back into boats and returning them to sea.

3. Reports from Vietnam confirm that government's policy of purifying its society by the systematic expulsion, for a fee, of its 1.2 million ethnic Chinese population. Between 75% and 80% of new boat refugees are ethnic Chinese, many from the north. At the same time, the People's Republic of China claims they have accepted over 200,000 ethnic Chinese refugees from Vietnam and that additional new refugees are arriving at the rate of 10,000 per month.

4. At the same time, the plight of Khmer refugees in Thailand has risen to catastrophic and tragic heights. The relatively stable Khmer refugee population of 15,000 in Thai camps suddenly expanded in April and May as 90,000 Khmer refugees crossed over. Of these, approximately one-half are Sino-Khmer, urban, educated refugees who were encouraged and assisted to flee by Vietnamese military forces. The other half are more rural people who most often crossed over in large numbers under guard and hostage to Khmer Rouge military units.

5. Thailand has refused to regard these persons as refugees and has refused UNHCR access to them. U.S. refugee officers have been able to interview some of the 45,000 Sino-Khmer and guarantee resettlement in the United States to about 2,000 of them. The rest were rounded up, put on buses and forcibly repatriated from the Sisaket area in Thailand into Vietnamese controlled areas of northern Cambodia. There are reports of suicides and violence during this operation. However, the Thais have completed it, and for the time being Thailand has rid itself of these unwelcome guests.

6. The remaining 45,000 are in enclosures along the Thai-Cambodian border.

between Aranyaprathet and the sea. Many of the refugees are being held against their will by the Khmer Rouge troops. It is assumed they will be forced to return to Cambodia, into the Cardoman mountain area where the Pol Pot forces are preparing their final defense.

7. The internal situation in Cambodia - militarily, politically and economically - is so unstable at this time that it is a virtual certainty that large numbers of refugees will again flow into Thailand - either as a result of fighting or famine or both. The situation can only grow more tenuous and possibly tragic in the months ahead.

8. The flow of lowland Lao and ethnic minorities from Laos into Thailand continues unabated at from 5,000 to 6,000 per month. As resettlement to third countries averages only 2,000 to 3,000 per month, the total numbers in camps continues to rise and now is over 130,000. The Nong Khai and Ubon camps have become, after Vientiane, the largest Lao communities in the world. Many have been in camps for upwards to four years now, with little prospects for third country resettlement.

9. The ethnic minorities from Laos, in particular the Hmong, continue to escape to Thailand under the most difficult of circumstances. They most often have to fight their way out of Laos, face the dangers of being shot by border guards crossing the Mekong and are not warmly received in Thailand. It is estimated that as many as 50,000 additional Hmong will try to flee to Thailand in the months ahead.

10. Public attention and concern have been aroused in recent weeks through extensive press coverage of the sudden influx of boat refugees into Hong Kong, followed by the Khmer crisis and the recent measures taken by Malaysia. This has not, at least yet, been translated into any significant new initiatives to alleviate conditions or save lives. Ten thousand Indochinese refugees per month continue to be resettled in third countries under present programs, 70% to the

United States and the balance primarily to France, Canada and Australia. There have been no substantial increases in the numbers being taken or countries offering resettlement opportunities. The most consistent response from the world community is for some sort of international conference to address the problem. This has been proposed by a number of persons and governments, including Prime Minister Thacher, President Giscard d'Estaing, the EEC Foreign Ministers and the Japanese governments. Meanwhile, reports of boats being turned away and refugees being pushed out to sea continue to come in. The most positive response has come from Prime Minister Begin of Israel. In a letter to President Carter, Begin urged all countries to declare their willingness to immediately admit a number of Indo-chinese in proportion to their population.

U.S. Refugee Coordinator, Dick Clark, met with Vice President Mondale and other White House and Administration officials. It is understood that a series of policy options were agreed upon for presentation to the President. They are said to include an increase in numbers and other measures to increase the U.S. response. It is also understood that the refugee emergency will figure high on the agendas of the forthcoming Tokyo summit, ASEAN meeting and ANZUS meeting.

Robert P. DeVecchi

6/20/79

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, June 21...The American Jewish Committee has urged President Carter to "undertake an emergency sea-lift involving maritime and U.S. Navy vessels in Subic Bay and surrounding areas to retrieve the refugees who are being cast out to sea on unseaworthy boats."

In a telegram to Mr. Carter today, AJC President Richard Maass also called on him to support the proposal to double the quotas for the admission of refugees to the U.S., and to provide the necessary emergency funding for such action. Mr. Maass stated in addition that the AJC supported the "opening of Guam Island or some other transit center as a temporary place of refuge for these hapless people."

In these actions, Mr. Maass pointed out that it would be consistent with Mr. Carter's human rights program for him to take the lead in the nation and in the world in "mobilizing on an emergency basis an effective response to help save the lives of thousands of Vietnamese boat people, ethnic Chinese, and Cambodian refugees."

