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UNITED STATES COORDINATOR
FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

January 6, 1983

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St.
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

I am delighted that you will be joining us as a panelist at the Conference on Ethics and Refugee Policy here in Washington, D.C. the evening of Thursday, March 24, and Friday, March 25. Attached is a copy of the conference calendar and program as presently set.

You will note that you are scheduled to appear on the third panel, convening at 2:15 p.m. Friday, with Senator Alan Simpson as moderator.

The moderator will open the panel session by introducing you and your fellow panelists. At the end of the panelists' presentations, he will then select three or four issues on which to focus initial discussion with the general audience.

To facilitate this discussion, you need only make a ten minute presentation on a given theme or issue. In your case, may I suggest you address the question of whether there is any basis on humanitarian grounds for distinguishing between the claims of different groups seeking refugee status or asylum. Moreover, is there a moral basis for treating group claims rather than individual claims?

Please make known your travel requirements to Father Habiby's personal assistant at the Religious Advisory Committee.

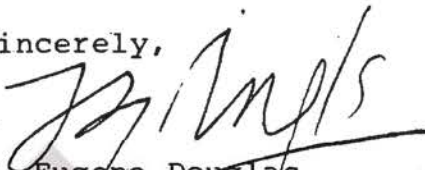
Mrs. Nancy Hansen
The Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017
212/867-8400, ext. 377

She can make your arrangements for you, or, if you prefer, reimburse you for any arrangements you have made.

Finally, would you please send a copy of your c.v. to Dr. Richard Feen at my office at the Department of State, Room 7526. Dr. Feen would also be glad to answer any questions you may have about your panel assignment or any other aspect of the conference. He can be reached at 202/632-5957.

I look forward to meeting with you for dinner on March 24.

Sincerely,


H. Eugene Douglas
Ambassador-at-Large

Enclosure:
Conference Outline



ETHICAL ISSUES AND MORAL PRINCIPLES IN U.S. REFUGEE POLICY

Sponsored by the Office of the U.S. Coordinator
for Refugee Affairs

and

The Religious Advisory Committee

PURPOSES:

It is safe to predict that in the year 2000, human pressures on national borders, group demands for refugee status and resettlement, and individual appeals for asylum will still rank as major issues of domestic and international politics. Can we, then, better define international norms on which to base world refugee policy? And, can we better define the ethical principles which should guide the refugee laws and policies of the United States?

The theme of this conference is ethical issues surrounding the "refugee." We shall explore: Who is a refugee? What generates refugee flows? What are the appropriate international strategies of response? What principles should determine the refugee policy of the United States as a receiving country?

The purposes of the conference are:

1. To review the external environment which creates refugee flows, and the consequences here and abroad of mass resettlement.
2. To articulate traditional American values, and the Judeo-Christian ethic as it relates to refugee affairs; to clarify the moral and ethical issues involved.
3. To provide an opportunity to build a new consensus among leaders on how to deal with refugee problems at home and abroad.

PROCEDURE:

The conference will consist of three panel sessions, followed by a brief summary session. Each panel will be chaired by a moderator with three panelists, each of whom will present his or her views of a given issue or set of issues. The moderator will identify for group discussion the three or four issues he deems to be most important. Group discussion will first focus on these issues.

In the interests of encouraging a full exchange among as many participants as possible, all discussions will be unofficial and off the record.

Dr. Joseph Kittagawa, who will act as rapporteur of the conference will present a brief summary, and subsequently will prepare a conference report for the sponsors. This report will be circulated among the participants for comment.



TENTATIVE CONFERENCE SCHEDULE:

Place: Meridian House International
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Thursday, March 24, 1983

6:30 p.m. Reception

7:30 p.m. Opening Remarks by The Honorable
H.E. Douglas, Ambassador-at-Large,
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

7:45 p.m. Dinner

9:00 p.m. Guest Speaker

Friday, March 25, 1983

8:15 a.m. Registration

8:30 a.m. Opening Statement by Ambassador Douglas

9:15 a.m. Panel One: Contemporary World Scene

11:00 a.m. Panel Two: Response to the World Community

12:35 a.m. Luncheon

1:30 p.m. Guest Speaker

2:15 p.m. Panel Three: U.S. Refugee Policy

4:00 p.m. Tea

4:20 p.m. Summary Session

5:30 p.m. Adjournment

PANEL SESSIONS:

Panel I: Contemporary World Scene

Time: 9:15-10:50 a.m.

Moderator: Dr. John Silber,
President of Boston University

Panelists: Dr. Michael Teitelbaum, Senior Associate,
Carnegie Endowment for International
Peace
The Most Reverend Anthony J. Bevilacqua,
Auxiliary Bishop of Brooklyn
Ms. Nina Solarz, Executive Director,
Citizens' Committee for Immigration
Reform

Scope: The tragic dilemma of the refugee problem is that there are so many more claimants with a "well-founded fear of persecution" than there are resources to assist or resettle them. Different actors on the world scene interpret these fears differently. As long as discussion centered on refugees from Hitler or from the Soviet Union, one set of ethical and moral issues predominated. But now most applicants for asylum or refugee status come from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The situation poses a broader set of ethical and moral issues.

Questions for discussion include:

1. Can we distinguish between the political and economic determinants of refugee generation? Is the process of economic development per se to be considered a root cause?
2. What has been the effect internationally of the appeal to human rights? Has liberal ideology, in itself, tended to augment refugee flows?
3. Given limited resources, what should be the balance of effort between protection of refugee populations and resettlement of those populations?

Panel II: Response of the World Community

Time: 11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

Moderator: The Reverend Peter Gomes,
Professor of Christian Morals and
Minister of Harvard Memorial Church

Panelists: The Honorable Richard Rubottom,
Former Ambassador and
Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs, and
President Emeritus of the University
of the America's
Leo Cherne, Chairman,
International Rescue Committee
Father Slivano M. Tomasi, C.S.,
Director, Center for Migration Studies

Scope: While in the past there has been a considerable degree of adhoc cooperation among nations in coping with specific refugee problems, the enormity of present problems threatens to undermine such consensus as exists. Virtually all countries face refugee problems, and pressures to look inward, rather than outward, are on the rise. The growing financial and resettlement burdens suggest that if there is not a renewal of some broad consensus, multiple tragedies are likely to confront us in many different parts of the world.

Questions for discussion include:

1. Are Western nations responding more today out of a sense of guilt than a sense of mission, and does this effect the amount and character of assistance Western nations are willing to give to refugees?
2. Is large-scale repatriation possible for a majority of refugees from Third World countries? Or is third-country resettlement a more realistic option?
3. Are there agreed international standards for sharing the costs and burdens of refugee care and resettlement? Can they be improved?

Panel III: U.S. Refugee Policy

Time: 2:15-4:00 p.m.

Moderator: Senator Alan Simpson, (Wyoming)

Panelists: Mrs. Doris Meissner,
Executive Associate Commissioner,
U.S. Immigration and Naturalization
Service
Rabbi Tannenbaum, Director, Interreligious
Affairs, American Jewish Committee

Scope: U.S. refugee policy begins only after World War II. Even more recently, as the result of refugee flows from Cuba, the U.S. became for the first time a country of first asylum. Previously the U.S. had been for the most part a country of refugee resettlement. The Refugee Act of 1980 was the first attempt by Congress to codify in law refugee policy, but days after the passage of the Act some 125,000 new refugees arrived from Cuba and their cases were handled under special legislation, apart from the 1980 Act. In many more ways events have overtaken U.S. policy; whereas five years ago the backlog of asylum petitions before the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Department numbered in the few hundreds, it is now in excess of 100,000.

Questions for discussion include:

1. Given the moral principles underpinning refugee policy, is there any basis on humanitarian grounds for distinguishing between the claims of different groups seeking refugee status or asylum? Is there a moral basis for treating group claims rather than individual claims?
2. Should the claims of asylees be put ahead of the claims of those with established refugee status? Are there different moral and ethical issues in the two cases?
3. Who should decide the relative weight of group claims? The President? The Congress? Both, or some other authority?

SUMMARY SESSION:

Dr. Joseph Kitagawa, Dean-emeritus, University of Chicago Divinity School, conference rapporteur.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

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

To: Citizen Commission, Executive
Committee

Date: Aug. 19, 1982

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: First Asylum in Thailand

Leo asked me to send you a copy of the attached article I prepared for the 1982 World Refugee Survey, issued by the U.S. Committee for Refugees.

The situation in Thailand is far worse today than when this was written-- in May/June. The threat of involuntary repatriation is very real, as third country resettlement programs dwindle and as Thailand feels increasingly left to its own devices to cope with unwanted refugees.

Bob DeVecchi



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Politics and Policies of "First Asylum" in Thailand

Robert P. DeVecchi

Thailand, of all the countries of the free world, has been the most severely tested by the upheavals in Indochina which began in the spring of 1975. Its basic security has been threatened by the coming to power of a hostile and aggressive regime in Hanoi. Its neighbor to the east, Cambodia, all but disappeared into a black hole, only to emerge in 1979 as an occupied state ruled from Hanoi. The area along the Thai-Cambodian border is still controlled by resistance groups, including remnants of the Khmer Rouge. Its neighbor to the north, Laos, has also become a Vietnam-dominated state.

As a result of these upheavals, Thailand has been the country of first asylum for hundreds of thousands of refugees from the three Indochinese states. They come from a variety of national and ethnic groups and all strata of society. What they have in common is that they have fled—over land or by sea—from the chaos and repression in their native lands, seeking refuge and a safe haven. No country in recent history has been called upon to respond to such a continuing and sustained flow of diverse peoples in distress for such a long period. This crisis—which began seven years ago—continues today.

No country in recent history has been called upon to respond to such a continuing and sustained flow of diverse peoples in distress for such a long period.

To put Thailand's burden into some perspective, over 1.5 million Indochinese refugees have fled since 1975. Of these, some 135,000 were evacuated from Vietnam in the spring of 1975 and were taken to countries of final settlement such as the U.S. and France. In addition, some 263,000 Vietnamese of Chinese descent have been moved from Vietnam to the Peoples Republic of China. Of the remaining one million, close to 600,000, or 60 percent, have passed through or are now in Thailand.

The number of refugees still in countries of first asylum has declined from its peak in 1979 to about 230,000 today. Of these, over 190,000 are in Thailand—85 percent of the total. The refugees in other countries of first asylum—primarily Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Hong Kong—have been boat people from Vietnam. Thailand, on the other hand, has had to contend not only with refugees from Vietnam, but with far greater numbers from Cambodia and Laos as well.

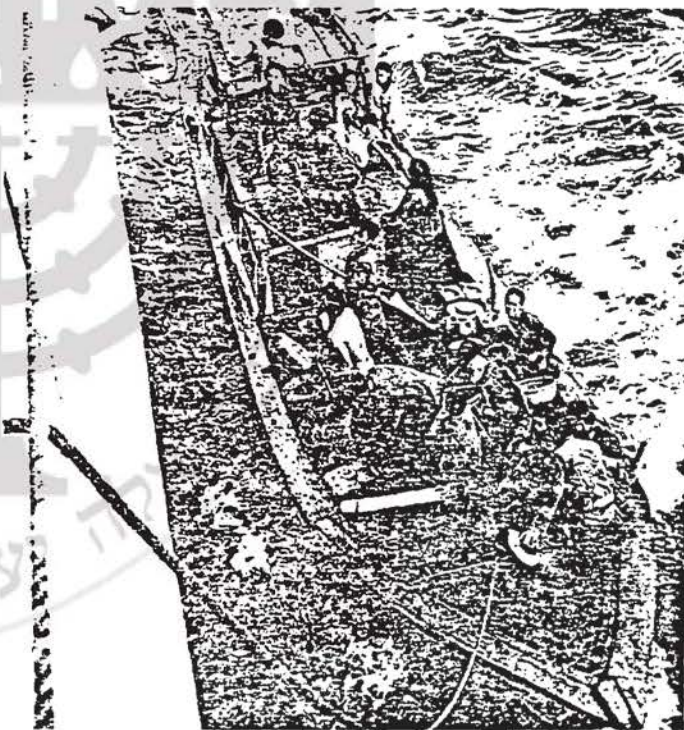
The policies adopted by the Royal Thai government regarding the granting of first asylum to Indochinese refugees have, on the whole, been on the side of generosity and a humane response to the plight of people in distress. At the same time, these policies have varied according to the ethnic groups involved, and the objective conditions prevailing at the time they sought asylum. These variations reflect, in part, traditional Thai attitudes towards the several ethnic groups, based on long historical interaction. They also reflect security interests and responsibilities as perceived by the Thai authorities. Further,

they reflect external influences from international organizations such as UNHCR and other interested public and private bodies. Of critical importance have been the policies adopted by the countries willing to accept Indochinese refugees for permanent resettlement.

The following is a brief analysis of the policies adopted by the Thai government, toward the different ethnic groups, and how they have evolved.

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Rivalries and antipathies between the peoples of Vietnam and Thailand have run deep for centuries. Thus Thai policies towards refugees from Vietnam have tended to be harsher than those directed towards any other group of Indochinese refugees. This attitude has been reinforced by the lingering problems posed by the presence of several thousand Vietnamese refugees who were admitted to Thailand following the French withdrawal from Indochina in 1954.



Boats like this one on the South China Sea have been increasingly threatened by pirates. U.S. Navy.

The first boat refugees from Vietnam began arriving on Thai shores in 1976. The numbers grew from a handful a month to several thousand at the peak in the summer of 1979. While the reception arriving refugees received on the beach varied considerably, the overall policy was to permit them to stay. With the help of UNHCR, two camps were established—one at Songkhla on the Kra peninsula and the second at Laem Sing in Chanthaburi province on the east coast. The conditions under which they were permitted to stay depended on the willingness of third countries—such as the U.S., France, Canada,

Robert P. DeVecchi is director of the Indochinese program of the International Rescue Committee. He has been with IRC since 1975.

and Australia—to move them out of Thailand. Moments of hiatus, for example when there was no U.S. resettlement program, were particularly perilous for the Vietnamese boat refugees.

This tenuous situation threatened to break down under the pressures of the massive overflow of Vietnamese refugees in 1979. There were recorded instances of boats being refused permission to dock, or being towed back to sea and directed most often towards Malaysia. An international conference called by UNHCR in the summer of 1979 prevailed upon Vietnam to stop expelling its unwanted—primarily ethnic Chinese—citizens. The boats kept coming, however, though at a reduced rate. By then there were sufficient guarantees of third country resettlement to permit those arriving, in most instances, to be taken into the camps to await resettlement.

Since 1981, the Thai authorities have been increasingly concerned that the international effort to take Vietnamese boat people for resettlement was waning and Thai policy has once again become more restrictive towards boat people. In order to deter refugees from heading to Thailand in hopes of rapid resettlement, the camps at Songkhla and Laem Sing were officially closed. Since August 15, 1981, boats have been permitted to land, but the refugees are brought to austere inland camp areas and they are not at this time eligible for resettlement. Nonetheless, the flow continues, averaging about 1,000 per month. All told, some 70,000 Vietnamese boat people have come to Thailand since 1976. Of these, 65,000 have been resettled in third countries, and some 5,000 remain.

One issue which remains unresolved today is the piracy attacks on Vietnamese boats. The reported instances of attack by pirate ships—often in the guise of fishing ships—continue to mount. In 1981, they reached epidemic proportions, with over 80 percent of the boats reporting one or more attacks. But the assaults have not been for material gain alone: they have involved rape, murder, and abduction at appalling levels. Despite international efforts to mount an anti-piracy campaign, the mayhem continues, to the shame of all concerned.

