



# THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

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

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 61, Folder 5, International Rescue Committee, 1988-1990.



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERSCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611

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

## Founding of:

WOMEN'S COMMISSION FOR REFUGEE WOMEN AND CHILDREN

January 5, 1989

### Summary of Meeting

The meeting was attended by approximately 40 women who represented a broad range of professional accomplishments. Included in the group were medical doctors, attorneys, educators, businesswomen, corporate executives, nurses, authors, refugee scholars and artists.

The meeting was convened by Vera Blinken, Vice President of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) who explained the purpose of the gathering and introduced the group to the wide-ranging activities of the IRC -- the organization which has agreed to sponsor the work of the Commission.

Liv Ullmann, Vice President-International of the IRC, and UNICEF Ambassador-at-Large, spoke of her own experiences in refugee settings around the world. She urged the group to become involved as women and parents in understanding the particular needs of the most vulnerable and most desperate refugees -- women and children. Liv encouraged the group to visit refugee areas in different parts of the world so they might form their own impressions and priorities of the unmet needs of these refugees.

Susan Forbes Martin of the Refugee Policy Group in Washington, D.C. presented an overview of the worldwide refugee crisis as well as a review of the regions around the globe where the 14 million refugees are located. She mentioned in particular: refugees in Thailand, Pakistan, the Sudan, Malawi, Central America and Europe. Susan reiterated that 75% of the refugees are women and children. This is particularly important when one notes that the majority of refugee women are heads of households. Refugee women often do not have equal access to food and medical care. They are often denied the opportunities for education and economic self-sufficiency. Refugee women have been subjected to rape and physical violence as a result of their vulnerable position.

Refugees are people who have been forced, by civil war or other forms of persecution to flee their homes in search of safe refuge. The trauma they suffer as a result of this flight is exacerbated by the long wait in refugee camps. Special attention must be drawn to the unmet needs of women and children particularly victimized by these circumstances.

Catherine O'Neill, Executive Committee Member of IRC, discussed the practical work which awaited the Commission. She outlined the purpose and responsibilities of a fact-finding Commission visit to a refugee area and urged Commission members to participate in such a visit both as a life-enhancing experience and one which would be important in advocating on behalf of refugee women and children to policy makers and political leaders.

Catherine noted that there was at present no women's group exclusively targeting the needs of refugee women and children in the United States. The Chairman of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' Task Force on Women and Children is aware this group is being formed and has expressed interest in working cooperatively with the Commission. It is through his office materials were sent for distribution at the January 5th meeting.

#### Conclusion:

Those present at the January 5th meeting voted to:

1. Establish a Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children.
2. Identify a Steering Committee.
3. Undertake visits to refugee areas as a delegation representing the Commission.
4. Identify political leaders who need to be informed about the work of the Commission.
5. Announce the formation of the Commission to appropriate people and organizations.

\* \* \*



JAN 11 1989



**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

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

1/16/89  
CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611

January 10, 1989

FINAL NOTICE

To: Executive Committee

From: Robert P. DeVecchi

Re: January 16 Meeting

This is the final notice of the Executive Committee meeting on Monday, January 16, at 3:45 p.m., in the IRC office. Although this is Martin Luther King day, an IRC holiday, the office will be open for the meeting. Enclosed are the minutes of the meeting held on December 8.

The agenda for the January 16 meeting follows:

1. Approval of December 8 minutes.
2. U.S. fund raising report: 1988. (Al Kastner)
3. Executive Director's report; financial update; proposed 1989 budget.  
(Robert P. DeVecchi)
4. Report on Women's Commission meeting. (Vera Blinken)
5. Southern Sudan situation. (Roy Williams)
6. New business.





**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611

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

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

DECEMBER 8, 1988

Present for the Committee: Mmes. Blinken, O'Neill, Smithies, Thaw, Travers;  
Messrs. Cherne, Root, Sherwin, Sternberg, C. Tanenbaum,  
M. Tanenbaum, Weiss, Wiesner.

Present by Proxy: Mmes. Crawford, Levenstein; Messrs. Fitelson, Hammer, Lyon.

Present for the Staff: Mss. James, Katel, Nagorski, Stark;  
Messrs. Bronstein, DeVecchi, Kastner, Williams.

Guests: Steve and Margaret Segal.

Vera Blinken opened the meeting at 3:50 p.m. at the IRC office. The minutes of the October 24 meeting were approved as circulated.

Financial Update. Bob DeVecchi noted that he had circulated to the Executive Committee a detailed expenditure report for the January-September period, as well as program-by-program comments. Later figures for October indicate a possible cash deficit of some \$300,000 for 1988, subject to year-end adjustments that might reduce it to the \$100,000-\$150,000 range. The refugee situation in Europe, in particular the heavy increase in the flow of Soviet Jews and Armenians, has created chaos and financial problems in the USRP program. IRC has had to spend more than planned for a situation "spinning out of control." IRC should, however, stay with the program, but make every effort to control expenditures.

El Salvador. Roy Williams briefly summarized the detailed report on his recent trip to El Salvador which had been circulated to the Executive Committee. In response to questions, he said that the problem of staff security is no worse than in some other countries where IRC operates, though the overall situation is fragile. Bob DeVecchi expressed concern about the costs involved in the program, in addition to the security situation. In spite of the AID financing, IRC private funds in excess of \$150,000 will have to be put into the program. A budget for 1989 will be presented to the Finance and Executive Committees in January; meanwhile, he would like to continue the program. The Executive Committee so approved. Mr. DeVecchi added that the Board delegation which went to El Salvador in July will be asked to return to assess the situation, and the IRC program, after the March elections.

IRC Women's Commission. Catherine O'Neill reported on a tea-reception being organized for January 5, at Vera Blinken's home. The purpose of the affair is to explore the need for a Commission to deal with the problems of women and children among refugees; they comprise about 3/4 of the world refugee population.



A group of this nature, members of which might make refugee camp trips, could expand the reach of IRC as well as focus greater public attention on the problems. In the course of the discussion, Marc Tanenbaum noted the existence of a network of women in N.Y. charitable organizations; he will provide names of some who might be useful. The Executive Committee approved the project as described.

American Jewish Philanthropic Fund (PF). Charles Tanenbaum noted that he had sent the latest PF report to Executive Committee members. There are no immediate problems but the PF Board felt it could commit no more than \$100,000 for two IRC-related programs: some \$60,000 toward Soviet and East European resettlement, the remainder for refugee assistance provided through IRC European offices -- in particular to help some 3,000-3,500 ex-Israel Russians in Vienna to settle in Austria. This program is a symbol of American Jews' concern regarding Jewish settlement in Europe. Mr. Tanenbaum said that PF's problem is obtaining financial support. Its leadership is growing old, and new people - a new generation of leaders - must be brought in. Freedom of choice for Soviet Jews to enter the U.S. is recognized today, but resettlement in Europe is still an issue. Carel Sternberg noted that the PF is a natural agency for the European resettlement program as described by Mr. Tanenbaum. Austria has manifested sympathy for them. Marc Tanenbaum noted that during a recent visit to Vienna, Austrian officials expressed their concern for human rights and are making allocations for refugees, and finding homes for the elderly among them. Leo Cherne noted that the Jewish agencies often are reluctant to resettle mixed-marriage refugees, who are referred to IRC -- this is a non-competitive activity which has worked well.

Nominating Committee. Oren Root, speaking for the Nominating Committee, noted there was a recommendation at a recent meeting that Michael Blumenthal, Chairman of UNISYS, former Treasury Secretary and a former refugee himself from Germany, be elected to the Board of Directors. He had attended the Annual Meeting in November as well as the party that followed at Bob DeVecchi's home. The Executive Committee formalized the election of Mr. Blumenthal to the Board of Directors.

Pakistan/Afghanistan. Steve Segal (Deputy Director IRC/Pakistan) and Margaret Segal (Director of Educational Programs) reported on Afghan refugees. They are still crossing into Pakistan (6,000-10,000 have come recently), and there is no significant return because of the continued fighting in Afghanistan. ACBAR is the coordinating body of voluntary agencies in Pakistan working together on the repatriation problem -- Mr. Segal heads this group which works closely with U.N., U.S. and Pakistan officials, as well as the Alliance representatives. Most of the 53 volags in Pakistan are small, loosely administered or do not have the capacity for realistic participation in the repatriation effort; the Swedish group is an exception. IRC is clearly the leader, with a total of 1,200 employees, 800 of them Afghans, and 22 programs. We devote extensive attention to developing programs beyond immediate relief, such as training people for the future. Political problems among the refugees, and inside Afghanistan, are serious considerations for the future. There is no question that all parties involved expect IRC to play a major role in the repatriation and resettlement effort. There is no way of knowing at this time when the refugees will be returning to Afghanistan in any significant numbers.

Chairman's Remarks. Leo Cherne said that refugee problems are mounting worldwide and IRC will have to take an even harder look at the future. There are growing indications that INS and others are questioning the status of people



formerly assumed to be refugees. Funds for IRC and other agencies are being further reduced, and countries other than the U.S. are making it clear that they no longer want refugees. Mr. Cherne related several periods in IRC's history when financial problems came close to making us close our doors. We must now look hard at our future -- both in terms of mission and financial resources. Happily, we are fortunate in having Michael Blumenthal join our ranks and, as a result of a meeting with him a few days ago, John Whitehead has agreed to rejoin our Board of Directors and Executive Committee upon leaving the government next month. The Executive Committee unanimously approved John Whitehead's election to both the Board of Directors and Executive Committee. Mr. Cherne added that John Whitehead would be a significant force in helping IRC to deal with the combination of massive refugee problems coupled with the possibility of declining financial support. We must also endeavor to make IRC better known to the public.

Marc Tanenbaum said it is troublesome to contemplate how little refugee problems register on the American consciousness. We must try to develop an unrelenting strategy to break through to the media -- as was done with the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees some years ago.

Leo Cherne concluded the meeting with praise for Margaret and Steve Segal who, with their colleagues in Pakistan, have developed one of IRC's most extraordinary and effective programs.

New Business. A resolution authorizing International Rescue Committee to open accounts as needed with stock brokerage houses in the United States was unanimously adopted, with signators as previously authorized for stock transactions at the meetings of October 1 and December 15, 1986.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee was set for Tuesday, January 17. (Later changed to Monday, January 16.)

The meeting was adjourned at 6:15 p.m.



## INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

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

---

To: Executive Committee

Date: January 9, 1989

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: Expenditure Report Through  
November 1988

Attached is a report on expenditures for the first 11 months of 1988 - January through November. The projected deficit is currently within the predicted range of \$250,000 to \$300,000. A comparison with the October expenditure report shows the deficit has been reduced from \$341,917 to \$275,179.

December fund raising and year end adjustments in accrued severance deferral and depreciation allowance could actually result in a breakeven or small surplus for 1988.

*Bob DeV.*

Attachment

RPD:ls

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.  
EXPENDITURES JANUARY 1988 - NOVEMBER 1988

	TOTAL EXPENDITURES (INCLUDING ALL IRC FUNDS)					IRC PRIVATE UNDESIGNATED FUNDS ONLY			
	CURRENT MONTH	YEAR TO DATE	BUDGET FOR YEAR	AMOUNT REMAINING (\$)	AMOUNT REM. (%)	YEAR TO DATE	BUDGET FOR YEAR	AMOUNT REMAINING (\$)	AMOUNT REM. (%)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
SUDAN	102,200	1,261,900	1,124,300	(137,600)	-12.2%	174,200	258,000	83,800	32.5%
PAKISTAN	437,700	5,304,900	4,449,700	(855,200)	-19.2%	93,400	200,000	106,600	53.3%
THAILAND	118,000	1,361,000	1,237,000	(124,000)	-10.0%	69,700	100,400	30,700	30.6%
COSTA RICA	85,200	920,100	1,130,500	210,400	18.6%	41,000	46,400	5,400	11.6%
EL SALVADOR	49,500	489,600	1,105,600	616,000	55.7%	170,400	200,000	29,600	14.8%
MALAWI	73,200	818,800	856,200	37,400	4.4%	198,100	220,500	22,400	10.2%
EUROPE	148,000	1,881,200	2,614,900	733,700	28.1%	343,800	316,900	(26,900)	-8.5%
U.S. RESETTLEMENT	401,500	5,278,200	5,110,000	(168,200)	-3.3%	176,300	442,000	265,700	60.1%
GENERAL EXPENSES/ OVERSEAS PROGRAMS	152,800	1,917,500	1,954,600	37,100	1.9%	1,697,400	1,225,100	(472,300)	-38.6%
TOTAL	\$ 1,563,100	19,233,200	19,582,800	349,600	1.8%	2,964,300*	3,009,300	45,000	1.5%

\* Of this total \$ 2,689,121 has been raised to date leaving a shortfall against expenditures of \$275,179.  
We anticipate that a significant portion of this shortfall will be eliminated by further adjustments.  
IRC income includes income generated through ICM Loan Collections and earned interest.

January 12, 1989

Members of the Executive Committee

Re: 1989 Budget

The 1989 budget is attached. This presentation includes a statement of the full budget by program, a detailed listing of all individual funding sources by program, and a grouping into main categories of funding sources.





INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.  
1989 BUDGET

	BUDGETED PROGRAM EXPENDITURES (1)	GOV'T, UN AND PRIVATELY FUNDED PROGRAMS (2)	SOURCES OF FUNDS 1989 IRC GENERAL SUPPORT (3)	1988 IRC GENERAL SUPPORT (4)
COSTA RICA	1,351,900	1,303,900	48,000	46,400
EL SALVADOR	1,081,000	926,000	155,000	100,000
MALAWI	1,169,000	1,013,300	155,700	134,000
PAKISTAN	<u>11,997,300</u>	11,752,300	<u>245,000</u>	185,900
SUDAN	1,351,700	1,158,500	193,200	281,100
THAILAND	2,498,400	2,411,900	86,500	100,500
HONG KONG	15,000	15,000		
JVARRRO <i>new Bangkok / Khartoum (US Govt)</i>	<u>3,370,200</u>	<u>3,370,200</u>		
DOMESTIC RESETTLEMENT	<u>5,725,000</u>	5,355,000	<u>370,000</u>	442,000
EUROPE	1,740,000	1,485,000	<u>255,000</u>	316,000
MEDICAL ASSISTANCE TO POLAND	708,000	708,000		
CITIZENS COMMISSION	73,000	73,000		
SPANISH REFUGEE AID	243,000	243,000		
OVERSEAS PROGRAMS	285,900		285,900	260,200
GENERAL EXPENSES	1,947,200	800,000 *	<u>1,147,200</u>	1,225,100
PENSION FUND (PROPOSED)	210,000	26,000	184,000	
TOTAL	<u>33,766,600</u>	30,641,100	<u>3,125,500</u>	3,091,200

\* INCLUDES \$600,000 OF INTEREST, INDIRECT COSTS AND MISCELLANEOUS INCOME  
AND \$200,000 IN ICM LOAN REPAYMENT FEES.

### Budget Notes

The breakdown of private versus government/UN funds is as follows:

Private Restricted -	6,537,000	
Private Unrestricted	<u>3,125,500</u>	
Sub-total	9,662,500	29%
<u>U.S. Government funding</u>	<u>18,786,400</u>	55%
<u>United Nations funding</u>	<u>5,317,700</u>	16%
Total	33,766,600	100%

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



**BUDGET NOTES (Sources of Income)****Budget Totals****Costa Rica**

UNHCR	1,303,900	
IRC unrestricted	48,000	
		1,351,900

**El Salvador**

U.S. Govt.		
USAID	926,000	
IRC unrestricted	155,000	
		1,081,000

**Malawi**

UNHCR	538,400	
U.S. Govt.		
Dept. of State	135,800	
IRC Restricted		
Norwegian Refugee Council	87,500	
Stichting Vluchteling	148,600	
Refugees International	6,400	
Dutch Government	84,600	
Le Brun	12,000	
IRC Unrestricted	155,700	
		1,169,000

**Pakistan**

UNHCR	996,700	
UNICEF	150,000	
U.S. Govt.		
Dept. of State	830,900	
USAID	6,000,000	
USIS	202,700	
IRC Restricted		
Van Leer	118,600	
Refugees International	16,000	
Stichting Vluchteling	2,395,700	
Norwegian Refugee Council	351,450	
Norwegian Church Aid	351,450	
Norwegian Operation Dagswerke	158,800	
Canadian Embassy	125,000	
Donner Fdn	40,000	
Misc.	15,000	
IRC Restricted	245,000	
		11,997,300



**Sudan**

UNHCR	698,300
IRC Restricted	
Stichting Vluchteling	204,400
PEW	112,200
BAND AID	45,100
Refugees International	16,500
UMCOR	82,000
IRC Unrestricted	193,200

1,351,700

**Thailand**

UNHCR	940,900
United Nations	70,800
UNBRO	598,700
U.S. Govt.	
U.S. Dept. of State	469,800
IRC Restricted	
Ford Fdn.	15,700
Stichting Vluchteling	199,100
Lutheran World Relief	54,100
Refugees International	52,600
Liechtenstein Red Cross	10,200
IRC Unrestricted	86,500

2,498,400

**U.S. Domestic Resettlement**

U.S. Govt.	
Dept. of State	4,200,000
HHS	400,000
State Grant	625,000
IRC Restricted	
Philanthropic Fund	60,000
Local Income	70,000
IRC Unrestricted	370,000

5,725,000

**Europe**

U.S. Govt.	
Dept. of State	1,394,000
USAID	6,000
UNHCR	20,000
IRC Restricted Funds	
Eigertrager Verein	35,000
Philanthropic Fund	30,000
IRC Unrestricted	255,000

1,740,000

**JVA/RRO**

U.S. Govt.	3,370,200
------------	-----------

3,370,200

**General Expenses**

Interest Income,	
ICM loan repayments	600,000
Indirect Costs	200,000
IRC Unrestricted	1,147,200

1,947,200

**Overseas Programs**

IRC Unrestricted	285,900
------------------	---------

285,900

Sub-Total

32,517,600

Hong Kong

15,000

Medical Aid to Poland

708,000

Citizens Commission

73,000

SRA

243,000

Pension Fund

210,000

GRAND TOTAL

33,766,600



Budget Notes  
Sources of Income

<u>Program</u>	<u>U.S. Govt.</u>	<u>United Nations</u>	<u>IRC</u> <u>Private</u> <u>Restricted</u>	<u>IRC</u> <u>Private</u> <u>Unrestricted</u>	<u>Total</u>
Costa Rica	-	1,303,900	-	48,000	1,351,900
El Salvador	926,000	-	-	155,000	1,081,000
Malawi	135,800	538,400	339,100	155,700	1,169,000
Pakistan	7,033,600	1,148,700	3,572,000	245,000	11,999,300
Sudan	-	693,300	460,200	193,200	1,351,700
Thailand	469,800	1,510,400	331,700	36,500	2,498,400
Hong Kong	-	-	15,000	-	15,000
JVA/RR0	3,370,200	-	-	-	3,370,200
Domestic Resettlement	5,225,000	-	130,000	370,000	5,725,000
Europe	1,400,000	20,000	65,000	255,000	1,740,000
Medical Assistance to Poland	-	-	703,000	-	703,000
Citizens Commission	-	-	73,000	-	73,000
Spanish Refugee Aid	-	-	243,000	-	243,000
Overseas Programs	-	-	-	235,900	235,900
General Expenses	200,000	-	600,000	1,147,200	1,947,200
Pension	26,000	-	-	184,000	210,000
Total	18,786,400	5,317,700	6,537,000	3,125,500	33,766,600



JAN 12 1989

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

(212) 679-0010

To: Executive Committee

Date: January 11, 1989

From: Al Kastner

Subject: Fund Raising Report: 1988

Attached is the U.S. fund-raising report for the final-quarter of 1988, with cumulative results for the full year. It does not include funds from private sources such as Spanish Refugee Aid, the American Jewish Philanthropic Fund, refugee repayments, interest income, nor grants from European foundations earmarked for overseas programs.

Income of \$2,909,000 during 1988 was \$91,000 short of the budgeted goal of \$3,000,000, and \$492,000 under the \$3,401,000 raised in 1987. Bequests in 1987 amounted to \$551,000 - more by \$405,000 than in 1988 - and \$265,000 was netted from the 1987 Freedom Award Dinner honoring John Whitehead.

There were, however, substantial gains during 1988 in three major sources of funds. 1) We had a record direct mail year: contributions of \$1,432,000 were \$83,000 higher than in 1987. 2) Foundation grants of \$632,000 exceeded those in 1987 by \$135,000. 3) Gifts from Board members, totaling \$166,000, were more than double those in 1987. On the other hand, grants from corporations of \$185,000 were \$27,000 under 1987, a reflection of diminishing corporate support for overseas relief in favor of domestic causes.

A grant agreement with The Ford Foundation for \$86,000, earmarked for the Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees, was signed in late December. The funds are expected soon and will be included in the 1989 first-quarter report.

A. K.

AK:jc

# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE FUND RAISING REPORT

	<u>Oct. 1 - Dec. 31, 1988</u>		<u>Total Returns - Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 1988</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u># Returns</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u># Mailed</u>	<u># Returns</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1. <u>Direct Mail</u>					
a. Spring Mailings: IRC list (1988)	259	\$ 14,978.00	72,772	7,235	\$ 543,704.26
b. Spring Mailings: Outside lists (1988)	202	7,860.75	480,000	2,494	95,990.39
c. Fall Mailings: IRC list (1988)	1,617	131,936.87	60,739	3,567	241,754.41
d. Fall Mailings: Outside lists (1988) *	1,673	51,778.61	533,139	1,673	51,778.61
e. Christmas Mailings: IRC list (1988)	3,000	199,168.57	60,421	3,000	199,168.57
f. Christmas Mailings: Outside lists (1988)	1,627	46,845.93	389,678	1,627	46,845.93
g. 1987 Mailings	57	3,332.60	--	3,122	252,923.71
<b>DIRECT MAIL TOTALS</b>	<b>8,435</b>	<b>\$455,901.33</b>	<b>1,596,749</b>	<b>22,718</b>	<b>\$1,432,165.88</b>
2. Board of Directors		\$ 92,621			\$ 166,173
3. Corporations		54,300			185,550
4. Foundations		226,995			632,513
5. Organizations (Federal campaign, unions, churches, schools, etc.)		23,520			108,537
6. Media/Publicity/Special gifts		66,378			124,278
7. Special Events & Art Project		--			112,300
8. Bequests		59,965			146,061
9. Miscellaneous		2,000			2,000
<b>GRAND TOTALS</b>		<b>\$981,680</b>			<b>\$2,909,578</b>
					<b>\$1,349,254</b>
					\$ 77,088
					212,500
					497,076
					178,891
					166,232
					367,046
					551,357
					2,000
					\$3,401,444

\* Including American Express test mailing of 100,000 names.

[Fund raising income of Spanish Refugee Aid, a division of IRC, amounting to \$186,942 during 1988, is not reflected in this report.]



International  
Rescue  
Committee Inc.

Annual Report  
1989





## Introduction

In the summer of 1980, a Polish electrician named Lech Walesa joined workers in the Gdansk shipyard in striking against Communist authorities. Within days, he became the founder and head of Solidarity, a non-violent movement that nine years later was to bring freedom to his country. His achievement dramatically influenced the course of events in other East European countries, whose citizens have now replaced dictatorial regimes with non-Communist governments.

On November 16, 1989, in the presence of a large international audience, I had the privilege of presenting the Freedom Award of the International Rescue Committee to Lech Walesa, the Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1983. He thus joined the distinguished roster of individuals honored by IRC over the past 34 years for outstanding service to the cause of human freedom, including Winston Churchill, Lucius D. Clay, Hubert H. Humphrey, Mary P. Lord, George Meany, Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan, John C. Whitehead and Elie Wiesel.

The Freedom Award Dinner was held just two months after the Communist government of Poland — driven by the threat of imminent economic catastrophe — had agreed to the participation of Solidarity in parliamentary elections. The results were spectacular: Solidarity won 99% of the Senate seats. In the the lower house, Solidarity was permitted to run for one-third of the seats and won them all. Solidarity then joined forces with two small parties to form the first non-Communist government of Poland in recent decades. Lech Walesa declined the post of Prime Minister, but continued to head Solidarity. He had succeeded, after years of persistent struggle and frequent jail terms, in bringing democracy to Poland.

Among those paying tribute to Lech Walesa at the Freedom Award Dinner was John C. Whitehead, former Deputy Secretary of State and a leading member of the IRC Board of Directors. In responding to him Lech Walesa said: "I want to express my gratitude to Mr. Whitehead, whose assistance was priceless during our most difficult days. It is hard to say how the situation may have been different if, at the time of his visit to Warsaw, Mr. Whitehead hadn't forced the Communist authorities to 'unlock' me. He made a political act happen that was very important to Solidarity afterwards.

He added: "Solidarity and I tried to prevent the reasons why people



*The 1989 Freedom Award of the International Rescue Committee was presented to Lech Walesa by John C. Whitehead, former IRC President and Deputy Secretary of State (right), and Leo Cherne, the Chairman of IRC since 1951 (left).*

become refugees. What we tried was to insure that everybody feels good about his country and his home. I thank all of you for coming here and for supporting the IRC."

President George Bush said in a special message:

"I am delighted to send my warmest greetings to all those gathered in New York City as the International Rescue Committee presents its Freedom Award to Lech Walesa. As one who has lived without liberty, Lech Walesa knows well how precious it truly is. His experience has also taught him that freedom has a price. Its price is vigilance, courage, and sacrifice. All who cherish freedom owe him a debt of gratitude for the sacrifices he had made in the defense of liberty and human rights. It is fitting that he receive this tribute from an organization that shares his devotion to human rights and his commitment to helping others.

The words on the Freedom Award presented to Lech Walesa read:

"For extraordinary service and inspirational leadership in the cause of human freedom."

Leo Cherne  
Chairman

## Afghan Refugees

It was widely expected that the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989 would be followed by the gradual return of the refugees who had fled to Pakistan. But this expectation was not to be realized. Continued fighting between Soviet-backed armies and the Afghans who opposed them compelled an additional 80,000 people to flee to Pakistan, where they joined the 3.2 million refugees already there. Very few were able to return safely to their country, devastated by ten years of relentless warfare.

To meet the growing needs of the refugees in desolate border camps of the North West Frontier Province, the International Rescue Committee during 1989 further expanded its network of relief, medical, public health, child care, education and self-help programs started a decade ago. A critical concern was the survival of sick, wounded and hungry Afghans; more than 70% are women and children, thousands of them widows and orphans.

IRC's work in Pakistan started in 1980 with two medical teams. By the end of 1989, more than 250,000 uprooted Afghans were being served at IRC clinics in 13 camps — one of them was opened in September for thousands of new refugees. In addition, IRC operates Maternal & Child Health Centers in each camp, a referral service to special hospitals for seriously ill people, and an extensive immunization program. A laboratory and dental clinic serve many of the refugees, and extensive public health and sanitation projects carry IRC's work into distant reaches of the settlements. A Community Health Worker Program has trained thousands of Afghans to participate in the work, and a Health Education Resource Center produces and distributes materials for all voluntary agencies working in camps.

The crucial need for IRC's medical services was illustrated in 1989 by two statistics. More than 500,000 visits by Afghan patients of all ages were recorded at the IRC clinics, and the number of visits by children under five to the Maternal & Child Health Centers exceeded 250,000.

To cope with the pervasive problem of malnutrition and high mortality rates, IRC combines special feeding for the children with nutrition education for mothers and constant camp rounds by community health workers. The plight of the children, and their critical needs, was indicated in a report published in The Christian Science Monitor on January 9,



1990. Written at the Mounda refugee camp, the report stated: "Afghan children lead the world in suffering from a lack of food, drinking water, schooling, immunization and high mortality rate among mothers."

A vital component of IRC activities in Pakistan is education, especially for the Afghan children and teenagers trapped in the camps. The teachers are refugees trained by IRC, and refugees build the schools for IRC and other agencies, print the textbooks and produce a variety of teaching materials. IRC also operates a School of the Sciences; a Science/Technology Institute; a high school for young Afghan women in Peshawar (the only school of its kind, with a student enrollment during 1989 of 158); a teacher-training program on the elementary, secondary school and college levels; an English-language training curriculum and journalism classes. A community education program in 1989 provided educational support for 18,000 refugee boys and girls.

IRC's educational work is important not only for refugees in the camps at this time — it will be vital to them, too, when they return to Afghanistan to rebuild their shattered country. To this end, IRC has also established a public administration curriculum to lay the groundwork for refugees to serve as future managers and technicians. More than 1,000 refugees have graduated from this program; the skills they learn will be vital to the future of a free Afghanistan.

The same principle — helping the refugees in the camps while building for the future — is carried out through a network of IRC "self-reliance" programs. Through projects in the fields of agriculture, construction, handicrafts and small business, this work has enabled more than 20,000 refugee families to move toward self-sufficiency. Construction teams have built scores of camp clinics, schools, roads and irrigation facilities. Refugee farmers have developed income-generating projects such as poultry-raising, fruit tree cultivation, vegetable gardening and reforestation. Women earn income through handicraft projects — embroidery, weaving, tailoring. A printing press employing more than 70 refugees is fully supported by its sales, and IRC hopes to move the enterprise into Afghanistan when possible.

At the request of the United Nations, IRC is training thousands of the refugees in a "mine-awareness" program involving the detection and avoidance of deadly mines inside Afghanistan. Estimates on the number of mines strewn around the countryside run as high as 30 million.

Looking ahead to the return of refugees, IRC has organized "cross-

border” teams of refugees to help rebuild the shattered infrastructure in 19 districts in Afghanistan, primarily through the repairing of roads, farms and irrigation systems. Food and basic relief supplies are being provided for people still living in those areas.

A report from Kabul indicates the difficulties that will be faced by the refugees as they return to Afghanistan. On December 17, 1989, The New York Times stated: “Each day, new victims have joined the 1.3 million civilians estimated to have died since the Communists seized power in 1978. Hospitals are filled to the corridors with civilian wounded, and war widows and children beg in every bazaar. On many streets, men, women, and children can be seen hopping on homemade crutches, limbless from the blasts of war.”

During the early months of 1990, the International Rescue Committee further intensified its efforts to alleviate the plight of the refugees in Pakistan, to strengthen their ability to support themselves in the camps, and to provide the training and skills that will be essential to them in rebuilding their lives on their return to Afghanistan. In March, a delegation from the Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees visited Pakistan for the third time since May 1988. The report of the Commission — which was funded with the assistance of the International Rescue Committee with financial support from The Ford Foundation — included the following key recommendations:

1. The United States should maintain its present level of commitment of humanitarian aid to the Afghans.
2. In the near term, repatriation of Afghan refugees should be approached on a sector-by-sector basis. Refugees should be encouraged to return to areas free of land mines and where self-sufficiency can be realized.
3. To this end, efforts to reconstruct and rehabilitate areas in Afghanistan should be encouraged, while at the same time the refugees in Pakistan and Iran need to be sustained in their exile and trained for return.
4. The Office of the United Nations Coordinator should be strengthened to help meet these objectives. In particular, effective de-mining programs must be implemented on a sector basis, with specific time frames for completion.

## **Indochinese Refugees**

By the end of September 1989 all Vietnamese invading forces in Cambodia had been withdrawn, arousing hope that a political settle-



ment might give the beleaguered country its first chance since 1975 to move toward a peaceful future. But a settlement has not been reached and fighting continues inside Cambodia.

While the battles rage, 300,000 Cambodian refugees languish along the Thailand border, with thousands more at the nearby Khao-I-Dang Holding Center. Their daily lives are molded by the hopes and fears about the future. Mul Bun Han, a 35-year old Cambodian, understands too well his precarious existence as a refugee in Thailand. He fled from Cambodia in 1979 to escape the Khmer Rouge and the ensuing invasion of the Vietnamese, and sought safety in border camps with his wife.

In 1984, Han fell victim to an exploding hand grenade during one of the frequent attacks on the camps — he was blinded and lost one leg. With his wife and a newborn son, Han was moved to Khao-I-Dang, where he entered classes at the International Rescue Committee's Special School for the Handicapped. Han learned to read and write Braille, and then became actively involved in the development of new Braille books for other blind refugees. He prays for peace in his homeland and the chance to have his son grow up outside the camp's barbed wire fences.

Elsewhere in Thailand, 80,000 Laotian and 15,000 Vietnamese refugees similarly live with fear and anxiety — the only constants for those who risked everything to find asylum. It was in 1976 that the International Rescue Committee started working in Thailand to provide life-sustaining assistance to the Indochinese refugees. Over the years, the work has evolved from emergency medical care to projects offering alternatives to the brutal monotony of exile. IRC has responded to the changing needs of the uprooted Indochinese with expanded training and self-help programs, and has increased the role of refugees in carrying out the work. Thousands of refugees have received training as medical assistants, public health educators, teachers, technicians, artists, mechanics, administrators and community sanitarians.

During 1989 IRC worked in eight refugee camps: Khao-I-Dang, Site II, Site B and Ban Thad on the Thai-Cambodian border; and at Ban Napho, Ban Vinai, Chiang Kham and Ban Nong Saeng along the Laotian border. In Khao-I-Dang, where IRC has been the leading voluntary agency since the camp opened in 1979, approximately 12,000 refugees remained in 1989 out of a population which at one time reached 140,000 Cambodians. Many have been resettled abroad, but those who remain have been told they must eventually return to Cambodia — a



goal that is still elusive. Meanwhile, there are many more victims like Mul Bun Han who require the medical and educational services offered by IRC.

The Special School for the Handicapped, part of IRC's comprehensive education program in Khao-I-Dang, offers Braille and sign language classes for the Cambodians, and in 1989 provided primary education to 50 disabled students. An "infant stimulation" program serves handicapped preschoolers who require special care and treatment. At Site II, more than 430 children and adults attend a Special School and Infant Stimulation program. Over 200 refugee teachers have been trained to assist those who are disabled.

IRC also continued to provide preschool, primary, secondary and adult literacy education to approximately 5,000 students in Khao-I-Dang, and to 1,500 students in Ban Thad. The program includes teacher training, textbook development, school and community libraries, recreational activities, cultural activities and English language training for translators and interpreters in other camp activities. A Printing Project was expanded into Site II and Site B during 1989 and distributed more than 30,000 textbooks each month to Cambodian students.

The IRC clinic at Khao-I-Dang recorded an average of 2,000 patient visits a month throughout 1989. A laboratory served all medical programs; public health workers provided health education in all the schools; IRC-trained community health workers carried out immunization projects as well as vital outreach work. Refugees serving as medical aides and paramedics were given special courses in nursing, basic health care, nutrition, midwifery and laboratory technician training. Sanitation activities were closely coordinated with the overall public health program to ensure a clean environment. IRC also continued its role as medical coordinator for all voluntary agencies in Khao-I-Dang.

In northern Thailand, public health, education, sanitation and construction teams served a population of more than 70,000 refugees from Laos at the Chiang Kham, Ban Napho, Ban Vinai and Ban Nong Saen camps. In Chiang Kham, IRC also provided programs in technical skills development (welding, carpentry, engine repair, sewing, weaving, electricity), traditional medicine, public health outreach as well as treatment and rehabilitation for opium dependence. As with IRC programs along the border, emphasis on training and self-reliance was increased.