Explaining the deep conviction of the AJC on this issue, Mr. Maass stated:

"As Jews who have suffered the trauma of being abandoned by the world when our brothers and sisters were being systematically put to death, we find it morally impossible to stand by idly while such destruction of human lives, all created in the sacred image of God, takes place before our eyes."

Copies of the telegram were sent to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance; to Ambassador Dick Clark, the Administration's chief official on refugee matters; and to Representatives Elizabeth Holtzman, Steven Solarz and Lester L. Wolff, all of whom have pushed strongly for Congressional action on behalf of the refugees.

The text of Mr. Maass telegram to President Carter follows:

"Your leadership in advancing the cause of human rights is a distinctive hallmark of your Administration. In keeping with that enlightened policy, which the American Jewish Committee has actively supported, we respectfully urge you to lead our Government, the American people, and the international

more....

community of nations in mobilizing on an emergency basis an effective response to help save the lives of thousands of Vietnamese boat people, ethnic Chinese, and Cambodian refugees.

"We believe that the following three actions need to be taken as quickly as humanly possible in order to prevent the further tragic loss of human lives in the South China Sea:

"First, we plead with you to undertake an emergency sea-lift involving maritime and U.S. Navy vessels in Subic Bay and surrounding areas to retrieve the refugees who are being cast out to sea on unseaworthy boats. We would urge all maritime powers whose ships ply this sea to join in this effort.

"Second, we support the proposal to double the quotas for the acceptance to our shores of refugees, and to provide the needed emergency funding.

"Third, we support the opening of Guam Island or some other transit center as a temporary place of refuge for these hapless people.

"As Jews who have suffered the trauma of being abandoned by the world when our brothers and sisters were being systematically put to death, we find it morally impossible to stand by idly while such destruction of human lives all created in the sacred image of God takes place before our eyes. We sincerely believe that the moral sanity and civility of the human family depends on our wholehearted response of caring and compassion, which must be our supreme priority as a nation and as a people."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

6/21/79
79-960-111
A, EJP, PP, CP, REL, FOR



THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1979

AID TO INDOCHINA REFUGEES
CALLED URGENT AND OVERDUE

By Religious News Service (6-21-79)

Pope John Paul II has added his voice to the growing number of religious and human rights organizations pleading for the more than 700,000 Indochina refugees.

In a lengthy and impassioned appeal, the pontiff called for a hasty convening of an international conference to find homes for the thousands of Southeast Asian refugees trapped on boats and in temporary camps.

In London, Amnesty International meanwhile urged governments throughout the world to take their full share of responsibility in accepting the victims of political upheavals.

And in New York, a national Jewish human rights organization called on the Carter Administration to take the lead in "spearheading an international movement to open the doors of nations for the homeless victims of Vietnamese cruelty."

Maxwell E. Greenberg, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said that in support of such an effort the Jewish organization planned to convene a meeting of leaders of religious and other groups concerned with human rights "to mobilize their constituencies and all Americans in behalf of the relief and rescue of these victims."

In Washington, government sources indicated that U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim would announce a major international conference to deal with the Indochina refugee problem to be convened in Geneva in mid-July. Sources at the United Nations said that Vietnam had agreed to the proposed conference on condition that it deal with humanitarian, not political, issues.

"The plan to hold an international conference of the countries concerned (and what country could feel uninvolved in this tragedy) cannot fail to be strongly encouraged," the pope told the participants in his Wednesday public audience at Saint Peter's Square in Vatican City.

The pontiff said he wished "to raise my voice to invite you to turn your minds and hearts to the drama that is taking place in the countries and on the distant seas of Southeast Asia -- a drama that is involving hundreds of thousands of our brothers and sisters. These people are looking for a homeland, because the countries that at first received them have reached the limits of their capacities, while at the same time the offers to accept them permanently in other countries are so far proving insufficient."

(more)

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HYMAN BOOKBINDER

To: *Mase Tavenbaum*



FY!



President's Commission on the Holocaust

Office of the
Chairman

June ¹⁷~~19~~, 1979

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

We who live with the memory of the Holocaust, we who judge all things by its shadow and in its light are particularly distressed by the specter of silence and apathy which greets the fate of the "boat people." We are outraged at the sight of people set adrift with no country willing to welcome them ashore. We are horrified at the imposition of quotas which exclude women and children in the full knowledge that such a policy of exclusion can be a sentence of death. We know that this failure to act will take its moral toll on those who stand on the sidelines as well as a physical toll on the victims.

Therefore, as Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, and on behalf of the Commission, I implore all countries to open their borders and to extend rights of refuge and asylum to the boat people. We call upon the nations of the world to coordinate their activities and to extend themselves with humanitarian generosity so that we may not once again be divided into a world of perpetrators, victims, and bystanders.