Thailand has also accepted nearly 25,000 Vietnamese who came over land—from Laos and Cambodia. Here, too, the need for rapid resettlement to third countries has applied. Fewer than a thousand land refugees from Vietnam remain in Thailand today. Several hundred Vietnamese—including defecting soldiers and civilians who crossed Cambodia—are presently on the Thai-Cambodian border. They are held in a special section of one of the large Cambodian border enclaves, under protection of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Efforts to date to move this vulnerable group from the border into reception camps in Thailand have not been successful.

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Thailand and Laos share a long border. Much of it lies along the banks of the Mekong river, where ethnic Lao and ethnic Thai have intermingled for centuries. In fact, some claim that the majority of the population of northeast Thailand is ethnically Lao. Thailand's northwestern border with Laos runs through mountainous, densely forested land. In these areas live large numbers of highlanders—ethnic hill-tribe groupings which form a part of the large mass of hill tribes of Chinese origin which stretch from China down through Laos, Thailand, and Burma. They practice a type of "slash and burn" agriculture that

keeps them in a slow but continuous migration, by and large in a southwesterly direction.

Given this history and recalling the extent of U.S. involvement in Laos prior to 1975, it is not surprising that refugees from Laos—both ethnic Lao and ethnic hill tribes—have been crossing over into Thailand seeking sanctuary. What has been surprising is the size of the exodus. In all, some 285,000 refugees have fled Laos for Thailand since 1975, close to 10 percent of the estimated population of Laos. Of these, some 160,000 are ethnic Lao and 125,000 are from the hill tribes.

In numerical terms, refugees from Laos represent the largest burden Thailand has had to bear. In political terms, given the close historical ties between the peoples of the two countries, they are less of a burden than those coming from Vietnam or Cambodia. At the same time, the government of Thailand has maintained the position that acceptance would be limited to Lao for whom eventually there would be permanent resettlement in third countries or who would voluntarily return to Laos when conditions permitted. In other words, the Lao have been welcomed as temporary guests but Thailand has maintained that it will not accept refugees from Laos for permanent resettlement.

Given the above stipulation, it is of interest to describe the evolution of first asylum policy as it has been applied to the two main groups from Laos—the ethnic Lao and the highlanders.

The Lao have been welcomed as temporary guests but Thailand has maintained that it will not accept refugees from Laos for permanent resettlement.

Refugees from the lowland areas of Laos, in particular from the cities along the Mekong such as Vientiane, Savannakhet, and Pakse, began crossing into Thailand as soon as it became clear that the Pathet Lao would emerge as the leading political and military force in the country. Many of the early arrivals were persons closely associated with the former government of Laos, or with the military effort, or both. Many had trained in Thailand or had crossed back and forth frequently in the course of their duties. Thus, for them flight was to a relatively well-known and hospitably disposed neighbor, with the greatest risk being to get across the river.

Ethnic Lao refugees were placed in one of two large camps in Thailand established by the Thai government in collaboration with UNHCR. Nongkhai camp is on the Mekong river, almost directly across from Vientiane, the administrative capital of Laos. Ubon camp is in northeast Thailand, near the Laotian city of Pakse. These two camps began building up in 1975 to the point where, in 1979, each claimed refugee populations in excess of 50,000. They were two of the largest ethnic Lao townships in the world, larger than most Laotian provincial capitals.

In 1976, the first group of Lao who had been associated with the U.S. were admitted to that country as refugees. The flow of refugees from Laos grew rapidly from 1977 on, as did the number of ethnic Lao accepted for resettlement by the U.S. and other countries, notably France.

All told, some 160,000 ethnic Lao have come to Thailand since 1975. Of these, some 120,000 have now been resettled in a third country (85,000 in the U.S.). Some 38,000 remain in camps in Thailand. It is reported that 2,000 have returned

Refugee Review

to Laos under a program of "voluntary repatriation," agreed to by the governments of Laos and Thailand, arranged by UNHCR.

The number of ethnic Lao refugees coming across the Mekong river averaged 3- to 5,000 each month during 1979 and 1980. While crossing into Thailand involved dangers—and sometimes death or forcible repatriation—there was a steady flow of people and information back and forth across the Thai-Lao border. Conditions in the Nongkhai camp, for example, were known in Vientiane, as were the prospects for resettlement. Thus, the perception began to grow among those concerned with the refugee flow that what had started as a flight by refugees from political oppression was becoming a steady migration of people seeking relief from the economic hardships of Laos in favor of a life in Thailand or perhaps beyond.

The growth of these perceptions, in particular among officials of UNHCR and to some extent of the foreign embassies, did not escape the notice of the Royal Thai government. Recognizing the very real possibility that resettlement countries might begin accepting fewer ethnic Lao refugees, Thai officials were quick to draw the conclusion that they would have to take measures to limit the flow.

However one might feel about humane deterrence, statistics show that its objective—to reduce the flow of ethnic Lao refugees into Thailand—seems to have been met.

Thus was born the policy of "humane deterrence," whereby all ethnic Lao refugees arriving in Thailand after January 1, 1981, are placed in "austere" camps, physically removed from the established camp populations of Nongkhai and Ubon. These refugees are not presently eligible to be considered for resettlement by a third country regardless of how well qualified they might be.

However one might feel about humane deterrence, statistics show that its objective—to reduce the flow of ethnic Lao refugees into Thailand—seems to have been met. The monthly flow is now in the low hundreds; many of these refugees have recently been released from the harsh and repressive "seminars" into which those associated with the former government have been placed (prison or work camps would be a more accurate title), or are persons who have close family ties in a third country.

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For over 15 years, ethnic hill tribesmen in Laos—the Hmong in particular—were deeply involved in the U.S.-financed and -supported "secret war." It was inevitable that, as the Pathet Lao moved to consolidate their control over Laos in 1975, the Hmong leadership would have to leave. It was just as inevitable that, in a tightly cohesive, tribal society, if the leadership left, many would follow and that those who stayed behind would be suspect to the new authorities who would try any means to bring them to heel.

Since 1975, over 125,000 hill tribesmen have fled from Laos into Thailand. They have been accommodated in six UNHCR camps, the largest of which, Ban Vinai, has become perhaps the largest Hmong settlement in the world, housing some 30,000 people.

All told, some 70,000 hill tribesmen, predominantly Hmong but including other tribal groups such as the Mien, have been resettled in third countries. This is the first time in history that any substantial number of people from these tribes has ever come to live in the West.

During 1979 and 1980, highlanders kept arriving in Thailand, often 4-5,000 per month. They arrived in pitiful condition, having had to make their way on foot through the rugged terrain, foraging for food and trying to avoid hostile Lao or Vietnamese military units. Often, their attempts to cross over into Laos met with disaster, either from armed patrols on the Lao side, unwelcoming Thai patrols on the Thai side, or simply inability to cross the treacherous Mekong.



Relatively few Lao refugees seek third country resettlement. These are destined for a new home in Spain. UNHCR.

Since 1980, the number of hill-tribe refugees seeking refuge in Thailand has decreased markedly. At the same time, for a variety of reasons, those who are offered the chance to resettle in a third country are, by and large, declining the offer. Thus a stalemate has been reached, with a relatively stable camp population of 55,000 hill-tribe refugees in Thailand. To date there have been no strong pressures from the Thai authorities to resolve this stalemate, by encouraging either resettlement or repatriation. While it is impossible to predict with any certainty what may happen, it is conceivable that a period of "benign neglect" may be underway, and the length of stay of the hill-tribe refugees in Thailand will become longer and longer.

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Of all the refugees from Indochina, none have created more intractable problems than those from Cambodia. The situation remains highly unstable and volatile, with no clear-cut resolution in sight.

At the time the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot took over the destiny of Cambodia in 1975, only about 15,000 refugees were able to reach Thailand. Many of these were local people who were able to cross the border before it was sealed. They were settled in three refugee camps established by the Thai government under UNHCR auspices. Later, during the nearly four-year period when the people of Cambodia suffered unutterable hardships under the Pol Pot regime, only a trickle of refugees was able to escape. At the same time, tensions were building up on the Cambodian-Vietnamese border. They erupted in late 1978 as Vietnam launched a full-fledged invasion of its neighbor. It soon became apparent that a large wave of refugees was making its way across Cambodia, heading for Thailand.

Of all the refugees from Indochina, none have created more intractable problems than those from Cambodia.

In the spring of 1979, the wave could no longer be contained. Two distinct groupings flowed into Thailand. One, numbering some 75,000, was under Pol Pot control. It included military cadre, dependents, and hostages. They marched sullenly and silently into Thailand headed south, and marched back again into the rugged Cardamom mountains of southwestern Cambodia. Another group, numbering some 50,000, were not under Pol Pot control. Among them were many urban people of middle-class background. Some associated with earlier regimes, many of them merchants, including a number of ethnic Chinese. These refugees found themselves in small enclaves inside Thailand—they were not permitted into the UNHCR camps although they did receive a modicum of protection from that agency. A small number of these refugees claimed immediate relatives in the U.S. or France and some others were readily identifiable as officials of the previous regime. Although they were not in camps and no formal mechanism was in place to select them for resettlement, about 2,500 managed to enter the resettlement stream and move on.

For the rest, however, an unexpected and tragic fate awaited. In late May 1979, for reasons still not fully understood, the

Thai government decided that these refugees, who had never really been granted status, must be returned to Cambodia. They were rounded up, put in buses and driven across the border in the remote Prean Vihear region of eastern Thailand. The terrain was particularly inhospitable and the area was heavily mined. No one knows how many died, but it must have been in the thousands. It was the most regrettable chapter in the entire Indochinese refugee saga in Thailand.

The respite on Thailand's hospitality was short-lived, however. In the fall of 1979, large numbers of Cambodians—both Khmer Rouge and "free" Khmer—began to amass on the Thai border. Most were sick, starving, or dying. This tidal wave of misery could no longer be contained. In a dramatic reversal of policy, the Thai prime minister announced in October 1979 that Cambodians would be permitted to enter Thailand under special conditions. They would not be defined as refugees or granted first asylum. Rather, they would be considered "illegal entrants" and placed in specially built "holding centers" under the control of the Thai military. They would not be eligible to be considered for resettlement in third countries. Rather, they would be guests of the Kingdom of Thailand and expected to return to Cambodia when conditions there permitted. Within a few weeks, some 150,000 Cambodian refugees were placed in the holding centers of Sakeo, Khao-I-Dang, Kamput, and Mairut. At the same time, large numbers of other Cambodians had begun to establish settlements on the Thai-Cambodian border; these numbers grew to over a half-million people.

No one knows how many Cambodians died, but it must have been in the thousands. It was the most regrettable chapter in the entire Indochinese refugee saga in Thailand.

This was truly a large-scale emergency. It seized the conscience of the world and led to a massive relief effort involving international organizations—UNHCR, UNICEF, ICRC, and the World Food Program. In addition, hundreds of private voluntary agencies and individuals flocked to Thailand to participate in one of the largest life-saving operations ever undertaken.

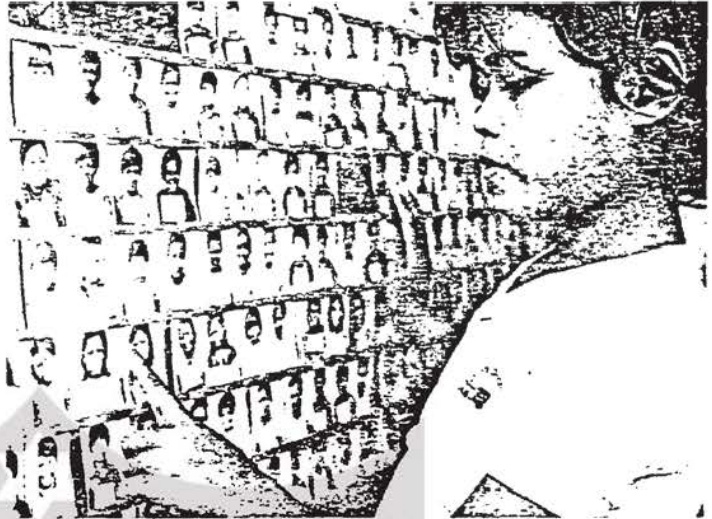
At the outset, the general policy governing the hospitality extended to the Cambodians was that they were to return eventually to Cambodia. In late 1979 the border was closed, blocking the entry of additional refugees into the holding centers. International food aid and medical assistance were provided to those on the border, but their entry into Thailand was barred.

The situation starting in 1980 was fraught with instability. Of the holding center population of 150,000, perhaps as many as 50,000 were Khmer Rouge followers, mostly in the Sakeo camp. Rival groups struggled for domination of the border enclaves, some being Khmer Rouge, others followers of various Free Khmer movements, and still others in the grip of petty warlords seeking to control the lucrative cross-border trade. During the course of the year, it became evident that a significant number of Cambodians in the holding centers had most compelling reasons to be resettled in third countries, mostly for reunion with immediate family.

Refugee Review

All told, as many as 50,000 were eventually moved in the resettlement stream. A number of these refugees were accepted into an innovative program that brought them to urban areas in the U.S. with established Cambodian refugee communities. The majority of these refugees first attended several months of orientation and English language training programs in the Philippine and Indonesian refugee processing centers.

At the same time, UNHCR undertook a vigorous, sustained effort to institute a repatriation program acceptable to the authorities in Hanoi, Phnom Penh, and Bangkok. There was, however, no movement of refugees under this program. In June of 1980 the Thai authorities, with UNHCR assistance, attempted unilaterally the repatriation of 2,500 Cambodians—



Cambodian refugee identifies kin at the Sakaeo Camp Training Office in Thailand. Family reunification is an important aspect in resettling refugees. UNHCR.



At Aranvathet camp in Thailand. Cambodian refugees line up for food. UNHCR.

reportedly Khmer Rouge followers—across the border into Khmer Rouge-controlled encampments. This incident may have prompted a sudden attack by Vietnamese forces against several non-military Cambodian refugee enclaves along the border near Poipet and Aranyaprathet. The attacks resulted in numerous civilian casualties. Subsequently, since the summer of 1980, there have been no regular efforts at repatriation directly across the Thai-Cambodian border. Individuals or family units, however, do leave the camps and return to border areas and some in border areas move back into the interior of Cambodia as opportunities present themselves.

By early 1982 the long-range prospects for the more than 90,000 Cambodian refugees in Thailand seemed dim. There was no third-country resettlement to speak of and UNHCR's plans for a larger-scale voluntary repatriation program were not bearing fruit.

In January the first breakthrough occurred when France announced its willingness to resettle some 8,000 Cambodian refugees and the Thai authorities concurred with their movement. In April the U.S. announced its readiness to accept those Cambodians who either had close relatives in the U.S., were former employees of the U.S. government, or were closely associated in some way with the U.S.

Some 21,000 Cambodian refugees in Thailand have been identified as provisionally meeting one or more of the U.S.'s criteria and have been moved into a special camp near the Thai-Cambodian border for processing. Their fate, however, is by no means sure. As of this writing, fewer than 20 percent of those who have been interviewed have been approved for admission to the U.S. The remaining 80 percent, regardless of the fact that they meet one or more of the stated criteria, have been rejected by INS as not meeting the definition of a refugee. The claim is that they cannot prove a well-founded fear of persecution if they were to return to Cambodia.