Although the hope of returning home remained unfulfilled for the Indochinese refugees, IRC intensified its effort of providing opportuni-

ties that strengthen the refugees' spirits and self-reliance in preparation for the day they may return home. A day when those like Mul Bun Han will finally realize their quest for freedom and safety, and will be able to offer their young children a brighter future.



During 1989, IRC staff in Thailand continued to interview, document and process all Indochinese refugees in Thailand who seek admission to the United States. This Joint Voluntary Agency Program, which serves all American resettlement agencies, was started in 1978 at the request of the State Department and operates in conjunction with the American Embassy Refugee Section in Bangkok. A similar program is carried out by the International Rescue Committee in the Sudan for Ethiopian refugees.

### **Burmese Refugees**

"Hailed as fighters for democracy when they fled the Burmese military crackdown, the students who remain in this unforgiving jungle near the Thai border have too little to eat and not enough medicine to treat endemic malaria. Of the 2,000 students who remain on the border, at least 80% have had malaria, many of them numerous times, and some have died, while malnutrition, diarrhea and pneumonia are common." (The New York Times, June 25, 1989.)

In December 1989, IRC initiated a malaria control program for Burmese students trapped in makeshift camps along the Thai-Burmese border. In addition to shortages of food and medical supplies, the students have had to withstand attacks by the Burmese military forces determined to uproot them. Their situation is precarious with little or no help from the outside.

The malaria program assists students in setting up simple laboratories to diagnose malaria, and provides mosquito nets and medicines for prevention and treatment. IRC staff members from the Thai-Cambodian border travel to these camps frequently to advise on basic sanitation and public health projects.



## Hong Kong

Nguyen Hoeang Yen, 23 years old, lives in a Detention Center in Hong Kong crowded with thousands of other Vietnamese boat people. She arrived about a year ago, just weeks after government authorities imposed a harsh "screening process" that will determine whether or not she has a claim to refugee status. If she is rejected, the government may well force her to return to Vietnam. "I would rather die than go back to Vietnam" she says repeatedly.

In December 1989, the number of Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong exceeded 57,000. Of that total, 48,000 had arrived since June 1988. All will face the screening process that will decide whether or not they will be classified as refugees. After risking their lives to reach Hong Kong, most of them may be forced back to Vietnam, where they may be subject to severe punishment for leaving "without permission."

The International Rescue Committee began its work in Hong Kong almost thirty years ago when thousands of Chinese started fleeing from the Mainland. Since 1975, when South Vietnam fell to Hanoi, IRC has assisted many Vietnamese boat refugees in Hong Kong. During 1989, the number of new arrivals — an average of 3,000 a month — doubled over the previous year. Their needs were compelling.

IRC collaborated with three indigenous voluntary agencies in Hong Kong to make life more bearable for the boat people in the camps. The work concentrated on the urgent needs of the children — their precarious health in particular — but also included educational and recreational activities, and sanitation training for the adults.

Conditions in the camps are deplorable. In January 1990, Liv Ullmann, a Vice President of IRC, went to Hong Kong with a delegation from the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. Her report included the following passage: "Barbed wire cities, thousands upon thousands of terrified people. Men, women and children crammed on top of each other, stacked together on shelves often three levels high. People stacked like spoons in a drawer in concentration camp-like conditions."

It is likely that in the spring of 1990, when the waters are calm, many more Vietnamese in their small boats will risk their lives to reach Hong Kong. At the same time, Nguyen Hoeang Yen might be put on an airplane to be flown back, against her will, to Vietnam.



## African Refugees

The Sudan is a country under siege. Engulfed in a civil war which has displaced over two million of its own citizens, it continues to be host to the second largest refugee population in Africa — 700,000 men, women and children who have fled from war and hunger in neighboring Ethiopia. Desperate shortages of food, medical supplies and fuel severely tax relief efforts throughout the country.

In 1989, the International Rescue Committee entered its tenth year in Sudan. In addition to its work with 40,000 Ethiopian refugees in the eastern region, IRC expanded its efforts to Kordofan Province in the central region where, since early 1989, tens of thousands of displaced Sudanese from the south have found refuge from a protracted and increasingly violent civil war that has threatened the very survival of the Dinka, Nuer and other groups.

IRC's initial emergency efforts in Kordofan were focused on stabilizing the precarious health of nearly 20,000 displaced Sudanese in camps near the town of En Naheed, and on a primary health care and training program. An IRC mobile clinic witnessed a drop in patient visits from 1,800 per week in September to 400 in November as health conditions were improved. Ten refugee workers have been trained to conduct daily rounds to visit the sick and identify critical cases. A supplementary feeding center was serving more than 300 children by December 1989. An IRC sanitation program monitors water quality, assists in latrine construction and implements a major project to relocate thousands of refugees to a site that will provide a more healthful environment and allow for adequate vector and garbage control.

IRC's work in the eastern region for Ethiopian refugees — most of them from the war-torn provinces of Eritrea and Tigray — is concentrated in six settlements: Tawawa, Abu Rakham, Tenedba, Wad Awad, Mufaza and Hawata. Health workers trained by IRC are responsible for out-patient clinics that provide the only care available to 15,000 refugees and equal numbers of Sudanese villagers. With the increasing independence of the clinic staffs, IRC expatriates are concentrating their efforts on training refugees in disease prevention.

A significant step in IRC's goal of refugee self-sufficiency came in 1989 when, after several years of negotiation with the Sudanese Ministry of Health, all IRC-trained refugee sanitarians received government certification that will allow them to take over the management of settle-

ment sanitation programs in 1990. IRC's expanding Health Education Resource Center produced thousands of teaching aids, from colorful posters that emphasize messages for children and illiterate adults to translations of primary health care texts for distribution throughout the Sudan.

There is no end in sight to the civil wars, nor to the famines which devastate the people of Ethiopia and the Sudan. It is expected that by mid-1990, the Eritreans and Tigrayans will experience a famine far worse than the one which captured world attention in 1984, possibly leading to an even greater refugee flow to the Sudan.



Refugees from Mozambique continue to arrive in Malawi on foot at the rate of 13,000 each month. Sick, tired, and often alone, they seek shelter among the villages and settlements. Since 1986, Malawi, the sixth poorest country in the world, has received nearly 850,000 Mozambicans who have fled from their war-torn country.

Two years ago, IRC sent four nurses to Malawi to begin an emergency public health and training program to combat life-threatening outbreaks of measles, meningitis and amoebic dysentery among the Mozambican refugees. In 1989, IRC had 17 nurses, doctors and sanitarians working alongside 40 Malawian staff members and 300 Malawian and refugee volunteers. They provided medical care to 230,000 refugees in Lilongwe, Dedza and Mangochi Districts. The programs extended to the training of community health volunteers, sanitation projects, mobile clinics for immunizations and therapeutic and special feeding for malnourished children.

IRC responded in 1989 to an alarming increase in malnutrition deaths among children under five years old with the construction of seven feeding centers. By November the average enrollment at three centers in Dedza District reached 1,780 children. IRC-trained health volunteers are responsible for follow-up and monitoring of all children at risk. In the Lilongwe District, IRC mobile health clinics achieved nearly 85% immunization coverage among young children.

The ability of IRC health volunteers to travel to remote areas and isolated villages became especially critical in 1989 when sporadic cholera outbreaks threatened refugee populations. An emergency two-day workshop was held for Malawian and Mozambican volunteers to





*A printing press sponsored by IRC in Pakistan is one of the many "self-reliance" projects enabling thousands of Afghan refugees to support themselves and their families.*



*Among IRC medical facilities for Afghan refugees are 13 child care centers for sick and malnourished boys and girls. Most of the 3.2 million Afghans in the border camps of Pakistan are women and children.*



*Cambodian children attend IRC schools in refugee camps along the Thailand border. Educational, medical and self-help programs also serve refugees who have fled to Thailand from Vietnam and Laos.*

*In the Sudan, refugees from Ethiopia gather outside an IRC clinic which is staffed largely by refugees trained by IRC. In Malawi also, medical teams help refugees from Mozambique to survive. More than 700,000 Ethiopian refugees are crowded into Sudanese camps, and 850,000 Mozambicans have fled to Malawi.*





*IRC provides special feeding programs and health care in El Salvador for children uprooted by ten years of civil war. Well over 500,000 Salvadorans are displaced from their homes and communities.*



*Thousands of children are among the Vietnamese boat people confined to refugee detention centers in Hong Kong. Health, education and recreation programs supported by the International Rescue Committee are helping to make their lives more bearable.*



*A caseworker interviews a newly arrived Indochinese family at one of IRC's 16 refugee resettlement offices in the United States. During 1989, IRC helped more than 10,000 refugees from 24 countries to start new lives in freedom.*



*A Cambodian boy is examined at an IRC refugee clinic in Thailand.*

address cholera preparedness and malnutrition. Sanitation workers carried out vigorous health education, water chlorination and monitoring projects. IRC clinics in Malawi received an average of 1,600 patients every month who suffered from malaria and other diseases.

In the continuing effort to deal with the child mortality crisis, IRC started plans in 1990 for the construction of five additional feeding centers for Mozambican children under five. The centers will include facilities for immunization and dispensary services at each of the locations.

## **Latin American Refugees**

El Salvador has endured ten years of civil conflict. During that time, over 70,000 people have been killed and over 500,000 — more than 10% of the country's population — have been uprooted from their homes and communities. IRC began its work five years ago with displaced Salvadorans — the “desplazados” — and during 1989 IRC teams continued to operate mobile medical clinics, to train public health volunteers and offer self-help programs in agriculture and gardening. IRC clinics in 15 communities recorded over 37,000 visits from patients, half of them children under five years old.

A major objective of IRC's work has been to assist Salvadorans wishing to integrate permanently in the areas where they have taken refuge. To achieve that goal, IRC has developed a network of programs: the construction of permanent housing, the repair of basic community infrastructure, improved sanitation, small agricultural and animal husbandry projects, nutritional and medical care for mothers and children in particular. Education and training have been vital to the success of the work which is being done in 35 communities. At the end of 1989, 750 new houses had been built or were under construction.

During the escalation of the civil war in November 1989, IRC's ongoing activities were interrupted and the staff devoted themselves to emergency aid for victims of the conflict. Assistance included deployment of three mobile medical clinics to areas in greatest need. Basic family hygiene packets, disinfectants, cleaning implements, sleeping mats, water containers, wood for cooking and materials for temporary shelters were distributed widely by the mobile clinics. This essential work continued into 1990. A passage from a report by a member of the IRC Board of Directors, who accompanied a delegation to the war-



stricken areas in March 1990, indicated the severity of the problems:

"Despite having visited El Salvador for over 35 years," she said, "I found the present state to be both shocking and sad. The poverty is compounded by the destruction during the November 1989 offensive. Misery is etched in the faces of the Salvadoran people, especially the children. As our plane departed, I realized that during my trip I never saw anyone smile."



During 1989, IRC continued the work started six years ago to help Nicaraguan refugees to support themselves through income-generating activities. Some 5,500 refugees participated in the programs which involve the cultivation of crops such as fruits, vegetables and sugar, and the provision of goods and services needed in the camps. The goal is to enable those refugees who cannot return home to become integrated into Costa Rican life. In addition, schools for refugee children and literacy classes for adults were conducted by IRC, and mobile clinics provided medical care and training in public health.

The work in Costa Rica is carried out in the Achiote, Tilaran and Playa Blanca communities. In January 1990, IRC assumed full managerial responsibility in the latter two sites. The Playa Blanca project involves 350 refugees of various Nicaraguan origins: Misquito Indians, Atlantic Coast Blacks and Ladinos; this refugee farming community has been closely tied into the Costa Rican economy.

### **Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children**

Of the more than 14 million refugees worldwide, 80% — eleven million — are women and children. Yet, their voices are not sufficiently heard nor their urgent needs met. Persecution, war and famine are critical realities for most of the world's displaced, and the women and children in exile are the most vulnerable of them.

The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children was founded in 1989 by three members of the IRC Board of Directors: Catherine O'Neill, Liv Ullmann and Vera Blinken. The goal of the Women's Commission is to create greater awareness of the plight of



refugees, and to make specific recommendations enabling refugee women to influence decisions affecting their daily lives. During 1989, the Commission sent delegations to Pakistan, Thailand and Malawi, and to Geneva to meet with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In January 1990, a delegation went to Hong Kong.

In Pakistan, Afghan women asked Commission members for a center of their own to offer skills training, literacy education and care for women who are especially unprotected. The Commission raised the necessary funds to begin the program. Now, more than 200 women are attending daily courses at the Afghan Women's Center.

In Hong Kong, the delegation led by Liv Ullmann and Patricia Derian, former Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs, visited the detention camps for Vietnamese boat people. The purpose of the mission was "to explore the range of options and suggestions put forth by all parties, and in a non-political context make recommendations which address the situation in a more humane context than is presently the case." The New York Times quoted a Commission member's description of conditions at the camps: "People are warehoused, stacked in living quarters that are totally inhuman."

Each delegation of the Women's Commission has submitted reports with specific recommendations to governments and international organizations. Commission members have received extensive press coverage, have been interviewed on television and radio programs, testified before Congress and have received many invitations to address university students, human rights and community groups.

## **Refugee Programs in Europe**

The five offices of the International Rescue Committee in Western Europe provided extensive relief and resettlement services during 1989 for thousands of refugees from Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and many repressive countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. The IRC offices (in Madrid, Munich, Paris, Rome and Vienna) registered more than 4,500 refugees seeking admission to the United States, and assisted many more to go to other free countries.

The European offices were also responsible for preparing the resettlement to the U.S. of 2,253 refugees who had registered with IRC prior to 1989. Most of them had fled from the repressive Communist regimes of

Eastern Europe, and several hundred were Christians, Jews, Moslems and Baha'is who had escaped from Iran. Generous grants from the American Jewish Philanthropic Fund provided important support for Soviet and East European refugees in both Europe and the United States.

During 1989 — until the people of Czechoslovakia achieved their freedom — the Communist government continued its harsh repression of the dissident human rights movement, Charter 77. Over the summer of 1989, on the 21st anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, several hundred dissidents who demonstrated for political and religious freedom were attacked and jailed. In December, Czechoslovakian exiles in Austria urgently requested printing equipment to send to human rights activists in several cities of their country. IRC honored their request.

The dramatic developments in the Soviet Union, and the emergence of post-Communist states in Eastern Europe, will alter the refugee composition during 1990. The impact of the changes began to be felt toward the end of 1989, when most of the Polish and Hungarian refugees in Europe were already being denied admission to the United States as refugees. It became likely, in early 1990, that similar measures would be enforced in regard to Czechoslovaks, and possibly Romanians and Bulgarians.

There were an unprecedented number of departures during 1989 from the Soviet Union, mainly Jews and Evangelical Christians, and IRC offices in Europe assisted many of them. The U.S. government, in an effort to control refugee admissions, instituted a new processing system: starting in October 1989, Soviet citizens wishing to be admitted as refugees had to apply to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and be interviewed there by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. If approved, the refugees will depart directly from the Soviet Union. Preference will be given to people who have traditionally been subject to religious persecution, as well as nationals of minority groups who may be the victims of local persecution and violence.

## **Spanish Refugee Aid**

Spanish Refugee Aid (SRA) was organized in 1953 to aid people who had fled to France from Spain when the Civil War ended in 1939. More than 5,000 exiles and family members have been helped through relief, medical, educational and other human services. In 1984, SRA became a



self-supporting division of the International Rescue Committee, closely collaborating with a Spanish committee, formed in Madrid, Amigos de los Antiguos Refugiados Espanoles (AARE). In 1989, the AARE contributed almost half the annual budget of SRA, due in large part to their success in obtaining support from the Spanish government's Ministry of Labor.

Almost half the 230 Spanish Republican exiles who were helped by SRA in 1989 are over 70 years old, and 20% of those are in old age homes and hospitals. The small SRA office in Toulouse, staffed by two caseworkers provides direct assistance. The caseworkers regularly visit or speak by phone to those refugees who are unable to travel to the office. This work is indicative of IRC's commitment to needy victims of totalitarianism without regard to their time of flight.

### **Medical Assistance To Poland**

IRC concluded the first of two agreements with the National Endowment for Democracy in October 1987 to administer funds appropriated by Congress for public health assistance inside Poland. It was specified that the program was to be carried out in cooperation with Solidarity, the Polish trade union movement. The leader of Solidarity, Lech Walesa, appointed a steering group for the Solidarity Social Foundation to plan the program. The President of the group is Dr. Zofia Kuratowska, a distinguished Warsaw hematologist who later became Vice Speaker of the democratically elected Polish Senate.

An Advisory Committee consisting of American physicians of Polish heritage, members of the IRC Board of Directors and representatives from the AFL-CIO was organized by IRC. A retired Foreign Service Officer with extensive experience in Polish affairs was retained as consultant for the project. Three ambulances — fully equipped for enroute intensive care — were delivered in the summer of 1988 to the municipal ambulance services in the industrial cities of Wroclaw, Gorzow Wielkopolski and Glogow. The transfer ceremonies provided public credit to Solidarity sponsorship.

Dr. Michael Harbut, a Detroit physician on the Advisory Committee, and William A. Buell, the program's consultant, made five trips to Poland in 1988 and 1989. They developed with the Foundation plans for the establishment of diagnostic centers — independent of the state health service — in such specialties as cardiovascular and pulmonary



diseases, gastroenterology, oncology and hematology. Diagnostic equipment is purchased from American and other western companies.

The formal registration of the Solidarity Social Foundation in March 1989 — after a year of delaying tactics on the part of the Communist government of Poland — enabled the program to move forward. Lech Walesa issued invitations to the opening of a cardiological diagnostic center in Gdansk in mid-February 1990. Diagnostic centers in oncology are in the advanced planning stage for Legnica and Lodz. The Foundation is supporting a Center for Immunological and Environmental Diseases in Krakow. A hematological unit is planned for Warsaw.

In addition to a \$2,000,000 grant from the National Endowment for Democracy, IRC has received \$1,000,000 from The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation. An additional \$1,000,000 Congressional grant is expected during 1990 to strengthen and expand the Polish program.

## **Refugee Resettlement**

All refugees share a common ground: they are uprooted victims of political, religious and racial persecution, as well as people who flee their homelands from the ravages of war and civil conflict. The resettlement of refugees has been a basic concern of the International Rescue Committee since its founding 57 years ago. The goal of resettlement — carried out at 16 locations in the United States, ranging from Boston to San Diego, from Seattle to Miami — is the absorption of each homeless refugee into our country's diverse social, economic and cultural fabric.

Many refugees have experienced violence, imprisonment or loss of loved ones in their homelands, or while in flight. They require special assistance and counseling from IRC caseworkers, as the Cambodian school teacher who reached Los Angeles and whose story was told in the Los Angeles Times:

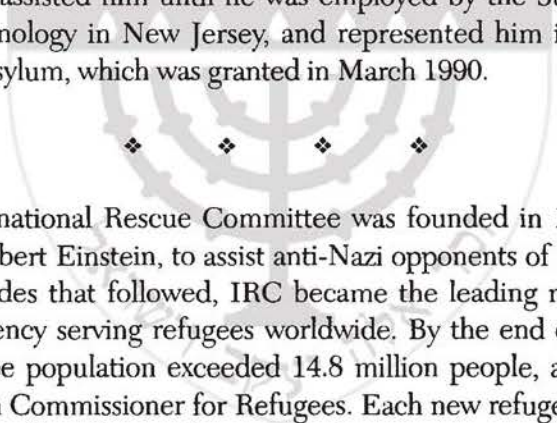
"She watched her once healthy husband die of starvation at the age of 44. She cradled her daughter who was dying of pneumonia. She lost track of her other children when her family was divided by the Khmer Rouge and sent to different villages. Despite years of sending letters to friends and posting signs in refugee camps, she does not know whether her children are dead."

During 1989, more than 10,000 refugees from 24 countries were resettled by IRC in the United States. Some 4,600 of them had escaped

from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos; an additional 1,300 were Amerasian children, many of whom came with family members. The first of several thousand Vietnamese political prisoners being released from Hanoi's "re-education" camps were resettled by IRC in late 1989 — work that will continue through 1990.

Poles accounted for the largest number of refugees from Eastern Europe, followed by Romanians, Soviets, Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, Bulgarians and Albanians. Refugees from Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Iran accounted for almost 1,000 of IRC's total caseload. There were also 464 Cuban political prisoners and family members who came to the U.S. during 1989 under the sponsorship of IRC. Many had spent up to 25 years in Cuban jails, often in solitary confinement and sometimes tortured for their non-violent opposition to the Castro government.

A prominent Russian oceanographer who had risen to the highest levels in the Soviet world of science was among the defectors who asked for IRC's help. In September 1989, Alexander Benilov "jumped" a Soviet research vessel docked in Brooklyn, the day before the ship left the harbor. IRC assisted him until he was employed by the Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey, and represented him in obtaining permanent asylum, which was granted in March 1990.



The International Rescue Committee was founded in 1933, at the request of Albert Einstein, to assist anti-Nazi opponents of Hitler. During the decades that followed, IRC became the leading nonsectarian voluntary agency serving refugees worldwide. By the end of 1989, the world refugee population exceeded 14.8 million people, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Each new refugee emergency motivates offers from volunteers and institutions seeking to help. Consequently, IRC does not maintain large, permanent staffs.

It is this spirit of volunteerism that strengthens the foundation and the work of IRC, which is rooted in the American tradition of helping victims of oppression and war. It also accounts for the ability of IRC to operate at an unusually low financial cost. In 1989, as in every year during the past decade, the combined administrative, management and fund-raising costs have been under 7% of total expenditures. More than 93% of IRC income has gone directly into the refugee work.



## Acknowledgments

The International Rescue Committee was generously supported by many thousands of concerned people in the United States and other countries during 1989. Corporations, unions, foundations, schools, community and human rights groups also provided essential financial assistance, as did private organizations in the Netherlands, Norway, Lichtenstein, Japan, Pakistan, Canada, France and the United Kingdom. The strength of IRC as a voluntary, nonsectarian agency would not be possible without such widespread international public support, and the Committee is deeply grateful to all of its generous donors.

Refugees served by IRC in 1989 were from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. IRC's work for these uprooted people included emergency relief (food, clothing, shelter), medical and health assistance, resettlement, job placement, educational support, self-help programs, child care, family reunion and counseling relating to emigration and asylum problems.

The cooperation and the financial support of governmental and inter-governmental agencies were important to IRC's worldwide effort. Among them were the Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs and the Bureau for Refugee Programs of the Department of State; the Office of Refugee Resettlement of the Department of Health and Human Services; the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID); the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice; the U.S. Information Service; the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other UN groups; the Inter-governmental Committee for Migration; and the European Economic Community (EEC).

IRC programs were coordinated with many private groups, especially the American Council for Voluntary International Action (InterAction) and its Subcommittee for Refugee and Migration Affairs. Citizen groups, educational and medical institutions and other voluntary agencies participated in the refugee programs in many countries. Vital to the strength of IRC's work are the services and skills of individual volunteers, in particular members of the Board of Directors and its Executive Committee, who serve without compensation in the United States and overseas.



## **Financial Report**

[Year Ending December 31, 1989]

The following is a summary of financial operations of the International Rescue Committee for the year 1989, prepared on the basis of an independent audit of IRC's accounts and records by Ernst & Young, and completed on May 31, 1990. The financial report, prepared on an accrual basis, follows the "Standards of Accounting and Financial Reporting for Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations," which are in conformity with the recommendations of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants and approved by the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, Department of State. IRC is classified as a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and is qualified for charitable contributions deductions.

### **CONDENSED STATEMENT OF INCOME**

[Year Ending December 31, 1989]

#### **PUBLIC SUPPORT & REVENUE**

Contributions	\$9,676,413
Combined Federal Employees' Campaign (Net of direct expenses of \$65,589)	134,480
Special events (Net of direct expenses of \$169,344)	422,966
Bequests	100,615
Cooperative agreements and grants	13,676,148
Joint Voluntary Agency programs	2,840,286
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees programs	5,264,416
Interest income	272,539
Custodial fund fees	416,745
Miscellaneous income	3,333
<b>TOTAL PUBLIC SUPPORT &amp; REVENUE</b>	<b>\$32,807,941</b>

*[The complete financial report for 1989, audited by Ernst & Young, is available on request from the International Rescue Committee.]*

## **CONDENSED STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES**

[Year Ending December 31, 1989]

### **PROGRAM SERVICES**

Refugee resettlement in the United States	\$8,127,765
Asian and Near East Programs (Pakistan/Afghanistan, Thailand, Hong Kong, Malaysia)	13,130,026
Latin American Programs (Costa Rica, El Salvador)	2,429,103
Europe (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, Switzerland)	2,967,633
African Programs (Sudan, Malawi, Angola)	3,154,822
<b>TOTAL PROGRAM SERVICES</b>	<b>\$29,809,349</b>

### **SUPPORTING SERVICES**

Management and general expenses	1,417,645
Fund raising expenses	789,193
<b>TOTAL SUPPORTING SERVICES</b>	<b>\$2,206,838</b>

**TOTAL EXPENDITURES** **\$32,016,187**

### **FUND BALANCES (December 31, 1989)**

Unrestricted	\$2,229,954
Restricted	426,335
Property and Equipment	2,456,843
<b>TOTAL FUND BALANCES</b>	<b>\$5,113,132</b>

## Officers

Leo Cherne  
*Chairman*

James C. Strickler, M.D.  
*Chairman, Executive Committee*

Richard M. Hammer  
*Chairman, Finance Committee/Treasurer*

Mrs. Donald M. Blinken  
*Vice President*

Lionel H. Olmer  
*Vice President*

Thomas L. Rhodes  
*Vice President*

Mrs. Lawrence Copley Thaw  
*Vice President*

Liv Ullmann  
*Vice President-International*

Elie Wiesel  
*Vice President-International*

Charles Sternberg  
*Secretary*

Anne Whitehead Crawford  
*General Counsel*

Peter W. Weiss  
*Assistant Treasurer*

Robert P. DeVecchi  
*Executive Director*

Alton Kastner  
*Deputy Director*

H. Roy Williams  
*Deputy Director-Operations*

Barbara Nagorski  
*Deputy Director-Resettlement*

## Board of Directors

Rose Becker  
W. Michael Blumenthal  
Angier Biddle Duke  
Sandra Feldman  
H. William Fitelson  
Tom Gerety  
Herbert G. Graetz  
Morton I. Hamburg  
Mark O. Hatfield  
George F. Hritz  
Tom Kahn  
Francis L. Kellogg  
Irena Kirkland

Henry A. Kissinger  
Tom Lantos  
Ronald S. Lauder  
John LeBoutillier  
Burton J. Lee, M.D.  
Margery Levenstein  
Theodore Li, M.D.  
Winston Lord  
Cecil B. Lyon  
Jay Mazur  
Robin McMillin  
W. Allen Moore  
Peter A. Nathan, M.D.  
Catherine O'Neill  
Claiborne Pell  
Dith Pran  
John Richardson  
John P. Roche  
Felix Rohatyn  
Lionel Rosenblatt  
Isadore M. Scott  
Albert Shanker  
Jacob Sheinkman  
Dolores C. Smithies  
Stephen J. Solarz  
Nancy Starr  
H. Peter Stern  
Norton Stevens  
Julia Taft  
Charles J. Tanenbaum  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Georgia G. Travers  
William J. vanden Heuvel  
Daniel Weiner, M.D.  
Edwin J. Wesely  
John C. Whitehead  
Louis A. Wiesner  
Guy P. Wyser-Pratte

## Members of the Corporation (Board members and the following):

Garret G. Ackerson, Jr.  
Sol C. Chaikin  
Anthony D. Duke  
Mrs. Ralph Ellison  
Jeanne R. Ferst  
Clifford Forster  
Phillip Gordon  
Frances R. Grant  
Leonard Gross  
Joan F. Hamburg  
Richard C. Holbrooke  
Stanley Marcus  
Leonard H. Marks  
Ralph A. Pfeiffer, Jr.  
Mrs. H. Gilbert Smith  
Msgr. Bela Varga  
John Ellis K. Wisner



## **IRC Offices**

ATLANTA  
BOSTON  
COSTA RICA  
DALLAS  
EL SALVADOR  
FRESNO  
GENEVA  
HONG KONG  
LOS ANGELES  
MADRID  
MALAWI  
MIAMI  
MUNICH  
NEW YORK  
PAKISTAN  
PARIS  
ROME  
SACRAMENTO  
SAN DIEGO  
SAN FRANCISCO  
SAN JOSE  
SANTA ANA  
SEATTLE  
STOCKTON  
SUDAN  
THAILAND  
VIENNA  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
WEST NEW YORK, N.J.



INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE  
386 Park Avenue South, New York N.Y. 10016



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

## MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1990

Present for the Committee: Vera Blinken, Margery Levenstein, Dolores Smithies, Nancy Starr, Lee Thaw, Liv Ullmann; Leo Cherne, Charles Sternberg, James Strickler, Charles Tanenbaum, Daniel Weiner, Louis Wiesner, Peter Weiss.

Present by Proxy: Anne Crawford, Georgia Travers, Richard Hammer, Winston Lord, Lionel Olmer, Thomas Rhodes.

Present for the Staff: Helena de Crespo, Margaret Flaherty, Roz Hosenball, Margaret Hussman, Cindy Jensen, Violet Korach, Barbara Nagorski, Linda Pell, Faye Richardson, Miki Ramo, Anna Krupicka, Susan Stark, Grizzel Trelles, Deedee Underhill, Mary Waltermire; Myron Bronstein, Bob Carey, Don Climent, Ray Evans, Marcel Faust, Bob Johnson, Alton Kastner, Radovan Korach, Lieu Thi Dang, Bruce Whipple, James Williams, Roy Williams.

Mr. Cherne opened the meeting at 4:00 p.m. at the Lotos Club. He welcomed the Domestic Resettlement and European Office directors present, and praised their outstanding work and dedication. The quality of the worldwide staff, he noted, reflects the high quality of IRC's staff leadership under Mr. DeVecchi.

Mr. DeVecchi and Barbara Nagorski introduced the European and Resettlement Directors, now in New York for a combined staff meeting. Mr. DeVecchi reported that during the past year IRC resettled more than 10,000 refugees in the U.S.. The European refugee scene is changing radically and State Department's focus is changing. The cost of processing refugees in Europe is escalating and IRC must reevaluate its long-standing role in Europe.

1989 U.S. Fund Raising Report: Mr. Kastner briefly summarized the report already circulated to the Executive Committee, showing U.S. fund-raising income of \$3,660,000, which exceeded the 1988 figure by some \$750,000. He stressed that the 1989 total included a one-time grant of \$500,000 from the Barbara Johnson Foundation, earmarked for Polish Medical Assistance. The two Freedom Award Dinner benefits led by Vera Blinken, Margery Levenstein and other Board members were significant factors in 1989 results. Grants from overseas foundations, especially in Europe, have climbed greatly in recent years, and last year amounted to some \$4,000,000.



Executive Director's Report: Mr. DeVecchi noted that in 1989 the IRC budget should be roughly in balance. This will be the fourth consecutive year of financial stability. The 1990 budget is being worked on and will soon be submitted to the Finance and Executive Committees. He called attention to the worsening plight of Cambodians along the Thai border; a new IRC initiative should be seriously considered. In Europe, the other side of the euphoria resulting from the remarkable developments might well be ethnic and religious conflicts, to which we should be alert. IRC has started helping Burmese refugee students in great need along the Thailand border. Angola has been deemed a disaster area by the U.S. government. USAID has asked IRC to lead a medical mission there to the UNITA controlled areas, where the needs of internally-displaced people are urgent. Roy Williams added that multi-malarial epidemics are ravaging this area, with little medical aid in sight; Dr. Sam Toussie was there a while ago to survey the situation. Mr. Williams presented a recommendation for an emergency mission, to be funded by the AID Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. Action will have to be taken soon, before the rainy season starts. He called attention to a potential problem: the needed medicines would be available only in South Africa, and purchases there might possibly reflect unfavorably on IRC.

Following an extensive discussion on the Angolan proposal, the Executive Committee asked staff to look further into the issue and the problems involved - in consultation, where desirable, with the Medical Advisory Committee - and report back at next meeting.

Cambodian Border: Dr. Strickler reported on his recent two-week visit to the Site 2 camp, the "residence" of 150,000 Khmers which has become a no-man's land. Morale is at a low and violence is increasing. There is no semblance of a community structure, and problems are compounded by the Thai government. The prevalent demoralization has affected the IRC staff which has submitted statement to our Board of Directors. (Copy is attached.)

Leo Cherne thanked Dr. Strickler for undertaking this arduous overseas trip. The Executive Committee requested that a message of appreciation and full support be transmitted to the IRC staff in Thailand in response to their statement. It was also agreed that every possible advocacy effort be made to alleviate the situation. A motion by Dr. Strickler was approved to create an IRC committee to deal with the issue.



Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children: Liv Ullmann reported on her recent trip to Hong Kong with a delegation of Women's Commission members. Conditions in the "Whitehead" camp for Vietnamese boat people were the worst she has seen anywhere. The refugees are being depicted by the biased Hong Kong press as thugs, vermin, depraved. The reality is that they are being de-humanized, and are known only by numbers. Medical aid was nowhere in sight. Mirrors are not permitted, and the refugee screening process is a farce. Sanitation and hygiene is disgraceful. Their treatment, and de-humanization, was compared by Ms. Ullmann to Germany under the Nazis. All attempts to discuss the deplorable situation with Hong Kong authorities met with refusals to acknowledge the truth of the situation, or even its existence.

Ms. Ullmann also spoke of the splitting up of families, with children separated from parents, and lost. She read a poem by a young girl depicting the anguish of the boat people, of their cry for help. She expressed her hope that IRC might establish a clear presence in the camps.

Mr. Cherne and all Executive Committee members praised Ms. Ullmann for the depth and impact of her moving report. Ms. Ullmann has already appeared on national TV shows since returning to New York, and the Women's Commission will continue to speak out against the tragic situation and urge that steps be taken to meet the problems.

Miami: Delores Smithies reported on her three-week stay in Miami and meetings with Hispanic groups. IRC is strong in the area. She believes a fund-raising effort is possible with the support of the Hispanic community. The Miami office, with assistance from New York headquarters, plans to move ahead to develop relations with Latin groups there, with the goal of raising funds. In response to a question, Mr. DeVecchi said that plans are proceeding for a mission to El Salvador to assess IRC's continuing role in the light of conditions there. Mrs. Smithies will again be a member of the IRC delegation.

New Business: Final approval was given to the IRC Mission statement, as amended by the Board of Directors, and circulated.

Mr. Cherne informed the Executive Committee that Mr. Sherwin had submitted his resignation as a Board of Directors member. Following an extensive discussion, the Executive Committee voted to defer action on acceptance of the resignation.

New Business: Regarding accounts being held by Grindlay's Bank in Peshawar, Pakistan: authorization was given to add Mark David Luce as signatory to account #1131364022051, and to delete Steve Segal to all accounts being held with that bank.

Authorization was given to open a U.S. Dollar account under the title of Mine Awareness Program with Myron Bronstein, Robert P. DeVecchi, Thomas L. Yates, Maneerat Wichaiboon and Ulrich Locher, as signatories.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:35 p.m.





