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STATEMENT AND PROPOSALS

American attitudes toward refugees have changed radically since the Citizens
Commission on Indochinese Refugees made its first fact-finding trip in February 1978
to Asian countries of first asylum. The growing refugee flow at that time aroused
a strong response by Americans as well as people of other countries.

Public sympathy intensified during the year that followed and reached a crescendo in the latter half of 1979 when the exodus of Vietnamese boat people, and then the Cambodians, became a human tidal wave. Support for the refugees, stirred by outrage at the ruthless and even genocidal acts responsible for their flight, was at least equal to that given to other major refugee groups in the 1970's -- the 10 million Bengalis who fled from East Pakistan, the Biafran victims of the Nigerian civil conflict, the Asian nationals driven by Idi Amin from Uganda. Intensive media coverage helped to create public understanding of the crisis and to mobilize public support for the refugees.

The American people and their government can be proud of upholding our nation's traditional solidarity with uprooted victims of tyranny. Many other countries, large and small, joined the effort to provide relief and resettlement services for the refugees fleeing from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

It would serve little purpose to dwell on events leading to the climate of apathy, and indeed of outright hostility, that today casts a long shadow over the

refugee problem: the sudden, uncontrollable arrival last year of 125,000 Cubans, the flow of Haitians, Sar Salvadorans and other Latin Americans to our shores, the "illegal aliens" from Mexico. These developments were coupled with inflationary pressures and budget cuts affecting social welfare programs in urban communities where most refugees settle. The fact that the United States has given asylum to half of the million Indochinese refugees who have been resettled since 1975 has also caused resentment.

Whatever the reasons for the refugee backlash, we have entered a period of "compassion fatigue" for refugees. Increasingly, the expression "economic migrant" is being applied to groups of legitimate refugees. One tends to overlook the fact that economic and political factors are intertwined in totalitarian countries. Collectivization, new economic zones, forced labor camps are locked into a system where the State is both the employer and the wielder of absolute power -- creating such unbearable conditions that even people who have no clear perception of the root cause of their suffering flee at great risk to their lives.

The widespread acceptance of the designation "economic migrant" for bona fide refugees by many decent people would be less disturbing if it were not such a painful reminder of what happened in the 1930's. The expression itself - Wirtschaftsemigrant - was coined for Hitler's victims who were seeking a haven abroad but were found wanting because, after all, they lost only their jobs or their business or could not send their children to school. And if they were later forced to wear yellow stars, that could perhaps be considered harassment but not persecution. It was only in the third stage that they were rounded up and sent to extermination camps, and by then it was too late to help them.

The story of the St. Louis, the voyage of the damned, has been invoked in connection with Vietnam's boat people. It helped to create the worldwide concern for people who set out in their flimsy boats on a trip which, they had reason to

fear, only half of them would survive. Yet today the same boat people, we are told by some, brave the risk of seeing their children drown and their wives and daughters raped by pirates for no other reason than their hope of economic betterment. And not so long ago it was considered feasible to continue the fighting in Indochina in order to prevent a bloodbath. The bloodbath occurred in Cambodia and three million people perished. Are we now to deny refugee status to those Cambodians who escaped when escape became possible?

The growing sentiment against refugees exists not only in the United States but in other major resettlement countries such as Australia and France, and the problem is magnified by changing attitudes in first asylum countries. Thailand, at no small sacrifice to its own internal problems, has since 1975 responded to the influx of Indochinese refugees with extraordinary patience and generosity. But Thailand now, too, speaks of stern measures to block the refugee flow and of action leading to "repatriation."

That in brief is the reality of the situation today. And it is within the context of realities, and recognizing the complexities and frequently conflicting interests of nations, that we again approach the problem of Indochinese refugees. We seek not to criticize or to moralize, but to urge steps that reflect both our humanitarian tradition and the national interests of our country. To that end, the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees submits this statement and offers the following proposals:

1. The harsh political and economic restructuring of the three Indochina states will continue to cause substantial numbers of their citizens to flee. The national minorities (Hmong and Chinese) are under heaviest pressure. Those who succeed in reaching a country of first asylum, having suffered persecution or having well-founded fear of persecution if returned, are refugees within the explicit meaning of the United Nations Refugee Convention and the U.S. Refugee Act

of 1980. They must not be confused with the far greater number of immigrants who apply for admission to the United States nor with the undocumented aliens.

If we feel we have done all we could or should to help these refugees, let us say so. But let us not demean the defenseless and impugn the motives of those who flee by calling them economic migrants.

- 2. If, on the other hand, the United States remains true to its principles and best instincts, we will continue to bear our full share of the refugee resettlement burden, in close collaboration with the other countries of resettlement and the ASEAN states. We do not recommend a quota for the fiscal year ahead. Rather, we endorse the concept of a ceiling figure for domestic and international planning purposes. That ceiling figure for 1982 should be at least 120,000. If conditions warrant resettling fewer, so much the better.
- 3. We are deeply concerned with the growing sentiment in countries of first asylum, particularly Thailand, to introduce measures to stem the refugee flow. The phrase "humane deterrence" fills us with forebeding. Thailand's border with Cambodia is already sealed. Refugees from Laos are being placed in "austere" camps with limited services and no international presence. It has been announced that Vietnamese boat people arriving after August 15 are to be placed in similar camps and are not to be eligible for resettlement.

We urge the Royal Thai Government to consider the consequences of such policies and to revert to the generosity which won the praise of the world. This is the 20th anniversary of the infamous Berlin wall. It was built to lock would-be refugees into a totalitarian system. Are walls to be built now to keep freedom-loving people out?

4. We are equally distressed at persistent rumors of mass repatriations directed against refugees from Cambodia and Laos. Illegal flights from a totalitarian state are political acts and considered crimes against the state.

Chark Chark

Totalitarian states have long memories and are not inclined to forget acts of insubordination. To claim that any large-scale repatriation program could be monitored by international organizations to assure that returnees are not punished or mistreated is naive beyond words. The line between voluntary and forced repatriation, moreover, can easily become blurred. The fate of the returnees may never become known. If it becomes known, it would be after the fact and too late to save the victims.

- 5. There have been irresponsible innuendos from supposedly responsible sources that the United States is encouraging refugees to flee. Some even imply that U.S. Naval Forces in the South China Sea act as a magnet and should, therefore, stop rescuing refugees in distress. We reject any such thoughts and indeed encourage all ships at sea to redouble their efforts to save those in peril of drowning.
- 6. Efforts to implement a program of "orderly departure" of those seeking to leave Vietnam by legal means have not proven to be as successful as they promised to be. Vietnam is responsible for this failure. Nonetheless, we believe that these efforts should be intensified. To this end we recommend the convening of an international conference for the purpose of agreeing upon procedures whereby those wishing to leave Vietnam and eventually Laos and Cambodia and for whom there are offers of resettlement by a third country, can do so without the risks involved in clandestine flights.
- 7. The Citizens Commission recognizes the burden carried by local communities in which Indochinese refugees have resettled in large numbers. On the whole, however, the refugees have taken their place in our midst with little dislocation. Some say that too many refugees are dependent on public assistance. We might agree, though even in the most impacted areas they are just a small fraction of our welfare population. Improvements can be made, with greater emphasis on employment and self-sufficiency.

What counts, however, is that over half a million Indochinese with the help of public and voluntary organizations and countless numbers of compassionate private citizens have been received by us and are well on their way to building their new lives. As a nation we have never had reason to regret the hospitality we have offered to people "who yearn to breathe free" of whom the President reminded us in his acceptance speech, among them the boat people of Southeast Asia.