Thus, as of this moment, the agony of Cambodian refugees continues and the final chapter of their saga has yet to be written. □

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Refugee Authorization, FY 1983: Facts and Issues

I. Source: Testimony of Amb. Eugene Douglas, US Coord. for Refugee Affairs
Before: Senate Jud. Comm., Sept. 23, 1982

A. FY 1983 resettlement (proposed)

Total = 98,000 refugees*

68,000	E. Asia*
17,000	E. Euro & USSR
8,000	Near East & So. Asia
3,000	Africa
2,000	Latin America

Also: adjust status to perm. res. aliens of up to 5,000 aliens already grant asylum in US

*N.B.: This figure has since been reduced to 90,000, reflecting an 8,000 reduction from E. Asia

N.B.: FY 82 - ceiling was 140,000

As of 9/23/82, expected to admit 98,000 by end of FY 82

N.B.: (Quote) "Mr. Chairman, this Administration is aware that in the past refugee ceilings easily became self-fulfilling targets. In our view, the national refugee program requires careful management to ensure that the international pressures are balanced by available domestic capabilities."

(Quote, from addendum): "We understand that this (proposed level of refugee admissions for FY 1983) is a ceiling, and not a quota or goal. Thus, we will not actively seek out 98,000 just to utilize every number."

B. Costs, FY 83 (projected)

Total = \$1.7 billion

\$175 m - processing, transportation, training overseas, initial placement

\$225 m - cost of cash, medical & other Fed. assistance to refugees admitted FY 83

\$400 m - assistance for refugees & dp's overseas who may never come to US

\$900 m - assistance to refugees in US who entered in prior years.

... more

C. Principles followed in FY 83 planning

1. resettlement: priority to refugees with close ties to US, such as past employment with US Govt. or relatives in US.
2. overall numbers: closely related to "domestic resources available to resettle" refugees.
3. resettlement in US is a last resort for dealing with refugee crises, "to be used only in cases of special humanitarian need or when assistance in place or repatriation are not feasible."
4. "promoting stability in democratic countries of first asylum is an important objective of our refugee program."

D. Concerns about welfare dependency

1. "In the first decades of the century, there was no welfare system to retard the initiative of the new arrivals to achieve early self sufficiency; nor was there the industrial stagnation and lack of job opportunities that we have seen in recent years."
2. Cites the cost problem of the domestic refugee resettlement program, "in particular, the continuing high refugee dependency rates. While one can argue over the best method of calculating a dependency rate, the factual result remains the same: refugee public assistance remains the largest cost of the domestic refugee resettlement program. I do not question the need to provide assistance to refugees who honestly require assistance or who are eligible for these programs. I am seriously concerned, however, about the apparent misuse or over-utilization of our refugee public assistance programs. Part of this problem is attitudinal and perceptual. Many refugees appear to regard public assistance as an entitlement. Voluntary resettlement agencies and local welfare officials often do little to discourage this attitude. Refugee public assistance is not an entitlement nor do I believe it was the intent of Congress to establish an entitlement program."

II. Source: Addendum to Douglas testimony of 9/23/82 (dated 9/21/82)

A. Soviet Jewish admissions and resettlements

1. Anticipate 3,000-4,000 emigrants from USSR, FY 1983
2. Of Jewish emigrants, anticipate:
 - 20% to Israel
 - 5-10% to other Western countries
 - 70-75% to US

(Also: anticipate c. 300 Armenians being allowed to leave; nearly all coming to US)

... more

B. Resettlement assistance to Israel (Soviet Jews)

1. FY 1983 request = \$12.5 million (same as FY 82 appropriation)
2. Funds are granted to United Israel Appeal (UIA), and transferred to Jewish Agency, which administers absorption and resettlement program in Israel. "The Agency does not undertake or support any activities which fall within the statutory responsibility of the Israeli Government."
3. Usage: care and maintenance in Vienna; transportation to Israel; initial housing, language training, income support for aged and handicapped refugees, student scholarship.

C. Polish refugee admissions

1. FY 82 admissions = c. 6,700
2. Proposed FY 83 admission ceiling = 17,000 for E. Europe and USSR. Of 11,000 Eastern Europeans and 6,000 Soviets (mostly Jews and Armenians), it is estimated that up to 8,000 Poles will be admitted in the E. European portion of the ceiling.

D. Iranians

The addendum notes: "The Department of State's consular officers have been taking a 'long-term view' of ties to the homeland with regard to non-immigrant visas for Iranians, but with the institution of a new refugee program for Iranians, this policy will be terminated ... The 'long-term view' is not envisaged as a back-door for immigration. It is intended for those who eventually will return to their homelands, but who cannot immediately do so because of political, religious, or other differences with the current regimes. Whether they be Iranians, Poles, or nationals of other countries, if they avowedly seek permanent resettlement in the US, they are not eligible for non-immigrant visas."

mr

1/14/83



*Dawson
mty plw*

The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

Tim Jones

December 3, 1982

Mrs. Marion M. Dawson
Assistant Director for
Migration Affairs
The Presiding Bishop's Fund
for World Relief
The Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Marnie,

Thanks very much for your warm and thoughtful letter of November 17th.

I shall be happy to take part in the March 24-25 Conference on Ethical Issues and Moral Principles in U.S. Refugee Policy.

You have a number of good names from the Jewish community. I would suggest the following:

Gary Rubin, U.S. Commission on Refugees; Lester Hyman, chairman of AJC's Refugee and Immigration Committee; Rabbi Seymour, Siegel, Jewish Theological Seminary; Dr. Ellis Rivkin, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati; Rabbi Eugene Borowitz, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York.

As we get closer to the event, I would appreciate having a chance to talk with you about the presentation that you would like from me.

With warmest good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

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JOHN H. STEINHART, San Francisco ■



THE PRESIDING BISHOP'S FUND FOR WORLD RELIEF

The Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, New York 10017
(212) 867-8400 • Cable Address: Fenalong, N.Y.

MEMO TO: Members of the Religious Advisory Committee on
Refugee and Migration Affairs

FROM: The Rev. Samir J. Habiby, Serving as Secretariat
for the Religious Advisory Committee

DATE: November 23, 1982

SUBJECT: March 24-25 Conference on Ethical Issues and
Moral Principles in U.S. Refugee Policy in
Co-sponsorship with the Office of the U.S.
Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

Before the next meeting of the Religious Advisory Committee on December 16, 1982 at 10 am, at the Episcopal Church Center, I wanted to update members on important recent developments. As some of you know, I will be in Beirut, Lebanon at the time on an on-site field visitation. Mrs. Robert J. Dawson (Marnie) will act in my absence.

As you will now have been informed, the Religious Advisory Committee agreed at its November 9, 1982 meeting with Ambassador Douglas to co-sponsor the proposed Conference on "Ethical Issues and Moral Principles in U.S. Refugee Policy". The initial description of the Conference distributed at the meeting is attached, as well as proposed panel participants, moderators and guest speakers and a "schemata" of the Conference as currently envisioned.

At the November 9th meeting it was agreed that the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief would act as Secretariat for the Religious Advisory Committee in its capacity as conference co-sponsor. In this Mrs. Dawson, the Fund's Assistant Director for Migration Affairs, will act as my principle deputy. She will work in liaison with assigned staff from the U.S. Coordinator's office in the State Department - Mrs. Jane DeGraff, Dr. Richard Feen and Mr. Nathaniel McKitrick. Other Fund staff including the Rev. John Huston, the Fund's National Field Officer, will work on specific tasks.

The Conference will take place at Meridan House, Washington, D.C. The Coordinator's Office will cover the costs at Meridan House including meals while the Religious Advisory Committee members have agreed to share other costs which could amount to a total cost of \$40,000+. These costs include travel, honoraria and hotels for participants, etc.

Members of the Religious Advisory
Committee on Refugee and Migration Affairs

November 23, 1982

Mrs. Dawson and I have twice met with Ambassador Douglas' staff to discuss conference plans and design. As the Committee discussed at the November 9th meeting, Dr. Kitagawa, Dean Emiritus of the University of Chicago Divinity School, has agreed to serve as chief "Facilitator" of the event. His excellent suggestions for conference design and a small group of theologians and ethicists to capsulize and carry forward the tenets of "consensus" achieved at the conference are reflected in the attached design. We are still awaiting suggestions from you as to theologians or ethicists you would recommend for participation.

Please telephone Mrs. Nancy Hansen of my staff (212-867-9450) to let us know if you will be at the December 16th meeting with Ambassador Douglas at the Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York. Mrs. Dawson, Father Huston and members of Ambassador Douglas' staff will meet with Dr. Kitagawa on December 20th. Your vital input on December 16th on the conference and other vital matters is exceptionally important.

With an expression of high regard and all good wishes.

Cordially,



The Rev. Samir J. Habiby
Executive Director

Encs.

Attachment I: Original paper from BRP/DOS
Attachment II: Current Conference Plans
Attachment III: Schemata

copy to: The Most Rev. John M. Allin, D.D.
The Hon. H. Eugene Douglas
The Rev. Samuel Van Culin, Jr., D.D.
Marion M. Dawson (Mrs. Robert J.)

SJH: di



OFFICE OF
UNITED STATES COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

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CONFERENCE BACKGROUND

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FBI
SIBY/PB/R

Time Schedule: March or April.

Place of Meetings: Meridian House International.

Participants: From Government, Volags, Academia.

Size: 70 Active Participants, 50 Observers, 30 General Public.

Sessions: Evening Reception, Dinner, Speakers. Following Day, Morning/ Afternoon Panels.

Topics: International Perspective on Refugees; Equality and Justice in Refugee Admissions; Moral Basis of Resettlement Policy.

Purposes: To discuss and articulate the American value system in its relation to the refugee problem.

To enhance the public debate on the role of the United States in Refugee Admission and Resettlement.

To provide the opportunity to build a consensus among American leaders on the issue of Refugees.

To bring a better understanding to both policy makers and those of the intellectual community of the moral and ethical issues involved in refugee affairs.



OFFICE OF
UNITED STATES COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

RECEIVED
OCT 1982
STATE DEPT/PS/PWR

ETHICAL ISSUES AND MORAL PRINCIPLES
IN U.S. REFUGEE POLICY

AMBASSADOR H. EUGENE DOUGLAS
U.S. COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

I. PURPOSE

The Reagan Administration and U.S. Congress is now considering proposals to reform U.S. policy on immigration and refugees as seen through the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.

There is now a new consensus forming in the minds of the American people in regard to refugee admissions and resettlement. The Office of the U.S. Coordinator feels it essential to build a framework on the moral and ethical concerns relating to this issue. In short, the open door policy is now being questioned in light of the economic concerns.

II. SCOPE:

All nations admitting refugees face the difficult administrative problems of judging the validity of claims. In the United States, there has been criticism of the admissions criteria employed regarding refugees. The United States has also faced serious difficulties in responding to mass claims of asylum by persons from many countries who first enter the U.S. illegally or on visitors' visas. As a result of administrative and judicial problems, 2,000 Haitians have been detained in camps until their judicial appeals have been resolved. The issue then is what can be done within an ethical framework when dealing with this formidable problem.

III. ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION:

The Contemporary World Scene

A. Demographic and political determinants of refugee flow
(Who or what created their problem, i.e., who is to "blame?")

B. Perceived international and U.S. responsibility toward refugees. (What is a "fair share" for global burdens?)

C. Current U.S. policies: the legal and moral basis.
(From where do American ideals concerning refugee policy derive?)

Refugee Admission

A. A polygot of refugees: sources and origins. (are all "refugees" equal, i.e., does one category have any greater "right" to asylum than another?)

B. The current framework of admission. (Do present laws reflect traditional American values?)

C. The 1980 Refugee Act. (Who is of special humanitarian concern to the United States; can a just criteria be formulated?)

Refugee Resettlement

A. Refugee rights and benefits. (The ethics of self-sufficiency and welfare dependency.)

B. Resettlement responsibility. (Who is to carry the burden; public and private dimensions.)

C. Community tensions. (The moral dilemma of allocating scarce resources.)

IV. PARTICIPANTS:

The participants would be drawn from academia, Government, private organizations, and the religious community. The participants would be people who, because of their professions or positions, would provide a "multiplier effect" to the conference by their impact on their organizations or audiences. The purpose is to get these individuals to discuss as candidly as possible the ethical and moral dilemmas which are posed by refugee admissions and resettlement. The conference will be limited in size and duration, in order to achieve the active participation of the best available people.

S/R 0325A

Tentative
List of Participants

RECEIVED
COY
FATHER HABIBY
POLICY MAKERS
GOVERNMENT/VOLAGS

Intellectual Community
i.e. Academics/Theologians

Elie Weisel (Author)
Charles Kelly (Population Council)
Kevin Philips (Author)
Michael Walzer (Princeton)
Martin S, Lipset (Stanford)
David Abshire (CSIS)
Garrett Hardin (Author)
Nathan Glazer (Harvard)
Rev. P. Gomes (Harvard)
Michael Novak (AEI)
Father Hesburgh (Notre Dame)
Father Bradley (Georgetown)
Father Habiby (PBF)
Michael Tietelbaum (Carnegie)
Rabbi Tannenbaum (AJC)
Irving Kristol (Author)
Peter Brown (Maryland)
Robert Nisbet (Columbia)
J. Mayer (Tufts)
Leo Kuper (Univ. of Cal.)
John Scanlan (Princeton)
Lawrence Fuchs (Brandeis)
Walter Laqueur (Author)
A. Etzioni (George Wash.)
Aristede Zolberg (Chicago)
Barry Stein (Mich. State)
Richard Lillich (Univ. of Va.)

Alan Nelson (INS)
Eliott Abrams (HR)
Amb. Asencio
Senator Kennedy
Walter Fauntroy (Black Caucus)
Richard Swartz (National Forum)
Senator D. Moynihan
William Clark (NSC)
Senator C. Percy
Senator A. Simpson
Congressman R. Mazzoli
W.S.Thompson (ICA)
Senator S. Thurmond
Senator W. Huddleston
Senator R. Dole
Paul Hartling (UN)
Aga Kahn (UN)
Leo Cherne (IRC)
Congressman H. Fish
Congressman S. Solarz
P. Pauken (Action)
D. Swope (HHS)
Randolph Guiliani (Justice)
W. Klein (ACNS)
D. Dehann (CWS)
L. Seidenman (HIAS)

Guest Speakers

Henry Kissinger
Alexander Solzhenitsyn
Vice President Bush
Secretary Schultz
Jeane Kirkpatrick
William F. Buckley

The Current Conference Plans

Panel 1: Contemporary World Scene

Desired Moderator: Dr. John Silber - President, Boston University

Desired Panelists: Vice President George Bush; The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Dr. Paul Hartling; Under Secretary of State Mr. William Clark and Mr. William Buckley, Journalist. (3 of 4)

Panel 2: Response to the World Community

Desired Moderator: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, American Jewish Committee

Desired Panelists: Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, Dr. Michael Teitelbaum, Carnegie, and Dr. Jean Mayer, Tufts University. (3 of 4)

Panel 3: U.S. Refugee Admissions

Desired Moderator: Dr. Michael Novak, American Enterprise Institute

Desired Panelists: The Hon. William Bradley (Mayor of the City of Los Angeles), Dr. Martin S. Lipset, Stanford University, Dr. Robert Nisbet, Columbia University, Congressman Steven Solarz, New York. (3 of 4)

The "desired" keynote speaker for the evening dinner is Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick with Secretary of State George Shultz to be asked should Mrs. Kirkpatrick be unavailable.