อินเทอร์เน็ตแซนแนล เรสคิวก์ คอมมิตตี้

24th November 1989

HEADQUARTERS 386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 TELEX: 237611 IRC UR TEL (212) 679-0010



INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

(212) 679-0010

To: The IRC Field Staff on the  
Thai Cambodian Border

Date: 2/6/1990

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: Cambodian Refugees on the  
Border

Dear Colleagues,

Your petition regarding the living conditions of the thousands of Cambodians living along the Thai-Cambodian border has been received and welcomed by the IRC Board and staff. Your concerns are ours. We appreciate your expressing them so clearly and unequivocally, and assure you that we share your distress.

The IRC Executive Committee will discuss this at its next meeting. It is their intention to form a working group of especially informed and concerned persons to give urgent and systematic attention to this issue, including a possible visit to the area. As you know, the Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children has already focused on the problem and endorsed the concept of a neutral camp.

Our goal would be to educate policy makers about the special needs and basic human rights of this long suffering population. Their individual concerns for the future must not be lost sight of in any political settlement.

Again, let me pass on the Board's thanks for your expression of concern. It has not, I assure you, fallen on deaf ears. Rather, it has struck a responsive chord, for which we are all grateful.

Warm regards,

*Bob DeVecchi*

cc: The IRC Executive Committee



# American Jews must press Bush on refugee policy

NEW YORK — The controversy over the State Department's decision to admit greater numbers of Soviet refugees this year while accepting fewer from Indochina highlights an important but often unappreciated fact: Rescue of Soviet Jews is only one part of an overall U.S. refugee policy that the Jewish community ignores at its peril.

As budgets become tighter, pressures will increase to cut back on refugee programs. Soviet Jews will inevitably be affected. To understand — and counter — this trend, American Jews must play a greater role in shaping overall refugee policy.

Refugee admissions, including Soviets, are governed by the Refugee Act of 1980.

This landmark legislation, which was strongly supported by

**gary rubin**  
GUEST COLUMN



the Jewish community, includes four main sections:

- It brings the definition of a refugee in U.S. law into conformity with international law, namely that anyone who has a legitimate fear of political persecution in his or her home country and manages to escape qualifies as a refugee.

- It sets up government mechanisms for dealing with refugee policy in the State and Health and Human Services departments.

- It establishes a framework for funding refugee programs.
- It sets procedures for admitting refugees to the United States.

It is the latter two provisions that together have created the current controversy.

Annually, according to the Refugee Act, the president must consult with Congress to set the number of refugees to be admitted to the United States in the coming fiscal year.

For fiscal 1989 (October 1988-September 1989), this process resulted in proposed admissions of 94,000 refugees, including 53,000 from Indochina and 24,500 from the Soviet Union, of which about 12,000 were to be Jewish.

Several developments have made these projections unrealistic for this fiscal year.

First, a greater than anticipated number of refugees, including Jews, have applied for exit from the Soviet Union.

American Jews feel great urgency to secure their freedom. No one knows how long the current open atmosphere in the Soviet Union will last. While we have an opportunity to rescue Jews, we need to take advantage of it, even if it means accepting more refugees than originally planned at the start of the fiscal year.

The State Department has struggled to meet this demand for entry. It finally suspended processing Soviet refugees, claiming it had no budget or authority to grant greater than anticipated admissions.

That raised a storm of protest from American Jews. To prevent recurrence of the problem, the department added more

(See RUBIN, Page 34)

## Rubin: Pressure Bush

(Continued from Page 17)

numbers for Soviet admissions by decreasing entry from Indochina.

This also has proved problematic, however.

The Indochinese community in the United States believes it needs its full complement of refugee numbers for this fiscal year. The State Department transferred to Soviet refugees numbers originally planned for a special "orderly departure" program for Vietnamese.

Those who qualify are largely relatives of Indochinese living in the United States and political prisoners who may be let out of harsh detention soon.

The government claims that fewer political prisoners than anticipated have been released so that the planned numbers can be transferred to Soviets.

But Indochinese groups counter that unused prisoner numbers should go to other Vietnamese waiting to enter the United States and that, in any case, it is too early in the fiscal year to project a shortfall in prisoners by year's end.

Recognizing that family relations and political prisoners evoke the same emotional commitment for Indochinese as do refuseniks and

close relatives for Jews, the American Jewish community has largely supported the Indochinese claim.

In any case, transferring numbers from Indochina to the Soviet Union will not meet the present needs of Jewish refugees.

According to current estimates, an adequate response to refugee demand will require an increase of about 20,000 more Soviets admitted than originally planned for this fiscal year.

These numbers are simply not available anywhere within the refugee ceilings set by the administration and Congress for fiscal 1989.

The Refugee Act of 1980 provides that when emergency situations occur, a special mid-year consultation can be held to provide new numbers and funding.

The Jewish community will have to push the Bush administration and Congress to authorize new admissions and money for Soviets or we will not come close to meeting the present challenge.

Underlying the refugee crunch for Soviet Jews, Indochinese and others is the budget gap.

Admitting more refugees would cost more money at a time when we are trying to spend less. As a result, the attempt was made to do anything possible — including transfer from the Indochina quota — in order not to raise refugee admissions.

But in fact, new admissions would not cost that much more. Each additional refugee would mean about \$3,000 in new federal funding. Is this too high a price for securing freedom, especially when it was the U.S. government itself that pressured the Soviet Union to allow more refugees to leave?

Since the prime cause of the current problem is the budget, there will be great pressure to cut back in the future on all refugee admissions.

The result could mean that Jewish, Indochinese, and other refugees would be judged on the basis of how much they will cost than the merits of saving them from persecution.

To prevent that from happening, the Jewish community will have to join with others to protect American refugee policy. This will require greater attention than we have demonstrated in the recent past to broad refugee issues beyond those affecting only Jews.

Gary Rubin is program director of the American Jewish Committee. This column was supplied by Jewish Telegraphic Agency.





**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

February 12, 1990

FINAL NOTICE

TO: Executive Committee

RE: February 21 Meeting

FROM: Robert P. DeVecchi

This is the final notice of the Wednesday, February 21 meeting at 3:45 p.m., at the IRC office, 10th floor, 386 Park Avenue South. Enclosed are the minutes of the January 17 meeting. If you cannot attend the February 21 meeting, please call my office (Helena de Crespo or Lorna Stevens) to designate a proxy. The agenda, as outlined in Leo Cherne's memorandum of February 1, follows:

1. Approval of January 17 minutes.
2. Chairmanship of the Executive Committee. (Leo Cherne)
3. Final report of Ad Hoc Planning Committee. (John Whitehead)
4. The proposed 1990 budget. (Richard Hammer or Peter Weiss)
5. The anti-malaria program in Angola. (Bob DeVecchi)
6. Mission to Pakistan. (Jim Strickler)
7. Cambodian refugees. (Jim Strickler)

8. New business.



# WOMEN'S COMMISSION FOR REFUGEE WOMEN AND CHILDREN

CARE OF INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

TEL. (212) 679-0010 • FAX: (212) 689-3459

## MEETING REPORT

February 14, 1990 -- New York

\*CATHERINE O'NEILL  
Chairwoman

\*PATRICIA YARBERRY ALLEN, M.D.

\*VERA BLINKEN

MEREDITH BROKAW

\*AUDREY P. BYNOE

JANE FENDERSON CABOT

DAWN TENNANT CALABIA

ELLEN J. CHESLER

ELLEN CONRAD

\*BETSY TRIPPE DeVECCHI

SANDRA FELDMAN

MARGARET GROARKE

\*JOAN F. HAMBURG

\*MILLIE HARMON-MEYERS

\*CYNTHIA LAWRENCE HAQ, M.D.

MIMI BLOOMBERG HARMON

LINDA HARTKE

\*TERESA HUGHES

PATRICIA M. HYNES

\*KATHLEEN M. JAKOB

SUSAN JONAS

JURATE KAZICKAS

\*SUSAN LACY

JACQUELINE LEO

\*ANNE LUZZATTO

\*SUSAN FORBES MARTIN

MARY F. McMECHAN

\*MARY B. MULVIHILL

ROSANNE MURPHY

KAREN OLNESS, M.D.

NANCY RUBIN

\*JANE G. SCHALLER, M.D.

\*JILL A. SCHUKER

GAIL SHEEHY

\*DOLORES C. SMITHIES

THE HON. MABEL SMYTHE-HAITH

\*LIV ULLMANN

THE REV. ELIZABETH P. WIESNER

JUNE WILLENZ

DALENA WRIGHT

VIVIAN WYSER-PRATTE

SUSAN STARK  
Staff Director

\*STEERING COMMITTEE

Host:

Meredith Brokaw

Attendance:

General Meeting - 70 people

Steering Committee - 20 people

## SUBJECTS DISCUSSED

### I. Afghan Women's Center Update

Linda Francke discussed her visit to the Afghan Women's Center in Peshawar, Pakistan. The Center was funded from a grant proposal submitted to the National Endowment For Democracy by the Women's Commission and the International Rescue Committee. Ms. Francke described the success and popularity of the Women's Center and the way the Afghan Women have been eagerly signing up for programs. It was reported that the Women's Commission has been notified that USAID has funded the ongoing operations of the Women's Center for \$100,000.

#### Further Action

A delegation from the Women's Commission is being organized to visit the Afghan Refugee operations in Pakistan from May 25-June 3rd. The primary focus of the delegations's visit will be to meet with Afghan women to discuss the programs which need to be put in place to mount a successful repatriation effort. Those interested in joining the delegation please notify Susan Stark within the next few weeks.

### II. Vietnamese Boat People in Hong Kong

Liv Ullmann spoke eloquently about the experiences faced by the Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong. She described the intolerable living conditions in the "detention centers" and the lack of a fair chance for people to prove refugees status. Ms. Ullmann was Co-Chair of the 6-member Women's Commission delegation which visited the area in January. A copy of the delegation's full report is available on request.

### Further Action

The Women's Commission has joined in support of the law suit filed by the Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights against the forced repatriation of the Vietnamese people without adequate screening for refugee status. In addition, the report of the Hong Kong Delegation will be distributed internationally. Requests for the report have arrived from the UN and from the State Department. A meeting will be requested with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The Women's Commission Delegation received great visibility with extensive newspaper and television coverage of their visit. In addition meetings were held following their return, at the State Department and with the National Security Council Staff at the White House. Liv Ullmann will testify before the U.S. Senate on April 3rd at a hearing on "Children of War" which is being organized by Women's Commission member, Courtney Pastorfield.

### III. Southern Africa

Great concern was expressed about the inadequacy of the international relief effort for Southern Africa. Over one million desperately poor Mozambicans have been driven out of their country by war waged by Renamo. Dr. Jane Schaller, the Chief of Pediatrics at Tufts University and the Co-Chair of the Women's Commission Delegation to Malawi in 1989 urged the Commission to keep a concentrated focus on the problems of Southern Africa. Nana Apeadu of UNITAR described the situation of the Mozambicans in Malawi as the most needy she had seen anywhere in the world.

Catherine O'Neill, the Women's Commission Chair, noted that in her recent conversations with Senior State Department Staff concerned with refugee programming, the needs of the Mozambican people were identified as requiring increased public focus, and greater international funding. The current international UN level of relief given by the donor countries is down to 21 dollars per person a year.

### Further Action - URGENT

A mission is being organized to visit Mozambique (assuming all permission can be arranged). It will leave in mid April. It is urgent that you contact Susan Stark immediately if you have an interest in participating. Dr. Schaller is scheduled to Chair the delegation. The immediate focus of the delegation will be to develop Congressional support for increased overseas assistance to these most needy of refugees and dislocated people, and to identify



specific programs in both Mozambique and Malawi which should be developed or expanded by international voluntary agencies. In addition, the Women's Commission voted to join a current effort to increase the U.S. overseas assistance budget and to draft letters making 25 dollars a minimum floor for international support for human subsistence. Sarah Kovner volunteered to undertake a role in arranging meetings with policymakers in Washington to inform them of the urgent needs in Southern Africa.

#### IV. Cambodian Refugees in Thailand

Sheila Rothman of the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons spoke of her recent visit to Thailand. The situation described by the Women's Commission delegation during their visit last June continues unabated. People are virtual prisoners in the UN supported "Border camps".

##### Further Action

The Women's Commission voted to join with coalitions working to establish a neutral site along the Cambodian border and to demilitarize the current situation in the camps. Ms. Rothman spoke of representing the Women's Commission at a recent meeting of the "Coalition to Keep the Khmer Rouge out of Cambodia". The Women's Commission voted to participate in these efforts to the extent they reflect the recommendations of the Women's Commission delegation. In addition, the commission will seek meetings with UN officials in support of a neutral site.

Dalena Wright of Congressman Chet Atkins Office spoke of the film "Year Ten" which had a great public impact when shown on Australia TV. It focuses on the situation along the Cambodian border. Ms. Wright stressed the need to increase public concern about the problem. A group of Women's Commission members volunteered to screen the film and if it reflects the Commissions' concerns, use contacts within the television industry to try to have the film broadcast.

#### V. The UN Commission on the Status of Women

Catherine O'Neill noted that 1990 is the year in which the UN will target the problems of Refugee Women and Children. This will be the primary focus for the UN Conference on the Status of Women to be held in early 1991.



### Further Action

In order to be an active participant in the development of both the U.S. proposals and the International Agenda the Women's Commission will establish a task force to develop papers and to attend international meetings. Please notify Susan Stark if you are interested in being an active part of this year long effort.

## VI. Organizational Business

Functional Committees - Susan Stark spoke of a need to have Functional Committees established to follow up on the many areas of required activity needed to maximize the follow-up and recommendations of Women's Commission Delegations. She is developing a suggested Committee structure and will be in touch with those who have expressed interest. If you haven't filled out the attached form, please do so.

Program Committees - A Program Committee, consisting primarily of those women who have worked in refugee settings has been organized for the purpose of developing and following through with specific programs, ideas and concerns which are the result of delegation recommendations. It was strongly agreed that all delegations need to have a specific commitment to follow up programmatically upon their return.

Public Education - The Women's Commission has received invitations to speak at several universities on refugee issues and before Amnesty International. Various commission members have agreed to speak. In addition, Mary Mulvihill of Fordham University arranged for a 12-minute radio interview on NBC Network Radio and Jackie Leo hosted at Family Circle a breakfast with Liv Ullmann and editors of 10 women's magazines.

### Awards

OEF International has selected Liv Ullmann as Co-Founder of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children to receive their award at their annual luncheon in Washington, D.C. on June 14th. They have invited the Women's Commission to place material about the work of the Commission on all tables and have Commission members sit at each table in order to familiarize the Washington business and professional community with our work.

Next Steering Committee Meeting:

Date: April 25, 1990  
Time: 6:00 P.M.  
Host: Mary Ann Schwalbe  
101 Central Park West  
New York, NY

More information to follow. If you have items  
for the agenda, please notify Susan Stark.



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH •

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016 •

(212) 679-0010

To: Executive Committee

Date: November 14, 1989

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: Berlin

The attached telegram was sent to the Mayor of West Berlin, Walter Momper, with copies to the German Embassy in Washington and to the major press and wire services.

Linda Pell, IRC's Director in Munich, has been in touch with officials of the FRG's Red Cross, the American Embassy in Bonn, the U.S. Mission in West Berlin and the Consul General in Munich. The general response to our offer to be of help has been one of thanks but that there were, at this juncture, no specific needs.

I will keep you advised of any developments.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

*B. DeVecchi*

cc: Al, Barbara, Susan, Bob C., Linda Pell





TX-DDD 1612 EDT, 13-NOV-89  
T307

FREEDOM NETWORK

WRU:

2WPTDF138

GA:HOST

\*

-- GRAPHNET --

GA

::/9FH CABLE

MAYOR WALTER MOMPER  
JOHN F. KENNEDY PLACE  
SENATSKANZLEI 1000  
BERLIN 62, FED. REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

DEAR MR. MAYOR,

AT THIS HISTORIC MOMENT, WHEN THE WALL OF SHAME IS FALLING, WE AT THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE WISH TO EXPRESS OUR SOLIDARITY WITH YOU AND THE CITIZENS OF WEST AND EAST BERLIN. THE HISTORY OF THE IRC HAS BEEN CLOSELY LINKED WITH THAT OF BERLIN FROM THE EARLY 1930S, WHEN EVENTS THERE LED TO THE CREATION OF THE COMMITTEE AT THE INITIATIVE OF ALBERT EINSTEIN. DURING THE PRE-WAR AND WAR YEARS THE COMMITTEE ASSISTED MANY THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES FROM THE NAZIS. ITS OPERATION IN TURKEY WAS HEADED BY ERNEST REUTER. IRC HELPED RAISE PUBLIC AWARENESS ABOUT THE BLOCKADE OF BERLIN AND IN THE REFUGEE CRISIS OF THE 1950S I WENT TO BERLIN IN RESPONSE TO A DIRECT APPEAL OF MAYOR REUTER. HE SUBSEQUENTLY CAME TO THE U.S., UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF IRC, TO RAISE FUNDS AND OBTAIN FOOD SUPPLIES FOR THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN. WILLY BRANDT WAS HONORED BY THE IRC WHICH PRESENTED HIM ITS FREEDOM AWARD. HIS YEARS AS MAYOR OF BERLIN WERE AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR RECOGNITION.

AS WE WITNESS THE CULMINATION OF EFFORTS THAT ARE TURNING BERLIN FROM AN OUTPOST OF FREEDOM TO ITS POWERFUL BEACON, WE WOULD BE DEEPLY GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD COMMUNICATE THIS MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN BY WHATEVER MEANS YOU THINK APPROPRIATE. WE STAND READY TO ASSIST IF OUR PARTICULAR CAPABILITIES WOULD BE OF HELP TO YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN.

---

LEO CHERNE  
CHAIRMAN  
INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE  
386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH  
NEW YORK, NY 10016  
TEL: 212-679-0010  
FAX: 212-689-3450  
TLX: 237611

Bcc: Executive Committee  
NNNNE.....German Embassy, Consulate, UN Mission, Press Corps  
0001.3  
11/13/89 1503  
THEY DISCONNECTED

Elapsed time 00:01:15

PRINTED AT 1614 EDT 13-NOV-89

Louis A. Wiesner  
21 ELLSWORTH AVENUE  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139-1009

April 27, 1990

Dear Marc,

Following up on our brief conversation after the meeting yesterday, here is an updated version of my think-piece on a potential massive outflow of Soviet Jews <sup>and other refugees</sup>. It incorporates the Executive Committee's decision approving Leo's participation in Washington planning. Before the meeting I had sent copies to Leo, Jim Strickler, and Bob De Vecchi.

As you will see, I remain skeptical about the prospect of much constructive action emanating from Washington; ~~and~~ the version which went to Leo and the others has not been modified in that regard. I think the United Nations offers our best hope for inducing preventive action within the USSR, with direct approaches from the American Jewish community to assist.

I would appreciate your comments.  
With best regards,

Sincerely yours,  
Louis.





# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

May 4, 1990

## FINAL NOTICE

TO: Board of Directors  
Members of the Corporation

RE: May 16 Meeting

FROM: Robert P. DeVecchi

This is the final notice of the meeting of the Board of Directors and Members of the Corporation on Wednesday, May 16, at 4:00 p.m., in the Library of the Metropolitan Club, One East 60th Street. The agenda for the meeting follows:

1. Approval of March 14 minutes.
2. Chairman's introductory remarks. (Leo Cherne)
3. Executive Director's report. (Bob DeVecchi)
4. Treasurer's report. (Richard M. Hammer)
5. Special Events/Benefits: a) the June 13 art portfolio sale. (Nancy Starr)  
b) Freedom Award Dinner plans. (Vera Blinken)
6. Report of the Nominating Committee. (Angier Biddle Duke)
7. Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children. (Catherine O'Neill)
8. Report on Thailand, Malaysia and Hong Kong. (Lionel Rosenblatt)
9. Establishment of Board Committees. (Leo Cherne)
10. The role of the Executive Committee. (James Strickler)
11. Union negotiations. (Charles Tanenbaum)
12. New business and Chairman's concluding remarks. (Leo Cherne)



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

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

To: The Executive Committee  
From: Bob DeVecchi

Date: May 7, 1990  
Subject: Special Events

If we are to have a Freedom Award Dinner this Fall, and I strongly urge that we do, we need to begin planning now. We are agreed, I believe, that the number one choice would be Mrs. Violeta Chamorro.

Steps that need to be taken include the following:

1. Determine the most compelling and effective way of transmitting our invitation. My suggestion would be for a member of the IRC Board to deliver it in person.
2. Determine who would be the most effective Dinner Chairman. Former President Jimmy Carter would seem to be the leading candidate. Here again, we need to decide how best to approach him.
3. Nail down a date acceptable to 1. and 2. above, when a suitable venue here in New York is available.

There will be much more to do, but these three steps must be the first.

I suggest we focus as well on the Spring of 1991 and consider a theatre benefit involving the smash-hit musical "Miss Saigon." It is due here in preview next April, I believe.

It is about the last days of Saigon in 1975 and Amerasian children, both of deep relevance to the IRC. It will be a controversial show, no doubt, but in many respects a natural for the IRC.

I believe we should begin now to form a benefit committee, and look towards a April or May event.

We should aim at selling some 200 to 300 tickets, with perhaps a dinner/reception beforehand at a suitable location (The Asia Society?), and with bus transportation provided. We could net \$30,000 to \$40,000 on such an event, and hopefully tap into a new public for the IRC.

*Bob DeVecchi*

cc: Al, Barbara, Roy, Susan, Lorna



**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

May 7, 1990

FIRST NOTICE

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: James C. Strickler

RE: June 20 Meeting *ph*

This is the first notice of the Executive Committee meeting on Wednesday, June 20, at 3:45 p.m. Please note that this is a week earlier than the originally scheduled date of June 27.

Please indicate on the attached postcard if you will attend, and designate a proxy if you cannot be present. The minutes of the April 25 meeting will be sent to you with a later notice as well as the location of the June 20 meeting.



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

(212) 679-0010

To: Executive Committee

Date: June 8, 1990

From: Roy Williams

Subject: Afghanistan

## The Afghanistan Programs of the IRC

As you are all well aware IRC has been working with Afghan refugees in Pakistan for the better part of 10 years. What is less clearly understood is the extent of our involvement with Afghans on the Afghanistan side of the border. This involvement is more recent in origin and represents a significant departure from the traditional IRC-run programs. In this situation we are working with refugees in a country of first asylum: Pakistan and simultaneously assisting in the process of reintegration. Questions of funding and interagency cooperation become very significant in this regard. What follows is a brief presentation of the salient aspects of the IRC Afghanistan program.

A analysis of the IRC budget for Pakistan in 1990 reveals that roughly 54% of a fifteen million budget will be spent in Afghanistan or on training directly related to reintegration. These funds will be expended through the following programs.

### The Rural Assistance Program (RAP):

The RAP is an outgrowth of an emergency "cash for food" program. This was conceived of in 1986 by the Department of State as a means of getting money into conflictive areas in Afghanistan to enable the residents to purchase food in the absence of an opportunity to raise crops. With funding from the Department of State IRC was instrumental in assisting three European agencies in their efforts to get cash where it was needed. There was no direct involvement by IRC personnel. We provided the administrative base which these agencies did not have.

The success of this program led to its expansion in 1988 under the aegis of AID. At present AID provides approximately six and one-half million dollars through IRC to a group of European and American agencies. Appendix I lists the agencies, funds and services provided, as well as the areas of operation. Appendix II locates these programs on a map of Afghanistan. Please note that the amount shown covers a different period than that being discussed here. It is also noteworthy that the agencies listed represent a clear cross section of the host of agencies working in Pakistan/Afghanistan. What unites them and us is a recognition of the need for apolitical humanitarian assistance.

The IRC role is an outgrowth of the administrative and operational experience acquired in ten years of operation in the region. We review proposals, provide evaluations, and then monitor their implementation. The decision as to which program to fund lies with AID.



### **The Rehabilitation Program for Afghanistan (RPA):**

This umbrella term links the funding of several agencies. These agencies include Stichting Vluchteling, UNHCR, UNICEF, and UNDP.

This funding of approximately \$1,700,000 is utilized in a variety of ways. The basic objective of RPA is to provide rehabilitative programs aimed at rebuilding the infrastructures necessary for the safe return of the refugees. RPA projects include distribution of vegetable seeds, vaccination campaigns, repair of irrigation systems, road surveys, and technical training.

The main implementing group is found among the Afghans themselves--the so-called Shuras. These are local administrative bodies charged with a wide range of community responsibilities. They present proposals to IRC for funding. Once approved, the projects are implemented with technical assistance, monitoring, and evaluation by IRC staff. The projects listed in Appendix III have been carried out by Shuras representing Afghans primarily from the population with which we have been working for several years. These are small efforts in the face of the enormous need. We hope that models of cooperation will emerge from these efforts.

June 8, 1990



**RURAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM GRANTS**  
JUNE 1988 - MARCH 1990

<u>GRANT NUMBER</u>	<u>IMPLEMENTING AGENCY</u>	<u>GRANT AMOUNT</u>	<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>TYPE OF ASSISTANCE</u>
1-A	Afrane	\$357,998	Herat	Wheat and food supplies, irrigation work
1-B	Afrane	282,148	Badakshan	Seeds, fertilizer, live-stock, irrigation work
2	Afrane	49,985	Badakshan	Emergency assistance to drought victims
3	Save the Children	33,050	Zabul	Seeds, Ag. assistance, irrigation work
4	Mercy Corps	49,990	Kandahar	Emergency relief supplies
5	Mercy Corps	200,000	Kandahar, Zabul	Wheat and food supplies, irrigation work
6	Afghanaid	800,000	Kapisa	Wheat and food supplies, irrigation work
7-A	Solidarites	160,000	Herat	Cash for food, road repair, irrigation work
7-B	Solidarites	160,000	Kandahar	Emergency cash for food, irrigation work
7-C	Solidarites	160,000	Kabul	Emergency cash for food
7-D	Solidarites	160,000	Wardak	Emergency cash for food
7-E	Solidarites	160,000	Kapisa, Takhar	Emergency cash for food, irrigation work
8	Afghanaid	229,980	Badakshan	Wheat and food supplies
9	Afghanaid	49,990	Parwan, Baghlan	Emergency food & blankets along Salang Highway
10	Save the Children	656,299	Nangahar, Ghazni	Wheat seed, fertilizer, agricultural tools
11	Save the Children	137,016	Nangahar, Baghlan, Ghazni	Women's income generating projects
12	Save the Children	297,633	Zabul	Irrigation work, agricultural assistance
13	Save the Children	373,438	Zabul	Rural works project to repair roads
14	Mercy Fund	116,250	Nangahar	Emergency relief supplies
15	Afghanaid	41,550	Badakshan	Emergency food supplies
16	Afrane	299,800	Kandahar	Cash for food, cash for work, irrigation work
17	Mercy Fund	111,468	Nangahar	Emergency relief supplies
18	Mercy Fund	277,605	Nangahar	Rehabilitate Ghaziabad State Farms 2 & 4
19	Afghanaid	290,901	Kunduz, Takhar	Seeds, fertilizer, live-stock, irrigation work
20	Afghanaid	304,061	Badakshan	Seeds, fertilizer, live-stock, irrigation work
21	Afghanaid	334,200	Kapisa	Seeds, fertilizer, live-stock, irrigation work
22	Afghanaid	144,338	Kunduz	Seeds, fertilizer, live-stock, irrigation work
23	Care Int.	1,044,911	Kunar	Agricultural supplies, cash for food, cash for work to repair houses, roads, irrigation systems
24	Afrane	166,998	Logar	Improved wheat seed, tractors, workshop, irrigation work
25	Afrane	89,775	Badakshan	Improved wheat seed, irrigation work
26	Afrane	143,827	Herat	Improved wheat seed, tractors, irrigation work
27	Coord. of Humanit. Assistance (CHA)	263,136	Farah	Cash for work to repair irrigation systems and roads
28	Mercy Fund	125,954	Nangahar	Emergency relief supplies
29	Solidarites	98,075	Kabul	Cash for food
30	Solidarites	91,153	Kandahar	Tractors, irrigation work, rebuild water mill
31	Solidarites	101,158	Kabul	Irrigation work
32	Mercy Fund	470,000	Nangahar	Rehabilitate Ghaziabad State Farms 2 & 4
33	Afrane	30,000	Badakshan	Emergency cash for food
34	Mokor Reconst. Committee	47,260	Ghazni	Irrigation work

TOTAL AMOUNT OF GRANTS: \$8,909,947



## Summary of Projects Undertaken:

Details of all projects undertaken and proposed (with funding sources indicated) are provided in Appendix III. The following is a brief summary of what has been achieved since the RPA operation became formalized in December, 1988. Projects implemented thus far are located in six districts in the province of Paktia.

- INITIAL SURVEYS completed for 13 districts: PAKTIA: Danda Patan, Jani Khel, Musa Khel, Jaji/Ali Khel, Jaji/Ahmed Khel, Mangal, Sayed Karam, Zoommat; PAKTIKA: Urgoon; NINGARHAR: Deh Bala, Kani; LOGAR: Azra Mohammed Agha.
- ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING completed for six districts: Danda Patan, Jani Khel, Musa Khel, Jaji/Ali Khel, Jaji/Ahmed Khel, Laj Mangal.
- IRRIGATION REPAIR in three districts: Danda Patan, Jani Khel, Musa Khel.
- VEGETABLE SEED AND SEEDLINGS distributed to six districts: Danda Patan, Jani Khel, Musa Khel, Jaji/Ali Khel, Jaji/Ahmed Khel, Laj Mangal.
- IMPROVED WHEAT SEED AND FERTILIZER distributed in six districts: Danda Patan, Jani Khel, Musa Khel, Jaji/Ali Khel, Jaji/Ahmed Khel, Laj Mangal.
- FOOD WHEAT distributed in six districts: Danda Patan, Jani Khel, Musa Khel, Jaji/Ali Khel, Jaji/Ahmed Khel, Laj Mangal.
- VACCINATION (first round) in six districts: Danda Patan, Jani Khel, Musa Khel, Jaji/Ali Khel, Jaji/Ahmed Khel, Sayed Karam. Total vaccinations administered: women -- 16,233, children -- 15,388.
- TRAINING of four dental technicians and eight laboratory technicians for placement in existing facilities in Afghanistan is underway.
- ROAD SURVEY (TECHNICAL) for 17.6 km of road running from Jani Khel to Musa Khel.
- ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE established and a computerized system of shura contract management set up.

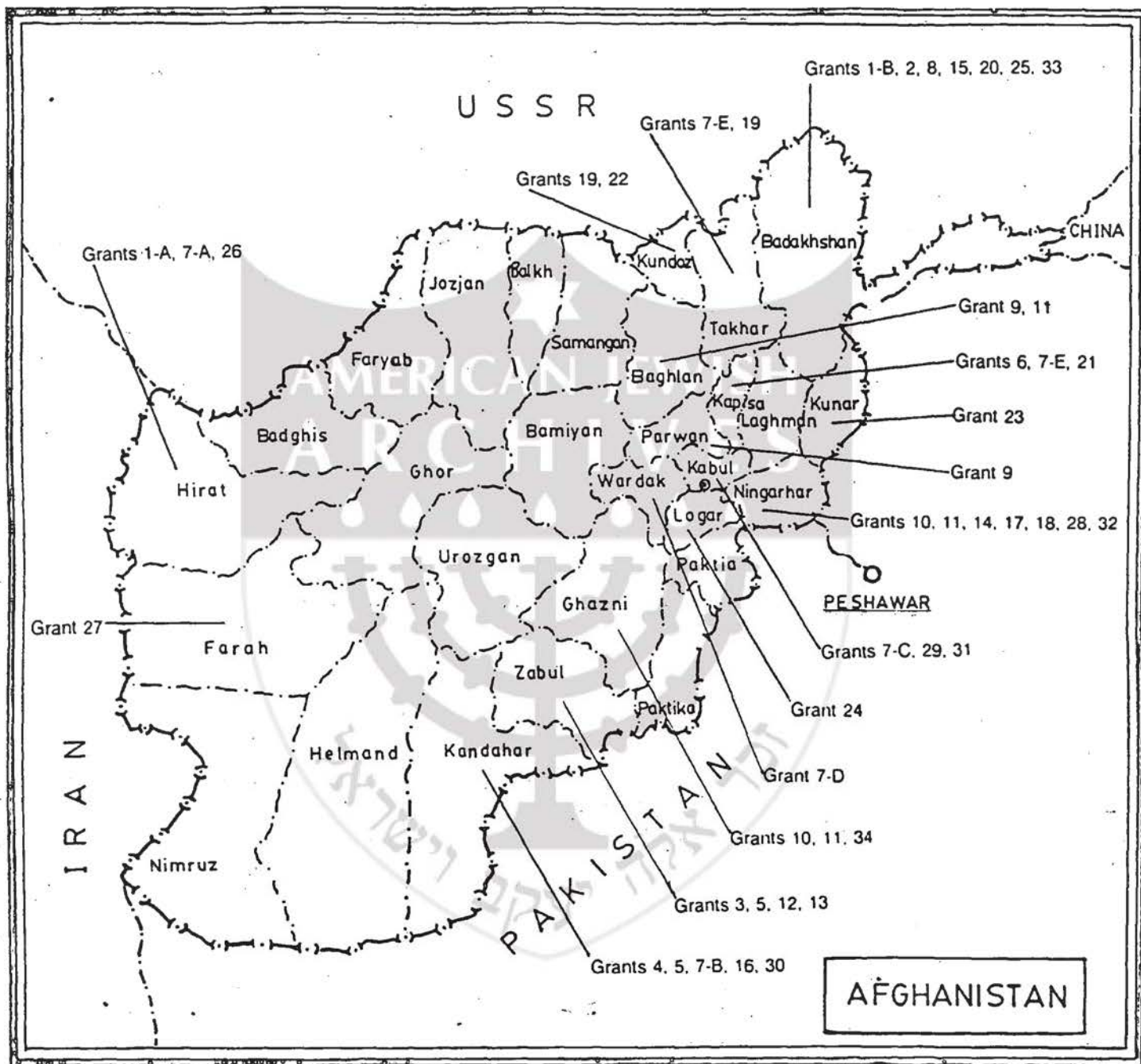
Thus, the initial phase of the rehabilitation process is nearing completion in three Paktia districts and is well underway in three additional districts.

The project has had a positive impact upon the development of needed administrative infrastructures as the shuras have begun to evolve into viable mechanisms for the implementation of projects in their communities. Distributions of agricultural commodities have gone relatively smoothly and monitoring reports have shown that irrigation repair work is being done according to specifications and contractual agreements. The vaccination program has experienced incredible success given the difficult cultural constraints which would normally prevent women from participating.



# RURAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

## PROJECT LOCATIONS



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

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

To: Executive Committee

Date: June 11, 1990

From: Al Kastner

Subject: Lou Wiesner's Asylum Report

At the conclusion of a discussion at the May 16th Board meeting on U.S. treatment of asylum seekers from the Western Hemisphere, Leo Cherne asked Lou Wiesner to prepare a paper on the subject for further discussion at the June 20th Executive Committee meeting. Lou's paper is enclosed and will be discussed (item #7) in accordance with the agenda sent to you on June 1.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
a.k. ARCHIVES





## **No Room at the Inn: United States Behavior toward Asylum Seekers from the Americas**

Louis A. Wiesner

The Refugee Act of 1980 was intended to end the long-standing bias in US law in favor of refugees from Communist countries and certain areas of the Middle East and against those from countries with whose regimes our government was friendly. Among the most important changes was the adoption and extension of the non-partisan Convention and Protocol definition of a refugee, which also governs the granting of asylum.<sup>1</sup> The key criterion in the Act is "persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." The Act further bars return of any alien to a country where the Attorney General determines that such alien's life or freedom is threatened because of those conditions.