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On Tuesday, September 26 and Wednesday, September 27, the Citizens Commission will have a series of "consultations" in Washington, D.C. and New York with leaders in both the public and private sectors. We feel that the meetings will help to maintain the Commission's momentum during the period preceding the Southeast Asia trip in December. On the 26th, we will meet in Washington with White House, Justice Department, State Department and INS officials, as well as leading Senators and Congressmen. The basic purpose of these sessions will be to obtain their views.

On the 27th, in New York, we will meet with representatives of all voluntary agencies engaged in the resettlement program and the UNHCR. Then, from 5:00-7:00 p.m., at the Union League Club (courtesy of Bill Casey), we want to conclude the consultations by briefing as large a group of business and foundation leaders as we can gather. We do not plan to ask for contributions. Rather, we will inform them of the growing Indochina refugee crisis: a matter of increasing public concern and national interest. At a later time, we may go back to them for money, perhaps in support of the Commission's efforts. One thing is certain: the business and foundation community will learn more about the Indochina problem from our Commission than they could from any other source.

The reason for this letter is to seek your help in making this meeting a success. What I am asking you, specifically, is this: to invite from among your associates, friends and contacts those business and foundation leaders who might benefit from the 5:00-7:00 p.m. briefing on Wednesday, September 27; and who might later help the IRC and/or the Commission in one way or another. Al Kastner will be responsible for this phase of the consultations, so please coordinate your effort with him. We are counting on you to help us assemble an impressive group of people.

My best regards,

Leo Cherne Chairman

Mr. and Mrs. George M. Hecht 111 Ocean Place Sarasota, Florida 33581

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Hecht:

Your extremely generous gift to the IRC Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees is simply invaluable.

I know that your deep regard for Rabbi Tanenbaum helped stimulate this gift. I am delighted that that is so because Marc Tanenbaum was one of those members of the Commission whose presence in Southeast Asia last winter proved absolutely invaluable in enabling us to affect a favorable change in government policy.

We had not planned to return to Southeast Asia but the situation has deteriorated so that the very accomplishment of the Commission which led to the Attorney General authorizing the admission of 25,000 Indochinese refugees (half that number for those who escape by boat from Vietnam) is already totally obsolete. And yet that parole is required to last until next May 1st. The tragic fact is that more than 5,000 people are now making the terrible effort to flee by boat and the dreadful estimate is that an equal number or nearly so drown in an unsuccessful attempt to reach a safe haven.

Simultaneously, the numbers fleeing across the Mekong from Laos have been at double the rate which prevailed when we were there, and the war between communist Cambodia and communist Vietnam has required the Khmer Rouge to withdraw some troops from the Thai frontier to shore up their efforts on the Vietnamese frontier. The result of this has been the first real increase of those able to flee the holocaust in Cambodia.

All in all, there is an urgency which is now felt by the State Department, the White House, and the Congress that we take a completely fresh look at the

entire picture and determine what can feasibly be done before these people are simply driven back to sea, or, in the case of Laos, to almost certain death on their return to Laos.

The Commission has no source of funding other than from generous gifts such as yours. The International Rescue Committee made it possible for us to undertake the first phase, but the very constructive results of that effort simply increased IRC's responsibility for resettling the increased number of these refugees that it has been running a deficit of \$200,000 for the first six months of this year, and therefore cannot assist us further financially.

I am enclosing a personal record of our first Commission with the certainty that you will find it interesting. I conclude with the deepest expression of our collective appreciation.

Sincerely,

LC:is

Leo Cherne

VIETNAMESE "BOAT PEOPLE" - THE JEWS OF ASIA

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, is a member of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees/ organized by the International Rescue Committee. In February of this year, he spent two weeks in Southeast Asia on a fact-finding max mission on the plight of Vietnamese Cambodian "boat people" and Emmakian/refugees. Rabbi Tanenbaum leaves this Friday, Dec. 1, for a ten-day mission to Malaysia and Thailand to help bring relief to the growing numbers of Indochinese refugees.)

In the harbor of Djakarta, the frail, battered/boat lay anchored listlessly, looking exhausted under the blistering February sun that scorched the Indonesian archipelago. I walked out on the rotting wharf and then jumped onto the boat, no larger than an oversized rowboat.

There were fifteen people aboard, jammed together in sweltering Nguyen Man Than the closeness. The man who greeted me was , the father of/eight children on the boat, and "the captain" of this decrepit vessel. He was a Vietnamese Catholic from Saigon, a teacher manual educated in a mission school and competent in the English language.

I introduced myself as mamman of the lumember fixmens U. S. Cit ens Commission for Indochinese Refugees organized by the International Rescue Commission that was engaged in a fact-finding mission on the plight of Vietnamese boat people, and Cambodian refugees and other Indochinese refugees in Hong Kong, the Thailand, Malaysia, the Phillipines, and Singapore. I asked Nguyen Than to tell me his "story".

While his diminutive wife and sisters-in law were busy putting

Abandoned. Not only were these fixes fifteen human beings turned away from haven by fellow Asians, but during the fixes fixed as well their harrowing odyssey on the sea they were abandoned/by people from the Kestern world. "We were passed by by 23 freighters - we counted them - 23 large ships carrying cargo, probably to Singapore. Most of them were great ships carrying Western or Japanese flags. The We wated at them begging them to pick us up, at least to give us water and food. Nothing. A couple times some freighters slowed down and their crews came up on deck to watch us as if we were some entertainement. Some of the people even smiled or laughed at us. Our children began to scream in terror when they tried to sleep."

As Nguyen Than spoke, I suddenly found his face and voice dissolving before he, and I was overwhelmed by other images. It was 1939, the boat **EMMANINGENX** churning in the turbulent ocean was the St. Louis. The human cargo aboard was 936 Jewish men, women, and children, fleeing certain death in Nazi Germany. Like the Indochinese refugees, they too had to buy their way out of oppression, paying large sums for passage on the St. Louis, and buying "official landing certificates" that was to guarantee them entry into Cuba. Thexasiso Some 730 of the Jewish refugees were also able to purchase American immigration quota numbers, just in case the Cuban haven should fall through.

On May 27, 1939, they docked at Havana's port. They were told that their "official landing certificates" were invalid. Cuba's President Frederico Laredo Bru told them they could land if they could produce one million dollars within 24 hours. An impossibilty. Despair. Abandonment. Several men committed suicide. Cuban gunboats forced the ship

back into the Atlantic Ocean. Franctically, desperately, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee pleaded with South American countries to provide asylum. Enkam Cables to Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, Argentina. "Regard these pagsengers as doomed if they are returned to German soil," said the cables. The reply came back--no room at the inn.

Then incredibly, the United States Government, under the "heroic" leadership of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, rejected the refugees who possessed immigration numbers. Apparently, they did not want to meddle in the internal affairs of Nazi Germany.

The St. Louis returned to Europe. Fortunately, Belgium, Holland, France, and England each received several hundred of the Jewish refugges. Epilogue: the Nazis overran Beggium, Holland, and France, in those countries and all the refugees/were massacred in the Nazi genocide.

The St. Louis episode changed my life. I attended a rally for the St. Louis "boat people" in Madison Square Garden, I made a vow to myself then - which I believe is a silent vow that every Jew who lives under the shadow of the Nazi trauma has made to himself or herself. The vow is a paraphrase from the Book of Leviticus: "You shall not stand idly by while the blood of your brothers and sisters cry out to you from the earth."