The Rev. P. Gomes of Harvard will be asked to be the March 25th luncheon keynote speaker, with Mr. Elie Weisel (author) or The Rev. Dr. Martin Marty of Chicago as other possibilities.

Final closure has yet to be achieved on all ethicists and theologians. Dr. Kitagawa as the "chief facilitator" and Dr. Martin Marty from the Lutheran perspective have been agreed upon, as well as the Rev. Dr. Theodore Hesburgh from the Roman Catholic community. However, Father Hesburgh may prefer to serve on a panel. The need for ethnic distribution as well as representation from the various sectarian viewpoints was recognized by all. Dr. Philip Turner from General Theological Seminary, New York, will be added to the list.

1st DAY

GATHERING & FOCUSING

PRESENTING THE ISSUES

ARRIVAL AND REGISTRATION AT MERIDIAN HOUSE	RECEPTION AND AMBASSADOR DOUGLAS OPENING REMARKS	DINNER	GUEST SPEAKER	2nd D A Y	COFFEE	MORNING PLENARY SESSION - AMBASSADOR DOUGLAS OPENING ADDRESS	PANEL NO. 1 <u>CONTEMPORARY WORLD SCENE</u> 3 Panelists 1 Moderator 100 plus o Chair o Recorder	PANEL NO. 2 <u>RESPONSE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY</u> o 3 Speakers 100 plus o Chair o Recorder
4 P.M. - 6 P.M.	6 P.M. - 7:30 P.M.	8 P.M.	9 P.M.		8:15 A.M.	8:30 A.M.	9:00 - 10:45	10:50 - 12:30

12:35 - 1:30

1:30-2:00

2:15 - 4:00

4:20 - 5:05 P.M.

LUNCH

GUEST
SPEAKERPANEL NO. 3U.S. REFUGEE ADMISSIONS

100 plus

o Chair
o RecorderT
E
ASUMMARY
SESSION
--
ADJOURNCONSULTATION DESIGN AS AGREED ON NOV. 19 IN MEETING BETWEEN RELIGIOUS
ADVISORY COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT AND THE OFFICE OF THE U.S. COORDINATOR

- 1) Papers on each panel topic to be distributed before meeting.
 - 2) One/two "thick pieces" to be commissioned specifically for this conference and distributed before hand.
 - 3) A group of 6-8 ethicists/theologians are invited and charged with identifying the moral issues involved. They are drawn from the major religious groups as well as Hispanics, Blacks and women.
 - 4) Papers from Panelists/Theologians to be used later for publication.
- o Participants - 50
o Guest observers - 50-100

ATTACHMENT III to letter of
November 23, 1982/ PBFWR/EC

SUMMATION

(Amended from original drafts 19 Nov 82)



OFFICE OF
UNITED STATES COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

February 15, 1983

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street, Room 801
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc:

I would like to express my appreciation to those of you who attended the first session of our seminar series for voluntary agencies. Even though the weather was against us, eleven agencies were able to join with the Federal agencies that day. The comments, discussions and interest demonstrated were extremely helpful to us. Notes of that meeting will be distributed at our session on March 3 for those of you who missed the meeting. In addition, we will mail, prior to March 3, a summary of the day's comments (to which I would appreciate any comments or corrections be made by calling me at 202-632-9560). I look forward to seeing all of you at our next session, if not before.

We have had a request from many of our February 7 participants to move the second session to Washington, D.C., therefore, we will hold the March 3 meeting of the seminar series for voluntary agencies again in Washington, D.C. in Room 1205 of the Department of State, 2201 C. Street, N.W.

As with all sessions, we will begin at 10 a.m. and a complete agenda will be mailed to you.

Sincerely,


Richard Krieger
Associate Coordinator

*Apoke to Howard Klein
7/16
Apoke in for
Howard will try*

3/17



OFFICE OF
UNITED STATES COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

March 10, 1983

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street, Room 801
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc:

We have been able to schedule our second session of the Voluntary Agency Seminar Series for Thursday, March 17, 1983. The meeting will be held in Room 1205 of the Department of State, 2201 C. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., and will begin at 10:00 a.m.

As you might recall, the topic for the day is "The Structure of Voluntary Agencies and Refugee Processing in Europe, including Options for Management and Budget Adaptation." It is our intent to discuss these issues with you as we examine various methods of implementing our mandates:

1. to enhance the effectiveness of the U.S. refugee program;
2. to develop a more cost- and program-effective refugee process for the United States;
3. to bring the cost of U.S. refugee programs down to limits more in keeping with the present social and funding environment;
4. to institute more effective monitoring procedures, both for program and financial management;
5. to develop greater financial balance between the Federal Government and the private sector;
6. to internationalize the responsibility for worldwide refugee affairs, both in added resettlement opportunities and in more diversified cost sharing.

It has been, and is, our intent to institute these goals with full regard to the welfare of the refugee and the political implications that will affect the refugee.

We plan an open discussion of this subject (regarding Europe only) with you from 11:25 a.m. to 12:50 p.m. We would hope to receive your specific suggestions.

In addition, as with the first session, we will have a forty-minute "free wheeling" session toward the close of the meeting which can deal with any refugee matter that you might feel has not been sufficiently treated in these sessions.

Realizing the next two sessions of the series should be held prior to the start of the mid-year Congressional consultations, we have scheduled:

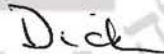
- April 7 The Role of Refugee Sponsors and their Affiliates
- April 15 a. A New Resettlement Program for Refugees
 Who Will Enter the U.S.;
- b. Absorbing the Unabsorbed; Developing a Process
 for Dealing with those Refugees who have not
 been Firmly and Successfully Resettled in
 the U.S.

The location of these meetings will be discussed at the March 17 session.

I am attaching a preliminary agenda for this meeting.

I hope to see you on March 17. Please confirm your attendance by calling Elaine Bors (202) 632-9560.

Sincerely,



Richard Krieger
Associate Coordinator
for Plans and Programs

Attachment:

As stated.

VOLUNTARY AGENCY SEMINAR

Session II: March 17, 1983

REFUGEE PROCESSING IN EUROPE:
Organization, Operation and Budget

- 1000 - 1010 Welcome and Introduction of Speakers and Panelists
Richard Krieger
- 1010 - 1025 Opening Address: "The Current State of UNHCR"
Ambassador H. Eugene Douglas,
U.S. Coordinator
for Refugee Affairs
- 1025 - 1055 Remarks by Congressional Staff: Conception and
Concerns of the European Operation
Garner J. Cline
Arthur P. Endres
Richard Day
- 1055 - 1120 Questions and Answers
- 1120 - 1125 Introduction of VOLAG representatives
- 1125 - 1250 Discussion on Future Directions
- 1250 - 1300 Summation
- 1300 - 1400 Lunch
- 1400 - 1440 Panel: Political Overview of Europe
EUR - Mark Palmer
EUR/SOV - Richard Combs
EUR/EEY - John Davis
- 1440 - 1510 Discussion
- 1510 - 1525 Reactions: RP - Bruce A. Flatin
- 1525 - 1540 Reactions: HA - Larry Arthur
- 1540 - 1555 Summary: S/R - Richard Krieger
- *1555 - 1635 Free Wheeling Discussion - Open Forum.
All Panelists
- 1635 - 1645 Close of Program

*The free wheeling panel will include representatives from S/R, RP, HA, EUR, the Hill, INS and HHS.

western uni

JANUARY 5, 1983

FOR ATTN: DR. KLAUS POSER, EZE/BONN
CANON ELLIOT TAYLOR, CHRISTIAN AID/LONDON
CICARWS-MIDDLE EAST DESK/GENEVA
MECC/BEIRUT

CWS-MIDDLE EAST DESK/NEW YORK
CC: ACVA/NEW YORK

THE HON. H. EUGENE DOUGLAS, U. S. COORDINATOR FOR
REFUGEE AFFAIRS/WASHINGTON D.C.
MR. FRANK KIERNE-PAID/WASHINGTON D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT UPDATE ON DECEMBER, 1982 VISIT TO LEBANON
NOT FOR GENERAL PUBLICATION

THERE ARE HOPEFUL INDICATIONS FOR A DURABLE SOLUTION TO VERY DIFFICULT ISSUES IN LEBANON. IN MEETINGS WITH SENIOR LEBANESE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS, MUSLIM, DRUZE, AND CHRISTIAN, IT WAS EVIDENT THAT THERE IS A POSITIVE COMMITMENT TO WORK OUT PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE ISSUES. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN A REAL DESIRE TO DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM TO BENEFIT ALL OF ITS CITIZENS. I WAS GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED BY LEBANESE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND WAS GIVEN HELPFUL BRIEFINGS ARRANGED BY THE MECC, THE YMCA AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE CRITICAL AND LONG TERM PROBLEM IN SOUTHERN LEBANON AND ELSEWHERE REMAINS THAT OF THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES, WHO HAVE FACED AND CONTINUE TO FACE GREAT HARDSHIPS: AN INHOSPITABLE ENVIRONMENT FROM A COLD WINTER, A FRAGMENTED LEBANESE SOCIETY, ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE SOUTH, THE PRESENCE OF THE LEBANESE IRREGULAR MILITIAS, AND A LACK OF REAL PERSONAL SECURITY. THE REGULAR LEBANESE ARMY IS UNABLE AT THIS TIME TO EXERCISE AUTHORITY IN THIS AREA UNIFL IS ALSO CIRCUMSCRIBED IN ITS DUTIES. IDF PATROLS PROVIDE AN UMBRELLA OF SECURITY FOR THE REFUGEES, BUT A UN PRESENCE IS CERTAINLY URGENTLY NEEDED.

THE SAAIDA REFUGEE CAMPS WERE ALMOST TOTALLY WIPED OUT AND MEDICAL AND SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE REFUGEES ARE ALMOST NON-EXISTENT. THE REFUGEES FEEL CONSTANT FEAR OF REPRISALS. A LARGE NUMBER OF CIVILIAN MEN AND UNRWA MEDICAL, SOCIAL SERVICES, AND EDUCATION PERSONNEL ARE INCARCERATED IN ISRAELI PRISONER CAMPS. THERE ARE VERY FEW MEN IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE OLD AND VERY YOUNG, WITH BEREFT FAMILIES.

MECC MEDICAL/SOCIAL SERVICE TEAMS ARE MAKING AN HEROIC EFFORT TO FILL THE VOID, AND MUCH OF UNRWA'S OPERATION AT THIS TIME IS MAKESHIFT. THE SITUATION IN THE BEIRUT CAMPS IS A LITTLE BETTER IN VIEW OF THEIR PROXIMITY TO THE CAPITAL AND THE ACTIVE AND VISIBLE PRESENCE OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE. THE DESTRUCTION FROM BOTH THE CIVIL WAR AND THE INVASION IN SEVERAL AREAS OF BEIRUT IS TOTALLY REMINISCENT OF THE BOMBED, BURNED OUT CITIES OF EUROPE DURING WORLD WAR II. HOWEVER THERE ARE CONSIDERABLE PORTIONS OF BOTH EAST AND WEST BEIRUT MIRACULOUSLY UNTOUCHED BY THE RAVAGES OF WAR, SUCH AS THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY AREA. IT IS A TOTALLY SHOCKING EXPERIENCE TO VIEW THE HORROR OF SENSELESS HUMAN AND MATERIAL DESTRUCTION.

THERE IS URGENT NEED FOR A GENEROUS WESTERN NATIONS AND PRIVATE SECTOR RESPONSE TO REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN WAR RAVAGED AREAS OF LEBANON AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES FOR THE PROTECTION AND SECURITY OF THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES.

THE REV. CANON SAMIR J. HABIBY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE PRESIDING BISHOP'S FUND FOR WORLD RELIEF
TELEX 971271 DOMFOR MIS NYK
SJH/JR

CC: THE MOST REV. JOHN M. ALLIN, PRESIDING BISHOP
THE RT. REV. MILTON WOOD
THE REV. SAMUEL VAN CULIN, JR.

Telex/TWX

western union

Telex/TWX

Epiphany 1983

MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVISORY COMMITTEE - REFUGEE/MIGRANTS

WITH THE HONORABLE H. EUGENE DOUGLAS

Thursday, January 6, 1983, 10.00 a.m.

The Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
A G E N D A

1. Discussion: Conference on Ethical and Moral Principles in U.S. Refugee Policy
2. Briefing by Ambassador Douglas on background for fact finding trip to Thailand, January 16.
3. Other Business - Brief report by Canon Habiby on Lebanon
4. Adjournment

RELIGIOUS ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

With the Honorable H. Eugene Douglas

January 6, 1983

The Episcopal Church Center, New York

Mr. Richard W. Wheeler - Chairman - Presiding

Expected Attendance

- Dr. August Bernthal, Chairman, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service Standing Committee
- ✓ - The Most Rev. Anthony J. Bevilacqua
Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee on Migration and Tourism
National Conference of Catholic Bishops
- ✓ - Marion M. Dawson (Mrs. Robert J.)
Assistant Director for Migration Affairs, PBFWR/EC
- ✓ - Mrs. Jane De Graff, Executive Assistant
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs
- ✓ - The Rev. William DuVal
Chairman, IRPCOM, UPUSA
- ✓ - Dr. Richard Feen, Special Assistant
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs
- ✓ - Mrs. Lilia Fernandez (for Dr. Harry Haines)
United Methodist Committee on Relief
- ✓ - The Rev. Canon Samir J. Habiby
Executive Director, PBFWR/EC
- ✓ - The Rev. John Huston, National Field Officer, PBFWR/EC
- Mr. Charles Sternberg (for Mr. Leo Cherne)
Executive Director, I.R.C.
- ✓ - Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director, National Interreligious Affairs of the
American Jewish Committee
- ✓ - Dr. Lloyd Van Vactor (for Dr. Alfred Bartholomew)
Chairperson, First Asylum Sub-Committee, CWS/IRPCOM
United Church of Christ

- Mr. Clarence Wood
Vice President for Field Operations, N.U.L.
- Mr. Robert Wright (for Mr. John McCarthy)
Director, North East Area Office,
Migration and Refugee Services, U.S.C.C.





OFFICE OF
UNITED STATES COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

PANEL 1

Contemporary World Scene: A global overview of refugee flows

Chairperson: John Silber*

Panelists: Michael Tietelbaum* - Carnegie
Larry Fuchs
Bill Buckley - John Roach

PANEL 2

Response of the World Community: Principles of obligation and burden-sharing

Chairperson: Rev. Peter Gomes? Harvard - Chr. Ethics

Panelists: Roy Rubottom* - Pres S, N & C (Latin Amer)
Charles Keely* - Pope Council (Global Resp to refugees)
Leo Cherne -

PANEL 3

U.S. Refugee Policy: Norms for the admission and resettlement of refugees

Chairperson: Michael Novak?

Panelists: Garrett Hardin? - Calif. Father Tomasi
Rabbi Tanenbaum*
Martin Lipset - Oscar Handlin

have Kirkland

*

This is not finalized, suggested only.