It hasn't worked, and as a result, many thousands of asylum seekers, a number of whom appear to be genuine refugees, have been and are being denied refugee status and are persecuted by US officials in the United States. Thousands have been forcibly returned to their home countries, where some have immediately been imprisoned and others persecuted in various ways.

### Differential Treatment of Asylum Seekers

From the beginning, implementation of 1980 Act accorded with neither its letter nor its spirit. Only a month after its passage, the Mariel boatlift, which brought 125,000 Cubans to Florida on the invitation of President Carter, at the same time that Haitian arrivals were increasing dramatically, was handled, not under the Act, but by classifying both groups as "Cuban-Haitian entrants," allowing them to remain in the country and receive certain benefits until special legislation determined their status. Even then the two nationalities were treated differently. Early in 1985 the Cubans were allowed to adjust their status to become permanent

---

<sup>1</sup> Although the definition applies in both cases and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is the implementing agency in both, the program for admission of refugees from overseas is separate from the handling of asylum claims. In the former, geographical numerical limits and priorities are determined annually by the President after consultation with the Congress, and the overwhelming majority of those admitted have been from the three Indochinese countries, the USSR, and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Legally there are no numerical or geographic limits to or preferences in the granting of asylum to claimants already physically in the United States or intercepted before entry, though in fact INS and immigration judges do discriminate, as this paper will show. Most persons admitted as refugees from abroad receive Federal benefits, while those granted asylum nowadays receive none.



residents, but not until the Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act in October 1986 were those Haitians who were in the country before January 1, 1982 allowed to apply for legalization of their status.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) regards itself basically as an agency whose mission is to defend US borders against hordes of people from less-developed areas, especially Mexico and Central America, seeking entry in order to take jobs. In fact such illegal aliens have always greatly exceeded the numbers of those seeking asylum for the reasons stated in the Refugee Act. Yet the same agency has responsibility to deal with both categories. INS regularly apprehends over a million illegal aliens a year, almost all being Mexicans. However, more millions have been able to escape the border patrols and remain within this country, usually taking employment at substandard wages, and often having children who automatically become American citizens. The 1986 Immigration Act mentioned above (PL 99-603) was intended to bring some order to this situation. It provided a procedure for those who were in the country continuously from before January 1, 1982 to regularize their status; it also permits the entry of some aliens to take temporary employment in agriculture, and it imposes penalties on employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. Over 2,000,000 have applied for legalization, and most are being approved. This, however, has not stemmed the flow of new illegals. It is not surprising, therefore, that INS continues to concentrate its efforts to keep people out of this country, and that asylum seekers are often confused with economic migrants.

In part because of such confusion based on geography and partly because of the advice it gets from the State Department, INS has continued to discriminate among asylum seekers of different nationalities. It rejects the overwhelming majority of those from the Western hemisphere, while favoring applicants from nations with which the US government is not on friendly terms, principally Communist countries and Iran. The unfairness of its procedures, their violation of both US treaty obligations and American law, and the brutal treatment which is too often meted out to the applicants are similar to the practices of Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Thailand which the US rightly condemns.

From June 1983 to September 1986 INS district directors decided 80,418 asylum cases, approving 18,701 and denying 61,717. Approvals ranged from 60.4% of the 17,733 cases from Iran, 51.0% of the 830 from Romania, 45.4% of the 218 from Czechoslovakia, and 21.4% of the 391 from China down to 2.6% of the 19,735 from El Salvador, 1.8% of the 1,661 from Haiti, and 0.9% of the 1,475 from El Salvador. In the last three of the countries there have been persistent patterns of persecution of actual or suspected dissidents (by both sides in the Salvadoran civil war, and also of highland Indians in Guatemala). While recent revolutionary developments in Nicaragua and Central Europe are creating political conditions



favorable to the return of refugees and some are returning, nothing of the sort is happening in El Salvador, Haiti, or Guatemala; so refugees continue to leave those lands.<sup>2</sup> By FY 1989 (October 1, 1988 to September 30, 1989) the gap between the highest and the lowest approval rates had widened: 57.4% of Iranians, 90.9% of those from Romania, 90.8% of those from the USSR, 56.6% from Czechoslovakia, 80.9% from China, but only 2.3% from El Salvador, 3.5% from Haiti, and 1.9% from Guatemala. The total number decided by INS district directors in that year was 38,489. All these are cases, sometimes whole families, for which affirmative," that is, voluntary applications were filed before or in the absence of deportation or exclusion proceedings.<sup>3</sup> Once deportation or exclusion proceedings are initiated, aliens can also apply for asylum, and those applications are heard by immigration judges from the Executive Office of Immigration Review (EOIR) of the Department of Justice. FY 1989 data on 8,267 cases decided by those judges indicate that they got few cases from Communist countries, with mixed approval rates, and approved 13.0% of the Salvadorans, 19.3% of Guatemalans, and 3.3% of the Haitians.

There has been a consistent INS pattern of denying or concealing rights of apprehended aliens, especially those from Central America and Haiti. The tendency is to treat all illegal aliens as criminals. Rarely are they advised that they can apply for asylum. Few are informed that they can obtain free or low-cost legal counsel from public interest agencies, and access to lawyers to those in most detention centers is deliberately made difficult. Ten years after the Refugee Act was passed, asylum is still handled under interim regulations which offer little guidance as to standards for assessing claims. There are shortages of both INS examiners and immigration judges assigned to asylum cases (over 120,000 of which were filed in

---

<sup>2</sup> In 1989 and early this year about 10,000 Salvadoran refugees from Honduras, many of whom had been indoctrinated by the FMLN insurgents in their camps, returned to El Salvador, where they settled in conflicted areas. Significant numbers have not returned voluntarily from any other country.

<sup>3</sup> Statistics from INS. Principal sources for this paper are: The U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR), especially its *Refugee Reports* of May 19, 1989; February 23, March 23, and April 27, 1990; the Issue Paper, *Despite a Generous Spirit, Denying Asylum in the United States*, December 1986, and the Issue Brief, *Refugees at Our Border, The U.S. Response to Asylum Seekers*, September 1989. The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, particularly *The Implementation of the Refugee Act of 1980: A Decade of Experience*, March 1990, and *Refugee Refoulement: The Forced Return of Haitians under the U.S. - Haitian Interdiction Agreement*, March 1990. David A. Martin, *Reforming Asylum Adjudication*, a report to the Administrative Conference of the United States, May 1989; and Recommendation 89-4 of the Administrative Conference, *Asylum Adjudication Procedures*, June 16, 1989. Deborah Anker (Harvard University Law School), *Determining Asylum Claims Before the Immigration Court*, January 1990, a study of 149 cases in 1987-88 before the Immigration Court of Boston. Because the full study is restricted, I cite the Executive Summary. *The Miami Herald* has carried extensive coverage of Haitian cases and the Krome detention center near Miami.



FY 1989 alone), and their training is inadequate. Immigration judges frequently conduct hearings of groups rather than individuals, asking only formal questions about countries of origin, methods of entering the US, etc., and ignoring replies that indicate persecution or fear of it. Both INS district directors and immigration judges tend to demand documented evidence, which the largely poor and uneducated applicants can seldom furnish, and to disregard subjective expressions of fear and even factual statements about violence or threats experienced by the aliens. There are some exceptions: The USCR found that immigration judges in Harlingen, Texas, near the Brownsville Red Cross shelter were solicitous of applicants' rights and went out of their way to elicit information about persecution. For a number of years until 1987 INS went by its rule that there must be a "clear probability" of persecution to establish eligibility for asylum, though this standard went far beyond "a well-founded fear of persecution" embodied both in the Convention and Protocol and in the US Refugee Act. Foreign language interpretation in hearings is frequently limited and inaccurate. Cases are often continued for months and even years; a major reason is that transcripts are often not available.

The State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, which renders advisory opinions in asylum cases has been influenced primarily by foreign policy considerations and therefore is openly biased against applicants from friendly countries, despite its own reports documenting serious human rights abuses in some of those countries.

Numerous court decisions have enjoined INS from denying applicant rights or otherwise violating the law. The Supreme Court by its landmark decision in the case of *INS v. Cardoza-Fonseca* overturned the "clear probability" criterion for asylum, emphasizing the significance of subjective fear of persecution. Despite the clarity of this decision, INS and immigration judges have often continued to demand concrete evidence of persecution directed individually against applicants. This is due in part to the fact that, in the law, reaffirmed by *Cardoza-Fonseca*, clear probability remains the standard for withholding deportation, a source of much confusion. In the class-action case on behalf of all Salvadorans in the United States taken into custody, *Orontes-Hernandez v. Meese*, US District Judge David Kenyon in South Texas on April 28, 1988, found that:

INS engages in a persistent pattern and practice of misconduct which deprives plaintiff class members of their constitutional rights to due process and statutory right to apply for political asylum and withholding of deportation. . . . This conduct is not the result of isolated transgressions by a few overzealous officers, but, in fact, is a widespread and pervasive practice akin to a policy. . . . This pattern of misconduct flows directly from the attitudes and misconceptions of INS officers and their superiors as to the merits of Salvadoran asylum claims



and the motives of class members who flee El Salvador and enter this country.<sup>4</sup>

He issued an injunction requiring INS not to employ threats, subterfuge, or other forms of coercion to dissuade Salvadorans from applying for asylum. INS was immediately challenged in Los Angeles for violating the injunction; whereupon Judge Kenyon issued another injunction setting out concrete steps necessary to advise Salvadorans of their rights, and forbidding their deportation until they had been given the opportunity to receive such advice.<sup>5</sup>

One could cite numerous other court decisions finding that INS has persistently and deliberately violated the law. The abuses continue.

### Detention and Internment of Asylum Seekers

The *Orontes-Hernandez v. Meese* case arose out of denials of rights of Salvadorans in detention.

Beginning in 1981, INS has detained all Haitians arriving in South Florida without entry documents. Most were put into Camp Krome, a former Nike missile base on the edge of the Everglades. When the numbers grew to three times its capacity of 524, some were sent to other Federal detention facilities. Then, partly because of court cases charging discrimination against Haitians, INS in 1982 began detaining all apprehended illegal aliens who could not be immediately deported, including asylum seekers and those found to be refugees but not admitted to the US. Such aliens have been detained in INS facilities and over 1,000 local, State, and Federal jails and private facilities operated under contract, across the country. Those who slipped through the border patrol net could still apply for asylum and, with work authorizations, could move around, having their applications processed by any INS office. In December 1988, however, a new policy was put into effect requiring all applicants filing in South Texas to remain in the vicinity of Harlingen until their claims were adjudicated. The area quickly became jammed with applicants until a temporary restraining order in effect from January 9 to 20, 1989 once again permitted moving around. In that brief period thousands of Nicaraguans and others moved from South Texas to the Miami area. Then the door closed again, and an expedited processing policy went into effect. This reduced the number of detainees at any one time (7,641 in October 1989, according to INS), since most are quickly deported.

Three detention facilities have become notorious for the harshness of their treatment of the prisoners: Krome, Port Isabel about 25 miles from Harlingen, Texas,

<sup>4</sup> USCR, *Refugees at Our Border*, p.11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11; Lawyers Committee, *The Implementation of the Refugee Act of 1980*, pp.65-69.



and the Webb County facility in a remote area outside Laredo, Texas. All of them are difficult for attorneys to reach. They are all prisons, and the inmates are looked upon as criminals and wear prison uniforms. All have inadequate telephones on which to call relatives, friends, and lawyers. In all three the detainees have been subjected to harsh, demeaning, and often inhuman treatment. In all the immigration judges commonly make a mockery of asylum hearings and decisions.

A welcome exception is the Red Cross shelter in downtown Brownsville for families with children. According to the USCR observers, it has a relaxed, cheerful air. People wear street clothes and are permitted to wander about the town during the day. Children have room to play. The immigration judges give plenty of time to the applicants in hearings, asking questions designed to bring out any grounds for fearing persecution, and are sympathetic. While INS staff at Port Isabel told the USCR visitors in 1989 that up to 120 people a day were being deported, evidently none were deported from the Brownsville shelter.

The evidence is that the Haitians at Krome (where there are also Central American detainees) have been singled out for especially cruel treatment. Tensions reached a high point in 1989, but then new parole guidelines, transfers out of the overcrowded facility, and increased deportations eased the situation somewhat. However, four of the transferees were mistakenly put on a plane to Port-au-Prince, where at least two of them were jailed and mistreated before two were found and returned by INS to Miami. The other two have not been located. In the first half of May 1990 another 40 were deported and all were incarcerated in the National Prison of Haiti, according to USCR, and the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees.

On March 9, 1990 Dade County Commissioner Barbara M. Carey wrote to Attorney General Thornburgh requesting an investigation of Krome. The request was backed up by over 70 affidavits from detainees and others which had been collected in 1989 and 1990 by the Haitian Refugee Center of Miami. Some excerpts:

Male detainee: "One time he [a guard] manhandled a man on the way to the clinic, knocked him down and hurt his arm so that he bled a lot."

Male detainee: "Suddenly the guards dragged the men out of the room and took one of them and banged his head against the metal barrister [*sic*]."

Female detainee: "The worst searches are after visits. . . . Some of them [guards] just pat you down, and some make you take off your outer clothes. But there are others who like to make you take everything off, and some are even worse. . . . They treat us like animals. not all of them, all the time, but the ones that don't can't stop the ones who do."



Male detainee: "He is always telling us we are dogs and pigs and saying there is no food in Haiti and that is why we left."

Male detainee: "Maybe they will kill me in Haiti. . . . But this is worse. This is no country for black people."

Representative Dante Fascell supported the request for an investigation, and INS district director Richard Smith forwarded copies of the affidavits to INS headquarters in Washington, calling the charges "serious and not dismissible."<sup>6</sup>

### Interdiction of Haitians at Sea

This program began in September 1981, when President Reagan authorized the Coast Guard to stop vessels on the high seas containing undocumented aliens and ordered the Secretary of State to enter into agreements with foreign governments to prevent illegal immigration to the US by sea. His order to the Coast Guard specified that it was to return the vessels and passengers to their country if there was evidence that an offense was being committed against US immigration laws or "appropriate laws of a foreign country with which we have an obligation to assist." The order stated that "no person who is a refugee will be returned without his consent." An agreement was concluded with Haiti that month (the only one made with a foreign government), in which that government pledged not to prosecute the returnees despite its law making unauthorized departure a crime. A representative of the Haitian Navy was to be aboard the Coast Guard vessels implementing the program, but that practice was discontinued in 1986. Upon arrival in Haiti, the returnees are met by Red Cross officials and the government's immigration officers. A representative of the US Embassy and an interpreter are also present.

However, some returnees and former Haitian prison officers testified that returnees had been detained and abused.<sup>7</sup>

In January 1985 Judge Charles R. Richey dismissed the case of *Haitian Refugee Center v. Gracey*, in which the Center argued that the program violated the refugee Protocol and the US Act, both of which forbid *refoulement*, as well as due process and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The judge declared that because the acts "occurred outside the jurisdiction of the United States, neither the statutes nor the treaty upon which plaintiffs rely can provide any relief." A UNHCR brief in the case had argued that protection against *refoulement* must extend to a nation's

<sup>6</sup> *Refugee Reports*, April 27, 1990, pp.9-19. Also *The Miami Herald*, April 11, 1990, pp.1, 18A, 19, 1A, 10A, and 3B.

<sup>7</sup> USCR, *Despite a Generous Spirit*, pp.22-24; Lawyers Committee, *Refugee Refoulement*, pp. 10-17, 23-25.



actions outside its own territory, and that the court decision would affect the actions of other countries. The decision was appealed at the Circuit Court level, where it was affirmed. It was not carried to the Supreme Court. However, other courts have determined that the Protocol established rights that are independent of US domestic law.<sup>8</sup>

Those Haitians who are intercepted are interviewed by an INS officer through an interpreter on the Coast Guard cutter, and there is no appeal against the decision of the officer. Records of sample interviews show that some of the Haitians cited reasons for departure indicative of persecution, but the people were returned nonetheless. Representatives of both the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees interviewed some people in Haiti after their return and found cases of clear persecution. Some of the returnees said they never slept twice in the same place.<sup>9</sup>

An official of the State Department's Refugee Programs Bureau who reviewed INS records and rode on a Coast Guard cutter which intercepted a Haitian vessel late last year, participating in the INS interviews with the passengers, advised US Refugee Coordinator Jewel S. Lafontant (herself of Haitian origin) in December 1989:

Therefore, in view of this difference in authority perception I am more convinced, and am willing to state categorically, that the average interdicted Haitian will find it nearly impossible to communicate details relating to a fear of persecution as it relates to events in his or her home country, particularly before authority bearing United States government officials on a military vessel.

As of February 1990, some 21,461 Haitians had been interdicted on the high seas since the program began, and only six were allowed to enter the US to pursue asylum claims. In view of the pervasive human rights violations during the rule of Jean-Claude Duvalier up to his overthrow in February 1986 and under his successors, including the present interim president, it is not credible that only six of those interdicted could have had a well-founded fear of persecution (and this has not yet been admitted by the United States government, as their cases are still pending). The Hong Kong screening of Vietnamese boat people, which is finding about 10% to be refugees, looks quite good by comparison.

Ms. Lafontant has instituted an inter-agency review of the interdiction

<sup>8</sup> USCR, *Despite a Generous Spirit*, p.25; telephone interview with Bill Frelick of USCR May 30, 1990; Lawyers Committee, *Refugee Refoulement*, pp.56-61.

<sup>9</sup> Lawyers Committee, *Refugee Refoulement*, pp.18-23, 33-44; USCR, *Refugees at Our Border*, p.13; *Refugee Reports*, February 23, 1990, p.12.



program.

When questioned in mid-May 1990 about his country's push-offs of Vietnamese boats by our Board member Lionel Rosenblatt and the USCR's Court Robinson, the Malaysian Ambassador in Washington asked whether their organizations had said anything about the US interdiction of Haitians. Fortunately, Robinson was able to point to the USCR's consistent record of reports and representations to the US government on the subject.

### Conclusions and Recommendations

The preceding account adds up to a prolonged and continuing pattern of violations of both American and international refugee law and of elementary human rights of asylum seekers by our government. Discrimination against those seeking protection as refugees from oppressive regimes and from officially-connected as well as rebel forces in countries with which the US is on friendly terms, especially El Salvador, Guatemala, and Haiti, is widespread and blatant. It is not possible to count how many thousand people have actually endured renewed persecution, both in the US and in the nations to which they have been forcibly returned because of our government's abuses of their rights.

In view of this dismal record, the United States is rightly accused of egregious hypocrisy in protesting denials and abuses of asylum by East Asian countries.

Since many respected individuals and organizations have over the years endeavored, largely in vain, to induce changes in the way our government treats refugees from this hemisphere seeking a place at the inn, the question arises as to what IRC can do. At the very least and for the sake of credibility in our advocacy, we should add our voice to the others.

IRC has been invited to join the board of Haitian Refugee Coalition in Miami. It provides legal assistance to applicants, but is perpetually short of resources. We should join it.

In the past, IRC-sponsored Citizens Commissions have often been effective in bringing about changes in both US and foreign refugee policies when others have failed. It would seem appropriate to constitute such a Commission for this important problem. Members of the IRC Women's Commission, who have rendered exemplary service with regard to the Hong Kong boat people crisis, should obviously be part of the new Citizens Commission, as should members of our Board with special Latin American interests and some Board members from the Congress. Leaders of the Cuban community should be enlisted, to come to the aid of their less fortunate brothers and sisters from other life-threatening situations. Likewise, American

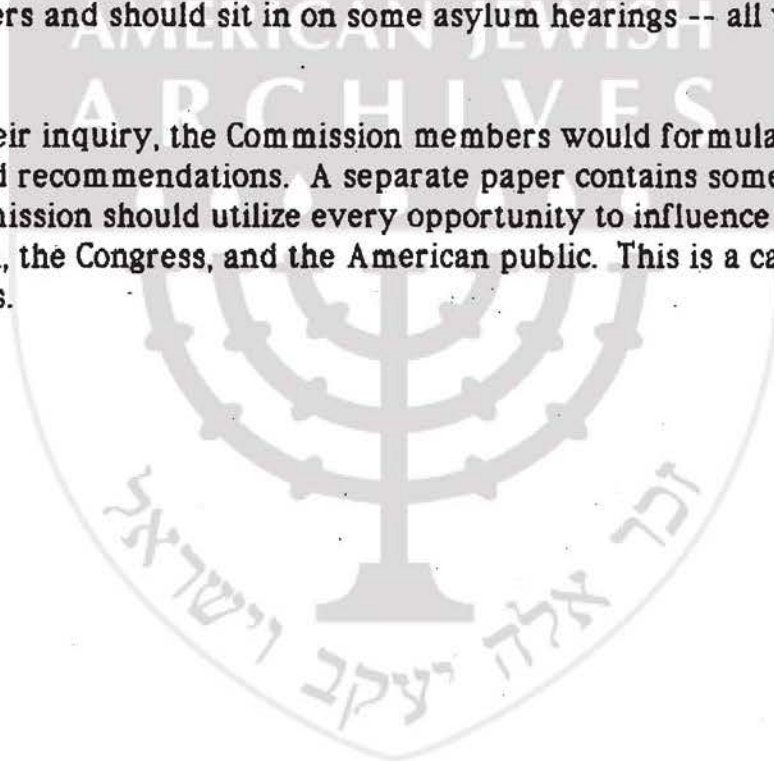


labor, which, while rightly concerned about a flood of illegal aliens competing for jobs at substandard wages, has always defended and supported the rights of refugees, should be part of the Commission. Prominent, non-inflammatory black leaders should be drawn in. Doris Meissner of the Carnegie Endowment, a former Associate Attorney General, would be a valuable member.

It is important that our effort should not be construed as adding to the pull-factors which would increase the number of non-refugees seeking entry. This will require a sensitive approach, humanitarian but practical.

The Commission would talk with top officials of INS, the Justice and State Departments, and the White House, and leaders of the Judiciary Committees of the Congress, the UNHCR, refugee leaders, and voluntary agencies presently active in helping asylum seekers. Members should visit, preferably on short notice, some INS detention centers and should sit in on some asylum hearings -- all with our own interpreters.

After their inquiry, the Commission members would formulate their own conclusions and recommendations. A separate paper contains some suggestions. Then the Commission should utilize every opportunity to influence the Administration, the Congress, and the American public. This is a cause worthy of our best efforts.



## **Some Suggestions Regarding US Policy and Programs relating to Asylum Seekers**

Louis A. Wiesner

1. The basic requirement is for a drastic change in the US government's attitude at all levels toward asylum seekers, especially from the Western hemisphere. Instead of regarding them all as economic migrants and criminals fraudulently scrambling for entry into the promised land -- the prevailing attitude among all-too-many of our officials, US authorities should carefully, objectively, and in the spirit of this country's international obligations and the Refugee Act, seek to determine who among those at our gates are genuine refugees, and give them asylum. All officials, from the top down, need to be convinced that this will be US policy from now on. It should be embodied in definitive regulations issued by both the Attorney General and the Department of State.

2. The Haitian interdiction program should be promptly suspended. Initially this will increase the unregulated flow to the US. However, the continuance of the present inhuman program, which violates the international norms of conduct which this country has accepted, can not be justified. The program may be resumed only if safeguards enabling the Haitian boat people to present their cases fully, in confidence, feeling safe in doing so, with knowledge of their legal rights. It seems doubtful that such conditions can be created aboard US Coast Guard vessels.\*

3. With the help of the UNHCR, the Intergovernmental Organization for Migration (IOM), and the Organization of American States (OAS), a strong effort should be made to internationalize Western hemisphere refugee resettlement. At present the US and Canada are virtually the only resettlement countries for Central Americans and Haitians, though Costa Rica and some other nations have been generous in affording temporary asylum. Other governments, including some in Francophone Africa, should be drawn into the network. The systems for reception and resettlement used by European countries which are also flooded by asylum seekers should be studied.

4. Orderly departure programs like those from Viet-Nam and Cuba should be negotiated with the governments of Haiti, El Salvador, and Guatamala, with UNHCR and IOM assistance. The agreements should include provisions for the protection within those countries of their nationals seeking to depart by this means.

---

\* The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, in *Refugee Refoulement*, pp.8-9, suggests steps that would be necessary to provide adequate safeguards for Haitians whose status would be determined at sea.



5. Consideration should be given to transferring the asylum advisory function within the State Department to the Bureau of Refugee Programs, especially if advisory opinions will continue to be required in all cases. It was in the former Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs (ORM) for many years, including the time when this writer was Director, and that provided coordination and consistency with our refugee policy and practice internationally. ORM's asylum officers had a close and mutually helpful relationship with INS.

6. Careful study should be made of where asylum determinations and administration should be located within the Justice Department. INS appears to be uncomfortable with the function, which does not accord with its primary mandate as a police agency. Whether EOIR or some other office is the right place should be examined by the Attorney General. The Administrative Conference of the United States has recommended the creation of a new Asylum Board within EOIR to take over both adjudications and appeals.<sup>\*\*</sup>

7. The necessity for detention of undocumented aliens seeking asylum while physically within the United States needs re-examination. Clearly some means of deterring frivolous claims will have to be maintained. If it is concluded that detention should be that means, it must be implemented in a humane and legal manner, which does not presume guilt until a crime is proved.

In sum, the United States, like many other developed countries, is besieged by multitudes seeking to share its riches. Genuine refugees must be distinguished from economic migrants -- and it would be foolish to deny that such exist-- but this must be done in accordance with US law and our international obligations, in a humanitarian spirit and with respect for human dignity.

---

<sup>\*\*</sup> Administrative Conference of the United States, Recommendation 89-4, *Asylum Adjudication Procedures*, June 16, 1989.



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING Wednesday, June 20, 1990

### AGENDA

1. Approval of minutes of April 25 meeting
- ✓ - 2. Executive Director's Report: 1989 audit; financial update.  
(Bob DeVecchi) *East European refugees.*
3. The Program Committee *Strategic Planning* and Development/Public Affairs  
Committee. (Leo Cherne) *Finance/Nominating*
4. Special Events Reports:
  - ✓ May 24 Lodz Ghetto filming. (Dan Weiner) *Korynski*
  - ✓ June 13 Liv Ullmann art portfolio reception. (Nancy Starr) *40-100h*
  - ✓ Freedom Award Dinner plans (Vera Blinken)
  - ✓ 1991 Miami benefit. (Susan Stark)
- ✓ 5. U.S. treatment of asylum seekers. (Louis Wiesner)
6. Thailand program: Cambodia border and Burmese refugees.  
(Jim Anderson)
- 7. Pakistan/Afghanistan program. (Bob DeVecchi)
8. Women's Commission report. (Catherine O'Neill)
9. Union negotiations. (Charles Tanenbaum)
10. New Business.



# Office of the Mayor

CITY OF NEW YORK



# Proclamation

WHEREAS: FOR CENTURIES NEW YORK CITY HAS BEEN A HAVEN FOR PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHO SEEK NEW LIVES OF FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY; AND

WHEREAS: THE NEW YORK CITY REFUGEE EMPLOYMENT PROJECT WAS FOUNDED IN APRIL, 1980 BY THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, THE AMERICAN FUND FOR CZECHOSLOVAK REFUGEES, THE CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, CATHOLIC CHARITIES, ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK, HIAS/NYANA (NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR NEW AMERICANS), THE LUTHERAN IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE SERVICE AND THE TOLSTOY FOUNDATION; AND

WHEREAS: THE NEW YORK CITY REFUGEE EMPLOYMENT PROJECT IS AN EMPLOYMENT AGENCY WITH THE PRINCIPAL MISSION OF ASSISTING REFUGEES IN THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA TO FIND MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT COMMENSURATE WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE, AND IS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL SUCH AGENCY IN THE NATION; AND

WHEREAS: THE PROJECT HAS PLACED 8500 REFUGEES IN JOBS IN MORE THAN FOUR HUNDRED COMPANIES IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA, ENABLING THEM TO BECOME PRODUCTIVE AND SELF-SUFFICIENT MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY,

NOW THEREFORE, I, DAVID N. DINKINS, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, IN RECOGNITION OF ITS SERVICE TO OUR NEWEST CITIZENS, DO HEREBY PROCLAIM TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1990 IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK AS

"NEW YORK CITY REFUGEE EMPLOYMENT PROJECT DAY"



IN WITNESS WHEREOF I HAVE HEREUNTO  
SET MY HAND AND CAUSED THE SEAL OF  
THE CITY OF NEW YORK TO BE AFFIXED.

DAVID N. DINKINS  
MAYOR

PLEDGE FOR 1990

In 1990 I am willing to work on behalf of the needs of the worlds 10 million refugee women and children by:

1. Delegation member. Joining a delegation to visit refugee areas:

\_\_\_\_\_yes

I am particularly interested in :

\_\_\_\_\_Asia \_\_\_\_\_Africa \_\_\_\_\_Central America

2. Public Outreach and Education. Working to educate community groups and schools on the needs of refugee women and children:

\_\_\_\_\_yes # hours/month \_\_\_\_\_

3. Advocacy. Soliciting support in Washington and with other U.S. agencies for programs serving refugees.

-----yes # hours/month -----

4. Press and media relations. Includes press contacts and follow-up. Also includes developing, producing and placing pro bono magazine and television ads about the needs of refugee women and children.

\_\_\_\_\_yes # hours/month \_\_\_\_\_

5. Organization Liaison. Establishing on-going liaison with U.N. agencies, human rights groups and other related organizations concerned with the needs of women and children in developing countries.

\_\_\_\_\_yes # hours/month \_\_\_\_\_

Special organization interest \_\_\_\_\_



6. Membership and Fund-raising. Identifying new members in New York, Washington and other locations. Also organizing small fundraisers.

\_\_\_\_\_ yes \_\_\_\_\_ # hours/month

7. I pledge the following contribution in 1990.

\$ \_\_\_\_\_. Amount Enclosed \_\_\_\_\_

Please make checks payable to the Women's  
Commission/International Rescue Committee.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Please return to:

Susan Stark  
IRC  
386 Park Ave., South, 10th Fl.  
New York, NY 10016



**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

January 9, 1990

FINAL NOTICE

TO: Executive Committee

RE: January 17 Meeting

FROM: Robert P. DeVecchi

This is the final notice of the Executive Committee meeting on Wednesday, January 17, at 3:45 p.m., in the Library on the second floor of the Lotos Club, 5 East 66th Street. Enclosed are the minutes of the December 9, 1989 meeting, and the revised text of the IRC Mission statement as amended and approved by the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors.

The January 17 meeting will be held at the Lotos Club to accommodate the presence of our domestic and European office directors, who will be in New York for a staff conference. The agenda follows:

1. Approval of December 9 minutes.
2. Introduction of European and Domestic Resettlement Directors.  
(Bob DeVecchi, Barbara Nagorski)
3. 1990 fund-raising report. (Al Kastner)
4. Executive Director's report; financial update; 1990 budget.  
(Bob DeVecchi)
5. Women's Commission trip to Hong Kong. (Liv Ullmann)
6. IRC Mission statement: final draft. (Leo Cherne)
7. New business.

You are all most cordially invited to a buffet reception at my apartment at 131 East 69th Street immediately following this meeting. This will give you all an opportunity to meet with our European and United States regional office Directors as well as our New York staff in an informal setting.





# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

## MISSION STATEMENT

The International Rescue Committee is the leading nonsectarian refugee relief and resettlement agency in the United States with a global outreach. Since its founding in 1933, the IRC has been motivated by a deep commitment to liberty, freedom and human dignity. Thus, the IRC's mission is essentially to aid refugees and to support the cause of refugees who are victims of oppression, civil strife and violence. This sharp focus defines the role of the IRC and distinguishes it from other development or humanitarian agencies.

The nature of the IRC's programs varies as the needs of the refugees and their particular circumstances warrant. For some refugees, resettlement in a new country offering asylum is essential. For others, help is provided to those who have crossed borders and become refugees in countries of first asylum. Still others are internally displaced persons within their own countries -- victims of civil strife and violence. Finally, IRC assists refugees who seek and are able to return voluntarily to their country of origin, following a period of time in exile.

The IRC is a recognized moral force throughout the world to those who have lost all but hope. It is a leader in the delivery of services to refugees, such as medical care, public health, sanitation and education. It is a leader as well in the resettlement of refugees, placing strong emphasis on the early attainment of self-sufficiency.

In all the services IRC provides, great emphasis is placed on teaching self-reliance -- training refugees to help themselves and to help each other. IRC's special competence has been developed with a minimum of headquarters staff, relying on the dedicated work of hundreds of volunteers and field staff who give generously and tirelessly of their time, energies and talents.

In addition to assistance to refugees, IRC is an advocate for refugees and their cause. Public information and education are integral parts of IRC's mission. In this role, IRC is a consistent advocate and uncompromising defender of refugee rights as contained in international refugee and human rights covenants.

January 17, 1990



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERSCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

## MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1989

Present for the Committee: Mmes. Blinken, Crawford, O'Neill, Smithies, Thaw, Ullmann; Messrs. Cherne, Hamburg, Rhodes, Sherwin, Sternberg, Strickler, C.J. Tanenbaum, Weiner, Weiss, Whitehead, Wiesner.

Present by Proxy: Mrs. Levenstein; Messrs. Fitelson, Lyon, Olmer.

Present for the Staff: Mss. Katel, Nagorski; Messrs. DeVecchi, Kastner, Williams.

Mr. Sherwin opened the meeting at 10:00 a.m. at the Union League Club. The minutes of the October 28 meeting were approved as circulated.

Executive Director's Report. Mr. DeVecchi noted the death of Gisele Birnbaum, IRC's extraordinary volunteer who had served as a fulltime Immigration Counselor for more than 20 years, helping asylum applicants. She will be deeply missed. He then reported on several major activities:

1) El Salvador. Robyn Ziebert and her staff carried on heroically during the recent violence. They are safe. Mr. DeVecchi recommended that a mission of Board members once again go to El Salvador early next year to reassess the situation. Mr. Sherwin and Mr. Cherne underlined the importance of a hard look at our presence in El Salvador; we need to determine whether we should stay there until the end of 1990 or depart at an earlier date.

2) The changes taking place in Europe are occurring rapidly. Thousands of East Europeans now in western Europe will most likely be excluded from admission to the United States as refugees. The processing of Soviet refugees, formerly done in Vienna and Rome, is now being shifted to Moscow, and there is some controversy among the volags as to the claim of HIAS to have a virtual monopoly involving the resettlement of Soviet Jews. Two days ago, the Charter 77 human rights group in Czechoslovakia requested, through its Vienna representatives, that IRC provide them with equipment such as phone equipment and photocopy machines. Mr. DeVecchi authorized \$5,000 for such purposes while the border is open.

3) There is a strong possibility of a further famine in Ethiopia generating an additional exodus of refugees to the Sudan. If this happens, we may have to consider expanding our assistance. We now have immunization and inoculation programs in the Southern Sudan.