That's why I joined James Michener, Bayard Rustin, Leo Cherne, Ambassadors William Casey and Cecil Lyons and others, last February on that mission of saving human lives in Southeast Asia. Our Citizens Commission played a role in moving the U.S. Congress to adopt legislation to admit 25,000 Vietnamese boat people and 15,000 Cambodians

to this land of freedom.

Last February, some 1,500 Vietnamese regugees were resulting x haven. fled their country each month seeking haven. Now, there are 10,000 escaping each month, and despite monsoons, there will be thousands during the coming months more/seeking desperately a chance to live.

The St. Louis tragedy taught me one permanent, universal lesson: a world that was callous and indifferent to the suffering and the massacre of millions of Armenians in 1915 became a world that was callous and indifferent to the suffering and agony of six million Jewish men, women, and children slaughtered by the Nazis. And a world that stood by silently while Jewish lives became worthless is now a world that stands by silently while thousands of Vietnamese boat people perish in the sea, while 2 to 3 million Eambodians were massacred before the eyes of humanity during the past two years, while 2000x0x 300,000 black Christians were destroyed by Idi Amin's terror, while 40,000 Lebanese Christian and Moslem civilians were killed, while Catholics and Protestants die every day in Ireland.

There is an epidemic of dehumanization in the world today. Civilization, H. G. Wells has written, uttimately is a race between education and catastrophe. We are going to Malaysia and Thailand this Friday to try to help lift up before the consciousness of the American people and of the whole human family the central educational issue of our age - and that is, **x** the dignity of every human life created in the sacred image of God. The very survival of a **x*** sane, civilized mankind depends on our learning that moral lesson, and our doing something about it...now.

NOTES

RABBI TANENBAUM'S DECEMBER 7 MEETING

1. Dimension of the Problem.

- -- Indochinese refugee problem will be with us for at least three to five years and should be approached on a long term basis -- not in an ad hoc manner as in the past.
- -- There are about a million and a half Chinese in Vietnam;
 many of whom will probably seek to leave.
- -- There could be a heavy influx of rural Lao if collectivization begins; there could be a heavy influx of Khmer if control in Cambodia weakens.
- -- The only predictable thing about the refugee flow is that it is unpredictable.

Geneva.

- -- Key objectives are more funds and more resettlement offers.

 Among the ideas are:
 - a. Develop a mechanism to increase resettlement opportunities.
- b. Raise a special pool of money earmarked for resettlement in the LDC's.
 - c. A holding center for boat refugees.
- d. A regularized flow of refugees from Vietnam, perhaps along the lines of the Cuban model.

-- Possible problem with unrealistic expectations stimulated by the Geneva consultation, particularly with regard to the Thais who will expect a focus on land refugees, which is unlikely in the face of the urgent boat refugee problem.

3. US Domestic Political Situation.

- -- There is an opening for movement toward an advocacy structure on Indochinese refugees, though the need remains to avoid a backlash.
- -- The Ambassador agreed to appear at any events which the Citizens Commission may suggest, during the Ambassador's visit to the US in February.

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THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Recommendations to the President

This is an appeal from the voluntary organizations cooperating in the American Council of Voluntary Agencies. We represent the three major faiths as well as the nationality and nonsectarian groups that have carried all United States immigration programs for displaced persons and refugees since the days of the Truman Directive in 1945 which initiated the American resettlement effort for millions of homeless people. Our major, though by no means exclusive, concern today are Indochinese refugees.

Since April 1975, we have worked closely with the Federal Government in providing resettlement opportunities for more than 160,000 Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian refugees in our country.

This collaboration, which began before the first refugee camp for Indochinese evacuees opened in 1975, has increased to a point where joint voluntary agency personnel are now assisting U.S. missions in 9 Southeast Asian countries in processing refugees.

We are now engaged in the 5th Indochinese refugee project since April, 1975. It provides parole for 7,000 boat case refugees in Southeast Asia and 8,000 inland refugees in Thailand. Like each of its predecessors, this program is clearly not sufficient.

All 7,000 boat case parole numbers have been allocated, yet thousands remain on the beaches and new boatloads continue to arrive. The screening of 90,000 refugees in Thailand revealed that over 32,000 qualify under the present criteria for the U.S. program, yet there are only 8,000 parole numbers. Thus, only 1 in 4 will benefit, with no provision for newly arriving or future refugees. As a result, attitudes of countries granting first asylum have hardened. Boats are pushed away from shore. Inland refugees in Thailand are threatened with forcible repatriation. The Thais are increasingly reluctant to consider permanent settlement of refugees in their country. This situation cries out for a bold, comprehensive and generous response.

We are of the collective opinion that:

1. The Indochinese refugee emergency will not subside in the foreseeable future.

- 2. We believe our national responsibility is as great now as it was in 1975, and will continue so long as the emergency lasts.
- 3. We believe that with compassionate leadership, we can meet this responsibility.

Given the above, we recommend the following specific actions:

Boat Case Refugees in Southeast Asia

- 1. We should, without further delay, authorize parole into the United States for all boat case refugees in Southeast Asia who have no resettlement opportunities in other countries.
- This parole authority should be without arbitrary numerical or time limitations.
- 3. Efforts should be increased to internationalize the boat case problem.

 The only way to do this is by our example.

Inland Refugees in Thailand

- 1. We should, without further delay, authorize parole into the United States for inland refugees in Thailand who meet agreed upon liberal criteria.
- 2. This parole authority should include all those who qualify under these criteria which, in order to be responsive to the task at hand, must be flexible enough to include family reunion, persons closely associated with the U.S. involvement in Indochina and cases deserving special humanitarian consideration.

Permanent Settlement in Thailand

- L. The Administration should encourage, through appropriate bi-lateral, multi-lateral and United Nations channels, the Royal Thai Government to begin the orderly process of establishing viable, permanent settlements for a significant number of refugees in their country.
- This encouragement should take the form of generous financial, technical and material assistance.

Conclusion

The parole authority vested in the Attorney General is the only workable tool available to us in this crisis which is but an extension of the tragedy that began in 1975. Our response today should be consistent with precedents established then and going back through refugee emergency after refugee emergency to 1956.

We understand the purposes of legislation that seeks to articulate a national refugee policy. But we do not believe that we can postpone coming to grips with the human rights issue we are facing in Southeast Asia until the legislative process

has run its course. We feel strongly that the parole power of the Attorney General that has enabled us to cope successfully with emergent problems deemed to be in the public interest should not be tampered with. The time for action is now.

Submitted for the American Council for Nationalities Service, the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Church World Service, HIAS, International Rescue Committee, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, Migration and Refugee Services-United States Catholic Conference, Tolstoy Foundation, by

Ingrid Walter
Acting Chairman
Committee on Migration and
Refugee Affairs



TALKING PAPER FOR MR. CASEY FOR THE FEBRUARY 18 PRESS CONFERENCE

In visits of our group to Hong Kong, The Philippines, Singapore, and Indonesia we were favorably impressed with conditions in the refugee camps, while recognizing that the numbers of refugees in them are very small by comparison with the huge camps in Thailand. The housing was good, the government social workers assisting them were dedicated and competent, voluntary agency representatives were helping with their documentation; immigration officers of the United States, France, Australia, Canada, and some other countries interviewed the refugees for permanent resettlement; and the refugees were reasonably happy, considering the trauma of their flight and the uncertainties of their future. The Governments of these countries and of the Crown Colony are showing compassion and generosity in their treatment of the refugees. We are informed that Malaysia also provides good conditions in its refugee camps. We could name many individuals for praise, but, without disparaging any others, we wish to call attention especially to Sister Thelma Pena in Manila as a true angel of mercy. Mr. James Stewart and Cissie Young of the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration

(ICEM) regional office and Werner Blatter of the United
Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are
performing outstandingly in arranging with many countries
the permanent resettlement of these refugees.