Screening Process

Conference on Ethical Issues and Moral
Principles in U.S. Refugee Policy

PURPOSE: It is becoming urgent to build anew, a consensus in regard to U.S. refugee policy, particularly on norms for the admission and resettlement of refugees in the U.S. and for sharing the burden of refugee care internationally. The Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs and the Religious Advisory Committee, feels that unless there is a broader understanding and discussion of these ethical and moral problems among the national leadership, we may not be able to rally sufficient public support in the future to maintain the humanitarian norms that have governed refugee policy in the past.

ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION: THE PANELS

The Contemporary World Refugee Scene: A global overview of refugee flows and root causes of refugee generation.

The Response of the World Community to the Refugee: Principles of obligation and burden-sharing which should guide the international community in the treatment of refugees.

United States Refugee Policy: Norms for the admission and resettlement of refugees in the U.S.; public policy dimensions.

PARTICIPANTS: People are to be drawn from academia, the government, private organizations, and the religious community. The conference will be limited in size and duration, in order to have candid discussion and to achieve the active participation of all invited members.

TIME/PLACE: Meridian House, Washington, D.C. on March 24, 1983 (evening) and March 25, 1983 (morning and afternoon sessions).



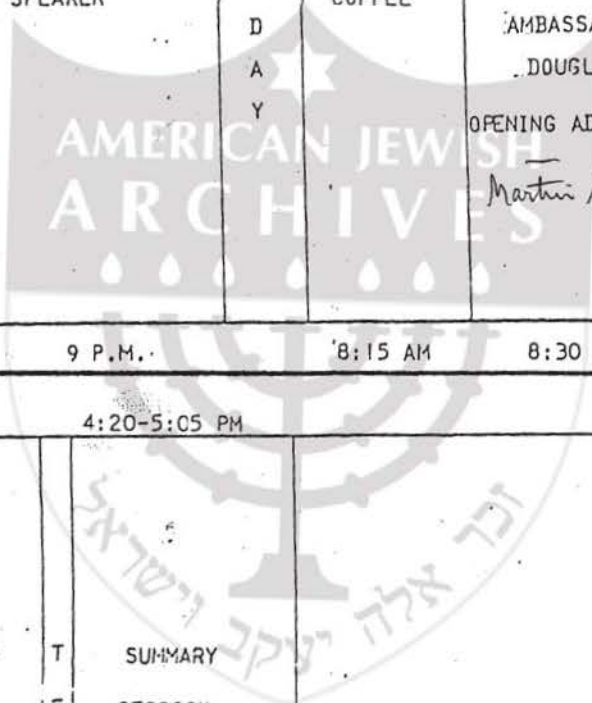
1st DAY

GATHERING & FOCUSING

PRESENTING THE ISSUES

ARRIVAL AND REGISTRATION AT MERIDIAN HOUSE	RECEPTION AND AMBASSADOR DOUGLAS OPENING REMARKS	DINNER	GUEST SPEAKER	2nd DAY	COFFEE	MORNING PLENARY SESSION - AMBASSADOR DOUGLAS OPENING ADDRESS <i>Martin Marty</i>	<u>PANEL NO. 1</u> <u>CONTEMPORARY WORLD SCENE</u> o 3 Speakers <i>1) global flows what is refugee</i> o Chair o Recorder	<u>PANEL NO. 2</u> <u>RESPONSE OF THE COMMUNITY</u> o 3 Speakers B R E A K o Chair o Recorder
4 PM - 6 PM	6:PM & 7:30PM	8 P.M.	9 P.M.		8:15 AM	8:30 A.M.	9:00 - 10:45	10:50 - 12:00

LUNCH	GUEST SPEAKER	<u>PANEL NO. 3</u> U.S. REFUGEE POLICY 3 Speakers o Chair	T E A	SUMMARY SESSION — ADJOURN
12:35 - 1:30	1:30-2	2:15 - 4:00		4:20-5:05 PM



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, May 14...The president of the American Jewish Committee today issued an urgent appeal on behalf of refugees seeking admission to the United States.

In letters to key governmental figures, Howard I. Friedman, president of the 50,000 member leadership organization, noted the "steadily declining numbers of refugees admitted to the U.S. and the lack of adequate opportunities for public participation in the refugee consultation process."

The American Jewish Committee president's views were submitted in identical letters to Secretary of State George P. Shultz; Senator Alan K. Simpson, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy; Representative Romano L. Mazzoli, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration Refugees and International Law; Ambassador Eugene Douglas, Ambassador At Large and Coordinator for Refugee Affairs at the Department of State; Representative Peter Rodino, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; and to the Immigration Subcommittees of both the House and the Senate.

"In the last four years" Mr. Friedman stated, contrary to what the public generally believes, "refugee admissions ceilings to the U.S. have declined to 72,000, a third of their 1980 totals. This falloff is not a reflection of reduction in refugee needs, since all objective sources agree that the international refugee population is not going down and may be rising."

The AJC leader said it was particularly difficult to explain cutbacks in admissions from Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe, where the need for rescue remained high. He expressed the belief that overall "our nation would be well served by a return to the 90,000-100,000-per-year level of refugee admissions that we maintained a few years ago."

Pointing out that in 1983 Congressional-Administration consultations on setting refugee levels did not allow for participation by the public, Mr. Friedman expressed the hope that this year the Administration would support an open consultation process.

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees; William S. Trosten, Acting Director

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"We have learned," he added, "that the Department of State is now in the process of evaluating refugee needs for the next fiscal year and that, due to this year's political calendar, the consultation process may take place as early as this summer. We hope that the consultations this year will allow ample opportunity for public testimony."

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RTV-N, F, EP, ED, R, ITF-W

5/10/84

84-960-213



NEWS

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON...The American Jewish Committee has expressed its "unequivocal support" of pending legislation before the U.S. Congress that would grant "permanent residency status to Cuban and Haitian refugees who entered the United States before 1982."

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's director of international relations, presented AJC's views before a hearing on Wednesday, May 9, held by the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the House Committee on the Judiciary. He joined with Bishop Anthony Bevilacqua of Pittsburgh, chairman of the Bishops Committee on Migration of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and Bishop Philip Cousin, President of the National Council of Churches.

The appearance of the three religious leaders before the Congressional hearing was arranged by the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, which Rabbi Tanenbaum helped organize with Bishop Bevilacqua. AJC's international relations director now serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the Haitian Refugee Coalition.

Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., who took part in the hearings, introduced the Cuban-Haitian Adjustment Act of 1984, H.R. 4853.

In his testimony, Rabbi Tanenbaum said that "the AJC has long advocated the necessity of granting permanent residency to the limited group of Haitian and Cuban boat people defined in Chairman Rodino's bill, and at our annual meeting last week we adopted a strongly worded resolution urging the early passage of this legislation."

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CSAE 1707

Rabbi Tanenbaum's testimony follows:

"Thank you, Mr. Chairman and other distinguished Members of the Subcommittee for inviting the views of the American Jewish Committee on H.R. 4853, the Cuban-Haitian Adjustment Act of 1984. My name is Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum and I am the Director of International Relations for the American Jewish Committee. I am honored to appear before you today to express my strongest support for the Cuban-Haitian Adjustment Act of 1984 as introduced by Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter Rodino. The AJC has long advocated the necessity of granting permanent residence to the limited group of Haitian and Cuban boat people defined in Chairman Rodino's bill, and at our annual meeting in New York last week we adopted a strongly worded resolution urging the early passage of this legislation.

"Mr. Chairman, American Jewish organizations are particularly sensitive to and concerned with the plight of refugees stranded without a homeland. The Jewish people know only too well the human consequences of policies of indefinite detention, and the interdiction of boats in international waters. In 1939, just prior to the Second World War, oppressed Jews from Germany also took to the sea in search of refuge and were denied entry to the United States. That callousness to human suffering resulted in the death of thousands, and became a moral blotch on the escutcheon of liberty of this great democracy.

"The AJC has for the last three years placed a very high priority on finding a just and equitable solution that would end the horrible dilemma and suffering experienced by the Haitian refugee boat people. We have actively been involved in the defense of the fundamental legal and human rights of these Haitians since the first boatload of fearful refugees landed in southern Florida in 1972. We applaud the efforts of Chairman Rodino and the other co-sponsors of this long-awaited legislation both because of its comprehensive coverage and because of its humane spirit informed by respect for fundamental principles of equal treatment before the law. In a recent letter complimenting Chairman Rodino for his leadership on this issue of fundamental importance to the AJC, we wrote:

'The unique plight and legal limbo of this restricted number of refugees can only be satisfactorily resolved through a grant of permanent resident status as you propose. The American Jewish Committee strongly agrees that fundamental principles of justice and humanity demand that both the Cuban refugees from Mariel and the far smaller group of Haitian refugees who arrived slightly later must have their legal status regularized not only because of the tragic nature of their plight and the treatment they have received but also because they have been repeatedly linked with the Cuban-Haitian "entrant" program of the Carter Administration. The great majority of the class of Cubans and Haitians who would benefit from the Rodino legislation long ago have been granted a temporary "entrant" status and a promise of legal residence.'

"In the same letter commending Chairman Rodino for his initiative, we emphasized the crucial importance of the specific provisions of the Cuban-Haitian Adjustment Act. We are convinced that no lesser coverage would rectify the continuing tragedy of these boat people, and we congratulate the bill's sponsors for their precise wording of these provisions.

"The AJC is particularly supportive of the legislation precisely because its comprehensive class definition provides for Cubans and Haitians who entered our country before 1982. This coverage is not restricted solely to the regularization of the narrower Cuban-Haitian 'entrant' class of refugees. It is essential to fully correct the discriminatory treatment that all the refugees have thus far received. In addition to endorsing the spirit of fundamental fairness and humanitarian concern in this legislation, the AJC agrees with its provisions as absolutely essential to grant permanent residency to both (1) 'entrants' and (2) persons with respect to whom any record was established by the Immigration Service before January 1, 1982. A more restricted class definition will simply not correct the injustices suffered by the Haitian boat people.

"Mr. Chairman, we are proud of our association with the cause of the Haitian and Cuban boat people and we are delighted to state our unequivocal support for this legislation. However, we are particularly concerned that it must be as comprehensive as possible in the breadth of its coverage.

"Mr. Chairman, we affirm these views not as a matter of charity, of being "nice" to these unfortunate victims of injustice, we do so because the quality of the soul of our great republic is at stake.

"Thank you again for this welcome opportunity to appear and express the views of the American Jewish Committee on this issue of great concern to all those who wish justice to prevail in our treatment of refugees from all parts of the world."

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84-960-210



NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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A, EJP, ETH, REL, Z

RTV-N, F, EP, ED, R, ITF-W

5/10/84

84-960-213



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Interdepartmental Working Group
on Immigration & Refugee Issues

January 18, 1983

Attending: Abe Karlikow, Adam Simms, Harold Applebaum, Irving Levine,
Marc Tanenbaum, Sam Rabinove. Gary Rubin (ACNS)

I. Immigration Act/Refugee Act Reauthorization

At our request, Gary provided the following background concerning the interrelationships of these two measures:

A. Legislative Status:

1. Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Reform and Control Act: The bill passed in the Senate, but failed to pass in the House during the lame-duck session. It will be reintroduced in the Senate, probably in late February-early March, where it is likely to receive prompt consideration because it already passed once before. In the House, consideration is problematical, since opponents had previously introduced 350 amendments

2. Refugee Act reauthorization: Unless reauthorized, the act will go out of existence at the end of the Fiscal Year (September 1983). Gary indicated that it is in our interest for the reauthorization to be passed as rapidly as possible, for the reasons listed at end of I, (B), below.

B. Interrelationships: There are four interrelated issues which are part of both measures and which depend upon passage of both:

1. Refugees (Refugee Act): (a) possible reconsideration/redefinition of "who is a refugee"; (b) reconsideration of the consultation method between the White House and Congress by which the number of refugee admissions for each year is set; (c) the governmental machinery for handling refugee affairs - i.e., whether or not the U.S. Coordinator's Office ought to be located in State or HHS; (d) amounts of funds to be appropriated for refugee resettlement

2. Family reunification (Simpson-Mazzoli): The 2nd and 5th preferences of the immigration code allow for admission of extended family relatives of U.S. citizens and resident aliens. Congressmen and groups concerned about reducing/controlling the numbers of entrants each year have raised questions about abolishing these preferences. We have supported their retention on humanitarian/acclturation/integration grounds.

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3. Employer sanctions (Simpson-Mazzoli): Proposed penalties against employment of illegal aliens is suggested as a means of eliminating the "magnet" attracting illegal entrants, and thus controlling numbers.
4. Legalization and amnesty (Simpson-Mazzoli): Proposed as a humanitarian measure for regularizing the status of illegal aliens who entered before 1980, opponents claim that it "rewards" prior "crimes" (i.e., illegal entry).

The common denominator linking these issues is the question of numbers. The bottom line in terms of Jewish communal concern is that if the numbers of illegal entrants cannot be reduced or stopped, those who are concerned about such numbers may try to reduce the number of refugees admitted each year.

C. Coalition Groupings in Congressional Maneuvering

1. Hispanic/civil libertarian: Position favors no cuts (in some instances, increases) in admission numbers, little enforcement re: asylum seekers and illegal immigrants. Oppose Simpson-Mazzoli, but will need the Refugee Act. Partners: National Council of Churches, Hispanic side of the Catholic Church.
2. American Jewish Committee: Position favors support of generous controlled immigration, along lines proposed by Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy. Partners: mainstream of Catholic Church, voluntary agencies (except Protestant-sponsored "volags," which support coalition #1, above.)
3. Reform/moderate restriction: Position favors support of reform, with desire to exert control of entry and reduction of numbers; supports employer sanctions, cap on family reunification immigration. Supports Refugee Act. Needs coalition #2, above, to pass Simpson-Mazzoli. Partners: Administration, Sen. Simpson.
4. Restrictionist: Position opposes Simpson-Mazzoli as being too liberal, has taken tactical approach of supporting S-M but adding amendments in order to gut its impact (e.g., support of Huddleston Amendment in order to place a cap on refugee admissions by placing under overall ceiling for annual regular-flow immigration). Partners: Left-Right coalition of supporters like Sen. John East (N.C.) on the Right, and FAIR and "no-growth" environmentalists (e.g., Environmental Fund).

II. Discussion: Issues & Strategy Options

A. Soviet Jewry

Abe reported a disturbing tendency among some government officials to characterize Soviet Jewish emigration as being economic in nature, rather than motivated by religious or political persecution. This could have the effect of weakening admission of Soviet Jews to the United States as

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refugees because, unlike the pre-1980 U.S. refugee policy which before 1980 automatically considered anyone leaving a Communist-dominated nation to be a refugee, the 1980 Refugee Act definition defines a refugee as a person who has experienced or has a well-founded fear of persecution on political, religious, racial or social-group grounds. Gary noted that those in Congress who wish to cut admissions numbers argue, as did Sen. Huddleston and supporters in the Senate debate on Simpson-Mazzoli, that virtually all who seek refugee admission are motivated by economic reasons.

Abe raised a question as to whether we might wish to recommend a return to the Communist-country definition as a primary component in defining refugee status in order to bolster grounds for continued admission of Soviet Jews. Gary presented an argument against such a move: Stands on refugee admission questions are now being taken along lines dominated by one's overall views of the economic condition of the country, rather than along Communist/non-Communist lines. Many of the people in the Administration and Congress who are the most anti-Communist (e.g., Amb. Eugene Douglas, US Coordinator for Refugee Affairs) are often the types of people who make the argument that the motivations of would-be refugees are economic in nature. Concomitantly, many of the people who look most favorably upon continued Soviet Jewish emigration/immigration are those who favor a broad definition of what constitutes a refugee.