4) In Asia, we have received a grant to provide public health and sanitation services for Burmese refugee students along the Thai/Burma border. In Hong Kong,



the plight of Vietnamese boat people continues to be deplorable, and IRC is funding programs there through indigenous sister agencies. In early January, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children will send a delegation to Hong Kong - Liv Ullmann and Pat Derian will participate - to investigate camp conditions and the repatriation problem. We also are trying to bring pressures to prevent the push-off of Vietnamese boat people in Malaysia. In Pakistan, we need to reassess our programs for Afghan refugees-- few if any of them have started returning home. In addition, we are handling some sensitive cases of Chinese students who have managed to reach the U.S.

5) Resettlement. IRC will have resettlement responsibility for 10-12% of the 125,000 admissions for FY'90 (October 1989-September 1990). In January, IRC's European directors will join our U.S. regional directors in New York for comprehensive discussions. They will be here at the time of the January 17 Executive Committee meeting.

After extensive discussion of the Executive Director's report, Mr. Sherwin introduced three motions: 1. To authorize the expenditure of \$5,000, as explained by Mr. DeVecchi, for the Charter 77 group. 2. The establishment of a task force to deal with East European and Turkish refugee problems; Mr. DeVecchi will select the membership. 3. A delegation of the Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees to go to Pakistan to study IRC's programs and policies. The three motions as proposed were unanimously approved.

Mr. DeVecchi summarized the detailed financial update, circulated to the Executive Committee, which shows a deficit at the end of September of \$103,409. He noted that the deficit has now been reduced to \$66,000, and it is anticipated that a strong fourth-quarter in fund raising will probably eliminate the deficit and perhaps show a modest surplus for 1989. He called attention to the recent survey in "Money" magazine placing IRC among "the ten most cost-effective social service charities."

Vera Blinken, reporting on the November 16 Freedom Award Dinner honoring Lech Walesa, said that all who attended felt it was an historic event. We anticipate a net profit approaching \$250,000-- the Sadruddin Dinner in April netted about \$180,000. We should soon start considering benefits for 1990. Mr. Cherne noted that the extraordinary success of the Walesa Dinner could not have been accomplished without the vital roles played by Vera Blinken and John Whitehead.

Mr. DeVecchi reported that our office lease expires in April. Present overcrowding is becoming increasingly serious and, with the help and guidance of Charles Tanenbaum, we have been looking into additional space in the building. It will cost approximately \$50,000-60,000 a year in additional rent. A motion to approve the acquisition of such space as described by Mr. DeVecchi and Mr. Tanenbaum was approved.

New Business. Authorization was given to our office in New Jersey to apply for and obtain a grant from the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs for FY'90 in the amount of \$8,045 to carry out an employment program.

At the request of Al Kastner, a resolution was approved to open an account at the Atlanta office of the Charles Schwab brokerage house to enable the sale of securities by an IRC donor amounting to about \$25,000.

Report of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee. Mr. Sherwin turned the meeting over to John Whitehead, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee (consisting of Mrs. Blinken,



Mr. Cherne, Mr. DeVecchi, Mr. Olmer, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Sherwin, Dr. Strickler) which had two 2-hour meetings dealing with "IRC Into the 1990's and Beyond." Mr. Whitehead noted that the Committee was created because many Board members had felt that IRC is at a crossroads. The full report of the Committee covering four major areas - Mission, Governance, Structure and Resources - had been circulated to all Executive Committee members, with the present and proposed organization chart, a detailed statistical report on sources of private income in relation to overall income, and a list of recommendations by the Nominating Committee of new Board members. Mr. Whitehead reviewed the report, step by step, inviting comments, suggestions and recommendations by all present.

Mission. The statement was approved, subject to two changes: Paragraph 1, line 4, be changed to "Thus, IRC's essential mission is to...." Paragraph 2, line 4, the phrase "victims of civil strife and violence" be added. The Mission statement was approved as amended, and will be submitted to the Annual Meeting next Wednesday. Mr. Whitehead stressed that the statement now makes it clear that IRC supports not only refugee victims of oppression but those suffering from and displaced by severe violence.

Governance. Mr. Whitehead noted a degree of dissatisfaction with the way the Board of Directors operates-- nominations, the election of members, participation in IRC activities, staff involvement with members, etc. Also, IRC should consider being more international, with chapters abroad with their own boards and fund-raising capabilities. Ms. Smithies pointed out that in the U.S. there is not sufficient involvement in Miami with IRC and Latin American affairs, and suggested a chapter there. Mr. Cherne recalled that during the period of extensive refugee flows from Cuba, the IRC/Miami staff and Board members such as Dolores were involved in advocacy and fund raising efforts. An IRC affiliate in Germany was active, and CARE now has several overseas affiliates. Mr. Sternberg noted that CARE has had a great deal of trouble with its foreign chapters, especially on money issues. Mr. Hamburg felt that we shouldn't have other groups raising funds for us. Ms. Ullmann raised the question of other overseas groups using the IRC name, and Dr. Strickler wondered how many further demands can be handled by already understaffed IRC. Mr. Williams noted IRC had received substantial funding in some European countries from indigenous sources and was concerned that these contributing organizations might feel that IRC affiliates would be in competition with them. Some overseas chapters of CARE have gone bankrupt, others have gone independent. Mr. Sternberg, in response to a question, said that IRC is still registered in Canada but since Canadian resettlement is handled by the Government, we are no longer needed. Mr. Whitehead said that he has a rule against "we tried it once" -- we might do better in certain instances if we tried again. Mrs. Blinken said that many Board members want to be more actively involved and cited a letter from a member some years ago asking what he was supposed to do.

Mr. DeVecchi said this is a difficult issue-- the staff is eager for and would welcome greater involvement of Board members, though there is a reluctance to be too aggressive in this regard. All voluntary agencies have this problem, and staff/Board member relations need constant nurturing. Mr. Weisner urged that Board meetings be more stimulating, and that inactive members be dropped, but he saw no reason that the active, involved Executive Committee be reduced in size. Mrs. Thaw wondered if we should not offer Board members the opportunity to serve on one kind of Committee or another, and Ms. O'Neill felt that it was important that members participate to a greater extent in IRC and refugee activities.



Mr. Whitehead said, in summary, that there seems to be agreement that the Board is less effective than it could be, and that we should devote more attention to the frequency and structure of meetings. Many good suggestions have been made, and we have identified areas where greater attention should be given for future implementation. Mr. Sherwin pointed out that new names will be introduced today for election to the Board-- people who can make special contributions in the way of expertise, fund raising and effective representation for IRC. The criteria for Board membership is now being applied rigorously, and will continue into the future. Mr. Rhodes added that the Nominating Committee applied the principles indicated by Mr. Sherwin carefully, and each person being proposed for Board membership was interviewed. A number of them did not meet the criteria established and were rejected. Mrs. Blinken suggested that the nomination of the eight members being proposed for election by the Nominating Committee be delayed until February to give the full Executive Committee time to consider them more carefully. Mr. Sherwin stressed the great amount of work done in the recent nominating process, and Mr. Whitehead said it was the best process he has ever seen at IRC. Mr. Cherne thought that to defer the recommendations might result in the loss of some extremely effective people, especially with the Annual Board meeting - to which they had been invited - coming up in a few days. It was agreed, at Mrs. Blinken's suggestion, that in the future the Executive Committee would be given a reasonable amount of time to study the recommendations of the Nominating Committee. Following the discussion, and this understanding, the Executive Committee unanimously approved the election of the following people to the Board of Directors: Tom Gerety, Senator Mark Hatfield, The Honorable Tom Lantos, John LeBoutillier, Dr. Burton C. Lee, Dr. Theodore Li, Lionel Rosenblatt, Norton Stevens, Julia Taft. Leo Cherne also nominated Winston Lord, a Board member, for election to the Executive Committee. His motion was unanimously approved.

Responding to a question, Mr. Kastner said that about two years ago the Board membership was reduced from 83 to 53 people. With the election of new members today and in past months, Board membership to be proposed at the Annual Meeting will consist of 64 members, the Executive Committee of 24 members, and 17 Members of the Corporation. Cecil B. Lyon is resigning as a member of the Executive Committee and Officer, but will remain on the Board, and Oren Root is resigning as a Board and Executive Committee member.

Structure and Resources. Mr. Whitehead opened the discussion on the final two sections of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee's report with the comment that he and all Board members have always been proud of our remarkably low fund-raising/administrative costs-- under 7% in recent years. But with staff now thin, with Mr. Kastner's retirement next year, Mr. Cherne's intention to find a Chairman to succeed him and the need to expand the staff, we must think in terms of greater costs in this regard. This is a matter relating to our very structure. Moreover, Mr. DeVecchi's running the IRC does not leave him time for other functions, and neither Mr. Cherne nor he (Mr. Whitehead) can devote as much time to IRC as they had in past years. It was therefore suggested that, while Mr. DeVecchi continue to serve as Chief Operating Officer, an outstanding person with international recognition be considered as a principal IRC Executive. Some years ago, an executive recruiting firm was retained to search for such a person, but no qualified candidate was identified, and the search was discontinued. In addition, the restructuring, expansion and strengthening of other IRC components, especially the fund-raising, public affairs and financial departments, is recommended-- as outlined in the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee's report distributed to the Executive Committee. Mr. Cherne is in agreement with the recommendations.



Mr. DeVecchi said that he has been devoting increasing time in recent years to expanding the role of the Executive Director to external as well as internal functions. The record speaks for itself. His preference is to restructure and strengthen IRC from the inside, while recruiting new personnel in middle and senior management positions. Mr. Whitehead noted that Mr. DeVecchi's record has been outstanding. We are financially sound today, and our budget has for several years been balanced. However, we must consider the future; we are increasingly dependent on government and UNHCR support, but funds from such sources are in jeopardy. We face a serious situation and it's better to deal with it now rather than in three years when the rug might be pulled out from under us. Total fund-raising has tended to be "static." Mr. DeVecchi's job has become too big for one person.

In the extensive discussion that followed, several members (Ms. Ullmann, Ms. O'Neill, Mr. Wiesner, Mr. Sternberg, Mr. Tanenbaum, Mr. Hamburg) questioned the concept of a "paid President," making the following points: IRC's reputation under Mr. DeVecchi's leadership is extraordinary, partly because we are "different" from other agencies and we have a unique spirit. Ideally, a President - serving as Mr. Whitehead did for several years - would be preferable, reinforcing our spirit of volunteerism. A new, high-paid executive from the outside would have adverse effects in the organization. It would also entail a substantial financial obligation. Building from within and a strengthened staff would be preferable. Mr. Cherne expressed some disagreement; the Board and Executive Committee have not always been sufficiently consulted or utilized by staff, and although Mr. DeVecchi has performed "beautifully," the addition of a top-level person as suggested by Mr. Whitehead would strengthen IRC. Mr. DeVecchi's job is simply too big for one person. Mr. Cherne expressed concern regarding a replacement for Mr. Kastner, and the time it is taking. He was assured by Mr. DeVecchi and Mr. Kastner that candidates are being interviewed and others sought through advertising and personal contacts. The most qualified candidates will be interviewed by Board members.

Mr. Whitehead said it is evident that substantial disagreement exists among those present on the recommendation of the Sub-Committee regarding the addition of a "paid President" to the staff. He does not suggest a vote under such circumstances. Mr. Sherwin praised the Sub-Committee's report, but agreed that no consensus existed on the one point which will have to be further considered. However, the position of a Chief Financial Officer should be looked into and he agreed with Mr. Cherne and Dr. Strickler that the search for a successor to Mr. Kastner should be intensified. Dr. Strickler stressed that good people in this field are hard to find, and that within three months the Executive Committee should review the matter. Mr. Whitehead said he was reassured-- this is an important job, and care must be taken in the selection.

Mr. Whitehead concluded the discussion with the comment that the report of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee seems to have been basically approved, with the exception of the one point referred to above. Mr. Sherwin and other members of the Executive Committee agreed.

The Executive Committee approved the proposed schedule of 1990 meetings as circulated to the Executive Committee: Wednesday, January 17; Wednesday, April 25; Wednesday, June 27; Wednesday, August 15; Wednesday, October 3; Wednesday, December 12. The dates for three Board of Directors meetings were approved as follows: Wednesday, March 14; Wednesday, May 16; Wednesday, November 14.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:30 p.m.



May 24 -  
603 Shetty



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

## Board of Directors Meeting March 14, 1990

### AGENDA

- ✓ 1. Approval of minutes of 1989 Annual Meeting.
- ✓ 2. Chairman's introductory remarks. (Leo Cherne) *Cambodia-Thailand  
Burma 2000 students  
Sudan / Malawi -  
7 feeding centers*
- ✓ 3. Executive Director's report. (Robert P. DeVecchi)
- ✓ 4. 1990 budget as approved by the Finance and Executive Committee. (Peter Weiss)
- ✓ 5. Report on Pakistan trip of Citizens Commission on Afghan refugees. (James Strickler / Winston Lord) *1.5 m died  
"RETURN IN PEACE & SECURITY"*
6. Report on El Salvador mission. (Dolores Smithies) *women - apathetic / > program in IRC (1,300 employees) / irrigation  
p.r. war in U.S. Congress / careful, violently divided / settle by negotiations / damage > than U.S. aid / determined  
60 people / RC DIVIDED*
- ✓ 7. Developments on Thai-Cambodian border situation. *300,000 Cambodian refugees / neutral camp / (Lionel Rosenblatt) - eyes div by Costa Rica & Nicaragua  
Refugees Leth*
8. Update on Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children. *Jan. 90 - Hong Kong, for Ullman / Hong Kong on shelves / Pakistan - women - may / (Catherine O'Neill) (Purdah)*
9. IRC programs in Pakistan, Thailand and the Sudan. - each specialized / *AFRICA  
Malawi - less than 25 / yr / refugee  
(Judy Mayotte) \* extracting repatriation humane deterrence most difficult IRC enables*
10. New business. / *Adminstring & Art Portfolio / Kestner / Buntin & Bowles*

\*Judy Mayotte has spent the past months visiting IRC programs, under a special grant from The MacArthur Foundation. She is writing a book on refugee relief programs in the Third World.

# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

• NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

• (212) 679-0010

To: The Executive Committee

Date: February 21, 1990

From: Peter Weiss

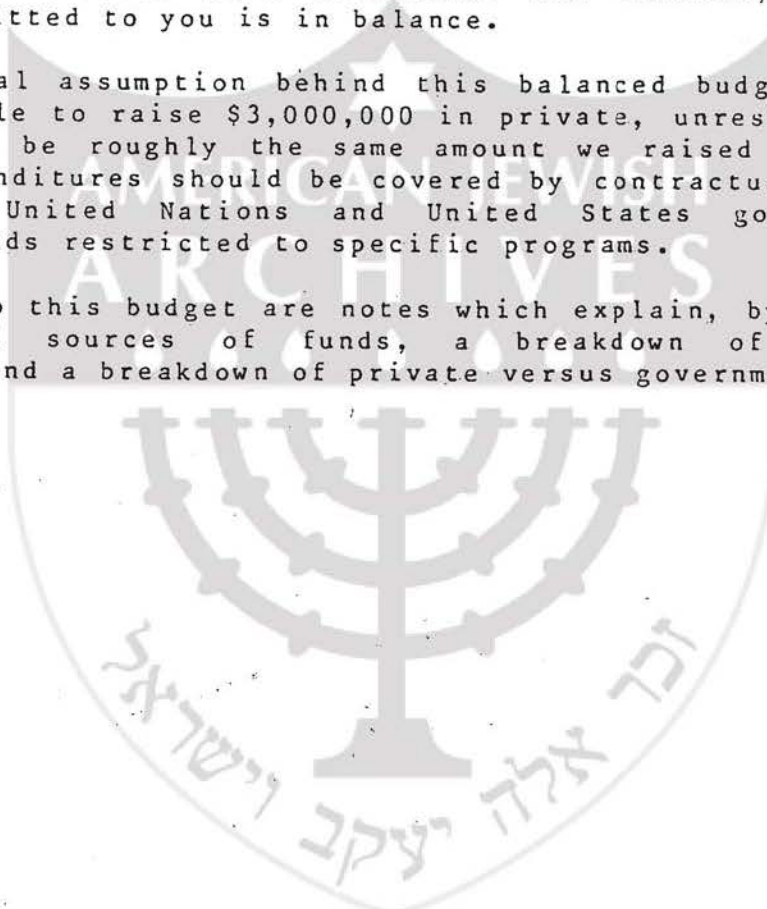
Subject: 1990 Budget

Attached for your consideration is the proposed IRC budget for 1990. It is a balanced budget.

This budget is the result of extensive discussions involving members of the Finance Committee and staff. The original draft anticipated a deficit in the range of \$250,000. However, subsequent revision have eliminated the deficit, and what is being submitted to you is in balance.

The critical assumption behind this balanced budget is that we will be able to raise \$3,000,000 in private, unrestricted funds. This would be roughly the same amount we raised in 1989. All other expenditures should be covered by contractual obligation, primarily United Nations and United States government, and private funds restricted to specific programs.

Attached to this budget are notes which explain, by program, the anticipated sources of funds, a breakdown of headquarters expenses, and a breakdown of private versus government/UN funds.





INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE  
1990 BUDGET  
ANTICIPATED EXPENSES

	1989	1990 Totals	IRC Private Unrestricted Portion 1990 Budget
<b>I. PROGRAM SERVICES</b>			
Resettlement in U.S.A.	5,725,000	6,204,000	391,500
<b>Asia and Near East</b>			
Pakistan	11,997,300	<u>16,681,562</u>	280,000
Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees.	73,000	40,000	-
Thailand Med.	2,498,400	2,663,735	63,400
Joint Voluntary Agency Program (Thailand)	2,814,120	2,500,000	-
Hong Kong	15,000	120,000	79,000
<b>Latin America</b>			
Costa Rica	1,351,900	1,252,970	43,000
El Salvador	1,081,000	1,355,700	220,000
Mexico	-	6,000	6,000
<b>Europe</b>			
Refugee Programs	1,740,000	<u>1,125,000</u>	196,000
Spanish Refugee Aid	243,000	233,000	-
Medical Asst. to Poland	708,000	<u>2,340,000</u>	-
<b>Africa</b>			
Malawi	1,169,000	1,215,890	41,300
Sudan	1,351,700	1,504,375	200,000
RRO (Sudan)	556,083	588,390	14,000
S. Sudan	-	<u>459,830</u>	-
<b>TOTAL PROGRAM SERVICES</b>	<b>31,323,503</b>	<b>38,290,452</b>	<b>1,534,200</b>
<b>II. SUPPORTING SERVICES</b>			
Management & General	1,352,970	1,691,300	
Fund Raising	<u>880,140</u>	<u>774,500</u>	
<b>TOTAL SUPPORTING SERVICES</b>	<b><u>2,233,110</u></b>	<b><u>2,465,800</u></b>	<b><u>1,465,800</u></b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b><u>33,556,613</u></b>	<b><u>40,756,252</u></b>	<b>3,000,000</b>
<b>Anticipated Private, Unrestricted Income:</b>			<b><u>3,000,000</u></b>

BUDGET NOTES (Sources of Income)

Budget Totals

Costa Rica			
UNHCR	1,209,970		
IRC unrestricted	43,000	1,252,970	
El Salvador			
USAID	1,135,700		
IRC unrestricted	220,000	1,355,700	
Malawi			
UNHCR	446,024		
Dept. of State	354,146		
IRC Restricted			
Norwegian Refugee Council	76,000		
Stichting Vluchteling	153,620		
Refugees International	10,000		
Dutch Government	110,000		
Le Brun	24,800		
IRC Unrestricted	41,300	1,215,890	
Mexico			
IRC Unrestricted	6,000	6,000	



**Pakistan**

USAID	6,572,548
Dept. of State	930,190
U.S. Information Service	277,286

UNDP	37,500
UNHCR	1,006,238
UNOCA	2,540,000
UNICEF	446,740

IRC Restricted	
Austcare	400,000
Aust. Relief Comm.	4,500
Canadian Embassy	119,000
Norwegian Refugee Comm.	189,860
Norwegian Church Aid	189,860
Operation Days Work	155,480
Pakistan Red Crescent Society	11,430
Refugees Int'l. Japan	37,890
Stichting Vluchteling	1,897,580
Swedish Comm.	17,790
Van Leer Foundation	100,300

IRC Market Funds	1,417,370
IRC Unrestricted	280,000

**16,681,562**

**Sudan**

AID/OFDA	299,272
UNHCR	322,884
UNDP	282,981
IRC Restricted	
Stichting Vluchteling	165,455
PeW	73,486
Band Aid	45,626
European Community	114,671
IRC Unrestricted	200,000

**1,504,375****Refugee Resettlement Office (Sudan)**

Dept. of State	574,390
IRC Unrestricted	14,000

**588,390****Southern Sudan**

AID/OFDA	356,825
Unicef	103,005

**459,830**



**Thailand**

Dept. of State	784,790	
UNFDAC	36,030	
UNHCR and Ministry of Interior	881,640	
UNBRO	510,040	
IRC Restricted		
Stichting Vluchteling	165,370	
Lutheran World Relief	53,500	
Refugees International Japan	54,000	
Liechtenstein Red Cross	9,540	
Ford Fdn.	15,680	
Spunk Fund	38,830	
Weyerhauser	24,800	
Austcare	9,640	
Children's Aid	10,730	
Thai-Chinese Refugee Service	5,745	
IRC Unrestricted	63,400	2,663,735
<b>Joint Voluntary Agency</b>		
Dept. of State	2,500,000	2,500,000
<b>U.S. Domestic Resettlement</b>		
Dept. of State	4,802,500	
Dept. of Health & Human Services	400,000	
State Grants	500,000	
IRC Restricted		
Philanthropic Fund	40,000	
Local Income	70,000	
IRC Unrestricted	391,500	6,204,000

**Europe**

Dept. of State	833,000
USAID	6,000
UNHCR	20,000

IRC Restricted Funds	
Eigertrager Verein	30,000
Philanthropic Fund	40,000

IRC Unrestricted	196,000	1,125,000
------------------	---------	-----------

**Hong Kong**

IRC Restricted	41,000
----------------	--------

IRC Unrestricted	79,000	120,000
------------------	--------	---------

**Medical Aid to Poland**

IRC Restricted		2,340,000
----------------	--	-----------

**Citizens Commission**

IRC Restricted		40,000
----------------	--	--------

**Spanish Refugee Aid**

IRC Restricted		233,000
----------------	--	---------

**Management & General/Fund Raising**

Interest Income/Loan	
repayments	700,000
Indirect Costs	300,000

IRC Unrestricted	1,465,800	2,465,800
------------------	-----------	-----------

**GRAND TOTAL****40,756,252**



# IRC GENERAL EXPENSES

## Budget - 1990

	<u>Budget</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>1989 Expenses</u> <u>(unadjusted)</u>	<u>Budget</u> <u>1990</u>
<u>Salaries</u>			
Administration	530,600	549,200	790,500 (1)
Fund-Raising	254,500	256,200	318,100
Public Education	76,800	72,000	84,100
<u>Total</u>	<u>861,900</u>	<u>877,400</u>	<u>1,192,700</u>
<u>Employees Taxes &amp; Benefits</u>			
	172,400	159,700	223,400
<u>Total Costs of Personnel</u>	<u>1,034,300</u>	<u>1,037,100</u>	<u>1,416,100</u>
<u>General Expenses</u>			
Rent and Light	106,300	108,500	212,900
Maintenance & Repairs	3,000	4,100	3,600
Telephone & Telegraph	20,600	22,800	22,500
Office Supplies & Equip.	25,800	29,300	32,000
Postage & Mailing Exp.	195,300	204,200	210,900
Insurance	5,500	4,500	5,000
Travel	12,000	18,500	19,000
Audit and Professional	74,500	76,400	76,300
Membership	26,000	25,600	26,000
Printing, Promotion Direct Mail	260,000	265,300	273,000
Public Education	25,000	18,700	25,000
Meetings and Misc.	15,000	15,500	20,000
ICM Billings	58,100	55,600	41,000
Computer	38,800	32,300	34,500
Depreciation-Equip./Leasehold	7,000	8,000	8,000
Consultant Fees	40,000	40,000	40,000
<u>Total General Expenses</u>	<u>912,900</u>	<u>929,800</u>	<u>1,049,700</u>
<u>Total Personnel and General Expenses</u>	<u>1,947,200</u>	<u>1,966,900</u>	<u>2,465,800</u>

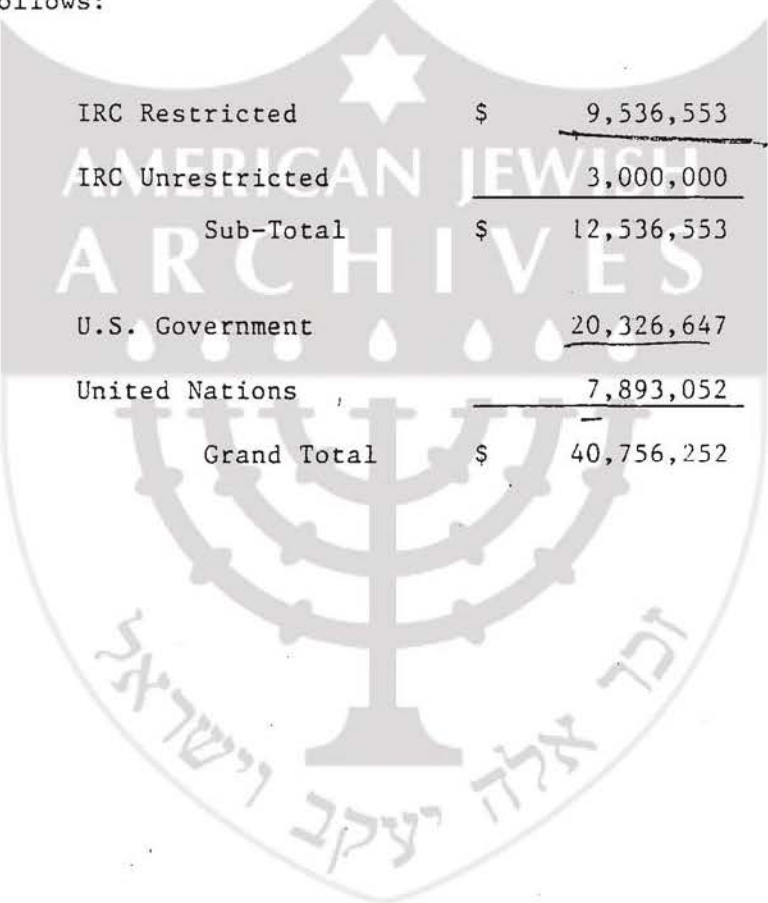
(1) Includes salaries of Overseas Program staff of appx. \$200,000. They were listed as separate line item in previous budgets.

BUDGET NOTES

2/21/90

CY 1990

The breakdown of private versus Government/UN funds is as follows:



IRC Restricted	\$	<u>9,536,553</u>	
IRC Unrestricted		<u>3,000,000</u>	
Sub-Total	\$	12,536,553	31%
U.S. Government		<u>20,326,647</u>	↑50%
United Nations		<u>7,893,052</u>	↑19%
Grand Total	\$	40,756,252	100%



# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

## INCOME (\$US MILLIONS)

	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1990</u>
IRC - UNRESTRICTED	3.4	3.8	3.4	3.1	3.0
IRC - RESTRICTED	3.2	3.5	5.5	6.6	9.6
U.S. GOVERNMENT	13.8	15.0	16.6	18.8	20.3
UNITED NATIONS	<u>4.0</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>7.9</u>
TOTAL	<u>24.4</u>	<u>25.8</u>	<u>29.1</u>	<u>33.8</u>	<u>40.8</u>

IRC - UNRESTRICTED = CONTRIBUTIONS, INTEREST, FUND RAISING EVENTS

IRC - RESTRICTED = STICHTING VLUCHTLING, DUTCH, CANADIAN & NORWEGIAN AGENCIES

## INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

## EXPENSES (\$US MILLIONS)

	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1990</u>
LATIN AMERICA	1.9	3.0	2.1	2.5	2.6
EUROPE	1.4	1.9	2.5	2.0	2.7
AFRICA	2.1	1.8	2.6	3.1	2.8
ASIA AND NEAR EAST	10.3	11.4	12.3	17.4	22.0
USA	7.1	6.5	7.2	5.7	6.2
ADMINISTRATIVE	1.6	2.7	1.9	2.2	2.5
TOTAL	<u>24.4</u>	<u>35.3</u>	<u>39.1</u>	<u>38.8</u>	<u>40.3</u>



IRC MISSION TO EL SALVADOR -- February 1990

Our mission, led by the Honorable Angier Biddle Duke, consisted of Mr. Norton Stevens, Mr. Louis Weisner and myself as members of the Board of IRC; Mr. Robert McColm of Freedom House; and Mr. George Biddle and Mr. Jay Rutherford as observers. Ms. Robyn Ziebert, the IRC representative in El Salvador, organized our meetings most efficiently. Thanks to the wonderful hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Mathies, we were able to meet many Salvadorians, including ministers of government, religious leaders and key figures in the business community.

Our goal was to evaluate the political and social climate in El Salvador, in order to present a report to the Board with recommendations as to whether IRC should continue our programs in El Salvador, now expanded to approximately \$3,000,000 every eighteen months. We are working in several zones of conflict and have been asked to decide whether we should work with the 8,400,000 expatriates that have returned from Honduras. We were also asked by Robyn Ziebert to consider whether we should involve ourselves in assisting repatriates who wish to return to Nicaragua, notably those currently in the Costa Rican camps.

My perceptions, observations and recommendations may not be those of all the members of the Commission, for whom I have the greatest respect.

Despite having visited El Salvador for over thirty five years, I found the present state of San Salvador to be both shocking and sad. The poverty seems compounded by the destruction incurred during the FLM's November offensive. Misery is etched on the faces of the Salvadorian people, especially the children. As our plane departed, I realized that during my four days in El Salvador I never saw anyone smile in public.

Anything and everything seems to take place in El Salvador: civil war, earthquakes, detonating bombs and mortars... All these and more have destroyed a country much in the same manner as Lebanon was destroyed. The ideologies of foreign countries are also imposed on the country, both from the left and the right. The victims are the Salvadorians, most poignantly the children. The war has left its cruel stamp on the faces and bodies of the boy-soldiers, the hundreds of patients at the military hospital - undernourished, undersized eleven to fourteen-year-olds with missing arms, legs, and hands, disfigured and often paralyzed.

Amid the despair and confusion, there are issues that, paradoxically, both sides agree on. For example, everyone we spoke with - Ambassador William G. Walker; the AID representatives and director Henry Bassford; Mr. Ruben Zamora, leader of MPSC; Colonel Emilio Ponce, Chief of Staff of the Joint High Command; the Vice-Minister of Health; Richard Oulahan, AIFLD Director; and Father Tojeira, the Jesuit Provincial as well as Msgn. Freddy Delgado and the Salesian Fathers - admire and respect the IRC's work and want IRC to continue its programs. They feel that we are an anchor of stability, thanks to Robyn Ziebert and the IRC staff, consisting of over sixty salvadoreños, and that we are unlike any other "humanitarian" and church groups, many of whom seem



to forment both dissent and revolution. We are respected for our good work and our neutrality.

We were warned to avoid areas of intense conflict, not only for the staff's safety, but also because many of the more controversial programs eventually have to be abandoned, thereby erasing any permanent effect on the community. I suggest that we explore working with desplazados through the "Comite de Proyeccion Social Alcadia de San San Salvador", under the Vice Minister of Health, and with the Salesian Fathers, who are said to be doing an extraordinary labor of education and social work, helping the poor instead of playing politics. The Salesian Fathers have a community of five hundred desplazado families in San Salvador and they would very much like to work with the IRC in joint projects. They met Robyn Ziebert at the Mathies reception, and Robyn plans to further explore these possibilities.

The Catholic Church is extremely divided between those who work in the ministry of helping the poor (Salesians, etc.) and those who see their ministry, as expressed by Father Tojeira, as "not working with the poor alone," but also directing their efforts toward a "transformation of society integrally - an ideological, political and social change" which would justify the armed conflict and defiance of freely elected government officials (for further information on this ideology, see Msgn. Freddy Delgado's booklet, which is being translated into English. Grim as this pamphlet is, I feel that we should be aware of the "soldier priests", who are having such an impact in El Salvador and other Latin American countries).

Born in Galicia, Spain, and appointed by the Society of Jesus to oversee Central America, civilian-dressed Tojeira spent many years in Honduras, where he often visited with the repatriates. This charismatic

and brilliant man personifies the militant church, along with Msgr. Rivera Llamas and the deceased Father Inacurria. Formerly residing at the UCA (university), where we met with Juan Jose Garcia, Director of Human Rights.

Father Tejeira states that Father Inacurria's murder, along with the murders of six of his assistants, "was not logical," since he was mediating between President Cristiani and the FLM. But logic is scarce in El Salvador.

All parties agree that President Cristiani is making progress in assuming command of his government. Yet all agree that some branches of the military are both powerful and corrupt. Yet Colonel Ponce, Chief of Staff of the Joint High Command, says that he supports reform and reduction of the military, as well as judicial and electoral reforms, once peace is established. Both he and Ruben Zamora agree that the war's fate will be decided in Washington. Colonel Ponce states that "this is no longer a military war; it's a public opinion war to be won in Washington by Congress". Zamora states "from the Panama invasion and the elections in Nicaragua we know that the war will be decided in Washington." He strongly favors dialogue between FLM and President Cristiani. Both men agree that the FLM is very well armed and trained, and will receive further large quantities of arm supplies from caches in Nicaragua. An embassy official confided that "arms they had but not bullets, since Castro supplied them." All agree that Castro is isolated and "out" and that he will soon fall. "Cubans were Fidelistas, not Communistas," says Zamora. "Castro is getting old and rigid."

After the Panama invasion, followed by Mrs. Chamorro's victory in Nicaragua and preceded by four consecutive free elections in El Salvador - the last won by the rightist Arena party - have left few with a spirit



of triumph. Many fear for their lives, such as Dr. Mauricio Colorado, the Attorney General who taps his bullet-proof vest and points out that his predecessor was killed. The representative of the Human Rights at UCA refuses to state what political party he belongs to, or say who he thinks killed the priests, "the higher parties that ordered the murders."

Many feel that the armed forces could have and certainly can in the future defeat the FLM. Yet they say that the US wants an "intellectual victory" and has impeded the army from winning the war because of the conditions it imposes. "We want the integration of the FLM, not its defeat," states Henry Bassford, Director of AID. When asked who "we" refers to, he replied "AID." And when asked by whose authority, he replied "the United States government." Although this may appeal to American policy, it may not be realistic when one considers the 80,000 dead, the families divided, the hate, and the human rights violations on both sides that ten years of war have left as a legacy. Yet US policy rules, which in turn is influenced by the false impressions and statements of supposed "human rights" groups, who wield such influence that Senator Dodd threatened to malign the Cristiani government unless Miss Jennifer Cacciolo was released, despite the huge cache of arms found in her back yard. When last heard from, Miss Cacciolo was lecturing on campuses, stating that she was raped by twelve soldiers in the presence of a US embassy official. Another example, Salvadorians feel, of the power of the US and their dependence, which both sides - left and right - need yet resent.