We found that, while some of the countries of the region have a liberal policy of first asylum and temporary stay, others are quite restrictive, turning away many small boats and refusing permission to large ships which pick up refugees to discharge these people unless there are ironclad guarantees in advance from some other country that it will take the refugees away. This policy has required some ship masters who, obeying the law of the sea, pick up persons in distress, to carry them from port to port in overcrowd and disease-threatening conditions, often with costly delays, ultimately to their countries of registry if no other country would receive them. As a result, ships frequently pass by foundering refugee boats and, we were told, some ships even make wide detours to avoid seeing the pitiful refugees in their small and often unseaworthy craft. How many hundreds or thousands have died as a result will never be known.

All this is well known to you in the Bangkok press corps. It is unfortunately not well enough known to your readers in more distant lands.

We have learned that there are no easy answers to this complex problem. We have had long and earnest discussions with Cabinet ministers and other officials of the countries we visited, as well as with representatives of the UNHCR, ICEM, both local and international voluntary agencies, and the Ambassadors of the United States and other countries. It is clear that, for domestic political, economic and social reasons, the capacity, not to speak of willingness, of most Southeast Asian nations to absorb Indochinese refugees permanently is limited. It also seems evident that, except for the U.S., France, Australia, and Canada, there has not been an adequate sharing of this humanitarian burden around the world. We would hope that the UNHCR will take up anew the task of internationalizing this problem.

The United States has been most generous, in keeping with the prolonged special relationship it had with the Indochinese countries. It has already taken about 160,000 of these refugees and is presently implementing programs which will add about 15,000 more. However, it has responded in knee-jerk fashion to successive refugee crises, beginning with the massive evacuations of 1975, rather than developing a coherent long-range policy which realistically deals with the quite predictable

probability that the refugee flow will continue for some years, even if its magnitude at any one time can not be accurately foreseen. Our Commission is unanimous in its view that the United States must work with other countries to guarantee that all boat people who leave Indochina will be taken out of countries of first asylum in East Asia and resettled permanently. The U.S. commitment should be without limit as to numbers, but should be implemented in coordination with those nations which are now receiving these people, particularly France, Australia, and Canada, and under the auspices of the UNHCR. It is to be hoped that other countries in Europe, Asia, and elsewhere will join this effort. If such a guarantee were given, we are sure that the Southeast Asian neighbors of Indochina would then be willing to receive for temporary asylum all who can reach their shores, including those who are picked up by ocean-going ships.

We shall work actively to persuade our Government to adopt such a long-range policy for boat people, as well as a more liberal program for the admission of overland refugees from Thailand, also without numerical limits. However, while that is being developed, the dual problem of ensuring that the frail boats can land and that ships that pick up people from foundering craft can discharge them must be addressed urgently. Various suggestions

have been advanced to us, such as the establishment of transit centers at or near principal ports of call in the area, and the allocation of U.S. quota numbers to those areas. We shall explore these ideas further with our Government, the UNHCR, and others. In the meantime, however, we appeal to the shipowners and countries of registry whose vessels ply these waters to call upon all their shipmasters to abide by the ancient law of the sea, as some countries have alrady done. We appeal also to all countries in the area to be generous in receiving these unfortunate people, knowing that the U.S. and other countries of resettlement will not fail in their humanitarian duty.

Report of the Island MIssion

Five members of the Citizens Commission sponsored by the International Rescue Committee visited Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore and Jakarta to gather information about the people fleeing from Vietnam in small boats and learn about the policies of the governments and conditions in the camps which receive them.

We were able to visit refugee centers in Hong Kong, where hotel rooms are provided, and in the Philippines, Singapore and Jakarta where substantial buildingspreviously used or planned as institutions for children and old people have been made available to refugees from Vietnam. In all four places, the accommodations are quite adequate. They are staffed by competent and dedicated employees of the host government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Voluntary agencies.

We have also been briefed by officials on the reception of refugees arriving by sea in Malaysia and Thailand.

We were able to hold discussions with a great many families and groups which arrived together in the same boat. Invariably, they tell stories of great courage and determination in leaving their homeland. Many of them had worked with United States forces in Vietnam. All of them said that they had left because they found conditions of life intolerable in Vietnam. This was expressed sometimes as a desire and need for freedom, sometimes as an inability to stand communism or the rigid control

and indoctrination being imposed in the "new Vietnam". The great majority expressed a desire to go to the United States.

These discussions brought out the great difficulty and intense planning in an escape from Vietnam by boat. Groups of individuals would be brought together in houses near the shore, some of them traveling long distances by car, bus, train or bicycle. On a given night they would rendezvous at some point where they would board the boat which had been provisioned with food and gas gathered over a period of time. Some of the parties had been detected by shore patrols and been forced to depart precipitously leaving some of their group behind. Then they might still encounted government boats patroling the coastal waters.

The boats which got away from the area around Danang and Hue seemed to turn up in Hong Kong after 5 or 6 days and nights provided their fuel held out and they did not encounter heavy storms. Those escaping from more southerly coastal areas tended to go due west to the Philippines, while those leaving from the delta tended to go south to Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia or on to Austrailia. Many of the boats had foundered. Some arrived after as long as 60 days at sea. Others, in distress, were picked up by tankers and merchant ships cruising the China Sea and the Gulf of Siam. Uncounted others have disappeared at sea.

We were told that fishing boats and other craft are coming under increasing surveilance by Vietnamese shore police and the homes of boat owners are being watched. # We were able

to hold discussions with officials charged with developing and implementing policy toward boat refugees in all the places we visited. Although there were differences in shading and emphasis, we found a clear and strong common thread in the policies being followed by governments:

- All of them manifest compassion in preventing loss
 of life, relieving pressing needs and providing temporary shelter.
- 2. None of them are prepared to provide permanent resettlement, except in special cases and in very small numbers.
- 3. All of them want to keep very quiet about any assistance they extend, because they do not want any favorable treatment to make their countries a magnet for a continuing flow of refugees and they do not want to risk the hostility of the new Vietnamese authorities.

Thus, we found that the governments we visited will do what they can to meet the immediate human needs of the boat people, but do not want to encourage others to escape, will not offer permanent resettlement and are intent on protecting themselves from being stuck with large numbers of refugees. They will continue to provide temporary refuge only as long as they feel assured that other countries will take them off their hands in due course.

There are differences in the degree of assurance that is required. This seems to vary inversely with the size of the country and directly with the number of refugees already there. A receiving country may require a high degree of assurance in

the form of an explicit of "bankable" guarantee that a third country will take refugees taken ashore off their hands. Others will be satisfied to permit refugees to land as long as representatives of a third country have a policy of permitting permanent resettlement and undertake "best efforts" to take arriving refugees of the hands of the receiving country.

What needs most urgently to be done now to save the lives of those leaving by sea is to overcome the fear of sea captains that if they follow the law of the sea and rescue foundering boats, they may be penalized by being denied entry to ports where they are scheduled to drop or pick up cargo, or be required to carry the refugees from port to port without being permitted to debark them. We were told that this fear, even if not always well founded, has led merchant ships to turn their backs on foundering boats or to pursue a course where they would not be likely to encounter them.