Abe recommended that we explore the development of the "anti-Communist" option, in the event that we need an alternative strategy as debate on immigration and refugee matters develops. Gary observed that, in the process of doing so, it ought to be kept in mind that we are not now hearing criticism of continued admission of Soviet Jews from the radical/liberal camp in the debate because it perceives the American Jewish community as currently being firmly in the camp which supports a generous general entry/admission policy.

(See also, discussion in II (B), below.)

B. Iranian Jews

Gary noted that the general drift in Washington increasingly indicates that the days of being able to make private deals on refugee admissions are ending.

Abe reported that whereas Iranian Jews now in this country were once reluctant to be designated officially as refugees because of the possible adverse impact that it might have upon family members and the Jewish community that remains in Iran, they are now becoming reconciled to accepting that status.

Gary observed, in general, that there are a number of trade-offs in such grants of refugee status. For one, the State Department uses a 7-point priority system for determining who among refugee applicants will be granted such status that tends to narrow the stream of family members who can join a refugee in the U.S. For example, an "immediate relative" of a refugee (i.e., parents and their children) or someone who is in immediate

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physical danger, falls under the priority system; but a brother or sister does not so qualify. Thus, it is important for us to preserve the regular-flow immigration family-reunification preference categories in order to ensure that secondary channels for admission remain open and available. He noted that this may be less important in the case of Iranians, but more important in terms of Soviet Jews. Opportunities for family reunification vary according to the age of the refugee. If young, the opportunities for gaining admission of parents or children are possible under refugee provisions. If older, there is greater likelihood that a refugee's parents are deceased or will not seek to emigrate; in that case, siblings become the significant focus of the desire for reunification. This, as explained above, is more readily accomplished under the immigration preference system.

C. South and Central American Jews

Abe reported that countries being watched for developments regarding Jewish emigration are Argentina, Mexico and the Central American republics. Members of the Working Group recommended that Sergio be asked to survey the mood of the Mexican Jewish community as to whether we might expect a flow of emigration in the short to mid-range future. Gary suggested that this was another situation in which continuation of the 5th Preference would prove vital. Abe suggested that we explore what the current requirements are under the 3rd ("investors") Preference category for "economically beneficial" immigrants, on the assumption that a substantial number among Mexican Jews who might seek entry would probably be those who feared government nationalization of their businesses and properties as a response to that country's economic straits. He also suggested that we seek HIAS's views on this option.

D. Israelis

Abe noted, and Gary concurred, that there might be in the neighborhood of 150,000 Israelis currently in the U.S. who might benefit from the Simpson-Mazzoli provisions regarding legalization and regularization of their status. Abe suggested that Drora Kass be consulted on this question.

E. Rumanian Jews

Abe reported on the current status of the emigration issue, and indicated that it is sui generis.

F. Possible Coalitional Development

Gary suggested that AJC explore the possibilities of developing a domestic coalition with the Southeast Asian community in the U.S. The opportunity might present itself in view of the recent formation of the Council of Southeast Asian Organizations. He believed that, given shape of the debate on Simpson-Mazzoli to date, this community is likely to agree with Jewish positions virtually down the line.

... more

G. The Administration

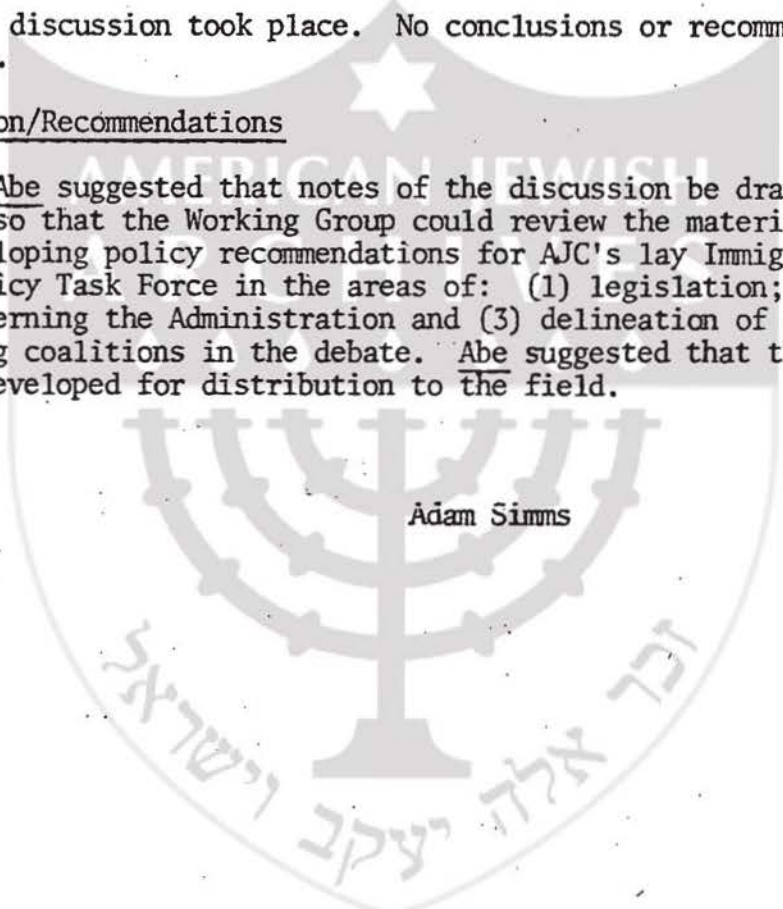
Marc reported that there will be a meeting of interreligious leaders held in Washington on March 23-24. Amb. Douglas is being wooed by the group's head, and Douglas is returning the compliment because he sees it as a means to build an outside constituency in order to strengthen his position within the government.

Irv suggested that exploration be made regarding possible replacements of Amb. Douglas and Richard Krieger, who are reportedly not well regarded by many in the human rights/refugee field.

General discussion took place. No conclusions or recommendations were reached.

III. Future Action/Recommendations

Harold and Abe suggested that notes of the discussion be drawn up and circulated so that the Working Group could review the material with an eye toward developing policy recommendations for AJC's lay Immigration and Refugee Policy Task Force in the areas of: (1) legislation; (2) structural issues concerning the Administration and (3) delineation of the supporting and opposing coalitions in the debate. Abe suggested that the same information be developed for distribution to the field.



Adam Simms

mr

cc

- D. Feldstein
- S. Samet
- H. Bookbinder
- H. Kohr
- L. Gottesman



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

1/25/83

Op: Abarc Tannenbaum

I think you'll find
this interesting.

Yours,

Adam Simms

ETHICAL ISSUES AND MORAL PRINCIPLES
IN U.S. REFUGEE POLICY

Meridian House International
March 24 & 25, 1983

Thursday, March 24, 1983

- 6:30 p.m. Reception
- 7:30 p.m. Welcome to Meridian House International
Ambassador J. Joseph Jova, President
- 7:40 p.m. Invocation by The Reverend Dr. August Bernthal
Vice-Chairman, Religious Advisory Committee
- 7:45 p.m. Dinner
- 8:30 p.m. Opening Address
The Honorable H. Eugene Douglas
Ambassador-at-Large and
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs
- 9:00 p.m. Guest Speaker
The Honorable Elie Wiesel
Chairman, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Friday, March 25, 1983

- 8:15 a.m. Registration
- 8:45 a.m. Opening Statement
Mr. Richard W. Wheeler
President, Religious Advisory Council
- 9:00 a.m. Invocation by The Most Reverend
Anthony J. Bevilacqua,
Auxiliary Bishop of Brooklyn
- 9:10 a.m. Opening Remarks
Ambassador H. Eugene Douglas
- 9:15 a.m. Opening Address
Dr. Joseph Kitagawa
Dean-Emeritus of Chicago Divinity School
"Judeo-Christian Tradition"
- 9:30 a.m. Panel One: CONTEMPORARY WORLD SCENE
Dr. John Silber, Moderator
President of Boston University

11:00 a.m. Panel Two: RESPONSE TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY
The Reverend Peter Gomes, Moderator
Chaplain, Harvard University

12:30 a.m. Grace by The Reverend Canon Samir J. Habiby
Executive Director, Presiding Bishop's Fund
for World Relief

12:35 p.m. Luncheon

1:15 p.m. Introduction of the Guest Speaker
The Honorable H. Eugene Douglas

1:30 p.m. Guest Speaker
The Honorable Jeane Kirkpatrick
U.S. Representative to the United Nations

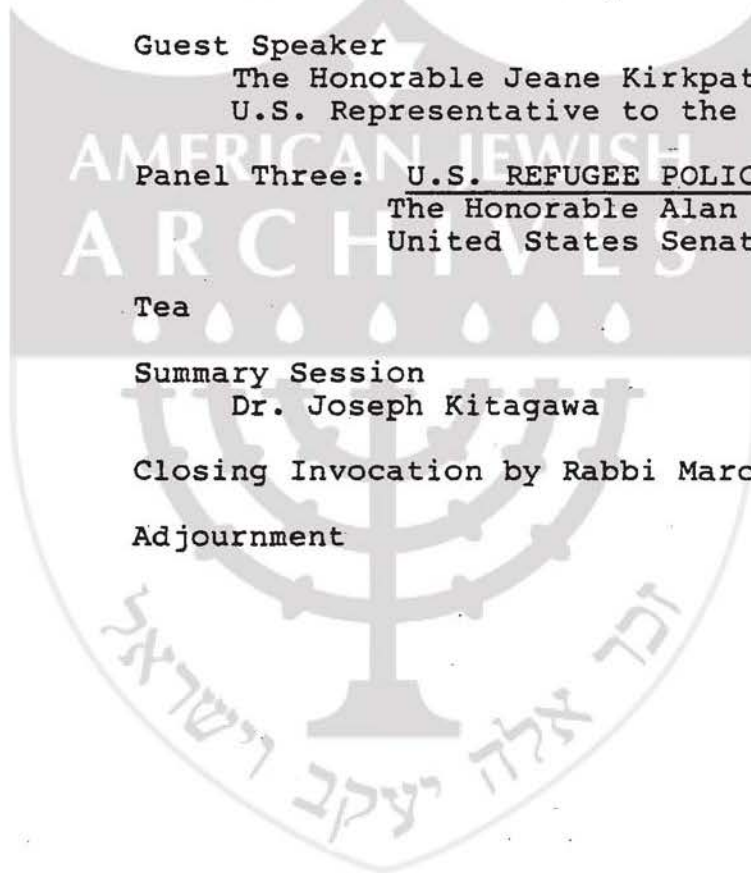
2:00 p.m. Panel Three: U.S. REFUGEE POLICY
The Honorable Alan K. Simpson,
United States Senator, Moderator

3:15 p.m. Tea

4:00 p.m. Summary Session
Dr. Joseph Kitagawa

5:00 p.m. Closing Invocation by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

5:30 p.m. Adjournment



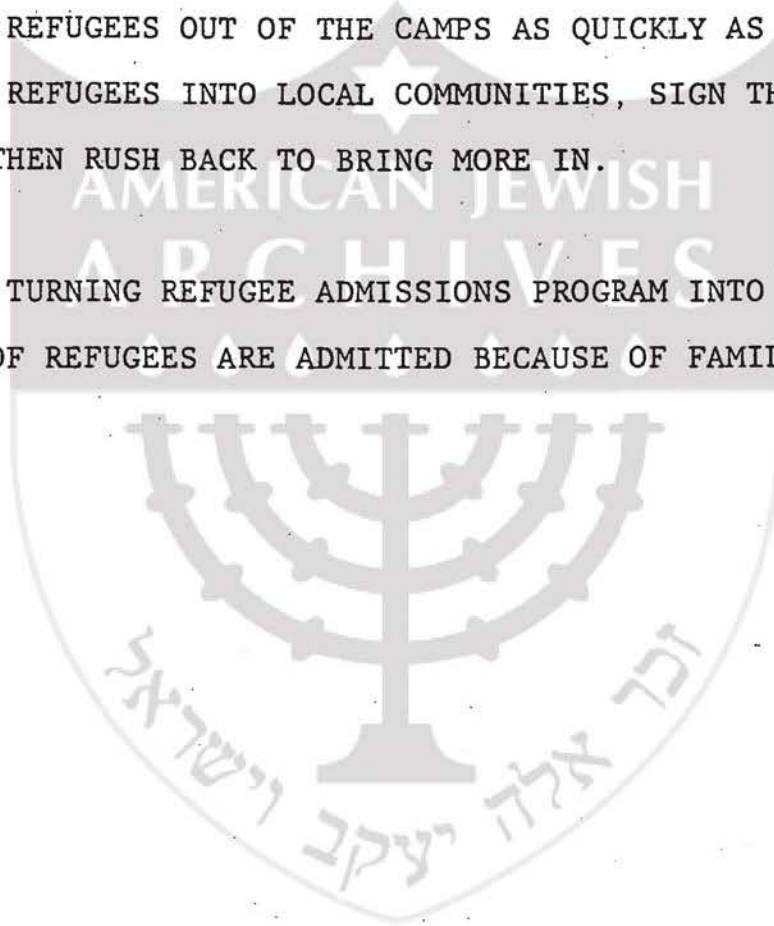
TOPICS FOR PANEL DISCUSSION

1. ETHICS AND MORALITY OF FEELING BOUND TO PROCESS ASYLUM CLAIMS OF PERSONS WHO HAVE TRAVERSED OTHER FIRST ASYLUM COUNTRIES, (E.G. MEXICO), BUT THEN CONTINUING ON TO REACH IMPROVED ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES IN THE U. S.
2. ETHICAL OBLIGATION OF U. S. TO ENTERTAIN MULTIPLE LAYERS OF APPEALS FOR ASYLUM SEEKERS. CONTRAST WITH PROCEDURE FOR REFUGEES.
3. ETHICS OF THE PRIVATE BAR IN FILING ASYLUM CLAIMS AS A DILATORY TACTIC (AND OFTEN FOR A HEFTY FEE) FOR PERSONS WHOM THEY REASONABLY KNOW DO NOT MEET THE DEFINITION OF REFUGEE.
4. ETHICS OF OVERLY-BROAD OR OVERLY-NARROW INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DEFINITION OF "REFUGEE" IN ADMISSIONS DECISIONS. CURRENT LAW STATES THE DEFINITION AS ONE WHO DEMONSTRATES A WELL-FOUNDED FEAR OF PERSECUTION ON THE BASIS OF "RACE, RELIGION, NATIONALITY, SOCIAL CLASS OR POLITICAL OPINION." THE CONGRESS INTENDS AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL DIRECTS THAT THIS BE MET ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. UNFORTUNATELY, SOME PERSONS WOULD LIKE TO STOP SHORT OF THE FIVE SPECIFIC CRITERIA OF PERSECUTION IN THE DEFINITION; OTHERS WOULD LIKE TO INTERPRET THE DEFINITION AS PRESUMPTIVE REFUGEE STATUS FOR LARGE GROUPS OF PEOPLE; AND STILL OTHERS WOULD LIKE TO SELECTIVELY INTERPRET THE DEFINITION ACCORDING TO THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF THE REFUGEE.
5. ETHICS OF U. S. CONTINUING TO BEAR MAJOR BURDEN OF INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE RESPONSIBILITY IN TERMS OF PERMANENT RESETTLEMENT. OTHER

COUNTRIES HOLDING BACK UNTIL THEY SEE WHAT THE U. S. WILL DO.