Another paradox - the repatriados: After having left El Salvador nine years ago, they have been indoctrinated and trained in Honduras by

Marxist-Leninist cadres. When they expressed their desire to return under the auspices of Msgn. Rivera y Llamas, he stated that they wanted no government aid, and that they would be taken care of by the Church. Upon returning they have refused to repatriate to safe zones, choosing to be close to their former home and in zones of conflict. According to Henry Bassford, they serve as "rest and recreation centers for the guerillas". According to Colonel Ponce, they are also recruiting men for the guerillas as per the testimony of guerilla soldiers captured during the offensive. They are highly organized into artisan groups, no longer do they wish to work the land. Instead, they want to "intermingle with merchants" for commerce - and "recruitment and infiltration," many add. When the Minister of Education went to meet with them in Honduras, offering them the Salvadorian flag, they threw it on the ground, refused to sit with him, introduced their leaders as ministers as if they were government officials, and according to the minister and others present, had many "foreigners with them at the meeting." Yet the government is trying to work out a modus vivendi with them, despite military and repatriate skirmishes which recently killed several adults and children. AID would like the IRC to work with them.

In closing, if I had one recommendation to make, it would be for the IRC - if we stay in El Salvador - to avoid the trap of the repatriates. Not only are they highly confrontational, but they are in zones of conflict; any day an all-out confrontation is expected. This is a highly charged political situation. Our involvement may cause the perception that in a freely elected government we are aiding the guerillas and it may result in us losing our neutral status, thus jeopardizing our programs and exposing our staff to danger.



I recommend that while we are in El Salvador we remain neutral, working with desplazados in areas without active intense conflict. I also recommend that our representative abstain from involvement in repatriate movements, even if UNHCR asks us to do so. Although all parties agree that President Cristiani is succeeding and they pray for his well-being, the situation in this tortured land may well get worse before it gets better.

Dolores C. Smithies

March 8, 1990



ITINERARY FOR IRC DELEGATION AS AT FEBRUARY 26\*

(FEBRUARY 27 - MARCH 4, 1990)

TUESDAY 27 FEBRUARY

06:55 a.m. Dolores arrives. Will join group at hotel 6:00 p.m.  
02:49 p.m. EA #957 Angie, Bruce, Lou, Jay, Norton, George - IRC vehicles.  
04:30 p.m. Check-in - Camino Real Hotel.  
06:30 p.m. Drinks and dinner with Delegation at hotel - discussion of objectives, issues, agenda, etc.

WEDNESDAY 28 FEBRUARY

08:00 a.m. Breakfast - hotel dining room (El Escorial).  
09:00 a.m. Depart for U.S. Embassy.  
09:30 a.m. Ambassador William Walker.  
11:00 a.m. Henry Bassford, Director AID.  
12:30 p.m. "Comite de Proyeccion Social Alcaldia de San Salvador" - Mayor of San Salvador Armando Calderon Sol, Mrs. Calderon Sol, Vice-Minister of Health Gustavo Argueta, and Medical Coordinators.  
01:30 p.m. Light lunch - "Basilea".  
03:00 p.m. Dr. Ruben Zamora - Leader of MPSC.  
05:00 p.m. Return to hotel.  
07:00 p.m. Depart for AID reception.  
07:30 p.m. Cocktail reception (dress "Guayabera") hosted by John Heard, Deputy Director AID. (*DIETRICH*) (*BASSFORTH*) *Aid Director*

THURSDAY 1 MARCH

08:00 a.m. Depart hotel for first appointment.  
08:30 a.m. Lic. Juan Jose Garcia, Director of Human Rights Institute, UCA.  
11:00 a.m. Arrive at Estado Mayor.  
11:30 a.m. Colonel Emilio Ponce, Chief of Staff of Joint High Command.  
01:15 p.m. Light lunch - "El Arbol de Dios".  
02:30 p.m. Richard Oulahan, AIFLD Director.  
04:00 p.m. Dr. Mauricio Colorado, Attorney General.  
05:30 p.m. Return to hotel.  
07:15 p.m. Depart for Mathies' dinner.  
07:30 p.m. Dinner hosted by Florence and Roberto Mathies in honor of IRC Delegation.

FRIDAY 2 MARCH

07:30 a.m. Depart hotel for first appointment.  
08:00 a.m. Fr. Tojeira, Jesuit Provincial.  
04:00 p.m. Monseñor Rosa Chavez, Assistant Archbishop of San Salvador.

\*We are awaiting confirmation of appointments with President Cristiani and with Vice-President Merino, for Friday.



ITINERARY

2/...

FRIDAY continued

07:30 p.m. Dinner with Lindsey and Jane Gruson (N.Y. Times/NBC) at El Bodegon.  
.....

01:00 p.m. Dolores and Norton (Bruce?) depart for airport.

03:35 p.m. EA #310 departs for Miami.

SATURDAY 3 MARCH

06:20 a.m. Pick-up Angie, George, and Jay for airport.

08:50 a.m. TACA #310 departs.  
.....

07:00 a.m. Pick-up Lou for flight to La Union.

08:00 a.m. TAES flight to La Union with Dr. Alfonso Rosales.

08:45 a.m. Arrive La Union. Met by Aris Silva (Operations Coordinator) and Romulo Carranza (Coordinator San Miguel) - visit projects of Maquigue, Huisquil, and El Socorro.

12:30 p.m. Lunch in La Union.

03:00 p.m. Fly back from La Union.

04:00 p.m. Visit IRC clinic site (not a working day) if time permits.

06:00 p.m. Return to hotel.

SUNDAY 4 MARCH

06:20 a.m. Pick-up Lou for airport.

08:50 a.m. TACA #310 departs.

RZ/

c.c. Archivos

FAG

Alfonso

Aris

LIST OF INVITEES TO THE RECEPTION IN HONOR OF THE DELEGATION OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE.

Wednesday, February 28, 1990  
7:30 p.m.

Host: John Heard, AMDO/AID  
Calle Circunvalación No.310  
Col. San Benito

EMBASSY

Ambassador William G. Walker  
William Dieterich, DCM  
Steve McFarland, POL  
Bruce Tebsherany, POL  
Donald Parker, CONS  
Susan Jacobs, EA  
Stephen Donehoo, DAO

AID

Henry H. Bassford, DIR  
Richard K. Archi, DDIR  
William G. Kaschak, AMDP  
Debbie Kennedy, PRJ  
David Kitson, IRD  
Kraig Baier, IRD  
Raymond Lynch, IRD  
Marvin Dreyer, IRD  
Thomas Hawk, IRD  
Yolanda de Herrera IRD  
Richard Thornton, HPN  
Keven Armscrong, HPN  
Enrique Barrau, RDO  
Kenneth Ellis, RDO

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

David Thompson, CREA  
Rafael Martínez, RONCO  
Patricia Caffrey, SAVE THE  
CHILDREN  
Han Dijsselbloem, FOSTER  
PARENTS

GOES

Mirna Liévano de Marques, MIPLAN  
Ernesto Altschulz, PRESIDENCIA  
Lic. Ernesto Merino, VICE PRESIDENT  
Dr. Jorge Martínez, VICE MINISTER OF INTERIOR  
Sr. Salvador Iraheta, MANAGER, CONADES  
Lic. Roberto Campós, PRESIDENCY  
Col. Carlos H. Figueroa, VICE MINISTER AGRICULTURE  
Cnel.yDr. Lisandro Vásquez, MINISTER OF HEALTH

U. N. AGENCIES

Roberto Rodríguez, UNHCR  
Walter Franco, UNDP  
Rosita de Antolin, WORLD FOOD PROGRAM  
Carlos Ventorello, PRODERE  
Carlos Federico Paredes, PEC  
FRANCISCO MANCILLA, WFP  
IK REPS. & DELEGATION

Robyn Ziebert  
Dr. Francisco Goens  
Amb. Angier Biddle Duke\*  
Dolores Smithies\*  
Norton Stevens\*  
Louis Weisner\*  
Robert McColm\*  
Jay Rutherford\*  
George Biddle\*

ANDREA HALBAUM - OIM (Icm)

\*Members of the visiting IK delegation.



## WORLDVIEW

## NICARAGUA: THE HONOR LIST

**V**IOLETA Chamorro is a strong, elegant woman who gives credit for victory where credit is due: To the people of Nicaragua who — without the help of foreign consultants or advisers — listened to campaign promises, reflected on their 10 years of experience with a Sandinista government and cast their votes.

"We have shown the world an example of civic duty, demonstrating that we Nicaraguans want to live in democracy, want to live in peace and, above all, that we want to live in liberty," Chamorro said in an impeccable victory statement.

"We have achieved the first democratic election in the history of this country."

She is surely right. In their first chance ever at competitive national elections, the Nicaraguan people demonstrated that they cared enough to register and vote, that they dared enough to run for office and make independent choices — even in the presence of threats and intimidation.

Like the other people of Central America — Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans and Costa Ricans — Nicaraguans demonstrated a resounding



JEANE  
KIRKPATRICK

preference for democratic elections over violent revolution.

The performance of the people of all these small countries should silence forever demeaning doubts about whether they need democracy, or are finally "ready" for self-government.

No sooner were the elections over than the scramble for credit began. But there is credit enough for all.

And, given the importance of the event, it is appropriate to reflect a bit on how democratic elections arrived in Nicaragua and whose good work was, in fact, involved.

Deserving credit as great

as that of the voters themselves were Violeta Chamorro and those who ran as opposition candidates, hanging in the race after repeated threats, in a context where their opponents controlled the police, the army, the economy and have repeatedly used force to silence opposition.

They also deserve credit for their discipline and restraint in uniting in a single coalition behind a single slate of candidates.

The tradition of schismatic politics is strong in Nicaragua. Both the Somoza and Sandinista regimes have practiced the strategy of divide and rule to prevent the coalescence of opposition.

So the leaders of Nicaragua's traditional parties have had no opportunity to acquire the skills of compromise and the habits of cooperation so important to success in democratic politics.

But, though they lacked experience with democratic politics, they have experience enough with the Sandinistas.

All had been severely mistreated by the Sandinistas. Some were beaten, some imprisoned, all were threatened.

So, although each of the 14 parties in Mrs. Chamor-

ro's UNO coalition had its own ideas about who should be the presidential candidate, each understood it was necessary first to beat the Sandinistas, and then to settle the differences among themselves peaceably.

Their ability to subordinate differences to a greater cause was itself a minor miracle, which there will be need to repeat again and again in the months to come.

Many other Nicaraguans deserve credit as well, prominent among them Cardinal Miguel Obando y

promise elections and finally to fulfill their promises. These Contras risked their lives in a clear-cut freedom fight and, with the transition to democracy, will have attained their goals.

I do not doubt that the contribution of this largely peasant army will be honored by their countrymen. So will the contribution of the Contra leaders, who for a decade endured the frustrations of American politics to win support for their struggle.

Nicaraguans will also understand and appreciate

## Many deserve credit for the staging of the Sandinista-ruled country's first democratic election and for Mrs. Chamorro's victory

Bravo, whose clarity and personal courage were bulwarks against the subversion of truth and the establishment of political control over religion.

These Nicaraguans also include the young men whose armed resistance provided Sandinista

comandantes with the incentive to negotiate, to

the special solidarity of the Honduran government in providing them refuge.

The Contras were the "fight" in a successful, though uncoordinated, strategy of "fight and talk." The Central American presidents provided the other element — the "talk."

The presidents of Central America — especially El

Salvador's Napoleon Duarte, Costa Rica's Oscar Arias and Honduras' Jose Azcona — persisted in negotiations that extracted evermore specific commitments from the Sandinistas for free and fair elections.

Mikhail Gorbachev deserves credit for recommending to the Sandinistas the paths of moderation and negotiation, political pluralism and mixed economy.

It is truly no accident that, throughout the campaign and in his concession speech, Daniel Ortega used language identical with that of Soviet recommendations. Ortega, who identified heavily with the Socialist International camp, could not have been indifferent to the Soviet leader's guns, refuge and encouragement.

Ronald Reagan was steadfast in this effort, as were George Bush and William Casey and dozens of others.

Those who have helped in the past will need to help again. The task of consolidating free institutions, rebuilding and restoring economies in Central America is enormous. But the prospects are magnificent.



## INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

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

---

To: Board of Directors

Date: June 16, 1989

From: Al Kastner

Subject: Jefferson Award

This note is to inform you that the American Institute for Public Service will present Leo Cherne with the distinguished Jefferson Award at ceremonies to be held at the Supreme Court Building in Washington, D.C. on June 28. The award is presented annually for "The Greatest Public Service Performed by a Private Citizen." The Co-Founders of the Institute sponsoring the Jefferson Award are Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and Robert Taft, Jr.

*A. K.*

AK:bg





**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

February 26, 1990

FIRST NOTICE

TO: Executive Committee

RE: April 25 Meeting

FROM: James C. Strickler

This is the first notice of the Executive Committee meeting on Wednesday, April 25, at 3:45 p.m., in accordance with 1990 schedule of meetings distributed last December 1. Please indicate on the attached postcard if you will attend, and designate a proxy if you cannot come.

You will be informed where the meeting will take place at a later notice. There will be a good deal of construction going on at the IRC office during the latter part of April, and we may have to hold the meeting elsewhere.

I shall  
I shall not attend the meeting

~~Board of Directors~~  
of the Executive Committee

Scheduled for Wednesday, April 25, 1990 @ 3:45 p.m.

Signed .....

I cannot attend and designate as proxy

.....





America the Beautiful USA 15

International Rescue Committee, Inc.

386 Park Avenue South

New York, N.Y. 10016

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

(212) 679-0010

To: Executive Committee

Date: 2/12/1990

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: Hong Kong

I wanted you to know of the legal initiative undertaken by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights with respect to Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong.

As you will see, I believe a contribution of \$2,500 from funds we have received earmarked for Hong Kong is appropriate.

cc: Al, Roy, Susan, Lorna







# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

February 12, 1990

\*LEO CHERNE  
*Chairman*  
\*JAMES T. SHERWIN  
*Chairman, Executive Committee*  
\*RICHARD M. HAMMER  
*Chairman, Finance Committee/Treasurer*  
\*MRS. DONALD M. BLINKEN  
*Vice President*  
\*CECIL B. LYON  
*Vice President*  
\*LIONEL H. OLMER  
*Vice President*  
\*THOMAS L. RHODES  
*Vice President*  
\*MRS. LAWRENCE COPLEY THAW  
*Vice President*  
LIV ULLMANN  
*Vice President-International*  
ELIE WIESEL  
*Vice President-International*  
\*ANNE WHITEHEAD CRAWFORD  
*General Counsel*  
\*PETER W. WEISS  
*Assistant Treasurer*  
\*CHARLES STERNBERG  
*Secretary*  
ROBERT P. DE VECCHI  
*Executive Director*  
ALTON KASTNER  
*Deputy Director*  
H. ROY WILLIAMS  
*Deputy Director-Operations*  
BARBARA NAGORSKI  
*Deputy Director-Resettlement*

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

THE OFFICERS AND  
ROSE BECKER  
\*W. MICHAEL BLUMENTHAL  
ANGIER BIDDLE DUKE  
\*H. WILLIAM FITELSON  
HERBERT G. GRAETZ  
\*MORTON I. HAMBURG  
RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE  
GEORGE F. HRITZ  
TOM KAHN  
HENRY A. KISSINGER  
RONALD S. LAUDER  
\*MARGERY LEVENSTEIN  
JAY MAZUR  
ROBIN McMILLIN  
ALLEN MOORE  
PETER A. NATHAN, M.D.  
\*CATHERINE O'NEILL  
CLAIBORNE PELL  
DITH PRAN  
JOHN RICHARDSON  
JOHN P. ROCHE  
FELIX ROHATYN  
\*OREN ROOT

Mr. Arthur C. Helton  
Director, Refugee Project  
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights  
330 Seventh Avenue, 10th Floor N.  
New York, New York 10001

Dear Arthur,

This is in response to your letter of January 24,  
reporting on your litigation initiative with respect  
to Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong.

As you know, IRC strongly endorses this effort. To  
this end, we are pleased to send the enclosed check  
for \$2,500 in support.

Please keep us advised of progress and also do not  
hesitate to contact us if you feel there are other  
ways IRC can be helpful.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Robert P. DeVecchi  
Executive Director

RDV/HdeC  
Enc.

**INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE**

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

---

To: The Executive Committee, All Offices, Date: January 2, 1990  
& New York Staff  
From: Bob DeVecchi Subject: The Year of the Refugee

I commend to your attention this article from the December 23 issue of The Economist. It is long and detailed but is one of the most comprehensive works I have read on the present day world refugee situation and what it portends for the future.

*BA DeVecchi*

encl.



**INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE**

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

---

To: The Executive Committee, All Offices, Date: January 2, 1990  
& New York Staff  
From: Bob DeVecchi  
Subject: The Year of the Refugee

I commend to your attention this article from the December 23 issue of The Economist. It is long and detailed but is one of the most comprehensive works I have read on the present day world refugee situation and what it portends for the future.

*Bob DeVecchi*

encl.



Mr. Robert P. De Vecchi

## THE YEAR OF THE REFUGEE

JFK Rescue Committee  
Fox (212) 689-3459Voting with their feet, their  
Trabants and their oars

It has been a year of exodus—of East Germans welcomed in West Germany, of boat people expelled from Hongkong, and of millions of others unnoticed except by their reluctant hosts. How is the world to cope with these huge movements of people?

IT WAS all so much simpler when the numbers were smaller. Then everyone could recognise a refugee without difficulty—this wretched woman clutching her small child and a few mementoes of a world now shattered by war, that brave fellow who had slipped over the East German border past steely communist guards, that delightful ballerina from the Bolshoi. To welcome such people was, for most westerners, a pleasure. But now, "Well, there are so many of them; some of them come from countries which really aren't too awful, you know; and lots of them aren't at all like us. Perhaps they're not really refugees at all?"

The question is being asked more and more often in the West, and not just by bigots. Yes, each year brings an increase in numbers. Yes, some of the countries from which they flee, notably those moving from communism to democracy, are hardly tyrannies. And yes, some of them are different from the refugees of yesterday. They come not from neighbouring countries, with similar cultures and religions, but from far afield, some from half way round the world;

where once the movement was east-west, now it is mainly south-north.

But are they refugees, or something different? Economic migrants, perhaps? And if so, do they have less claim on the liberal western conscience? Motives are being examined as never before, and refugees are being categorised accordingly. The trouble is that nearly all refugees have mixed motives, an all-embracing "better life" often being the main one.

Nothing wrong with that. That has always been the motive behind most emigration to the United States, and to other western countries too. (Few Europeans can claim to be pure-bred; even insular Britain has experienced—and been enriched by—waves of immigrants, from Saxons, Vikings and Normans to Huguenots, Irish and Jews.) It is scarcely surprising that Vietnamese take to their boats and East Germans to their Trabants in search of both the ballot and the beefsteak. Just as prosperity and political freedom go hand in hand in the liberal democratic ideology whose triumph the West is (perhaps complacently) celebrating, so they

are intertwined in the minds of those who are newly able to turn their back on communism. And why shouldn't non-communists—whether Tamils, Lebanese or Salvadorans—want a better life, too?

However reasonable the desire, the richer countries of the western world are now rejecting it as a sufficient reason for admittance. West Germany welcomes its brothers from the East because they are brothers, and because its constitution tells it to. No such welcome would be given to Poles or Czechs or Bulgarians, in Germany or anywhere else. Everyone has seen what can happen. A few hundred East Germans cross the border one day and are accepted in the West; next weekend the hundreds have become thousands; next month the thousands are hundreds of thousands. Westerners feel they cannot cope with all the would-be fugitives from communism, let alone all the would-be fugitives from poverty.

They may be right. But they should not imagine that theirs are the only, or even the greatest, concerns raised by the recent growth in refugee numbers.

## No place like home

On a broad measure, the world contains some 15m refugees. Statistics are unreliable. Definitions vary, movements are often unrecorded, and some countries do not want it known that they admit dissidents (Lebanese or Iranians perhaps), while others have an interest in inflating the figures (in order to get more aid). But doubts or disagreements over numbers should not foster myths.

The first misconception that needs to be dispelled is that most refugees are in the



The way it has changed: a thousand East Germans today...



for every Nureyev yesterday



West. They are not. Most are in Asia and Africa (see maps); Pakistan alone is host to about 3.6m Afghans.

The second misconception is that most refugees are simply looking for a bigger wage

## The displaced



Where they are  
Where they came from

Figures in tables exclude countries with fewer than 1,000 refugees. Some numbers are rough estimates. Source: World Refugee Survey, US Committee for Refugees

Algeria	167,000	Mauritania	15,000
Western Sahara	165,000	Senegal	15,000
Other	2,000		
Angola	24,500	Nigeria	8,000
Namibia	2,000	Chad	4,200
Zaire	12,500	Other	800
S. Africa	10,000	Rwanda	20,600
		Burundi	20,600
Benin	3,000	Senegal	63,200
Chad	3,000	Mauritania	58,000
Botswana	1,400	Guinea Bissau	5,000
Zimbabwe	200	Other	200
S. Africa	500	Somalia	365,000
Other	300	Ethiopia	365,000
Burundi	76,900	South Africa	200,000
Rwanda	66,300	Mozambique	200,000
Zaire	9,600		
Uganda	400	Sudan	690,000
Other	200	Ethiopia	600,000
Cameroun	4,600	Chad	23,000
Chad	4,400	Zaire	5,000
Other	200	Uganda	2,000
Central African Republic	3,000	Swaziland	70,700
Chad	2,900	Mozambique	64,000
Other	100	S. Africa	6,700
Congo	2,100	Tanzania	264,200
Chad	1,500	Burundi	154,300
Zaire	300	Mozambique	72,000
Other	300	Rwanda	21,000
Djibouti	32,000	Zaire	16,000
Ethiopia	2,000	Other	1,200
Somalia	30,000	Uganda	125,500
		Rwanda	118,000
Egypt	8,500	Sudan	5,000
Palestine	4,500	Zaire	1,000
Other	1,100	Other	1,500
Ethiopia	700,500	Zaire	325,700
Somalia	550,000	Angola	298,700
Sudan	350,000	Rwanda	11,000
Other	500	Burundi	10,000
Kenya	10,600	Other	6,000
Uganda	5,600	Zambia	131,700
Ethiopia	2,200	Angola	97,000
Rwanda	2,000	Mozambique	20,000
Other	800	Zaire	9,000
Lesotho	4,500	S. Africa	3,200
S. Africa	4,500	Other	2,500
Malawi	720,000	Zimbabwe	177,000
Mozambique	720,000	Mozambique	178,500
		S. Africa	500

packet, a better house and brighter prospects for their children. Most are in fact victims of upheavals caused by wars, typically of national self-determination. Into this category would fall the Afghans (2.35m in Iran besides those in Pakistan), the 1.25m Mozambicans in central and southern Africa, the 890,000 Palestinians in Jordan (another 294,000 in Lebanon), the 660,000 Eritreans in Sudan, the 350,000 Somalis in Ethiopia, the 350,000 Sudanese in Ethiopia, the 320,000 Cambodians in Thailand, the 250,000 Central Americans in each other's countries, the 200,000 Iraqi Kurds in Iran (plus another 50,000 in Turkey), and so on.

The vast majority of these people want to return home. Anyone who doubts this should simply look at the number of Afghans who are seeking entry to the West: hardly any, though 6m are at present living outside their borders. Misconception number three, therefore, is to think that permanent resettlement is the best solution for refugees. The best solution, both for them and for everyone concerned with them, is to return home, as some 41,000 Namibians have done this year.

The desire to go home is at the root of the refugee's wretchedness. Camps, grim though they often are, may offer greater security and better nutrition than a subsistence life at home. In material terms, re-



Argentina	4,900	Guatemala	3,000
Chile	4,700	Cuba	300
S. E. Asia	400	Nicaragua	800
Europe	100	El Salvador	1,800
Other	100		
Belize	4,100	Honduras	37,000
El Salvador	2,900	Nicaragua	23,300
Guatemala	1,200	El Salvador	13,200
		Guatemala	400
Costa Rica	41,000	Mexico	164,400
Nicaragua	33,000	Guatemala	43,000
El Salvador	6,000	El Salvador	120,000
Cuba	2,000	Other	1,400
Cuba	2,000	Nicaragua	7,400
Haiti	2,000	El Salvador	7,000
		Guatemala	400
Dominican Republic	8,000	Panama	1,400
Haiti	6,000	El Salvador	600
French Guiana	8,000	Other	800
Surinam	8,000		

settlement in the West may offer more still. But typically the refugee's lot is poignant. Even those who think they have turned their backs on their own countries for ever and are determined to make a new life elsewhere may become dreadfully unhappy.

The Vietnamese are a case in point. Many have flourished in the United States, but the 18,000 who have come to Britain have not, for the most part, settled in well. Even in America, the incidence of psychological breakdown among Vietnamese is enormously high; in some places, such as Utah, they have been miserable.

## Politics, politics

It is tempting to see this as further evidence that the intellectual distinction between a refugee, the unhappy victim escaping persecution, and an economic migrant, the enterprising fellow who sets off for greener pastures, is hard to draw in practice. That is indeed so. Yet some "pure refugees", that is, people who wish only to go home, can make remarkably successful lives in exile; Eritreans are a notable example. Why? Maybe because of the strength of their belief in a cause—for Eritreans, the secession of their country from Ethiopia, for which some of them have been fighting for nearly 30 years. Politics keeps them going.

Politics may also make refugees unwell. Britain's record on refusing to admit Kurds from Turkey is inexplicable in any other way. Though the persecution of Kurds in Turkey is less severe than it was, it undoubtedly continues. A couple of those Britain has sent back to Turkey were at once arrested and beaten up (they have since been released); others have set fire to themselves in Britain rather than go home. Why is Brit-



Hongkong	67,000	Papua New Guinea	8,000
Vietnam	57,000	Irian Jaya	8,000
Indonesia	5,100	Philippines	27,100
Vietnam	5,100	Leos	25,100
		Laos	700
Japan	1,200	Cambodia	300
Vietnam	1,330		
Malaysia	103,700	Thailand	436,500
Philippines	85,000	Leos	77,700
Vietnam	21,700	Cambodia	320,800
		Burma	21,000
		Vietnam	18,900



## THE YEAR OF THE REFUGEE

so harsh? Not for racist reasons: Ethiopians in similar circumstances would probably be accepted. But Turkey is a NATO ally; Ethiopia is a communist country. And in an age of fundamentalist terrorism, western authorities are terrified of admitting Middle Eastern fanatics.

Few refugees are fanatics, but some are politically involved and even more are educated. It is not the poorest who get up and go, certainly not to the West; it is those with the money—to bribe officials to turn a blind eye and then to pay for the air ticket to Warsaw, whence they make their way west. Many have been expensively trained. Universities and hospitals all over the West are staffed by exiles from abroad.

Such refugees are plainly not a drain on the society that gives them a place. Indeed, academic studies have shown that where refugees are allowed to work (as, for instance, Eritreans have been in Sudan) they place no burden on the local economy. Other studies have shown that resettled refugees typically contribute more in taxes than they consume in services. But a sudden influx can cause immense disruption. The arrival of 3.6m Afghans in Pakistan is an example on a large scale. A smaller one was the expansion of the Cambodian population of Lowell, a town in Massachusetts, from 3,500 in 1985 to 20,000 in 1988. Not long ago Trelleborg, in southern Sweden, suddenly found itself playing host to a traffic of 300 Palestinians a month.

Some worry that refugees to the West tend to perpetuate dying industries and postpone the switch to high technology, because immigrants are drawn to work (for low wages) in the trades they know, using whatever skills they bring with them. Thus textile industries are kept going in Israel (by Jewish immigrants), in Canada (by Indochinese) and in the United States (by Latin Americans), while Japan (which accepts few incomers) forges ahead with new technologies.

But on balance refugees are useful. Being both educated and enterprising, they contribute to the economy in which they work. (The corollary is that they impoverish the countries they leave, many of which are among the poorest countries in the world.) And being politically without rights, they are frequently susceptible to exploitation.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Middle East, which is where the largest groups of "spontaneously settled" refugees



Austria	15,700	Italy	13,000
Hungary	5,400	Various	13,000
Poland	2,500		
Czechoslovakia	2,700	Spain	9,200
Romania	2,200	Various	9,200
Other	1,900		
Cyprus	40,000	Turkey	800,000
Lebanon	40,000	Bulgaria (Ethnic Turks)	300,000
Greece	5,500	Iran	250,000
Various	5,500	Iraq	50,000
Hungary	20,000	Yugoslavia	1,400
Romania	20,000	Various	1,400

\* Excludes the 350,000 ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union, Poland and Romania and the 350,000 East Germans who have come to West Germany this year.

live and work. Because they are settled, albeit temporarily, the international organisations do not regard them as refugees at all (and so they do not appear on our maps), yet that is what many of them are or will soon become. Who are they? Mostly Eritreans and Somalis, but also Iranians, Iraqis, Pal-

estinians, Tamils and others. Where are they? Mostly in the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Some 5m migrants work in the Gulf; most are welcome, for a time, but not for ever. When their work permits expire, they are expected to go home, before they can put down roots and establish permanent residency. But as many as 2m may be unable to go home. No mercy is shown these unfortunates; Eritreans may be taken out to sea by the Saudi authorities and dumped

on the Dahlak islands off the Ethiopian coast. Many fall victim to pirates. Thousands are reckoned to have died. As the Gulf states' population is now growing at 3 1/2% a year—it is expected to double in 20 years—the demand for foreign workers is likely to decline. Many of the "spontaneously settled" are thus set to become spontaneous refugees, this time in Europe.

## The plight of the rejected

The Gulf exiles are perhaps unique in the ruthlessness of their treatment they face, but in one respect they are typical of many others: they do not conform to the official definition of a refugee. It is these "non-refugee" refugees who present the new problem of the age.

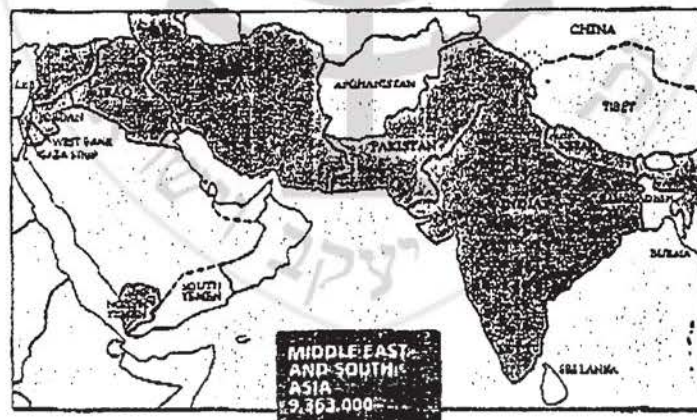
The only definition with much international acceptance is contained in the 1951

United Nations convention on refugees. It says that a refugee is someone fleeing his country for reasons of persecution, or well-founded fear of it, because of his "race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion". The criteria apply to the individual, not the group, and they exclude not just economic migrants but also victims of armed conflicts (though in 1949 western countries were ready to define a Palestinian refugee as someone who had lost his home as a result of the

conflict the previous year).

In 1951 the refugee problem seemed manageable. Of some 30m Europeans uprooted by the second world war, all but 1 1/2m-2m had been found homes; most of those not yet settled were European, and most were fugitives from communism. Non-Europeans were not of great concern to the western-dominated UN. Since western countries looked favourably upon anyone fleeing communism, they chose not to apply the official criteria too strictly.

How differently they feel today—differently not just from then but from each



Gaza Strip	489,400	Lebanon	294,300
Palestinians	469,400	Pakistan	294,300
China (Tibet)	294,300	Nepal	12,000
Sri Lanka	91,500	China (Tibet)	12,000
Bangladesh	91,500	Pakistan	3,647,000
Afghanistan	3,622,000	Afghanistan	3,622,000
Iran	25,000	Iran	25,000
Burma	200	Syria	272,800
Iran	2,950,000	Palestinians	272,800
Afghanistan	2,350,000	West Bank	398,400
Iraq	600,000	Palestinians	398,400
Iraq	75,000	North Yemen	50,000
Iran	75,000	South Yemen	45,000
Jordan	889,800	Other	5,000
Palestinians	889,800		



## EAR OF THE REFUGEE



Afghans only want to go home

other. Many Americans still believe that the desire to leave a communist country is tantamount to evidence of persecution. That was the basis of America's refugee law until the 1980 Refugee Act brought the 1951 UN criteria into America's definition. It did not make much difference. Most refugees admitted to the United States continued to come from communist countries. Then, in December 1988, the State Department announced that the United States could no longer presume a well-founded fear of persecution on the part of Soviet émigrés.

Even so, in the current fiscal year some 96% of the 125,000 to be admitted to the United States as refugees will come from communist countries. Last year nearly two-thirds of all refugees admitted to America came from just three countries, each communist: Russia, Vietnam and Laos. Of the 3,500 admitted under the heading "Latin America and the Caribbean", 69% came from Cuba, a few from Nicaragua. Iranians made up almost all of the remainder.

America has felt under a special obligation to fugitives from Vietnam, of whom it has admitted 857,000 since the end of the war in 1975. They are still being admitted. Now, however, even America's hospitality is wearing thin, though not as thin as others'. The problem is that the unquestioning resettlement of the first 900,000 refugees from Vietnam has created an expectation among their fellow-coun-

trymen that a new life in the West awaits them too. Britain, the colonial overseer of Hongkong, where many of the boat people turn up, does not see it that way. America does not want to take them in; nor does it want to see them sent back.

The boat people wrench the western liberal conscience more than any other group. They are fleeing a communist country touched by a modicum of *perestroika* in economic affairs but virtually no *glasnost*. The penal code prescribes up to 20 years in prison for those convicted of leaving the country illegally. And many boat people have shown the depth of their determination to leave by risking rape, robbery, murder and death by drowning on the high seas. Some say they would sooner commit suicide than return.

Yet few of today's boat people can be considered refugees in terms of the 1951 convention. Maybe the "screening" process by which this judgment is made is biased against them, as critics say. But even if twice as many were accepted as refugees, that would still leave the majority defined as economic migrants. Unlike most of the early refugees, these boat people are not, for the most part, ethnically Chinese, in danger of persecution on the grounds of race. Most are not even southerners, who might have worked for the American government or its South Vietnamese allies during the Vietnam war. And most of those in Hongkong (those elsewhere are different) have not taken a particularly arduous route to get there. Some have come through China, on foot or by bus, until the very last part of the journey. Others have travelled all the way by boat, but sailing by day and spending each night in a harbour: expensive in bribes, but not especially hazardous.

The Hongkong authorities protest too much about their difficulties. At present they have to look after no more than 57,000

boat people. The colony, though densely populated, is rich and could accommodate more inhabitants. Further, it suffers from a labour shortage. As for the people of Hongkong, they may—after 1997, when the colony is handed back to China—find themselves in a position just as unenviable as the boat people's. Maybe they should do as they would be done by.