It is our view that this perception of commercial damage cannot be allowed to cost lives and that it is one which can be overcome. Singapore is the most active port we visited and is also the most heavily populated country (over 10,000 persons per square mile). It has offered to provide a transit camp on one of its islands which will assure that any ship can dispersively refugees there as long as Singapore has the assurance that they will be resettled elsewhere. There are also Indonesian islands near Singapore which might be used as a transit camp. There is also the possibility of establishing a transit camp Macau. These

transit camps will require the back up of a generous policy of permanent resettlement on the part of the United States and other countries.

We were impressed by the positive attitude toward joining in providing resettlement assurances to these countries of first asylum which was displayed by French, Canadian and Australian officials with whom we had the opportunity to talk.

We were also impressed with the willingness of officials of Singapore, Indonesia, Philippines and Hong Kong to improvise arrangements to reconcile their desire to meet immediate human needs and to avoid the economic, political and ethnic difficulties which shape their resistance to long term resettlement. For example, we found that Singapore, while unwilling to take refugees ashore without an explicit undertaking to provide permanent asylum in some other company, is willing to permit a merchant ship which has picked up refugees to come into port and handle its cargo responsibilities on the posting of a bond. Also, it has accepted the assurance of third country ambassadors that specific groups of refugees landed there will be taken off their hands. Singapore, by permitting a very limited number of refugees to settle permanently in 1975, considers that it has already discharged its duty so far as the overall resettlement program is concerned.

What is needed is a more clear cut, more coherent and more widely understood method of making the commitments necessary to comply with the needs and policies of the countries of first asylum. To that end the Commission makes these recommendations:

- 1. The fulcrum of a policy is the clearly enunciated willingness of the United States, France, Australia and Canada and, hopefully, other countries, to permanently resettle all boat refugees.
- 2. These countries should co-ordinate the implementation of this commitment with the assistance and under the direction of the U.N.H.C.R.
- 3. To meet immediate requirements, United States Ambassadors in the countries of first asylum should be provided with an appropriate allocation of the 7000 parole authorization to use in assuring those countries that refugees taken ashore will be resettled in consultation and co-ordination with their colleagues from other countries willing to provide permanent resettlement.
- 4. An experienced U.N.H.C.R. representative should be permanently stationed in each country of first asylum to assist in working out <u>ad hoc</u> arrangements with government authorities to meet unexpected situations which will continue to \widehat{arr} ise.
- 5. The U.N.H.C.R. should establish a fund to meet any bonding requirements required to permit merchant ships which have picked up refugees to meet their cargo obligations.
- 6. Under the leadership of the U.N.H.C.R., transit camps for people picked up by merchant ships should be established in the Singapore and in the Hong Kong area.

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Cambodia - March For Survival

International Rescue Committee Delegation

Schedule of Events

SUP.	February 3	
		Delegation arrives. All will be staying at New Imperial Hotel.
_ MOP.	February 4	
	09:30	Visit to the Lumpini Transit Center for those who wish to meet refugees about to depart for third countries. (Meet in lobby and proceed by taxi)
	15:00	Joint meeting with IRC and Medicins San Frontiere delegation, plus both foreign press and local press. Chompunut Room, 2nd floor, New Imperial.
	18:30	Informal reception - U.S. Embassy Residence.
tuis.	February 5	
+	08:30	Assemble in lobby of hotel.
	09:00	Departure for Aranyparathet. (There will be 4 minibuses at the hotel. Cold drinks and sand-wichs will be provided.)
	11:30	Brief visit en route to Sa Keo Holding Center (approx 32,000 Khmer refugees).
5f.	13:00	Continue to Aranyaprathet.
	14:30	Arrive Aranyaprathet. Proceed to designated housing.
	18:00	"Open house" at main IRC house in Aranyaprathet. Guests will include IRC medical and field staff, colleagues from other voluntary agencies working in the field, MSF delegation members and press.
W 60.	February 6	
	08:30	Departure from houses in Aranyaprathet.
	09:00	Rendevous at Customs House near border with MSF delegation and truck convoy.

February 6 (Cont'd)

09:30 March to the bridge - (appx 1 Km.)

Note: If the delegations are not invited into Cambodia, the following schedule will be followed:

12:00 Departure from the Bridge to Khao I Dang Holding Center (appx 110,000 Khmer refugees).

16:00 Departure from Khao I Dang for Aranyaprathet.

Evening free.

February 7

Meeting and ceremony at Thai Red Cross headquarter in Aranyaprathet to donate food, medicines and medical supplies for assistance to Thai villagers displaced by the fighting and Khmer refugees where the need is greatest.

12:00 Return to Bangkok.

Evening free.

February 8

There will be a joint meeting of the delegations and press at a time and place to be announced later. No other events are scheduled for this day.

February 9

18:00 Concert by Joan Baez at American University Alumni Association Hall.

21:30 Informal reception - New Imperial Hotel.

February 10

18:00 2nd Concert by Joan Baez at American University Alunumi Association hall.

Note: Food and drink will be supplied at Aranyaprathet, as well as beds, towels, soap, etc. Please bring with you only a minimum of things. Dress lightly. Women are advised to wear slacks, and some kind of sun-hat is recommended.

Robert P. DeVecchi IRC Delegation Coordinator Room 434 New Imperial Hotel

ALTON KASTNER

A shortened and scmewhat edited text of the Commission's statement prepared in Bangkok. It is introductory to the recommendations.

Statement by the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees

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

While all this is happening, and even growing worse, the countries of first and temporary asylum have not been assured that the world's free nations are ready to accept the fact that responsibility for the fate of the refugees does not rest with the countries adjacent to Indochina. Nor the fact that this is a worldwide human rights issue of urgency and magnitude. Rich nations continue to preach freedom but argue endlessly about the problems of finding a home for the most ardent seekers of freedom.

2. The circumstances in which the refugees live - and die - compels priority action, including immediate steps by the UNHCR to meet at least the minimal needs of all refugees in countries of first asylum with speed, confidence and decision. We must in particular point to the impending human disaster of Pulau Bidong, the island off Malaysia, where 26,000 boat people live on 85 inhabitable acres. In spite of valiant efforts by the refugees to help themselves, they live in

subhuman conditions: shortages of food, water, medicines, and medical care, rampant sickness and disease, unimaginable sanitation facilities, with 16 toilets for 26,000 people. Yet there seems to be no bottom to this human disaster, as new refugee boats keep arriving directly, as well as those being sent to Pulau Bidong from other Malaysian refugee areas.

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

The additional fact of the large numbers now fleeing, and those still to come, makes it clear that the final resettlement effort must be shared more generously by the few countries, including the United States, which have already provided the overwhelming number of resettlement opportunities. Of equal importance is the direct involvement of additional countries which have not thus far involved themselves in the final asylum process. Some of these countries pay constant lipservice to the human rights issue.

The consultation held in Geneva on December 11 and 12 under the auspices of the UNHCR is a step towards the internationalization of the problem. Now, governments that profess an attachment to human rights principles must act quickly and generously. The U.S. has increased its quota for the refugees to about 50,000 through May 1979. But except for France, none of Europe's democratic

countries has gone beyond a token response to the tragedy that has overtaken. the Southeast Asian communist countries. Japan, a country that has always encouraged its citizens to seek opportunities in other lands, remains closed to Indochinese exiles; it is not enough for such countries to substitute money for readiness to accept and absorb refugees. Sweden is mute, perhaps deaf to the problem, in contrast to small countries such as Austria and Denmark which are helping.