6. ETHICS OF CHURCHES AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES WHO FAIL TO HONOR THEIR RESETTLEMENT CONTRACTS WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTE EARLY SELF-SUFFICIENCY AMONG REFUGEES. BLATANT EXAMPLES ABOUNDED IN THE GAO REPORT WHERE CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS, IN THEIR FERVOR TO BRING AS MANY REFUGEES OUT OF THE CAMPS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, SIMPLY "DUMP" REFUGEES INTO LOCAL COMMUNITIES, SIGN THEM UP FOR WELFARE, AND THEN RUSH BACK TO BRING MORE IN.

7. ETHICS OF TURNING REFUGEE ADMISSIONS PROGRAM INTO MINI-IMMIGRATION PROGRAM (80% OF REFUGEES ARE ADMITTED BECAUSE OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN THE U. S.).





UNITED STATES COORDINATOR
FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

March 24, 1983

Welcome to our conference.

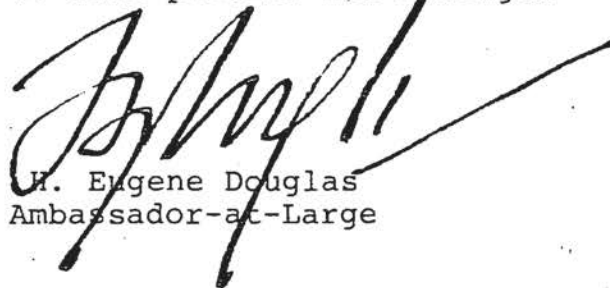
We live today in a world different in almost all its basic preconditions from the world of the 1880's when the Statue of Liberty was dedicated. The political and material world may well have changed, but what of the moral and ethical principles which determine how civilized men conduct their affairs -- even under the most trying conditions?

Each of you has been invited to this conference to examine the ethical and moral values which underpin our official refugee policy with specific reference to the pressing geopolitical realities of our time. In the strict sense of the term, this is a working conference. From Thursday to Friday afternoon, we want to question, analyze, and hopefully strengthen the direction of U.S. refugee policy.

I imagine that we share a common goal in preserving America's tradition as a country of opportunity for refugees. But can we agree on who is a refugee? I for one am preoccupied with a gradual blurring of the distinction between refugees and immigrants or migrants, and I hope we can discuss some of these topics tomorrow.

From the beginning of our meeting, I want you to feel personally welcome. I also want to share with you my deep appreciation to the Religious Advisory Committee whose concern for our country's refugee policy, and whose trust in the value of informed debate, has made this rather historic meeting possible.

I ask you to join me in addressing the many objectives, concerns, and dilemmas associated with America's refugee policy. I am confident that we will provide new strength to our common purposes.



H. Eugene Douglas
Ambassador-at-Large



The Anchor of Hope

THE PRESIDING BISHOP'S FUND FOR WORLD RELIEF

The Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, New York 10017
(212) 867-8400 • Cable Address: Fenalong, N.Y.

March 24, 1983

A WELCOME ON BEHALF

OF

THE RELIGIOUS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON REFUGEE/MIGRATION AFFAIRS

Dear Conference Participant:

On behalf of the Committee, I would like to take this opportunity to extend greetings and express appreciation for your participation in this Conference, "Ethical Issues and Moral Principles in U.S. Refugee Policy", here in Washington, D.C.

As co-sponsor of the conference with the Office of the United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, the Religious Advisory Committee is seeking to broaden the forum for dialogue on the moral issues and ethical principles which should underlie United States refugee policy. You have been invited to be a part of this dialogue, as a leader and ongoing contributor to the national debate on these matters within the religious, governmental, academic or private sector communities.

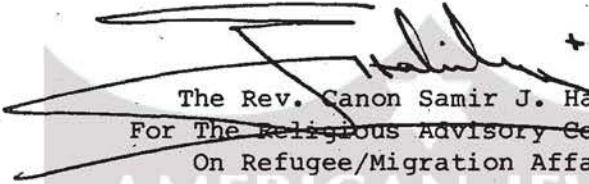
It is our hope through this conference to work towards a United States consensus on the future direction of this nation's response to the global refugee crisis. You well know that traditionally the reception and placement of refugees has been generous, humanitarian and linked to fundamentals in the American genesis as a "nation of immigrants" where the oppressed can find freedom and new life.

The United States' welcome to refugees at home and assistance abroad are crucial to the maintenance of global humanitarian treatment for those who must cross borders for their own safety. Americans are currently engaged in a major debate on immigration reform. Therefore, it is vital that the architects of our refugee policy look anew at these aspects of United States assistance in order to determine its current and future direction.

The Religious Advisory Committee in this welcome invites your ongoing participation in the debate beyond the parameters of this conference. I am happy to announce that the Seabury Press has agreed to publish a book on the subject of the conference edited by Dr. Joseph M. Kitagawa, Dean Emeritus of the University of Chicago Divinity School.

Therefore, please do not hesitate to express your perspective directly or in writing to members of the Committee in the coming months.

Cordially,



The Rev. Canon Samir J. Habiby
For The Religious Advisory Committee
On Refugee/Migration Affairs

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

The Committee Members

Mr. Richard W. Wheeler	- Chairman
The Rev. Dr. August Bernthal	- Vice-Chairman
The Most Rev. Anthony J. Bevilacqua	
Mr. Leo M. Cherne	
The Rev. William K. DuVal	
The Rev. Dr. Harry Haines	
The Rev. Dr. Paul F. McCleary	
Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum	
The Rev. Lloyd G. Van Vactor	
Mr. Clarence N. Wood	
The Rev. Canon Samir J. Habiby	- Committee Secretariat
Mrs. Robert J. Dawson (Marion M.)	- Staff to the Secretariat
The Rev. John A. Huston	- Special Assistant for the Conference

Attachment - Statement on the Religious Advisory Committee

THE RELIGIOUS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON REFUGEE/MIGRATION AFFAIRS

The Religious Advisory Committee on Refugee/Migration Affairs was established in early 1980 to provide a forum for religious leaders to maintain an ongoing dialogue with the U.S. Government on refugee and migration concerns.

The Committee has met regularly with the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, Ambassador-at-Large H. Eugene Douglas, and in the past with his predecessors, Ambassador Victor Palmeri and the Honorable Richard Smyser.

The Committee includes representatives from a number of religious-based institutions in the United States who have traditionally responded to the needs of refugees and immigrants here and abroad.

The members are as follows:

American Jewish Committee
Church World Service, and
The United Church of Christ
The United Methodist Church
The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
The Episcopal Church - The Presiding Bishop's Fund
For World Relief
Liaison with Black Churches - National Urban League
Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.
United States Catholic Conference

The Committee reflects the concerns of the U.S. religious community regarding refugee assistance programs and policies. Its members work in close coordination on matters pertaining to refugee relief, rehabilitation and resettlement, as well as with related religious groups and colleague agencies in the private and inter-governmental sectors.

ETHICAL ISSUES AND MORAL PRINCIPLES IN U.S. REFUGEE POLICY

Sponsored by the Office of the U.S. Coordinator
for Refugee Affairs
and
The Religious Advisory Committee

PURPOSES:

It is safe to predict that in the year 2000, human pressures on national borders, group demands for refugee status and resettlement, and individual appeals for asylum will still rank as major issues of domestic and international politics. Can we, then, better define international norms on which to base world refugee policy? And, can we better define the ethical principles which should guide the refugee laws and policies of the United States?

The theme of this conference is ethical issues surrounding the "refugee." We shall explore: Who is a refugee? What generates refugee flows? What are the appropriate international strategies of response? What principles should determine the refugee policy of the United States as a receiving country?

The purposes of the conference are:

1. To review the external environment which creates refugee flows, and the consequences here and abroad of mass resettlement.
2. To articulate traditional American values, and the Judeo-Christian ethic as it relates to refugee affairs; to clarify the moral and ethical issues involved.
3. To provide an opportunity to build a new consensus among leaders on how to deal with refugee problems at home and abroad.

PROCEDURE:

The conference will consist of three panel sessions, followed by a brief summary session. Each panel will be chaired by a moderator with three panelists, each of whom will present his or her views of a given issue or set of issues. The moderator will identify for group discussion the three or four issues he deems to be most important. Group discussion will first focus on these issues.

Dr. Joseph Kitagawa, who will act as rapporteur of the conference, will present a brief summary, and subsequently will prepare a conference report for the sponsors. This report will be circulated among the participants for comment.

PANEL SESSIONS

Panel I: Contemporary World Scene

Time: 9:15 - 10:50 a.m.

Moderator: Dr. John Silber,
President of Boston University

Panelists: Dr. Michael Teitelbaum, Senior Associate,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
The Most Reverend Anthony J. Bevilacqua,
Auxiliary Bishop of Brooklyn
Dr. Peter Rose, Professor of Sociology,
Smith College
Mr. Roger Conner, Executive Director,
Federation for American Immigration Reform

Scope: The tragic dilemma of the refugee problem is that there are so many more claimants with a "well-founded fear of persecution" than there are resources to assist or resettle them. Different actors on the world scene interpret these fears differently. As long as discussion centered on refugees from Hitler or from the Soviet Union, one set of ethical and moral issues predominated. But now most applicants for asylum or refugee status come from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The situation poses a broader set of ethical and moral issues.

Panel II: Response of the World Community

Time: 11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

Moderator: The Reverend Peter Gomes,
Professor of Christian Morals and Minister
of Harvard Memorial Church

Panelists: The Honorable Richard Rubottom,
Former Ambassador and Assistant Secretary of
State for Inter-American Affairs.
Mr. Leo Cherne, Chairman,
International Rescue Committee
Father Silvano M. Tomasi, C.S.,
Director, Center for Migration Studies

Scope: While in the past there has been a considerable degree of adhoc cooperation among nations in coping with specific refugee problems, the enormity of present problems threatens to undermine such consensus as exists. Virtually all countries face refugee problems, and pressures to look inward, rather than outward, are on the rise. The growing financial and resettlement burdens suggest that if there is not a renewal of

some broad consensus, multiple tragedies are likely to confront us in many different parts of the world.

Panel III: U.S. Refugee Policy

Time: 2:15 - 4:00 p.m.

Moderator: United States Senator Alan Simpson (Wyoming)

Panelists: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum,
Director for Interreligious Affairs,
American Jewish Committee
Dr. Charles West,
Academic Dean of Princeton Theological
Seminary
Mr. Michael Heilman,
Attorney for the Office of the General Counsel
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Scope: U.S. refugee policy begins only after World War II. Even more recently, as the result of refugee flows from Cuba, the U.S. became for the first time a country of first asylum. Previously the U.S. had been for the most part a country of refugee resettlement. The Refugee Act of 1980 was the first attempt by Congress to codify in law refugee policy, but days after the passage of the Act some 125,000 new refugees arrived from Cuba and their cases were handled under special legislation, apart from the 1980 Act. In many more ways events have overtaken U.S. policy; whereas five years ago the backlog of asylum petitions before the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Department numbered in the few hundreds, it is now in excess of 100,000.

SUMMARY SESSION

Time: 4:20 - 5:20 p.m.

Conference Rapporteur: Dr. Joseph Kitagawa,
Dean-emeritus, University of Chicago
Divinity School

A representative from each of the three panels will summarize important issues covered in the course of the panel discussion.

THE CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

Religious Advisory Committee

Mr. Richard W. Wheeler
The Reverend Canon
Samir J. Habiby
Mrs. Robert J. Dawson
The Reverend John Huston

The Office of the U.S. Coordinator

Ambassador-at-Large
H. Eugene Douglas
Mrs. Jane Roberts Degraff
Dr. R. Harrow Feen, Jr.

ETHICAL ISSUES AND MORAL PRINCIPLES
IN U.S. REFUGEE POLICY

Meridian House International
March 24 & 25, 1983

List of Participants

The Honorable Elliott Abrams
Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights
and Humanitarian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

The Rt. Rev. James Armstrong
The National Council of the Churches
of Christ in the USA
New York

The Honorable Diego Asencio
Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Temuraz K. Bagration
Tolstoy Foundation
New York

The Rev. Dr. August Berthel
Grace Lutheran Church
Florida

Mrs. Gerda Bikales
Assistant Director of FAIR
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Mark Blitz
for Mr. Tom Pauken
ACTION
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Mr. Donald Bjork
World Relief
New York

The Rev. Ralph Bohlmann
Lutheran Church
Missouri Synod

Mr. Philip D. Brady
Associate Deputy Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Harold Bradley
Center for Immigration & Refugee Assistance
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Allen Brown, Jr.
Episcopal Diocese of Virginia

Mr. David Carliner
Immigration, Nationality and Refugees Committee
American Bar Association
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Theresa Chu
Canada-China Program
Canadian Council of Churches
Ontario

Ms. Maudine Cooper
for Mr. John E. Jacob
National Urban League, Inc.
New York

Ms. Mary Cowan
for Mr. Charles Wick
US Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Fletcher Davis
Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles
California

Mrs. Marion M. Dawson
The Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief
New York

Mr. Richard Day
Senate Subcommittee on Immigration & Refugee Policy
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Jane Roberts DeGraff
Executive Assistant to the Coordinator
Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

Mr. Dale De Haan
Church World Service
The National Council of the Churches
of Christ in the U.S.A
New York

Mr. Joseph Duggan
Economic and Social Affairs Officer
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New York



The Rev. William K. DuVal
The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
New York

Mr. Richard English
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Refugee Resettlement (Designate)
Bureau of Refugee Programs
Department of State

Dr. Amita Etzioni
Department of Sociology
George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Richard Feen
Office of the U.S. Coordinator for
Refugee Affairs
Department of State

Ms. Lilia Fernandez
The United Methodist Church
New York

The Honorable Hamilton Fish, Jr.
United States House of Representatives

Mr. David Ford
Associate Coordinator
Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

Ms. Thora Frank
for Mr. Richard Schubert
American Red Cross
National Headquarters
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Robert L. Funseth
Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary
for the Bureau of Refugee Programs
Department of State

Mr. Dennis Gallagher
Refugee Policy Group
Washington, D.C.



Dr. Thomas Gannon
Department of Sociology
Loyola University of Chicago

The Rev Canon Oliver Bailey Garver, Jr.
Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles
California

Ms. Laura Genero
Assistant Coordinator
Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

Mr. Ronald Gibbs
Associate Director
National Association of Counties
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Canon Charles Gill
Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio

Mr. George Gordon-Lenox
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Michael Guhin
National Security Council
The White House

The Rev. Canon Samir J. Habiby
Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief
Secretariat, Religious Advisory Committee
for Migration and Refugees
New York

The Rev. John C. Harper
St. John's Episcopal Church
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Walter Harrelson
The Divinity School
Vanderbilt University
Tennessee

Dr. Phillip N. Hawkes
Director, Office of Refugee Resettlement
Department of Health and Human Services
Washington, D.C.

The Venerable Robert Fleming Hayman
Episcopal Diocese of Olympia
Seattle, Washington

The Rev. James Hennessy
Georgetown University

The Rev. John R. Houck
Lutheran Council USA
New York

Dr. Joseph Hough
School of Theology at Claremont
California

The Rev. John A. Huston
The Presiding Bishops Fund for World Relief

Mr. Lester Hyman
Refugee and Immigration Committee
American Jewish Committee
New York

Mr. Maurice Inman, General Counsel
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Wi Jo Kang
Wartburg Seminary
Iowa

Mr. Wells C. Klein
American Council for Nationalities Service
New York

Ms. Mary Kritz
Assistant Director for Population Sciences
Rockefeller Foundation
New York

Dr. G. D. Loescher
Center for International Studies
Princeton University

Dr. Charles Long
Department of Religion
University of North Carolina

Dr. C. Payne Lucas
Africare
Washington, D.C.