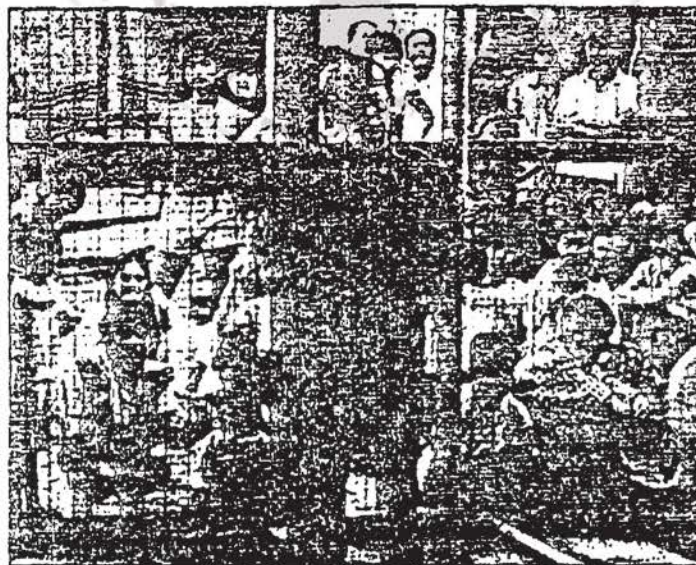
But the boat people do not want to settle in Hongkong. The vast majority want to go to America. America, however, will not take them. Nor will the countries of South-East Asia, most of which heartily dislike Vietnamese, and have had their fill of them. After 1979 Vietnam's neighbours in Indochina made it plain that they would accept boat people only if, and until, they could be resettled in the West. The West won't accept them—so they get pushed out to sea.

## Yes to Vietnamese, no to Chinese?

The next awkwardness is that Hongkong has for years been sending Chinese refugees straight back to China. About 50 a day are booted back over the border—into the hands of a regime little more benign than the one in Vietnam. If Hongkong were to allow the boat people to settle, it should, in order to be even remotely even-handed, also admit Chinese refugees, many of whom may be related to Hongkong citizens. Politically, that would just add to its problems.

A further consideration is the Orderly Departure Programme. Vietnam is not such a nasty country that it forbids all its citizens to leave. Each year thousands of Vietnamese are allowed to emigrate: some 24,000 last year, perhaps 50,000 this year, maybe 70,000 or 80,000 in 1990. Some of the boat people who turn up in Hongkong are genuine refugees in fear of persecution, who might stand no chance of leaving legally; they plainly deserve to be given asylum and resettlement. But the majority are in effect just trying to jump a queue. By resettling them, the West would aggravate the task of finding homes for their more patient compatriots.

It would also encourage the arrival of another lot, and the same set of problems all over again. No one who deals with refugees seems in much doubt about this. Boat people leave Vietnam in the belief that they will be resettled—with a bit of luck, in California. Each Vietnamese who is resettled, no matter how long he has spent in a camp, and no matter how squalid the camp, strengthens the belief among others still in Vietnam that this is a sure way to get out. Even if just one Vietnamese in ten wants to go, that means 6m



Vietnamese only want to get out



## THE YEAR OF THE REFUGEE

more could be on their way.

The British government's solution to this is to send the "economic migrants" among the boat people back to Vietnam; this, it argues, is the only way to end the expectations of automatic resettlement. Britain would have preferred them to go home "voluntarily", as a few have. But only a few: in the period to October 1989 during which 400 went back, 38,000 arrived. Hence the change in policy, making repatriation no longer voluntary but "mandatory" (by the end of November, as Britain's intentions began to look unshakable, the number of volunteers had risen to 150 a week). Britain considers repatriation, ugly though it is, to be more humane than the present policy of endlessly filling up camps. It insists that boat people in danger of persecution will still be admitted. The aim is merely to make it plain that Hongkong cannot accept more illegal immigrants.

Repatriation to Vietnam is not new. Some 60,000 went back voluntarily from Thailand to North Vietnam in the early 1960s; 4,000 more returned from New Caledonia a few years later; 1,600 went home from the United States in 1975. And since 1984 more than 3,000 Laotians have been sent back to Laos against their will, in addition to 10,000 who have gone back voluntarily. As part of a plan of action adopted at an international conference on Indochinese refugees in Geneva last June, Vietnam said it would allow the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to monitor the treatment of refugees who volunteered to return home; it also promised that they would not be prosecuted or discriminated against for having left Vietnam illegally.

Many, though not all, of those most closely concerned with the boat people regard the June conference as a success. They had found homes outside Vietnam for the 54,000 boat people who had already made landfall by certain dates (June 15 1988 for Hongkong, March 15 1989 for the South-East Asian countries). And they had preserved the principle of first asylum, by which the countries of South-East Asia agreed to accept boat people, however temporarily, rather than push them back out to sea. This was of importance, not just for humanitarian reasons but because it ensured that anyone genuinely fleeing persecution could still find sanctuary.

America, however, does

## At the rich world's door

Asylum-seekers in Western Europe, the United States and Canada					
	Applicants	Backlog	Costs* \$ billion	Acceptance rate %	Proportion that stays %
1983	90,000	60,000	0.5	40	90
1985	200,000	100,000	2	35	90
1987	240,000	360,000	3	25	90
1989†	450,000†	400,000	5	20	90
1991**	550,000	500,000	6	15	90

\*Includes social assistance for those awaiting verdict. \*\*Forecast. †Estimates  
††Excludes East Germans, Bulgarian Turks, Soviet Jews and other Soviet  
émigrés Source: UNHCR

not care for the idea of sending boat people back, even though it readily sends back other would-be immigrants from its own borders. Mexicans, of course, face no penalty in their own country if repelled by the United States; many will just try to slip over the Rio Grande again in a few hours or days. But Haitians are not so fortunate.

There is no doubt that most Haitians who try to enter the United States are economic migrants, much like most other would-be Americans, including Vietnamese and Cubans. But Haitians receive a uniquely fierce rebuff. In the 1970s, when they first started arriving, they were routinely imprisoned while their applications were processed. In 1981, with the agreement of the Haitian government, the Reagan administration decided that it would be simpler to intercept the Haitians' boats on the high seas and tow them back to Haiti. Under this policy, immigration officers now screen the Haitian boat people at sea, under the eye of a Haitian—and then send them back. Of more than 20,000 thus intercepted since 1981, only six have been admitted to the United States to pursue their claims for asylum. The State Department, however, continues to classify Haiti as a country where basic human rights are habitually abused.

Haitians would get a warmer welcome if they were fleeing a communist regime, not just a nasty one. But even flight from communism is ceasing to be enough to get migrants through the acid test: as the reds turn pink, communism is becoming a helpful but not a sufficient condition for admittance to America. The first to notice this are the newly semi-liberated of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Last year, for instance, the United States took about 9,000 Eastern Europeans, mostly Poles and Hungarians—about half of those who applied. This year about three times as many have

asked for asylum—and a much smaller proportion will get it. Soviet refugees will fare even worse. Until May 1988, when the *New York Times* drew attention to it, virtually any Soviet refugee could come to America. Then a screening system was brought in. This led to an outcry in Congress, and bills to give automatic entry to any Soviet Jew or Pentecostal, soon amended to include Ukrainian Catholics, Indochinese and so on.

The administration no longer believes that all Soviet Jews and evangelicals are persecuted. It would like to examine applicants case by case, and bring in 30,000 a year over five years. But the demand is far greater. When, at the beginning of October, the Americans started to process all Soviet applications in Moscow, they received requests for more than 100,000 forms within a week; only by rushing in extra forms were they able to stop a black market developing. This year's applicants may number 250,000; next year's could be more.

## In the name of Beelzebub

Screening applications in Moscow makes it easier to say no. That becomes much harder when the applicant is at your border, on your quay or in your airport—as both Americans and Western Europeans are coming to appreciate.

The numbers of these applications for asylum have grown enormously over the past ten years. In the United States they were running at fewer than 3,000 a year in the 1970s; in the 1980s the annual figure has sometimes risen to more than 60,000. In Europe, even before this year's exodus from the East, the increase has been just as dramatic. Switzerland, which had some 3,000 asylum-seekers in 1980, had nearly 17,000 last year. Denmark's rose from 300 in 1981 to 10,000 in 1985.

The table above is copied from the blackboard of an official in the UNHCR in Geneva. It excludes the 350,000 or so East Germans and 350,000 other ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who have gone to Germany this year; it also excludes the most recent movements of Bulgarian Turks, and of Jews and other emigrants from the Soviet Union. It is not absolutely accurate, being in part a forecast. What it shows, in round numbers, is how many asylum-seekers the countries of Western Europe, Canada and the United States are now dealing with. It also shows the numbers waiting to have their applications processed, the costs of dealing with them, the proportion whose claim to be a refugee is upheld—and the proportion who stay, regardless of that finding.

Who are these new asylum-seekers? The table on the left shows where they came from in 1983-88. In Western Europe nearly half were from Turkey, Poland and Yugosla-

## Where they come from

Countries of origin of asylum-seekers in Western Europe, the United States and Canada 1983-88\*

Iran	140,000
Turkey	110,000
Poland	108,000
Sri Lanka	80,000
Ghana	45,000
Lebanon	40,000
Romania	31,000
Yugoslavia	31,000
Czechoslovakia	29,000
Chile	27,000
India	26,000
Pakistan	26,000
Hungary	25,000
Zaire	24,000
Ethiopia	23,000
Iraq	15,000

\*Excluding applications from Central America  
Source: UNHCR



via—none of them intolerably repressive countries, even in the early 1980s, certainly not now. Most came asking for asylum but plainly looking for work, assuming no doubt that even if their applications were turned down they would somehow be able to stay.

Correctly. Although different countries have different procedures and criteria for accepting refugees, the West is generally pretty ineffective at getting rid of them. Some countries such as Canada and the Nordic states used to have liberal policies; they have recently tightened them, largely in response to fears of a political backlash at the numbers coming in. Others, notably West Germany, still find it hard to say no to a refugee. And in most countries an asylum-seeker, once admitted, can embark on applications and appeals procedures which take years to complete, by which time he may have married, had children or gone underground. If and when the time comes to chuck him out, protests may make it politically awkward to do so. (Remember Mr Viraj Mendis, the Sri Lankan who took sanctuary in a church in Manchester before he was eventually deported to Sri Lanka last January? No harm has since come to him.)

In some respects a liberal regime suits western countries. Switzerland, for instance, which allows asylum-seekers to work while awaiting a verdict on their claim to be refugees, at present welcomes their cheap labour. Israel is delighted that America will no longer accept all Soviet Jews; it hopes to bring in 100,000 Soviet emigrants in the next three years. West Germany, worried about a falling birth rate and an aging population, stands to gain enormously, in the medium-to-long run, from the influx of young German blood from the East.

But in other respects the system is nearing breakdown. The cost is huge: Sweden alone spends more on the care and maintenance of asylum-seekers than the entire annual budget of the UNHCR, whose responsibility is to the whole world's refugees. The real issue, however, is numbers. Even though the western countries took on an extra 1,000 administrative staff in 1988, they cannot cope with the flood of applicants. As a result, asylum-seekers are in effect becoming immigrants. The question that follows is whether immigrants should be accepted on this foot-in-the-door principle, or whether it should be a more orderly affair that gives consideration to the historical obligations of the host country, family reunification and the nature of the state being abandoned.

The United States at least tries to operate on some principles, even if it is not quite honest about what they are (fugitives from

communism and Iranian mullahdom first). It sees itself as a country of immigration. European countries do not, though that is what they have become. Proportionate to their populations, France and West Germany now take more immigrants than the United States. Indeed the total European intake is now generally larger than that of Australia, Canada and the United States combined. In several European countries the proportion of people born abroad is 10-



And a few million more waiting to come

15%, compared with 6% in the United States.

It is a huge change. For most of its history Europe has been an exporter of people; 45m Europeans went west in the nineteenth century alone. Not until the 1960s did Europe become a region of net immigration. At that time the United States began to slow the turnstiles, old colonials returned from Europe's empires and a booming European economy drew in guestworkers from around the Mediterranean. All this was managed fairly easily in the 1960s and 1970s. Political controversy surrounded the (officially encouraged and wholly legal) immigration of West Indians and Asians to Britain, but most of the asylum-seekers—few in number anyway—were either Europeans or residents in Europe. Then, in the early 1980s, came the new wave of asylum-seekers, many of them from third-world countries such as Iran, Lebanon and Sri Lanka.

Now other changes are taking place.

The European Community is in the middle of project 1992, which entails the free movement of people within the 12 EC countries. And the populations of some of Europe's neighbours are exploding. Just as Mexico sends its surplus people to the United States, so North Africa and Turkey look likely to want to send theirs to Western Europe. Will the Mediterranean prove a more formidable boundary than the Rio Grande?

Probably not. Demographers reckon that the population of the three Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) will be twice the size of France's by 2010, and maybe 100m-120m by 2030. That, coupled with guesses about their likely pace of economic growth, leads to speculation that some 25m of their people will move out over the next 40 years. Turkey, with more than 50m inhabitants today, is set to become the most populous European member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development by 1995. Already about 1½m Turks live in West Germany—and, over the past 20 years, about 9m North Africans have gone north to work in Europe. Clearly more will come. If Egypt were to burst its seams, that more could be lots more. Egypt's 50m people at present occupy a land area no larger than Switzerland; they are expected to double in number by 2025.

### Tough justice

One response to all these guesses and projections, not to mention the present chaos that faces refugees and asylum-seekers, is to say that the richer countries should abandon all immigration restrictions and let in anyone who wants to come. The supply of job-seekers would at some stage meet the demand, after which numbers would tail off, and meanwhile rich and poor would both prosper, economically.

Would the entire population at once move north? No; most people want to stay where they are, and even where there is a big wage differential between neighbours (a crucial cause of economic migration) only some people respond to it. This is the experience of Mexico and the United States.

Yet, however small the proportions, the absolute numbers would still be huge; they are already big. And some migrants would still come even when there were no jobs for them to fill; others would stay on during economic recessions after their jobs had gone. Employers might not mind, but it is idle to imagine that western electorates in general would tolerate unlimited immigration. Voters are often more tolerant than politicians imagine, but the recent success of the National Front in France and the rise of populist right-wingers in Norway and West



## THE YEAR OF THE REFUGEE

Germany testify to the strength of anti-immigrant feelings in the West.

The moral is that the rich countries can absorb incomers, whether refugees or economic migrants, so long as they arrive in moderate numbers. The task is plainly easier if they come from nearby: the East Germans' good fortune is to be all but indistinguishable from West Germans, the Vietnamese' misfortune is to be ethnically, culturally and religiously different from practically all their neighbours. Even so, strangers can be integrated. Like most immigrants, they are generally good citizens, hard working, enterprising and loyal to the nation that has given them sanctuary. Integration is harder once the numbers have reached a certain critical mass; then the immigrants no longer feel the need to learn the host country's language, and may indeed thumb their noses at its laws (on the slaughter of animals, maybe, the education of women or freedom of expression). That is another argument for keeping numbers manageable.

## The need to winnow

But any system of controls requires some discrimination between applicants. And that, however unsatisfactory it proves in certain instances, means keeping a distinction between types of refugee. First, therefore, hold on to the concept of the pure refugee, the fugitive from persecution, as defined by the 1951 convention; there are still plenty around. Then remember the victims of wars, famines, communal violence and other upheavals; this "humanitarian" type is a category recognised by the Organisation of African Unity but few others. Then spare some thought for the economic migrants.

Drawing distinctions means examining claims. This is best done before the refugee leaves home; hence the desirability of orderly departure programmes and screening applicants in embassies, not on coastguard cutters on the high seas. But lots of applicants are still going to turn up unannounced. They deserve, above all, a quick hearing.

The victims of upheavals, "humanitarian refugees", the commonest and perhaps the most hard-done-by, are not hard to spot. They do not need individual screening, but they do need looking after until they can go home, which is where they want to be. Until then, they may have to live in camps, expensive and soul-destroying as these can be. They deserve more money than they get.

The United States, for instance, is generous to a fault towards refugees that it accepts for resettlement: one way or another, they receive at least \$7,000 each, often much more, a sum that could keep hundreds of refugees in Africa alive for a year. In 1984-89, while the United States has increased the money it spends on resettlement in America by 129%, it has cut the money it

spends on looking after refugees abroad by 9%. Yet during that time the number of refugees worldwide has increased by two-thirds.

America, an immigrant country, favours resettlement. That should, however, be the solution of last resort for refugees, not of first. Resettle the pure refugees, by all means, since they cannot go home; and resettle the immigrants you wish to admit; but send the others back where they came from. The alternative, to try to resettle as many as possible from all categories, in practice means resettling only a proportion, which in turn means putting at risk the admittance of genuinely deserving cases.

Repatriation is a harsh policy. It can be made less harsh, first, by monitoring those who are sent back to make sure they are not ill-treated, second, by attacking the root causes of flight. Where these are economic, the West will have to intensify its efforts to assist economic development; aid, trade and technical co-operation can help to create the 55m jobs that must be filled each year in the third world just to keep pace with the growth of population.

Where the cause of migration is a local conflict, the West can bring its political influence to bear. The conflicts that set off the biggest migrations are those of at least ten years' duration; often, though not always, the West helps to keep these going, as a supplier of either arms or money. Self-interest, in the shape of a smaller flow of refugees, may henceforth encourage it to seek an earlier end to some of them. In the case of Vietnam, 14 years after the end of the war and three months after the Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia, it argues strongly for a political settlement with the Vietnamese government.

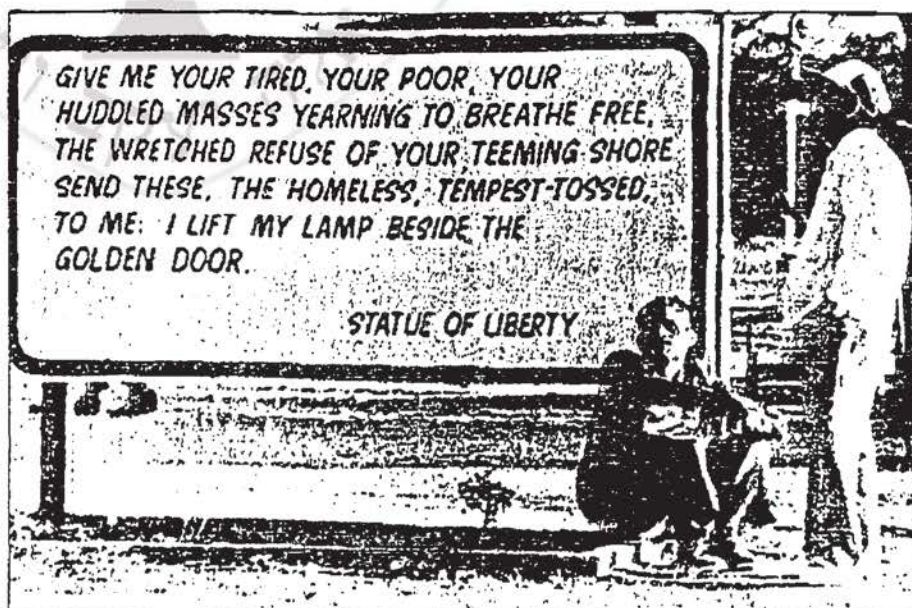
Lastly, is the problem manageable? It is

certainly not going to go away. On the contrary, as the world shrinks, more and more of its poor will want to join the rich, without waiting for an invitation. The villager in Sri Lanka no longer considers it absurd to contemplate making a new life in Sweden or Canada: a cheap ticket on a Polish aircraft gets him to Europe in one hop. Letters home describe the lands of opportunity; pictures on local television enhance them. As communications improve, the urge to migrate will intensify.

But that urge is not universal. In countries where a tradition of emigration exists—Ireland, for instance—people will continue to leave as long as they can earn more abroad. Other people, however, even though they may be victims of famines, droughts and other upheavals, will prefer to stay at home.

If the rich world is to cope, it will have to keep open its door to the deserving without encouraging more countries to establish a tradition of emigration. There should be room for emigration, too, so long as it is reasonably orderly, but the tradition, once acquired, is difficult to shake off, as Ireland shows: proportionate to its size, it lost more than ten times as many of its people last year as did Vietnam.

The rich countries can and will manage. Refugees are on the whole resilient; most, after all, survive without any international aid. And their hosts are resilient too; even small countries such as Ghana have successfully coped with influxes of more than 1m people. The plumper nations of Western Europe and North America will be able to manage too. But their task will be much easier if they are honest with themselves about who they should let in, and what they should do about those they turn away.



Haitians needn't apply



**INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE**

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

---

To: Board of Directors

Date: March 1, 1990

From: Al Kastner

Subject: Varian Fry Article/Harvard Magazine

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Attached is an article from the March-April issue of Harvard Magazine on Varian Fry and the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC). Note especially the column on our art portfolio of twelve lithographs. The coming summer will be the 50th anniversary of the ERC which, as the article points out, became the IRC after World War II.

a. k.

by HENRY and ELIZABETH URROWS

# VARIAN FRY

*The civilian as war hero.*

A fastidiously dressed American editor with a background in classics slipped into Marseilles in mid-August of 1940. France had fallen to Nazi Germany eight weeks earlier. The steamy city was jammed with demobilized French soldiers and sailors, interned British, German officers, and refugees from the occupied north.

Varian Fry had come to help 200 European intellectual and political leaders escape Nazi vengeance. "I was at a complete loss about how to begin, and where," he wrote later. "My job was to save certain refugees. But how was I to do it? How was I to get in touch with them? What could I do for them when I found them?"

Fry had traveled from New York with \$3,000 in cash taped to his leg. He would disburse all of it within a fortnight and would learn to live by his wits. Harried by French police and hampered by uncooperative American Foreign Service officers, he discovered untapped reserves of nerve, leadership, and endurance. For more than a year he directed an improvised rescue operation that extended protection to more than 4,000 artists, scholars, statesmen, and others whose lives were in jeopardy. He provided financial assistance to about 600 and arranged the legal or secret departures of at least 1,200. A short list of artists and writers who owed their freedom to Fry would include Hannah Arendt, André Breton, Marc Chagall, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Wanda Landowska, Jacques Lipchitz, Heinrich Mann, André Masson, and Alma Mahler Gropius Werfel. Among the others, perhaps less known today, were the pianists Heinz Jolles and Erich Itor Kahn, the statistician Emil Gumbel, the animal photographer Ylla, and Konrad Heiden, whose biography of Adolf Hitler landed him on the Gestapo's most-wanted list.

Fry came from a privileged background. The son of a New Jersey stockbroker, he attended Hotchkiss and Taft before entering Harvard with the Class of 1930. Fry's college years

were both sybaritic and serious. He concentrated in classics and, with his classmate Lincoln Kirstein, founded *Hound & Horn*, a literary quarterly that aimed to pierce Harvard's philistine indifference to first-rate new writing. University Hall must have found him a trifle irksome: his grades were erratic, and in June of his junior year he was arrested for stealing a large For Sale sign and posting it in front of President Lowell's house. An illness in the spring of his senior year forced him to finish his degree requirements at summer school.

After a year of graduate study, Fry married British-born Eileen Hughes, then an editor at *The Atlantic Monthly*. They moved to New York, where Fry worked for *Scholastic* magazine. In 1935 Quincy Howe '21 chose Fry to succeed him as editor of *The Living Age*, stipulating that the young man should first visit Germany. When Fry arrived there in July he was horrified by a bloody pogrom. The next day he was told by Ernst ("Putzi") Hanfstaengl '09, the government's foreign press chief, that Nazi radicals planned to solve "the Jewish problem" by exterminating Jews. Returning to America, Fry used his influence as an editor, writer, lecturer, and radio commentator to denounce Nazi crimes against humanity.

When France fell to the Nazis in June 1940, the armistice agreement required the collaborationist Vichy government to "surrender on demand" any former resident of the "Greater Reich" (all territory overrun by the Nazis). That

imperiled thousands of creative artists, educators, political leaders, journalists, and professionals who had taken refuge in France. On June 25 the American Friends of German Freedom, in which Fry was active, held a large luncheon in New York. A plea for funds by the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr raised \$3,500, and the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC) was launched.

By this time, ten million refugees were choking the roads and cities of defeated France. The ERC's first step was to



Mastermind: Varian Fry at the rue Grignan office of the *Centre américain de secours*, Marseilles, 1940.



identify intellectual and political figures who might be rescued and to appoint an agent to help them reach Lisbon or Casablanca en route to the Americas. A subcommittee canvassed officials of museums, publishing firms, émigré organizations, and universities and came up with a list of 200 Europeans believed to be trapped. Fry, then an editor with the Foreign Policy Association, impulsively volunteered to serve as agent. His dandified dress and careful speech struck some ERC members as almost precious. But Paul Hagen, who had been a courier to the German underground, was won over by Fry's ready command of languages, broad familiarity with contemporary arts, and firm political convictions. At length he was given the assignment. Fry left New York in mid-July, having taken a one-month leave from his job. Just before his departure he bought a dress suit and boiled shirt at Brooks Brothers. Months later, on short rations in Provence, he ruefully told a friend that he ought to have spent the money on vitamins.

In Marseilles Fry met with Dr. Frank Bohn, who was on a similar mission for the American Federation of Labor. Bohn described conditions of opportune confusion. Although the French were not giving exit visas or safe-conduct passes to Marseilles, where American visas were obtainable, the police paid little attention to refugees, and the Gestapo had not yet moved in. Refugees with overseas visas could get Portuguese and Spanish transit visas, then make their way to the frontier and cross on foot. So far none had been arrested. Some police seemed sympathetic.

Many refugees had not left, however—either because they were still in French concentration camps or were waiting for overseas visas. Some were hesitant to use false passports or

**Just before his departure  
for France, Fry bought a dress suit  
and boiled shirt at Brooks Brothers.  
Later he ruefully told a friend  
that he ought to have spent  
the money on vitamins.**

risk the trip through Spain for fear of arrest and deportation to Germany. Those in greatest danger had the greatest reason to fear recognition—the sculptor Jacques Lipchitz, the painter Marc Chagall, and novelists Heinrich Mann and Lion Feuchtwanger, for example.

From a room at the Hotel Splendide, Fry wrote everyone for whom he had an address, asking them to call on him. The German author and translator Hans Sahl later wrote of his interview with “a friendly young man in shirtsleeves” who

put his arm around my shoulders, tucked money into my pocket, drew me over to the window, and whispered out of one corner of his mouth, like a rather poor actor playing the part of a plotter: “If you need more, come back again. Meanwhile I’ll cable your name to Washington. We’ll get you out of here. There are ways. You’ll see—oh, there are ways. . . .”

[T]ears were streaming down my face, actual tears, big, round, and wet; and that pleasant fellow, a Harvard man incidentally, takes a silk handkerchief from his jacket and says, “Here, have

this. Sorry it isn’t cleaner.” You know, since that day I have loved America, because these things are done so casually and yet with tact and practical common sense.

“It wasn’t true that I could get visas quickly,” Fry wrote in his 1945 memoir, *Surrender on Demand*,

but the refugees believed it, and they began coming in droves. I had to get help, not only to handle the crowds, but also to advise me on the political views and intellectual merits of the candidates. Most of them were complete strangers to me, and I had to be careful not to help a police spy or a fifth columnist, or a communist masquerading as a democrat.

Soon Fry had a staff. Its first member was Albert Hirschman, a 26-year-old economist who had fought in the Spanish Republican and French armies. Fry dubbed him Beamish because of “his impish eyes and perennial pout, which would turn into a broad grin in an instant.” Hirschman became Fry’s specialist on illegal matters. It was he, wrote Fry,

who found new sources of false passports when the Czech passports [supplied by the Czech consul] were exposed and couldn’t be used any more. It was he who arranged to change and transfer money on the black bourse when my original stock of dollars gave out. And it was he who organized the guide service over the frontier when it was no longer possible for people to go down to Cerbère [a fishing village where French and Spanish border posts were out of each other’s sight] on the train and cross over on foot.

Another staffer was Franz von Hildebrand, an Austrian Catholic monarchist. He had worked with an Austrian relief committee in Paris and could advise on nonsocialist refugees. A co-worker described him as the only man she had ever met “who was both in the Almanach de Gotha and on the wanted list of the Gestapo,” an aristocrat whose “infectious cheer and goodwill lifted the spirits of the most doctrinaire and depressed Marxists.” Fry, Hirschman, and von Hildebrand would interview sixty or seventy refugees a day, from eight in the morning until midnight or later. Then they would decide what action to take in each case—meeting secretly in the bathroom with the taps running—and write cables to New York. Copy had to be carried through garbage-strewn alleys to the police station, and then to the night window of the post office. In the morning the grind began again.

The work load kept growing. Letters began arriving from all over the unoccupied zone, many from concentration camps. By the end of Fry’s second week, the lines outside his door were so long that the hotel manager complained. Henceforth refugees would wait in the lobby. One day the police took everyone in the queue to the station house to question them about Fry. As a cover, Fry and Bohn called on the secretary general of the prefecture and asked permission to form a small committee to help distressed refugees. It was granted, provided the committee did nothing illegal. A Jewish leather-goods merchant who was going out of business contributed an office on the rue Grignan, and the *Centre américain de secours* opened at the end of August.

Fry had already overstayed his one-month leave. His staff had continued to grow and now ranged from a dozen to twenty. Bill Freier, once a popular cartoonist in Vienna, skillfully forged the prefecture’s rubber stamp on identity cards. Heinz Oppenheimer kept records that could withstand police scrutiny. Daniel Bénédite, who had been a police administrator in Paris, was office manager. When von Hildebrand left for America via Lisbon, a journalist named Marcel Chaminade





A lithograph created by Fritz Wotruba for *Flight* (1970), a portfolio that celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of Varian Fry's rescue mission.

## IN TRIBUTE TO VARIAN FRY

Varian Fry remained actively interested in the work of the International Rescue Committee (the renamed Emergency Rescue Committee), whose relief efforts for refugees spread to every continent. To support its fundraising efforts, the New York-based committee twice sent Fry abroad to enlist the participation of artists whom he had helped.

For years Fry worked to assemble a portfolio on the theme of flight. The project, proposed by Jacques Lipchitz, was keyed to T. S. Eliot's description of Aeneas as "the original Displaced Person." Comprising eleven lithographs and one serigraph, the full portfolio appeared in 1971, four years after Fry's death and thirty years after his founding of the *Centre américain de secours* in Marseilles.

The contributors were Eugene Berman, Alexander Calder, Marc Chagall, Viera da Silva, Adolph Gottlieb, Wilfredo Lam, Lipchitz, André Masson, Joan Miró, Robert Motherwell, Edouard Mignon, and Fritz Wotruba.

Fifty sets were designated by roman numerals and 250 by arabic numbers. Each impression except the Chagall was signed by the artist, and all plates, stones, and stencils were then destroyed or effaced. At this writing the International Rescue Committee still has about a hundred sets for sale, valued at approximately \$8,000 each.

The portfolio is virtually the only memorial to Varian Fry, whose historic mission is still little known. As its fiftieth anniversary approaches, shouldn't Harvard honor an alumnus who rescued hundreds of artists, scholars, statesmen, professionals, journalists, and labor leaders whose lives might have been ended by the Nazis?

Fry proved that a resourceful and determined individual could defend civilized values even when the odds seemed to favor the powerful forces that were out to destroy them. Surely there's a place for a plaque—or better, a work of art—in his memory in the former Busch-Reisinger Museum (now the headquarters of the Center for European Studies), the Fogg Art Museum, the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, or the Kennedy School of Government. Fry's University should recognize his achievements, thus associating itself again with the ideals of open societies. —H. & E. U.

became the intermediary with French authorities. Marcel Verzeanu, a young Romanian physician, was hired to treat the many refugees who were on the edge of emotional breakdown.

To refugees who couldn't be helped in other ways, the staff gave meal tickets supplied by the Quakers. When cash ran out, Fry and his aides were able to generate local sources of income. Plenty of Frenchmen were trying to get money out of the country, and they gladly exchanged their francs for dollar credits. In early September Fry escorted a group of refugees to Cerbère and over the Pyrenees to Madrid and Lisbon: the party included the Heinrich Manns, the Feuchtwangers, Thomas Mann's son Golo, and the novelist Franz Werfel and his wife, Alma Mahler Gropius Werfel. From Lisbon Fry was able to send a full report to the ERC in New York, and on his return trip he called on the British ambassador in Madrid and obtained \$10,000 earmarked for the escape of British servicemen. About 300 were eventually smuggled out to Syria, North Africa, and Gibraltar.

Fry's achievements owed little to his own Foreign Service. Back in Marseilles he learned that the city prefecture had complained about his activities to Consul General Hugh Fullerton, who had informed the State Department. A reply cable from Washington stated that the government could not countenance the activities, as reported, of Dr. Bohn and Mr. Fry and other persons in their efforts to evade the laws of countries with which the United States maintained friendly relations. Fullerton advised Fry to leave France before he was arrested or expelled. Fry ignored the advice. Long afterward, the late Harry Bingham, then a young vice-consul in Marseilles, described Fullerton as "fairly pro-German, a man who thought the Nazis would win the war, and not sympathetic to refugees." Fry subsequently vented his frustrations with the foreign Service in "Our Consuls at Work," published in *The Nation* of May 2, 1942:

*Nice, December, 1940.* The young vice-consul in charge of visas here is fond of trick questions. A few weeks ago he put this one to a German Jew from the camp at Gurs: "What would you do if you were admitted to the United States and someone asked you to do something against the interests of the Italian or German government?"

The man from Gurs thought a moment. "I would do what was in the interests of the United States," he said.

"Visa refused," the vice-consul snapped. "We don't want anyone in the United States who is going to mix up in politics."

Bewildered and heartbroken, the man went back to Gurs. He is still there, wondering why his answer was wrong.

*Marseilles, May, 1941.* I had come to see the vice-consul about Largo Caballero's visa.

"Who's Caballero?" he asked.

I explained that he had been prime minister of Spain.

"Oh," the vice-consul said. "One of those reds."

I told him that Caballero had been an uncompromising enemy of the Communists.

"Well," the vice-consul said, "It doesn't make any difference to me what his politics are. If he had any political views at all, we don't want him. We don't want any agitators in the United States. We've got too many of them already."

American visas became harder to get. Early on, Albert Einstein told Eleanor Roosevelt that the State Department had "erected a wall of bureaucratic measures between the victims



of Fascist cruelty and safety in the United States." ERC leaders had shared their refugee list with Mrs. Roosevelt; when she heard of delays, she prodded the State Department.

Fresh problems drained Fry's energies. Spain closed its frontier. France tightened the screws; by the fall of 1940, French Jews could no longer hold public office, military commissions, or any position that could "influence cultural life." Foreign Jews could be arrested and sent to concentration camps without explanation or the right of appeal. Foreigners between the ages of 18 and 55 could be put into forced-labor gangs. German army officers and Gestapo agents visited French concentration camps and picked out inmates to be sent to Germany.

Fry and his staff found a healing weekend retreat in Villa Air Bel, an eighteen-room Second Empire mansion half an hour by trolley from Marseilles. He later wrote, "During the *été de la St. Martin*, the French equivalent of our Indian summer, the days were fair, the sky was blue, and the sun so warm that, on Sundays, we often had lunch out-of-doors. But there was not only the house, the view, and the garden: there was also the company we assembled." His guests included André Breton, the dean of surrealism, demobilized as a French army physician; the painter Max Ernst, out of internment camp; Wifredo Lam, the black Cuban painter who had been one of Picasso's rare students; and the apostate Bolshevik novelist Victor Serge. Peggy Guggenheim and Consuelo de St. Exupéry became resident guests. Surrealist reunions saw the *Deux Magots* crowd taking part in games, exhibitions, and auctions. Serge named the place "*Château Espère-Visa*."