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

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

6. Unwilling, sometimes unable, to respond to emergencies, a common excuse offered by governments that prefer to look the other way is that boat people who "bought" their way out of Vietnam, or left with the connivance and extortion of Vietnamese officials, are migrants who do not deserve the compassion of their fellow men. This position flies in the face of the accepted definition of a refugee, and is not consonant with historical principles. Huge numbers of refugees flee Indochina in the death of night, through minefields and closely guarded borders; huge numbers of them are captured or shot, or drown.

The escape of others may not be so traumatic, but their losses are no less severe. All are refugees leaving their homelands where they were persecuted for reasons of religion, nationality, ethnic origin, membership in a particular social or economic group. If returned to their countries, harsh punishment, frequently death, would be decreed. They are all, beyond question, refugees and not "illegal immigrants."

Jews were allowed to leave Nazi Germany only with outrageously priced passports, exhorbitant fees for ship passage and, of course, the seizure of all their possessions. It was indifference and lack of comprehension on the part of free countries that prevented more from leaving, and thus being condemned to the Nazi gas ovens. The 700,000 Cuban refugees permitted by Castro to enter the United States "bought" their way out by surrendering their possessions to the government.

7. Resettlement in the United States is the responsibility performed by eight voluntary agencies. Several represent the major religious denominations, the others are nonsectarian including the International Rescue Committee which assisted in the organization of the Citizens' Commission. These organizations have for more than a generation participated in the resettlement of uprooted victims of tyranny and terror. Inflation has greatly burdened the operations, even as governmental assistance to their functioning has declined. Funding and assisting sponsors - or directly sponsoring those refugees in the accelerated numbers now required - will be a vast and costly undertaking. These agencies must be adequately assisted by the federal government to perform so major a task. Moreover, the numbers of refugees involved will almost certainly require an active campaign of conscience and concern led by the President, to generate a greater public awareness and to encourage their increased assistance, including sponsorship, by the American people. To an Administration which has made human rights

its special and continuing concern, helping these victims who have been denied the most fundamental rights of simple humanity must be a high priority and continuous job.

- 8. It is not well understood that more than 9 of every 10 Indochinese resettled since 1975 in the United States and who are employable, are, in fact, by employed. They will accept jobs not sought/or acceptable to native Americans, including those unemployed. Their presence provides us with a body of people who deeply value freedom, and a culture with an intense work ethic. The refugees make a positive economic contribution. It was the understanding of this economic reality, in addition to humanitarian concerns, that last March led to the endorsement of a wide resettlement program for the Indochinese refugees by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, and by 90 of the nation's most distinguished blacks and hispanic leaders. No country has bled because it has been moved by the acted on the plight of refugees; indeed, nations have benefited by not growing callouses on their hearts.
- 9. A particular refugee group among the many suffering in primitive camps may be deserving of special attention -- the hill people of Laos, the Hmongs. They are the survivors of the undeclared war against the Hmong community being waged by Laotian and Vietnamese troops. Their homes are being destroyed and their families decimated. These people were our allies during the years of the ambiguous conflict in Laos up to the very end of 1975. Hmongs from widely separated areas of Laos told identical stories of efforts to destroy their ethnic identity, their culture, their livelihood and even their lives.
- 10. While progress has been made in making the world sensitive to the suffering of Indochinese refugees, and in opening resettlement prevaions that did not exist a year ago, the United States has not yet formulated a consistent, long-range policy for the Indochinese. A solution calls for three urgent steps (spelled out in more detail in the recommendations to follow): a) The establishment

of a "holding" area nearby the Asian countries of first asylum. b) A reception area in the United States for refugees approved for admission. c) A requirement that ships of all nations rescue sinking or disabled refugee boats.

- 11. We must say, before concluding, that this human tragedy was not caused by free world nations receiving the refugees. It is rather caused by the three Indochinese countries which have and continue to generate the exodus by their repression and cruelty. It is their flagrant violation of basic human rights which compels refugees to flee -- to leave behind their homes and possessions, to risk their lives and their children's lives, to face stormy seas, to suffer the depredation of pirates who pillage, rape and kill, to cross borders and rivers, to be captured and killed, and often to face inhuman conditions in refugee camps. It is the governments of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia which must shoulder the responsibility and the blame for this tragedy.
- 12. The Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees submits its recommendations sensitive to the fact that the United States is confronted with serious inflation, and consequent austerity and budget-cutting programs. The time is an awkward and difficult one. Nevertheless, this is a refugee crisis of such compelling humanitarian urgency, a matter of life-or-death for so many thousands of Indochinese, and a human rights issue of such overriding importance, that the Commission must urge the adoption of its recommendations. All the measures recommended are essential lest the dismal history of the 1930's repeat itself.

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MISSION INVESTIGATING FLIGHT VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE INDOCHINESE

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PAN MALAYSIAN ISLAMIC PARTY AMONG FIFTY FIVE PERCENT MUSLIM POPULATION

IN LOCAL ELECTIONS MARCH EIGHTEEN IRC CABLED PROTEST TO STATE

CHARGING MALAYSIA SUBVERTS HUMANITARIAN CAUSE INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

TO EXTRANEOUS MIDDLE EAST CONFUCT. IRC CHRISTIAN MEMBERS UNANIMOUSLY

REFUSED TO VISIT MALAYSIA INSTEAD WE WENT WEDNESDAY TO MEET VIETNAMESE

BOAT POEPLE INDOCHINESE REFUGEE CAMPS AND INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

AUTHORITIES ALSO PREDOMINANTLY

MUSLIM AT PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY BANGKOK THAILAND PRESIDED

BY LED CHERNE AND WILLIAM CASEY COCHAIRMEN I ISSUED FOLLOWING

STATEMENT QUOTE OUR INTERVISOS WITH INDOCHINESE REFUGEES PAST TEN DAYS

IN HONG KONG MANILA, SINGAPORE INDONESIA THAILAND PERSUADES US THIS

IS ONE OF GREATEST NEGLECTED HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS THIS DECADE.

IT IS

A MORAL TRAGEDY THAT MALAYSIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE STOOPED TO EXPLOIT
HUMAN SUFFERING OF REFUGEES FOR CHEAP INTERNAL POLITICAL GAINS.

11 IS DEEPLY HEARTENING THAT AMERICANS ALL FAITHS RACES
REPUBLIATED DECISIVELY MALAYSIAN EFFO TS TO DENT MY FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN
RIGHTS AND TREAT JEWS AS SEEND CLASS CITIZENS TO BE ISOLATED FROM

AMERICANS. THIS POCITICAL FANATICISM MASKED BYANTI-SEWISH BIGOTRY WILL
NOT PETER AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE NOR MYSELF FROM
CONTINUING ACTIVITIES WITHIRG TO ALLEVIATE SUFFERING OF HUNDREDS.
OF THOUSANDS HUMAN BEINGS

JAKARTA MONTHLY REPORT

A total of 138 persons departed in January, bringing the IPP-77 departure total to 364. Volag Assurances of Sponsorship have been received for 409. Thus far one departure is shheduled for this month with 30 persons. At least one more departure is anticipated.