Dr. David Martin
University of Virginia School of Law
Former Refugee Official for the Department of State

The Rev. Dr. Guy Martin
Dean, Harvard Divinity School
Massachusetts

The Rev. Robert McCan
Research and Development Center for Theology and Public Policy
Washington, D.C.

Mr. John McCarthy
The U.S. Catholic Conference
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Dr. Paul F. McCleary
Church World Service, NCCC/USA
New York

The Honorable Alan Nelson, Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Bruce Nichols
Council on Religion and International Affairs
Merrill House
New York

Dr. Michael Novak
American Enterprise Institute
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Gene Outka
Woodrow Wilson Center
Washington, D.C.

Dr. and Mrs. Jan Papanek
American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees
New York

Mr. Douglas Powers
Buddhist Council for Refugee Rescue and Resettlement
California

Ms. Harriet Pritchett
Director, Congressional Black Caucus
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Kathleen Ptolemy
Anglican Church of Canada
Toronto

Mrs. Robert Reneker
Former Chairperson of the Board of Trustees
Chicago Theological Seminary

The Rev. Dr. Hays H. Rockwell
for The Rev. Charles Cesaretti
The Episcopal Church
New York

Dr. Rosemary Rogers
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Massachusetts

Mr. Gary Rubin
American Council for Nationalities Service
New York

Mr. Carmi Schwartz
Council of Jewish Federations
New York

Mr. Stuart Schwartzstein
Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis
Massachusetts

Rabbi Seymour Siegel
Director, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Stephen J. Solarz
House of Representatives

Dr. John Stack
Florida International University

Mr. Charles Sternberg
International Rescue Committee
New York

Mr. Rick Swartz
National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Julia Taft
Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Jerry Tinker
Subcommittee on Immigration & Refugee Policy
Office of Senator Edward Kennedy

Dr. Edward Tiryakian
Department of Sociology
Duke University

The Rev. Lloyd Van Vactor
The United Church of Christ
New York

Mrs. Ingrid Walter
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
New York

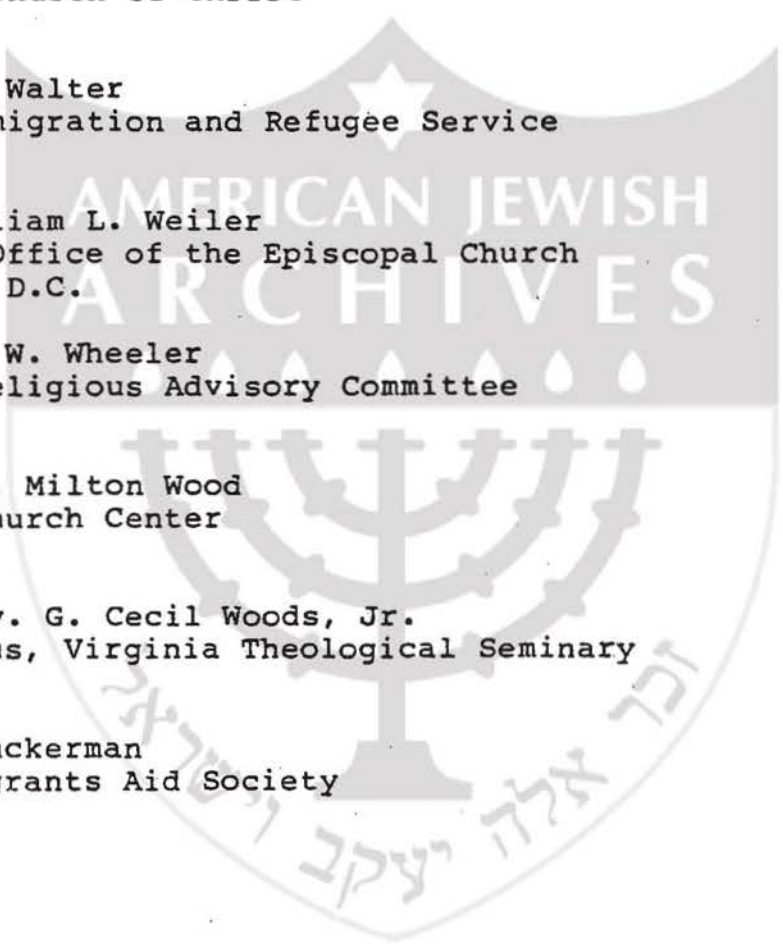
The Rev William L. Weiler
Washington Office of the Episcopal Church
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Richard W. Wheeler
Chairman, Religious Advisory Committee
New York

The Rt. Rev. Milton Wood
Episcopal Church Center
New York

The Very Rev. G. Cecil Woods, Jr.
Dean-Emeritus, Virginia Theological Seminary
Tennessee

Mr. Carl Zuckerman
Hebrew Immigrants Aid Society
New York



PANEL 1
THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD SCENE

MODERATOR

Dr. John Silber: Dr. John Silber, a leading spokesman on academic standards, has been President of Boston University since 1970. He also served as university professor of philosophy and law. He has been professor of philosophy and university professor of arts and letters at the University of Texas at Austin, where he also served as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. He is the editor of Works in Continental Philosophy and is associate editor of Kant-Studien.

PANELISTS

Dr. Michael Teitelbaum: Dr. Teitelbaum is a former faculty member of Oxford and Princeton University. He was a staff director of the Select Committee on Population for the U.S. House of Representatives, and a program officer at the Ford Foundation. Currently, he is the Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee for the Population Association of America, and a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He is the author of "Right vs. Right: Immigration and Refugee Policy in the United States," (Foreign Affairs, Fall 1980), a work which is considered a classic in the field. His most recent book is Fear of Population Decline.
Topic: Tragic choices; limited resources and first and third country resettlement.

The Most Reverend Anthony Bevilacqua: Reverend Bevilacqua is the Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Brooklyn. He received a Doctorate in Canon Law from Gregorian University in Rome, and a J.D. from St. John's University Law School in Queens. Reverend Bevilacqua is the Director of the Catholic Migration and Refugee Office for Brooklyn. He has contributed numerous articles to scholarly journals such as The Jurist, The Catholic Lawyer, Migration Today, and for the Center for Migration Studies series entitled In Defense of the Alien.
Topic: Distinguishing between political and economic determinants of refugee flows.

Dr. Peter Rose: Dr. Rose is currently the Sophia Smith Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, as well as the Director of the American Studies Diploma Program, at Smith College. He is a specialist on racial and cultural relations and has lectured both here and abroad on the ethnic experience in the United States. He is currently working on two new volumes: Refugees in America: From Alienation to Acculturation and In Aid to the Tempest Tost: American Involvement in Refugee Relief and Resettlement.
Topic: Definitional and human rights questions surrounding the refugee.

Mr. Roger Conner: Mr. Conner is the Executive Director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). He attended the University of Michigan Law School and specialized in environmental law. He has contributed articles to several of the national newspapers, including the Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, and the Washington Post. In addition, he has appeared on numerous television programs, such as the Phil Donahue Show, the Today Show, and the MacNeil-Lehrer Report. He is one of the best known advocates of immigration reform in the country.

Topic: Updating the Golden Rule for the Global Village.



PANEL II
RESPONSE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY

MODERATOR

The Reverend Peter Gomes: The Reverend Gomes is the Plummer Professor of Christian Morals and Minister in the Memorial Church at Harvard University. He is an ordained American Baptist Minister and has taught at the Tuskegee Institute and at Emmanuel College in Cambridge England. The Reverend Gomes heads the Harvard Foundation for Race Relations.

PANELISTS

The Honorable Richard Rubottom: Ambassador Rubottom was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from 1956 to 1960, and served as Ambassador to Argentina from 1960 to 1961. He was Administrative Vice President for Southern Methodist University and was President of the University of the Americas in Pueblo Mexico. At present, he is the Chairman of the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas and is a member of the Texas State Bar Association's Immigration Committee. Ambassador Rubottom has just completed a book on Spain.
Topic: Repatriation and third-country resettlement options.

Mr. Leo Cherne: Mr. Cherne is the Executive Director of the Research Institute of America and the Chairman of the Board of the International Rescue Committee. This committee's purpose is to assist all those who flee from totalitarian governments. Mr. Cherne is also the Vice Chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Among other honors, Mr. Cherne was awarded the Legion of Honor by France, and the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit by the Federal Republic of Germany.
Topic: International standards on refugee assistance.

Father Silvano M. Tomasi, C.S: Father Tomasi is the President of the Center for Migration Studies in New York and the editor of the Center's journal, entitled The International Migration Review. He is also the Vice President of the Research Committee on Migration for the International Sociological Association. He is the editor of numerous books on migration affairs. One recent title: The Disposable Worker: Historical and Comparative Perspectives on Clandestine Migration.
Topic: The character and ideology of western refugee assistance.

PANEL III
U.S. REFUGEE POLICY

MODERATOR

United States Senator Alan Simpson: Senator Simpson is the junior Senator of the state of Wyoming. He is Chairman of the Sub-committee on Immigration and Refugee Policy, and the joint author of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1983, the most comprehensive immigration bill presented to Congress in the last 30 years.

PANELISTS

Dr. Charles West: Dr. West is currently the Academic Dean of Princeton Theological Seminary and Professor of Christian Ethics. With his wife, he was a missionary in China before and after the communist takeover of power. He has served as a lecturer throughout the various European religious centers. Dr. West is past President of the American Society of Christian Ethics and is a consultant to the World Council of Churches. He is the author of Communism and the Theologians and Ethics, Violence and Revolution.

Topic: The role of Judeo-Christian values in refugee policy.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum: Rabbi Tanenbaum is the National Director of Interreligious Affairs for the American Jewish Committee. Newsweek has described him as "the American Jewish Community's foremost apostle to the gentiles." He has served on numerous presidential commissions dealing with such issues as the aging, and energy. Rabbi Tanenbaum was a representative at the Vatican II Council in Rome. He has worked extensively on refugee relief efforts throughout the world.

Topic: Moral considerations in treating group and individual claims for asylum.

Mr. Michael Heilman: Mr. Heilman is an Associate General Counsel at the Office of the General Counsel for Immigration, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Before working with the General Counsel, he served as a staff attorney with the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington D.C. Mr. Heilman was a Foreign Service Officer for the Department of State, during which time he worked at the refugee processing center in Athens, Greece.

Topic: Ethical issues in refugee and asylee claims.

General Information
for Conference Participants

TRANSPORTATION

Mini-bus shuttle service will be available to transport participants staying at the Dupont Plaza Hotel to the conference. A copy of the schedule is attached.

Mini-bus service to National and Dulles Airports will be available for Friday evening, depending on demand.

TELEPHONES

Participants may be reached at Meridian House through the switchboard, phone 202/667-6800 or 332-1025. Please have all callers identify the message recipient as part of the Ethics conference.

The phone number for the Dupont Plaza Hotel is 202/483-6000.

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

The conference proceedings will be recorded as an aid to the preparation of a conference report.

While members of the press have not been invited to cover the conference, a notice of the conference has been published in the federal register. Thus, comments made during the conference discussion may be reported to the press.

MERIDIAN HOUSE SERVICES

Coffee, juice, and sweet rolls will be served in the library of Meridian House beginning at 8:00 a.m. on Friday morning.

Coffee and tea will be available during the morning hours in the library. Conference participants are invited to take refreshment at any time.

At the start of the luncheon break, consomme and soft drinks will be served in the garden if weather permits. Luncheon will be buffet for all registered participants, with random seating in the dining room.

Chilled soft drinks will be available during the afternoon hours in the library.

A conference break in late afternoon has been planned for tea.

Coatrooms and lavatories are located on the entrance level of Meridian House.

Shuttle Bus Schedule

There will be a mini-bus available to transport you from the Dupont Plaza Hotel to the Meridian House International, and back, for the evening of Thursday March 24 and the morning of Friday, March 25 at the following times:

(DP = Dupont Plaza Hotel, MH = Meridian House International)

Thursday Evening

To conference:

Departing DP -	6:00 p.m.	(Arriving at MH
	6:20 p.m.	approximately 10
	6:40 p.m.	minutes later.)
	7:00 p.m.	

From conference:

Departing MH -	9:40 p.m.
	10:00 p.m.
	10:20 p.m.
	10:40 p.m.

Friday Morning

To conference:

Departing DP -	8:00 a.m.
	8:20 a.m.
	8:40 a.m.

Friday Evening

From conference:

Departing MH -	5:30	(Subject to change,
	5:50	according to response
	6:10	of participants via the
		Transportation Requests.)

NOTE: Shuttle bus service will be available Friday evening. Please complete Transportation Request Form, included with the registration materials.

Request for Transportation

All conference participants wishing transportation services for Friday evening to Dulles or National airports, please complete this form and return it to the registration desk at the Meridian House International before noon on Friday.

Depending on the demand for transportation service, the conference staff will then arrange for either shuttle buses to Dulles and National Airports, or for available taxi service. Please note that taxi expenses will be the responsibility of the individual. Notice of these arrangements will be posted Friday afternoon at the registration desk.

Name _____

Organization _____

I will need transportation Friday evening to _____ airport,
to leave on flight # _____ to _____,
departing at the following time: _____.

_____ I will leave Friday evening from Dupont Plaza Hotel.

OR

_____ I will bring my baggage to the Meridian House International Friday morning and leave from there that evening. (Baggage can be left in the coat room during the conference on Friday.)

Dr. Thomas Gannon
Department of Sociology
Loyola University of Chicago

The Rev Canon Oliver Bailey Garver, Jr.
Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles
California

Ms. Laura Genero
Assistant Coordinator
Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

Mr. Ronald Gibbs
Associate Director
National Association of Counties
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Canon Charles Gill
Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio

Mr. George Gordon-Lenox
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Michael Guhin
National Security Council
The White House

The Rev. Canon Samir J. Habiby
Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief
Secretariat, Religious Advisory Committee
for Migration and Refugees
New York

The Rev. John C. Harper
St. John's Episcopal Church
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Walter Harrelson
The Divinity School
Vanderbilt University
Tennessee

Dr. Phillip N. Hawkes
Director, Office of Refugee Resettlement
Department of Health and Human Services
Washington, D.C.

The Venerable Robert Fleming Hayman
Episcopal Diocese of Olympia
Seattle, Washington

The Rev. James Hennessy
Georgetown University

The Rev. John R. Houck
Lutheran Council USA
New York

Dr. Joseph Hough
School of Theology at Claremont
California

The Rev. John A. Huston
The Presiding Bishops Fund for World Relief

Mr. Lester Hyman
Refugee and Immigration Committee
American Jewish Committee
New York

Mr. Maurice Inman, General Counsel
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Wi Jo Kang
Wartburg Seminary
Iowa

Mr. Wells C. Klein
American Council for Nationalities Service
New York

Ms. Mary Kritz
Assistant Director for Population Sciences
Rockefeller Foundation
New York

Dr. G. D. Loescher
Center for International Studies
Princeton University

Dr. Charles Long
Department of Religion
University of North Carolina

Dr. C. Payne Lucas
Africare
Washington, D.C.