We know that the President of the United States, in the spirit of this Administration's commitment to human rights and human dignity, will do all within his power to alleviate this situation and assume a leadership role in resolving this problem. We hope that this Nation will grasp this clear opportunity to learn from the history of the Holocaust not to err again.

Now is the time for this country and for the world to take decisive action to save the boat people. Now, before it is too late.

Elie Wiesel
Elie Wiesel

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June 25, 1979

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MUST
ACT NOW

*problem
of refugees*

The horror which the world is witnessing on the borders of Thailand and the waters off Malaysia and Vietnam dwarf right now all the other human rights problems that concern the Carter administration around the world. If the U.S. government does not act dramatically and forcefully to save the tens of thousands who will be cast out to sea or forcefully returned to Indo China and to certain death, American credibility on human rights as well as other issues will suffer a blow from which it may take decades to recover.

It is clear that the humanitarian instincts of the American people have been aroused by the plight of these refugees and it is up to the government to implement a firm and effective response to their concerns. The inaction which has characterized our policy on this life and death matter for too long, can be attributed to the sheer magnitude of the problem and its many confusing aspects. We must now face up to what needs to be done. There are four directions in which the American government must move if it is to achieve results commensurate with the magnitude of the disaster which confronts us.

1. The United States on its own must:

(a) Double the number of the Indochinese who will be permitted to come to the United States for the next 18 months.

(b) Send ships and planes to pick up and provide food and medical care to any refugees who are cast out to sea.

(c) Send food and medicine to help the 20,000 refugees who were pushed back to Cambodia from Thailand, and demand that both Cambodia and Thailand give the U.S. High Commissioner permission to bring food and medicine to these refugees and otherwise assist them.

2. Call on Thailand and Malaysia to desist from any action which jeopardizes the lives of refugees. We have been and remain sensitive to the disproportionate burden which these nations have had to carry. We have taken and will continue to take the lead in seeking to relieve them of a portion of this burden. But they must recognize it is a geographic fact that they are the countries of greatest proximity and that a heavy portion of the burden will always be theirs, as long as Vietnam continues its inhuman policies. They should remember that India took 10 million refugees from East Pakistan and settled them in the poorest part of India around Calcutta. The brutal example which Vietnam has set and even the lethargy of the International

community in sharing their burden does not justify Malaysia in shooting new refugees' on sight, and does not justify either Malaysia or Thailand in casting refugees off to sea or pushing them back across the Cambodian borders to almost certain death.

3. Before the United National Assemblies for its conference on refugees in Geneva next month, the United States should work with other leading nations along the lines of the Begin proposal to be adopted and implemented at this conference. It should impose on each of the countries attending a quota of refugees to be taken, which in its totality will be enough to meet the need.

4. The United States government should address the government of Vietnam demanding that it abandon the policies which have pushed people to such desperate efforts to escape the barbarities which have been practiced upon them. This demand should be backed up by:

(a) Making it clear to the Russians that we hold them in part accountable for the brutal conduct of their proxy state, and that Western cooperation in trade, technology and even SALT will be withheld until the practice of genocide in Vietnam is brought to an end.

(b) Bringing the "rehabilitation zone to Vietnam" the "seminars in Laos" and the "trade in Chinese bodies" for money before the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

The urgency of the action needed here, and the sweeping nature of these steps, will not have sufficient cause and effect without the active personal involvement of President Carter, whose credibility as an advocate of human rights as well as America's credibility as a world leader, can be satisfied and maintained by nothing less.



STATEMENT OF CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT, AND JEWISH LEADERS
ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEE CRISIS AT PRESS CONFERENCE,
THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1979, 12 NOON, ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

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The plight of Southeast Asian refugees -- Vietnamese boat people, ethnic Chinese, Cambodians, Laotians -- threatens to become the greatest humanitarian crisis of this decade. A sense of urgency and deep outrage is developing among many of our Christian and Jewish constituents throughout the United States ~~xxxxx~~ in reaction to the numerous drownings of innocent men, women, and children; boats being pushed to sea; refugees drifting in unfriendly waters looking for safe havens; forcible repatriation and reprisals.

Refugee experts estimate that between 50 to 70 percent of these Indochinese refugees will perish within the next few months. About 200,000 boat people have already drowned in the South China Sea. Some 60,000 persons are now arriving in Southeast Asian refugee camps each month. At this rate, there will be a half million people in the camps by September, and over a million a year from now.

Countries that up to now have offered interim asylum -- Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Hong Kong -- see so many people coming in and so few leaving that they are beginning to close their gates. Thailand is forcing some 40,000 Cambodians back across the Cambodian border, where they face shooting or starvation. Malaysia, which earlier sheltered some 76,000 boat people, is now setting thousands adrift.

The refugees will die in the thousands unless American Christians and Jews - the largest organized bodies of American citizens

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call on President Carter and leaders of other governments to
meet this vast human catastrophe now.