The State Department recently requested information about cases still without sponsorship after three months. There are currently only four such cases, which really comprise one family: IN-216, 217, 315, 316. The list will be updated on a regular basis. Another family of 9, IN-370 and 371, has sponsorship but swaits a medical guarantee from LIRS for care of a mentally retarded child.

As regards purchase of warm clothing, there have been several developments. Shoes were purchases in quantity from Bata Shoes at wholesale prices. Socks have also sheen purchased. Clothing collection has been moderately successful. I submitted the attached proposal for additional funds to Catholic Relief Services, but have not yet received an answer. Distribution has been made at several camps and will continue as refugees arrive for transit in Jaharta from outlying areas.

The UNHCE representative was in Jakarta January 23-25. He interviewed all the refugees who have arrived since October, including the 26 still on the Hong Giang. He referred 83 persons for U.S. resettlement. With the 14 from Tanjung Pinang already referred, this comes to 97 persons, 45 cases. Of this group it appears that 33 would qualify under libbral Cat I criteria, and another 16 as possible Cat III.

I did reach Tanjung Pinang at the end of the month to interview the referred cases there. Three of the 14 had already left the camp (see below). The two camps in Tanjung Pinang are largely empty, and those people still waiting behind seem dispirited.

Still no further arrivals have been reported. One boat which appeared in Jakarta two weeks ago with 22 on board turned out to be earrying refugees from Tanjung Pinang who had tired of waiting for resettlement. They were hoping to reach Australia. Two of them left for the U.B. immediately as they were scheduled for departure, and a third person will leave shortly. Three others were from the group of 14 whom the UMHCR had referred. The 16 others on board had never applied for U.S. resettlement. This boat, with the Hong Giang, is now sitting in Tanjung Prick harbor with refugees on board. The UMHCR representative did not feel that GOI policy regarding first asylum had necessarily changed, but rather, that these two boats are special cases because they involve the question of Australian policy.

As members of an independent national citizens commission assembled by the International Rescue Committee from representative and substantial segments of American life, we address you with but gratitude for your having arranged a hearing on the long-range policy and plans of the US government which, among other issues, will consider those who have fled and are continuing to risk their lives to escape the three Indochinese countries Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

Our fourteen commission members include representatives of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities, leaders in the human rights and civil rights movements, distinguished lawyers and businessmen, several experienced former foreign service officers, specialists in refugee resettlement and one of the nation's most celebrated and sensitive authors. Some of our group esentially supported the US position in Vietnam, others among us were early and active opponents of US Vietnam policies and actions. There is no difference whatever among us about our responsibility to these people who suffer the aftermath of that past event.

While Our mission will by month's end take us to most of the major Asian countries to which these refugees flee we have already learned how vital is the task your subcommittee is engaged in.

We are unanimous in our conviction that only a well designed long range program adopted by the US and known to the other nations will achieve certain essential results. Such a program will encourage other nations to participate in a proportionate effort to provide asylum, assured that the US is not shirking the fair share in this continuing tragedy. Such a program will greatly reduce the increasing unwillingness of some nations to provide even temporary safe harbor for those boat people who risk their lives in a treacherous sea aboard unseaworthy vessels carrying despairing destitute men, women

and children, many of whom have been cast adrift to face near certain death. Such a program will honor the UN Human Rights Convention as well as the Helsinki agreement which identify as an urgent human right the reunification of families. Such a program will encourage the shipping masters of the commercial fleet, which travel the South China Sea and the Gulf of Siam to honor the maritime law which requires that they permit the occupants of foundering ships to be boarded and discharged at the next port of call.

Such a program will help discharge our special obligation to those who flee because of the special price in imprisonment and brutal indignity they suffer because they once had an association with an American military civilians or who had at one time been educated in an American school or had a civil function in a former government in their lands.

We have already learned that the numbers of those who would likely be eligible for resettlement in the US under such a program are not likely to exceed or even equal in any year the numbers of citizens of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam who would be eligible for immigration to the US had there never been a war in Indochina, the number, for example, routinely eligible presently for immigration from Korea, Taiwan or the Philippines.

There is much more we are learning about the plight of these tragic victims of a war now ended and of the opportunities to encourage resettlement for substantial numbers in Asian countries as well as other countries of the Western world. We respectfully request an invitation from you and your Committee to present observation, the substance of our conversation with

the leaders of these South East Asia governments as well as our recommendations for a reasonable and constructive role for our own country.

We would want our testimony to contribute to an objective we share in common, namely, an integrated long range US policy as the pivot upon which constructive and generous responses among the countries which take the neighboring brunt of the flight of these destitute peoples.



8 DO'S AND DONT'S FOR VISITORS TO SINGAPORE

DO S

- Do bargain over price especially where price tags are not displayed.
- Do ask for receipts for all your purchases (you may need them for U.S. customs).
- Do try to take your purchases with you rather than have them shipped or mailed to you after your departure.
- 4. Do ensure that the taxi meter flag is turned down by the driver and records S\$0.80¢ (S\$1.00 for airconditioned taxi) at commencement of journey.

DONT S

- Don't forget that all prices are in Singapore dollars (about US 43¢ each).
- Don't be rushed into making "bargain" purchases -take your time and compare prices before spending.
- Don't throw cigarettes or paper on the street or from an automobile. It carries a S\$500 fine.
- 4. Don't jaywalk, it carries a S\$50 fine.

future in Thailand, or absolute danger were they returned to Laos.

We include in this section the largest group of people who have fled from Laos and who indeed originate from that country but are a distinct ethnic. and geographical group who lived primarily in the hills of Laos. In the US they have been commonly identified as Meo. The word does have a pejorative connotation, but they are besknown in the US by that term. Their actual tribal identification is Hmong. They and other ethnic tribal groups common to the hills of Laos played the single largest military, guerrilla and para-military role in the long effort to establish a free and independent Laos and to frustrate the plans of the Pathet Lao and the North Vietnamese. Again because of the ambiguity of the American efforts in Laos, the application of the criteria as they relate to resettlement of these hill-tribe people in the US must be generously applied. Provable specificity is often hard to come by; documents are rare of non-existent. There is a fact however that is undeniable. These hill tribesmen suffered the heaviest casualties of any of the peoples in Laos. These casualties unfortunately continue. The Government of Laos is at present involved in a concerted effort to drive the remaining hill people from their highland strongholds inside Laos towards the lowlands where they can be dealt with more readily. Theefforts to accomplish this have involved the use of toxic agents, napalm and explosives dropped, we are told by North Vietnamese aircraft.

If the Thai Government is prepared to offer durable resettlement inside Thailand for any significant number of the various ethnic groups from Laos in Thailand in a manner which assures their safety, ethnic, and cultural identity, then

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VIETNAMESE "BOAT PEOPLE" - THE JEWS OF ASIA

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, is a member of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees, organized by the International Rescue Committee. In February of this year, he spent two weeks in Southeast Asia on a fact-finding max mission on the plight of Vietnamese Cambodian "boat people" and finewaism/refugees. Rabbi Tanenbaum leaves this Friday, Dec. 1, for a ten-day mission to Malaysia and Thailand to help bring relief to the growing numbers of Indochinese refugees.)

In the harbor of Djakarta, the frail, battered/boat lay anchored listlessly, looking exhausted under the blistering February sun that schrched the Indonesian archipelago. I walked out on the rotting wharf and then jumped onto the boat, no larger than an oversized rowboat.