In an effort to free those refugees on the ERC list who were in concentration camps, Fry sent Bénédict to visit the camps and report on conditions. Dysentery was endemic, typhoid epidemic. Lice, fleas, and bedbugs were rife. Over the protests of the U.S. consul general, Fry and Marcel Chaminade took Bénédict's reports to Vichy and left copies with embassy and ministry officials. For two weeks everyone at the American Embassy was "too busy" to help. Finally Fry was told by the third secretary, "We can't do anything for you, Mr. Fry. You don't seem to realize that the *Sûreté* has a dossier on you."

When Marshal Pétain visited Marseilles in December, the *Sûreté* raided Villa Air Bel and herded the residents into a docked ship with 600 detainees. Vice-consul Bingham got all but one of the Air Bel group out four days later. But Fry was tailed for a fortnight by eight policemen working in shifts.

In January 1941 the center moved to larger quarters in a former beauty parlor. Many clients continued to get exit visas, but there were saddening reverses. Two former German cabinet officers had their papers cancelled just before taking ship for Martinique. One later died in prison, the other in a concentration camp. When the British seized another ship bound for Martinique, Vichy cancelled all sailings. Fry found that Marcel Chaminade was writing a column for a pro-German paper and fired him. A former worker at the center betrayed Daniel Bénédict to the police.

Consul General Fullerton again told Fry that the police would arrest or expel him if he did not leave France voluntarily. Fullerton said he had asked the State Department to ask the ERC to recall Fry. He subsequently informed Fry that the ERC had acquiesced, but when Fry queried the committee he was told it had never consented to his recall. Fry was understandably amazed when Fullerton helped him out by intervening to have Bénédict released, on the grounds that his confinement would hamper the work of a private American

organization. Playing for time, Fry formed a committee of patrons that included Pablo Casals, André Gide, Aristide Maillo, and such Americans as Henry Luce and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. But on August 29, 1941, with the approval of the American Embassy, the Interior Ministry ordered Fry's expulsion. As an undesirable alien, he was to be conducted to the Spanish border and *refoulé*—pushed out. Two detectives took Fry to his office to clear out his desk and to the villa to pack. He was then escorted by train to Cerbère.

Once across Spain, Fry spent six months in Lisbon trying to improve escape routes. Then he returned to New York. In the meantime, the work of the *Centre américain de secours* went on. Jean Gemähling directed it until his arrest in November. Daniel Bénédict took charge until June 1942, when the police shut the center down for subversive activities. Even then its staffers continued to provide refugees with hideouts and money.

What was left of the staff went underground after November 11, 1942, when the German army took over France's "un-occupied" zone. Gemähling became one of the heads of French Resistance intelligence. Bénédict formed a woodcutting camp that became a guerrilla center. He was jailed and condemned to death by the Gestapo, escaped when the Allies landed on the Mediterranean coast in August 1944, and became an adjutant to Free French forces during the liberation. In his book *La Filière Marseillaise* (1984), Bénédict wrote that under Fry's leadership the center had been in contact with 20,000 refugees. Rather than limit his assistance to the 200 persons on his original list, Fry had given protection to more than 4,000. After he left, the center still managed to provide money to 150 men and women, slip out 49 more British servicemen and refugees, and arrange for more than 400 people to reach the Americas legally.

Fry had a hard time finding work when he returned to New York. He tried to enlist, but the army rejected him because he had chronic stomach trouble. Ironically, army doctors doubted that he could stand the pressure of wartime conditions in Europe. Fry's marriage collapsed, and he drifted from one job to another. For the rest of his life he remained a frustrated man. Writing, teaching, film production, a stint as editorial director for Coca-Cola Export: nothing seemed to work out. He married a second time, fathered three children, and cultivated his pleasures: roses, bird-watching, good talk, wines and food, languages. In April 1967 the French government made him a chevalier of the Legion of Honor. The belated recognition lifted his spirits. He started writing a second book of war memoirs and moved out of New York to begin a new job teaching high-school Latin in Redding, Connecticut. But in September, just short of his sixtieth birthday, Fry suffered a fatal heart attack.

His postwar career was undramatic, but those he rescued enriched the world immeasurably. Jacques Lipchitz flew from Rome to speak at Fry's memorial service in New York. At cataclysmic moments of history, he observed, individuals with exactly the constellation of needed qualities come forward. But the demands of ordinary life can be too much for them. Varian Fry, said Lipchitz, "was like a race horse hitched to a wagonload of stones."

Henry Urrows '38 and Elizabeth Urrows are freelance writers based in Longboat Key, Florida.





**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

March 1, 1990

FINAL NOTICE

TO: Board of Directors  
Members of the Corporation

RE: March 14 Meeting

FROM: Robert P. DeVecchi

This is the final notice of the meeting of the Board of Directors and Members of the Corporation on Wednesday, March 14, at 4:00 p.m., at The Metropolitan Club, 1 East 60th Street. Enclosed are the minutes of the Annual Meeting held December 13, 1989. The agenda for the March 14 meeting follows:

1. Approval of minutes of 1989 Annual Meeting.
2. Chairman's introductory remarks. (Leo Cherne)
3. Executive Director's report. (Robert P. DeVecchi)
4. 1990 budget as approved by the Finance and Executive Committee.  
(Richard Hammer, Peter Weiss)
5. Report on Pakistan trip of Citizens Commission on Afghan refugees.  
(Anne Crawford, Winston Lord)
6. Report on El Salvador mission. (Dolores Smithies)
7. Developments on Thai-Cambodian border situation. (Lionel Rosenblatt)
8. Update on Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children.  
(Catherine O'Neill)
9. IRC programs in Pakistan, Thailand and the Sudan. (Judy Mayotte)\*
10. New business.

\*Judy Mayotte has spent the past months visiting IRC programs, under a special grant from The MacArthur Foundation. She is writing a book on refugee relief programs in the Third World.





# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611  
FAX: (212) 689-3459

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • TEL (212) 679-0010

## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND MEMBERS OF THE CORPORATION

December 13, 1989

Leo Cherne opened the meeting at Mrs. Lee Thaw's home at 4:00p.m. He welcomed Claiborne Pell, who had participated actively in IRC's work for Hungarian refugees in 1956-1957; and Winston Lord, again a member of the IRC Board as well as the Executive Committee. Others present who will be nominated as Board members will be introduced later. The minutes of the May 22 Semi-Annual Meeting were approved as circulated.

Chairman's Introductory Remarks: Mr. Cherne noted that while much of Communist Europe is now moving toward freedom, hostile actions against refugees are taking place elsewhere. He underscored the deplorable plight of the boat people in Hong Kong, and their repatriation to Vietnam. Another wave of starvation may be coming to Ethiopia. It is a euphoric period in Europe but harsh realities will be evidenced as economic, governing and managerial problems arise. IRC will remain alert to the rapidly changing situation.

Treasurer's Report. Mr. Hammer reported as follows:

Arthur Young & Company, the IRC's independent auditors, completed their audit of the organization's Financial statements for 1988 and issued their unqualified opinion on May 5, 1989. It was reviewed and accepted by the Finance Committee on May 11. The management letter, also issued by Arthur Young, did not reveal any material weakness in the IRC's internal control system.

As reported at the last Board of Directors' meeting total revenues for all IRC activities in 1988 were \$29,131,800, against total expenditures of \$28,874,300 resulting in a surplus of \$257,500 for the year. Compared to 1987, revenues increased by 13.1%, while the expenditures increased by 14.7%.

IRC's private income increased from \$5.5 million in 1987 to \$7.9 million in 1988. This was attributed both to our overseas offices raising private funds and fund raising efforts in New York, including direct mail, corporate, and foundation support. No large bequests were received in 1988. Management and Fund Raising Expenses for 1988 amounted to \$1,891,900; a modest increase of \$146,800 over 1987. They represent 6.6% of total expenses.



The year-end surplus of \$257,500 resulted from three special situations. IRC received \$80,000. from the sale of its office in Hong Kong, as well as a \$40,000. indemnity for cancelling our Paris office lease. In addition to this we received donated vehicles in Pakistan with a market value of \$150,000.

The 1989 Budget was approved by the Executive Committee on January 16, 1989. A balanced budget of \$33.6 million was to be funded by contractual agreements and privately funded grants amounting to \$29.9 million, with the balance of \$3.7 million to be raised by the IRC from private general contributions and other revenues. Results for the first nine months indicate an operating deficit of \$103,400. However, this deficit should be reduced during the fourth quarter, in particular as a result of the proceeds of the Lech Walesa Freedom Award Dinner, retroactive adjustments in additional funds received from State Department grants for 1988 and a strong end of the year fund raising effort.

On January 1, 1989, IRC's cash and short term investments amounted to \$3.2 million. As of December 1, our cash position was approximately the same, with approximately \$557,000 in restricted funds from the National Endowment for Democracy and the Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation for the Polish medical program. Preparations have begun for the 1990 Budget. A draft will be submitted to the Finance Committee for consideration in early January. Subject to their approval, it will be presented to the Executive Committee. Austerity and the need for economies will again be stressed. The goal will be a balanced budget.

A review of revenues and expenditures over the past five years shows steady growth in both private fund raising and non-private contractual sources. Private income has increased from \$3.8 million in 1984 to just under \$9 million in 1988. Contractual income has risen from 12.6 million in 1987 to over \$20 million in 1988. In each of these years save one (1988), when a surplus of 275,000 was recorded IRC has shown a modest year-end excess of revenues over expenditures. It will be unrealistic, however, to anticipate an easy fund raising climate ahead. Rather, we predict that private fund raising will be increasingly difficult and competitive. In addition, both the U.S. Government and the UNHCR have severe budget constraints which will have an impact on IRC. Thus, the year ahead will be a difficult and challenging one for the IRC.

Executive Director's Report: Mr. DeVecchi noted the passing of Gisele Birnbaum, the "quintessential volunteer" for IRC over the past 22 years. He called attention to the retirement next month of three senior staff people who have been so important to IRC: Jean Capone, Roz Hosenball and Helen Katel. They will be deeply missed. He then reviewed developments in many parts of the world which will affect IRC one way or another: the remarkable events



in Europe, the El Salvador violence, the tensions on the Cambodian-Thai border, the Hong Kong situation, the "stalemate" in Afghanistan. Three special IRC missions will soon be looking into refugee problems in El Salvador, Pakistan and Hong Kong.

Lionel Rosenblatt initiated a discussion on the boat people problem: the repatriation of 51 of the Vietnamese from Hong Kong, and the push-offs from Malaysia. Senator Pell's intervention has been effective, but greater pressure should be exerted to address this tragic situation. Mr. Cherne remarked that the term "economic migrant" has always been used to deny asylum. Mr. Wiesner pointed out that if Mrs. Thatcher is to be condemned, we must consider the U.S. record -- as, for example our treatment of Haitians, and the fact that the U.S. is not offering to share the Hong Kong burden with the British. Mr. Cherne agreed that the U.S. has blemishes on its refugee record, but we should think of the Hong Kong and Malaysian tragedies in terms of taking action for humanity.

Freedom Award Dinner: Mrs. Blinken called the Freedom Award Dinner honoring Lech Walesa a thrilling and memorable event -- a moment in history. She thanked all at IRC who contributed to the dinner's success, in particular John Whitehead whom Mr Walesa obviously holds in great esteem. The affair netted IRC approximately \$250,000.

Ad Hoc Planning Committee: Mr. Whitehead reviewed the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on IRC's Mission, Governance, Structure and Resources as follows:

The tumultuous events around the world - be they in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Southeast Asia, Central America, the Near East or Africa - all impact in one way or another on the IRC. So do the severe budgeting restraints our government and international agencies such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are facing. In addition, we are heading into a period of increased competition for the scarce resources available from the private sector - individuals, foundations or corporations.

All these concerns, and more, led the IRC Executive Committee to appoint an Ad Hoc Planning Committee to give serious thought to the mission of the IRC as we head into the 1990's, its governance, its structure and the resources that will be needed to carry out its mission.

This Planning Committee, which I was asked to chair, included Vera Blinken, Jim Sherwin, Dusty Rhodes, Jim Strickler, Lionel Olmer, Bob DeVecchi, and our Chairman, Leo Cherne. It met twice for lengthy consideration of previously prepared position papers. Its report was presented to the full Executive Committee at an all day meeting held last Saturday, December 9.



I would like to summarize briefly for you the main conclusion that emerged from this meeting and, in particular, to submit for your consideration and approval a new "mission statement" for the IRC. Copies have been made available to you all. I urge you to read through it with me at the conclusion of my report, with a view to its adoption by this Board.

On the subject of governance, the need for an active and involved Board of Directors was identified as a priority. In this connection, there was general agreement that we must make greater use of Board members and their particular talents. This is a responsibility - and an opportunity - for Board and Staff leadership.

As part of this process, an enlarged Nominating Committee must keep under continuing review the participation of Board members, in particular when proposing the membership slate at the Annual Meeting. At the same time, the Nominating Committee - and indeed all Board members - need to be active in identifying and proposing new members, especially younger talent who will, in their turn, become the IRC leadership of the future.

We need to give careful consideration to expanding Board representation on a wider geographical basis than is now the case. In addition, we should be creative and inventive in seeking to establish local IRC committees - or chapters - in major cities around the country and even abroad.

Turning to the structure of the IRC, it was generally agreed that the present senior staff is too thin and too stretched. If IRC is to maintain a level of activity in the range of \$30 million a year, with 16 domestic offices, 5 European offices and 10 overseas refugee relief programs, it needs to shore up its staff, especially senior management. This will have financial implications, but in the long run will be beneficial to the organization.

There will be a particular need in the months ahead to restructure IRC's development, fund-raising and public information departments. The fund-raising climate, as has been mentioned, is increasingly competitive. A greater commitment of staff resources will be needed in this area.

While the fund-raising record of the IRC over the past few years has been a good one, this is no time for complacency. IRC needs to develop and refine specifically targeted fund-raising strategies, including direct mail solicitations, major gifts and deferred giving, as well as systematic appeals - increasingly program-specific - to corporations and foundations.



The decade ahead will be a challenging one. But then, each decade in IRC's 56 years history has been a challenge. We need to, and I am convinced we will, work together, Board and Staff, to fulfill the mission which brings us together.

Following an extensive discussion, the new "mission statement" was approved with certain revisions. (The final statement, as revised, was distributed to all Board members on January 31.) Mr. Whitehead pointed out that this is an internal document, which now clearly differentiates between refugees traditionally served by IRC and people displaced by violence inside their countries, as in El Salvador.

The full report of the Ad Hoc Planning Committee was unanimously approved by the Board of Directors. Mr. Cherne thanked Mr. Whitehead and the Committee members for their outstanding work.

Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children: In Catherine O'Neill's absence, Mary Mulvahill reported on the Commission's trip to Malawi, in which she participated. This was her first direct experience with refugees. Malawi is a small country which has been flooded with Mozambican refugees fleeing across the border. Disease is rampant and the child mortality rate is enormous. The IRC director and staff in Malawi are wonderful, talented people who run a most effective program and generate a good deal of excitement for their efforts. Ms. Mulvahill noted that support for the Women's Commission is spreading, which can only benefit IRC and the refugee cause in the long run.

Report of Nominating Committee: In the absence of the Committee's Chairman, Mr. Cherne reported that the following individuals were recommended at the December 9 Executive Committee meeting for election to the Board of Directors - and introduced several of those present: Tom Gerety, Senator Mark Hatfield, Congressman Tom Lantos, John LeBoutillier, Dr. Burton J. Lee, Dr. Theodore Li, Lionel Rosenblatt, Norton Stevens and Julia Taft. Mr. Cherne praised the members of the Nominating Committee for their extensive work in seeking to strengthen the Board by recommending these outstanding people, all of whom will be major assets to IRC. He noted that Frank Kellogg had been nominated to rejoin the Board, and that Winston Lord - whose mother had served as IRC President with outstanding distinction - had recently been elected to rejoin the Board, and to serve on the Executive Committee. Mr. Cherne asked Mr. DeVecchi to present the complete report of the Nominating Committee:

The Nominating Committee recommends the election of the following members of the Board of Directors, Officers, Executive Committee members, and Members of the Corporation. Terms of office are for one-year, in accordance with the amended By-Laws and Constitution, adopted at the Annual Meeting on November 18, 1986.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Rose Becker	Claiborne Pell
Vera Blinken	Dith Pran
W. Michael Blumenthal	Thomas L. Rhodes
Leo Cherne	John Richardson
Anne Whitehead Crawford	John P. Roche
Angier Biddle Duke	Felix Rohatyn
Sandra Feldman	Lionel Rosenblatt
H. William Fitelson	Isadore M. Scott
Tom Gerety	Albert Shanker
Herbert G. Graetz	Jacob Sheinkman
Morton I. Hamburg	James T. Sherwin
Richard M. Hammer	Dolores C. Smithies
Mark Hatfield	Stephen J. Solarz
George F. Hritz	Nancy Starr
Tom Kahn	H. Peter Stern
Francis L. Kellogg	Charles Sternberg
Irena Kirkland	Norton Stevens
Henry A. Kissinger	James C. Strickler, M.D.
Tom Lantos	Julia Taft
Ronald S. Lauder	Charles J. Tanenbaum
John LeBoutillier	Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Burton C. Lee, M.D.	Lee Thaw
Margery Levenstein	Georgia Gosnell Travers
Theodore Li, M.D.	Liv Ullmann
Winston Lord	William J. vanden Heuvel
Cecil B. Lyon	Daniel Weiner, M.D.
Jay Mazur	Peter W. Weiss
Robin McMillin	Edwin J. Wesely
W. Allen Moore	John C. Whitehead
Peter A. Nathan, M.D.	Elie Wiesel
Lionel H. Olmer	Louis A. Wiesner
Catherine O'Neill	Guy P. Wyser-Pratte

(Continued)



OFFICERS:

Leo Cherne (Chairman)  
 James T. Sherwin (Chairman, Executive Committee)  
 Richard M. Hammer (Chairman, Finance Committee/Treasurer)  
 Vera Blinken (Vice President)  
 Lionel H. Olmer (Vice President)  
 Thomas L. Rhodes (Vice President)  
 Lee Thaw (Vice President)  
 \* Liv Ullmann (Vice President - International)  
 \* Elie Wiesel (Vice President - International)  
 Charles Sternberg (Secretary)  
 Peter W. Weiss (Assistant Treasurer)  
 Anne Whitehead Crawford (Legal Counsel)  
 \* Alton Kastner (Assistant Secretary)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Officers \* (with the exception of Liv Ullmann, Elie Wiesel and Alton Kastner) plus the following:

W. Michael Blumenthal	James C. Strickler, M.D.
H. William Fitelson	Charles J. Tanenbaum
Morton I. Hamburg	Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Margery Levenstein	Georgia Gosnell Travers
Winston Lord	Daniel Weiner, M.D.
Catherine O'Neill	John C. Whitehead
Dolores C. Smithies	Louis A. Wiesner

MEMBERS OF THE CORPORATION:

Garret G. Ackerson, Jr.	Leonard Gross
Sol C. Chaikin	Joan F. Hamburg
Anthony D. Duke	Richard C. Holbrooke
Fanny Ellison	Stanley Marcus
Jeanne R. Ferst	Leonard H. Marks
Clifford Forster	Ralph A. Pfeiffer, Jr.
Phillip Gordon	Louise F. Smith
Frances R. Grant	Msgr. Bela Varga
	John Ellis K. Wisner

The Board of Directors unanimously approved the report of the Nominating Committee.

Mr. Cherne noted with regret the resignation of Oren Root, whose deep commitment and service to IRC and the refugee cause for more than two decades has been exceptional; he will be greatly missed. Mr. Cherne presented Mr. Root with the IRC medallion as a token of our esteem and affection.

New Business: The Board of Directors unanimously re-affirmed the non-discrimination policy of IRC as follows:

1. No person is excluded from service because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
2. There is no segregation of persons served on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
3. There is no discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin with regard to hiring, assignment, promotion or other conditions of staff employment.
4. The agency has a written plan for positive action to achieve equal employment opportunity for all persons in the filling of its staff positions including elements such as: contracts with various organizations concerning the agency's employment needs; recruitment advertisements in minority group news media when advertising in the general media is used to fill jobs; self-identification as an equal employment opportunity employer in recruitment advertisements; and the use of employment agencies which do not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
5. There is no discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in membership on the agency's governing body.



For purposes of participation in Combined Federal Campaign/ International Service Agency federations, and State and Local Campaigns, the following non-discrimination statement was furthermore approved:

It shall be the policy of International Rescue Committee to provide equal membership/employment/service opportunities to all eligible persons without regard to race, religion, color, national origin, citizenship, age, sex, marital status, parental status, handicap, membership in any labor organization, political affiliation, and, for employment only, height, weight, and record of arrest without conviction.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:20 p.m.





**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
COMMITTEE, INC.**

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611

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

February 10, 1989

SECOND NOTICE

To: Executive Committee

Re: February 28 Meeting

From: Robert P. DeVecchi

This is the second notice of the Executive Committee meeting on Tuesday, February 28, at 3:45 p.m., at the IRC office, 10th floor, 386 Park Avenue South. Enclosed are the minutes of the January 16 meeting.

I am also enclosing two other items: 1) The INS "Outstanding Service Award" for 1988 presented to our Madrid office. 2) An article from the official UNHCR publication entitled "New Challenges for Resettlement Programme." Note the IRC photo of a Russian mother-and-child we had resettled.

The agenda for the February 28 meeting will be sent to you with the final notice. I will be leaving for Malawi and the Sudan in a few days to visit our programs there and will return the day before the meeting.





# INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

CABLE: INTERESCUE, NEW YORK  
TELEX: 237611

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

## MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

JANUARY 16, 1989

Present for the Committee: Mmes. Blinken, Crawford, Levenstein, O'Neill, Smithies, Thaw, Travers; Messrs. Cherne, Hamburg, Rhodes, Root, Sternberg, Strickler, C. Tanenbaum, M. Tanenbaum, Weiner, Weiss, Wiesner.

Present by Proxy: Messrs. Hammer, Lyon.

Guest: Neil Leff

Present for the Staff: Mss. James, Katel, Nagorski; Messrs. Bronstein, DeVecchi, Kastner, Williams.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Rhodes, Acting Chairman of the Executive Committee, at 3:45 p.m., at the IRC office. The minutes of the December 8 meeting were approved as circulated, subject to a correction on page one substituting "operating deficit" for "cash deficit."

Pension Plan. Anne Crawford introduced Mr. Neil Leff, the Pension Plan expert of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, who had reviewed the IRC Retirement Plan at the request of the Executive Committee. His findings were that the Committee may be required to include some or all of IRC's employees presently excluded to satisfy the Internal Revenue Service; that the Plan could be amended to provide pension rights to new employees after one year of service, provided the rights of employees hired prior to the adoption of such amendment are preserved; and that members of IRC's Board of Directors would be held to a "prudent man" standard and generally not be personally liable for possible shortfalls, provided there was no negligence involved.

Mr. Sternberg added that IRC's intention was to expand the Retirement Plan as a matter of equity and that the legal requirement may well be clarified during the audit the IRS has scheduled for March 14. Mr. Rhodes expressed the Executive Committee's gratitude to Mr. Leff and Ms. Crawford and requested that Mr. Sternberg prepare an updated memorandum for the next meeting.

1988 U.S. Fund-Raising Report. Mr. Kastner reviewed the report circulated to the Executive Committee showing 1988 income was \$90,000 short of the \$3 million budgeted goal, and \$490,000 below 1987 when more than \$800,000 was received from two major bequests and the Freedom Award Dinner honoring John Whitehead. Foundation grants, direct mail contributions and Board gifts during 1988 were substantially higher than the previous year.

Executive Director's Report/Financial Update. Mr. DeVecchi reported that IRC activities are at an extremely high level, both overseas and in our domestic



resettlement operation. We are in a turbulent period, with some especially unpleasant aspects as regards admissions of refugees. Admission numbers have been increased for Soviet refugees at the expense of the Indochinese. A recent meeting of resettlement agencies with U.S. Refugee Coordinator Jonathan Moore was unproductive in terms of finding solutions for the problems resulting from shortfalls in refugee numbers and funding.

Mr. DeVecchi noted that a detailed January-through-November financial update had been circulated, indicating a possible operating deficit of \$275,000. However, we expect that year-end adjustments, when December figures are in, will show only a slight deficit for 1988.

Mr. Wiesner asked about changes in the Soviet Union that might raise questions about the refugee status of would-be emigres. Might some be admitted as immigrants? In the course of an extensive discussion, Marc Tanenbaum questioned the advisability of a "lame-duck" administration making policy on this subject; we must be careful not to allow people, i.e. refugees, to be victims of hasty policies. Mr. Sternberg stressed that we should not be denying refugee status to people after pressuring the Soviet Union for years to let them go. Mr. DeVecchi noted that in Rome, the INS is now rejecting Soviet Jews as refugees. Mr. Cherne said that in view of complex developments, especially in the Soviet Union, we should not mechanically conclude that there is no difference now between refugee group A and refugee group B. He will try to discuss the problem with Henry Kissinger and later, depending on Dr. Kissinger's guidance, with other officials in the Bush administration. But we should not publicly debate the issue about people who were once in jeopardy, and who may no longer be so. Marc Tanenbaum concurred that discussions should go on quietly among professionals -- a public debate will undermine the issue, make it a political football, and compassion will disappear.

Proposed 1989 Budget. Mr. DeVecchi summarized the budget circulated to the Executive Committee and approved by the Finance Committee. It is a record budget (\$33,766,600) which includes \$11,997,000 for Pakistan/Afghanistan, \$5,725,000 for domestic resettlement and \$1,740,000 for European resettlement costs. Private funding amounts to approximately 30% of budget expenditures. We have increased the budgeted U.S. fund raising goal to \$3,125,000, a rise of \$125,000 over last year. Mr. Cherne wondered if that might entail a risk in view of public apathy toward refugee problems. Mr. DeVecchi noted it is a modest increase and that we will soon have an \$86,000 grant from the Ford Foundation for the Afghan Citizens Commission.

The proposed 1989 budget was approved unanimously, as presented. Mr. Cherne asked staff to alert the Executive Committee to any signs of a shortfall in funds as the year progresses.

Women's Commission/Freedom Award Dinner. Vera Blinken reported that 35 women out of 80 who had been invited attended the meeting of the Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children being organized by IRC. Others who regretted they could not come indicated their desire to participate. Mrs. Blinken gave an overview of IRC at the meeting, Catherine O'Neill outlined the purpose and activities, Susan Forbes-Martin of the Refugee Policy Group described the problems of women refugees throughout the world, and Liv Ullmann's talk was extremely moving and effective. We have a large pool of interested people whose future activities might include trips to refugee camps. A Steering Committee will be organized and another meeting will soon be held. The Commission should be an excellent



resource for IRC. Susan Stark, the IRC staff representative for the Commission, has been extremely helpful. Marc Tanenbaum said that this is a very impressive beginning that will progress once a budget is established.

In response to a question, Mrs. Blinken added that at this time there is little to report on the Freedom Award Dinner on April 27th honoring Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan. She and Mimi Bloomberg expect to be in touch soon with Michael Blumenthal, the Dinner Chairman. Efforts are continuing to enlist George Bush as Honorary Chairman, and although Javier Perez De Cuellar's staff has indicated that he will be out of the country at the time of the Dinner, we will continue the effort to obtain his services. Lee Thaw stressed that if Mr. De Cuellar cannot participate, we should certainly ask Mrs. De Cuellar to be our guest at the Dinner.

Southern Sudan. Roy Williams reported that the situation in Southern Sudan is catastrophic. American and European agencies have asked to be allowed to deliver food, but at this point nobody knows how to accomplish this. IRC was asked to lead an assessment team to Africa, starting next week, to look into the situation. The team would include other agencies and government representatives. Mr. Williams had been asked to head the mission. Mr. DeVecchi noted that the U.S. Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance will cover the cost of the trip which will include Ethiopia, Kenya, as well as the Sudan. IRC is not committing itself to anything at this time. Mr. Williams will report back to the Executive Committee on conclusions reached by the group.

New Business. Dusty Rhodes, reporting for the Nominating Committee, proposed the election of W. Michael Blumenthal, Chairman and CEO of Unisys, to serve on the Executive Committee. Mr. Blumenthal has already been elected to the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee unanimously elected Mr. Blumenthal.

Mr. Rhodes added that Robin Travers had an active leadership role in the New York Employment Project. The second annual Liberty Award meeting will be held in May or June -- Mikhail Baryshnikov has been proposed as the recipient of the Liberty Award, and there will again be additional awards to companies with outstanding records of employing refugees. Liv Ullmann will speak.

Mr. Rhodes also discussed a Refugee Studies Program which the Political Science Department at Duke University wants to initiate. The Executive Committee will be kept posted on developments regarding this program in which IRC is involved.

The next Executive Committee meeting was set for Tuesday, February 28, and the Semi-Annual meeting of the Board of Directors and Members of the Corporation for Monday, May 22. Mr. Rhodes asked staff to prepare a proposed schedule of Executive Committee meetings for some six months ahead.

Dolores Smithies asked if arrangements would be made for the IRC Commission that went to El Salvador last summer to return to review the programs. Mr. DeVecchi said that discussions were being held on the trip.

Authorization was given for our office in Rome, Italy, to transfer accounts being held with Banca d'America e d'Italia Agencia from the Piazza Cuba branch to the Largo Tritone branch.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

• NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

• (212) 679-0010

To: Miki Ramo - IRC Madrid  
cc: IRC Executive Committee,  
From: Barbara, Bob C., Margaret H., Al  
From: Bob DeVecchi  
Date: February 7, 1989  
Subject: The Madrid Office

Dear Miki,

Congratulations to you and all our colleagues in the Madrid office on receiving the INS Outstanding Service Award for 1988.

This is a richly deserved recognition of the excellent work IRC Madrid has done over the years and continues to do to this day.

I know I speak for the entire IRC Board of Directors and the staff in extending a hearty Well Done to you all.

Best regards,

*Bob DeVecchi*





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE  
ROME DISTRICT  
OUTSTANDING SERVICE AWARD 1988

*International Rescue Committee*  
*Madrid, Spain*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

AMERICAN EMBASSY

ROME, ITALY

November 28, 1988


Ms. Miki Ramo  
Director  
International Rescue Committee  
Madrid, Spain

Dear Ms. Ramo:

It is with great pleasure that I present your organization with this Outstanding Service Award for 1988 in recognition of your excellent support to the INS.

The excellent cooperation and assistance you have provided the Immigration and Naturalization Service are greatly appreciated. We look forward to working with you in the future and to your continued support to the refugee community.

Sincerely,

  
Dr. Diana L. Pickett  
INS District Director



## USA

# New challenges for resettlement programme



With attention focussed in 1988 on the recently concluded amnesty for illegal aliens, the sanctuary movement and the treatment of asylum seekers, the US refugee resettlement effort has tended to drop from public view. Yet the US resettlement program continues to be the world's largest: during 1988 an average of 200 refugees a day arrived at airports all over the country. In the course of the year, however, the US resettlement programme faced new pressures and challenges, forcing the government to take a fresh look at its policies and procedures.

The legal basis for the US resettlement programme is the Refugee Act of 1980. Among its achievements, the Act repealed laws on the admission and resettlement of refugees which had not been substantially revised since 1952, ending the discriminatory treatment of refugees seeking resettlement in the USA. It established an annual resettlement programme, allowing the President, after consultation with Congress, to determine each year the circumstances which warrant the use of this programme. While the Act sets an annual resettlement ceiling of

50,000, it provides a flexible procedure for admissions, and the statutory ceiling has been exceeded every year since passage of the Act.

During fiscal year 1988 (1 October 1987 to 30 September 1988), 76,484 refugees arrived in the US for resettlement, the two largest groups being refugees from South-East Asia and from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Although the admission ceiling initially authorized by the Presi-

dent in October 1987 was for 72,500 persons, emergency consultations with the Congress were undertaken in April 1988 in order to raise the ceiling in response to a sharp increase in permits granted to Soviet citizens – particularly Armenians – to emigrate. The consultations resulted in the doubling of the ceiling for the admission of refugees originating from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, from 15,000 to 30,000.

A fundamental question emerged from the 1988 experience, one which had long been in the background and which the government now had to address. In the words of Secretary of State Shultz, the question was: "can all Soviet emigrants be admitted under the refugee provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act?" Over the years, virtually any individual who received permission to leave the USSR and who wanted to settle in the United States was admitted by the US as a refugee. This, however, was contrary to the practice elsewhere in the world, where, in accordance with the 1980 Refugee Act, candidates for resettlement had, as individuals, to be found by US government officials to meet the statutory definition of a refugee.



Refugees from the USSR.

## US refugee admissions in fiscal years 1988 and 1989

Areas of origin	FY 1988 revised allocation	FY 1988 arrivals	FY 1989 approved allocation
Africa	3,000	1,588	2,000
East Asia:			
from first asylum countries	29,500	28,313	28,000
from Viet Nam	8,500	6,702	25,000
Eastern Europe and USSR	30,000	28,239	24,500
Latin America and South Asia	3,500	2,497	3,500
Near East and South Asia	9,000	8,415	7,000
Unallocated numbers (private sector)	4,000	730	4,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>87,500</b>	<b>76,484</b>	<b>94,000</b>

Source: US Government.



The conclusion reached by the US government was, again in Shultz's words, that "the integrity of the refugee definition must be protected." In short, the *prima facie* assumption that all persons leaving the Soviet Union qualify for admission to the US as refugees was dropped and, in August 1988, the Attorney General stationed officers of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service in Moscow to interview candidates for resettlement in order to identify those who qualify as refugees. This brings the processing of candidates for resettlement directly from the Soviet Union into line with the practice being used, for instance, in an analogous programme, that for Orderly Departure from Vietnam.

One of the lessons of this experience, Secretary of State Shultz said, is that flexibility is needed to accommodate persons who do not "fit neatly into current immigrant or refugee categories." Increasingly, analysts are urging the establishment of an additional channel for entry of persons of "special interest" to the United States, but who do not qualify for admission as either refugees or immigrants.

Although the ceiling for the admission of refugees originating from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during fiscal year 1988 was increased, neither that regional ceiling nor the overall authorized admission level was met. Entries were 12,000 short of the authorized ceiling.

While some regional sub-ceilings were very nearly met, the capacity of others, such as Africa, was not fully utilized. Also, fewer than 20 per cent of the 4,000 places not allocated to any particular region were used. These places, not funded by the government, were to be made available to refugees with private sponsorships, and were included in the US programme in 1988 for the first time, in response to growing sentiment that the private sector could do more to support refugee resettlement.

Despite the fact that places remained unused in the 1988 programme, the President has approved an even higher ceiling for 1989: 94,000 places, the highest annual ceiling since fiscal year 1982. Although this falls short of the 103,500 places which had been recommended by the voluntary agencies, the size of



*The US resettlement programme continues to be the world's largest...*



*During 1988 an average of 200 refugees a day arrived all over the country.*

the new programme is a clear recognition of the contribution which resettlement must still play in finding durable solutions for refugees from all regions of the world.

The 1989 US programme will accommodate not only refugees already in countries of first asylum who are in need of resettlement, but also certain persons still in their countries of origin, something which is specifically allowed by the 1980 Refugee

Act. The Presidential Determination pertaining to the 1989 programme provides that persons still in Viet Nam, Laos, countries of Latin America and the Caribbean and in the USSR may be considered as refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States, even though they are still within their countries of nationality or habitual residence. The USSR figures on this list for the first time.

JUDITH KUMIN