There were fifteen people aboard, jammed together in sweltering Nguyen Mam Than the people of closeness. The man who greeted me was the father of eight children on the boat, and "the captain" of this decrepit vessel. He was a Vietnamese Catholic from Saigon, a teacher manaximum educated in a mission school and competent in the English language.

I introduced myself as examples of the lu-member gitzens U. S. Cit ens Commission for Indochinese Refugees organized by the International Rescue Commission that was engaged in a fact-finding mission on the plight of Vietnamese boat people, and Cambodian refugees and other Indochinese refugees in Hong Kong, the Thailand, Malaysia, the Phillipines, and Singapore. I asked Nguyen Than to tell me his "story".

While his diminutive wife and sisters-in law were busy putting

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together a meal of rice and fish, and the children jostled each other in quiet play, Nguyen Than xxxxxxxxx unfolded the tale of his exodus from oppression.

The Communist government in Hanoi had ordered him and his family to the rural countryside for "reeducation" as a members of news the few collective society. They confiscated what little earthly goods they had, and worst still, they began to confiscate his freedom and dignity as a human beings. Through bribes and steelth, Nguyen Than crossed through the forests, reached the shreking shoreline, and the middle of the night escaped on a decayed fishing boat that he, and his two brothers in the had purchased at what for them were astronomical costs.

They were turned away by border patrols from the shores of Singapore, and it the Phillipnes. "By the third week," Nguyen Than told me, " we had no more food and water. We began to drink the sea-water and eat sea-weed. Our My children wagenx became deathly sick and feverish and we were certain that we would die."

And then this small man's face became fierce with anger and he spoke these words which pentrated my heart. "Rabbi, you as a Jew, will understand this better than most other people. As terrible as was the starvation, the phydical pain in our bodies, the worst thing of all was the awareness that we were abandoned by the world, that our lives meant absolutely nothing to anybody, human life has become r wothless."

He looked intensely into my eyes and added, "I know understand what it meant to be a Jew in Nazi Germany in the 1930s, when all the world knew that your propher jewish people were being destroyed and you were abandoned."

Abandoned. Not only were these fixer fifteen human beings turned away from haven by fellow Asians, but during therefore as well their harrowing odyssey on the sea they were abandoned/by people from the Western world. "We were passed by by 23 freighters - we counted them - 23 large ships carrying cargo, probably to Singapore. Most of them were great ships carrying Western or Japanese flags. The We wated at them begging them to pick us up, at least to give us water and food. Nothing. A couple times some freighters slowed down and their crews came up on deck to watch us as if we were some entertainment. Some of the people even smiled or laughed at us. Our children began to scream in terror when they tried to sleep."

As Nguyen Than spoke, I suddenly found his face and voice dissolving before me, and I was overwhelmed by other images. It was 1939, the boat maningmax churning in the turbulent ocean was the St. Louis. The human cargo aboard was 936 Jewish men, women, and children, fleeing certain death in Nazi Germany. Like the Indochinese refugees, they too had to buy their way out of oppression, paying large sums for passage on the St. Louis, and buying "official landing certificates" that was to guarantee them entry into Cuba. Thexaskso Some 730 of the Jewish refugees were also able to purchase American immigration quota numbers, just in case the Cuban haven should fall through.

On May 27, 1939, they docked at Havana's port. They were told that their "official landing certificates" were invalid. Cuba's President Frederico Laredo Bru told them they could land if they could produce one million dollars within 24 hours. An impossibilty. Despeir. Abandonment. Several men committed suicide. Cuban gunboats forced the ship

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back into the Atlantic Ocean. Franctically, desperately, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee pleaded with South American countries to provide asylum. & & & Cables to Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, Argentina. "Regard these pagsengers as doomed if they are returned to German soil," said the cables. The reply came back--no room at the inn.

Then incredibly, the United States Government, under the "heroic" leadership of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, rejected the refugees who possessed immigration numbers. Apparently, they did not want to meddle in the internal affairs of Nazi Germany.

The St. Louis returned to Europe. Fortunately, Belgium, Holland, France, and England each received several hundred of the Jewish refugges. Epilogue: the Nazis overran Belgium, Holland, and France, in those countries and all the refugees/were massacred in the Nazi genocide.

The St. Louis episode changed my life. I attended a rally for the St. Louis "boat people" in Madison Square Garden, I made a vow to myself then - which I believe is a silent vow that every Jew who lives under the shadow of the Nazi trauma has made to himself or herself. The vow is a paraphrase from the Book of Leviticus: "You shall not stand idly by while the blood of your brothers and sisters cry out to you from the earth."

That's why I joined James Michener, Bayard Rustin, Leo Cherne, Ambassadors William Casey and Cecil Lyons and others, last February on that mission of saving human lives in Southeast Asia. Our Citizens Commission played a role in moving the U.S. Congress to adopt legislation to admit 25,000 Vietnamese boat people and 15,000 Cambodians

Since January Last February, some 1,500 Vietnamese regugees MEKEXXHEKINEXKAYER fled their country each month seeking haven. Now, there are 10,000 escaping each month, and despite monsoons, there will be thousands during the coming months more/seeking desperately a chance to live. When something changes 60%. The St. Louis tragedy taught me one permanent, universal lesson:

a world that was callous and indifferent to the suffering and the massacre of millions of Armenians in 1915 became a world that was callous and indifferent to the suffering and agony of six million Jewish men. women, and children slaughtered by the Nazis. And a world that stood by silently while Jewish lives became worthless is now a world that stands by silently while thousands of Vietnamese boat people perish in the sea, while 2 to 3 million Eambodians were massacred before the eyes of humanity during the past two years. while Marax 300,000 black Christians were destroyed by Idi Amin's terror, while 40,000 Lebanese Christian and Moslem civilians were killed, while Catholics and Protestants die every day in Ireland.

There is an epidemic of dehumanization in the world today. Civilization, H. G. Wells has written, uttimately is a race between education and catastrophe. We are going to Malaysia and Thailand this Friday to try to help lift up before the consciousness of the American people and of the whole human family the central educational e absolute commandment to never the infinite value of every human life, and the issue of our age - and that is, that the dignity of every human life obtain to some human being from destruction. created in the sacred image of God. The very survival of a xxxx same, civilized mankind depends on our learning that moral lesson, and our doing something about it ... now.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO BRZEZINSKI

Dear Zbig:

In your letter of May 17 you asked whether I and some of my colleagues on the Citizens Commission for Indochinese Refugees might look into the problem of delays in the transportation of refugees approved for resettlement in the United States.

I am enclosing a detailed memorandum which outlines the primary reasons for delays which take place overseas.

The experience reflected is primarily the experience which exists in Thailand where with the exception of the boat cases the overwleming number of Indochinese refugees are located. We are satisfied that there are delays of refugees who have been approved for admission to the United States. But our inquiry does not justify the conclusion at this time that the problem flows from a lack of "assurances" which the voluntary agencies provide. The key people involved in the State Department as well as the voluntary agency heads are in agreement. I must, however, add that while this is the present case, there have been times in the past when this has not been true and I regrettable am pessimistic that assurances in the United States will be found by the voluntary agencies in a process which is synchronous with the flow from Asia.

Since the attached memorandum identifies bottlenecks in Thailand, any improvement in that picture will, if anything, more rapidly shift the weight to the speed and regularity with which voluntary agencies can process and resettle the cases in the United States.

Therefore, let me just briefly summarize the present or perhaps temporary situation.

Whatever delays are occurring have occurred during the recent past and are primarily

the function of the lack of proper transit facilities and a shortage of plane seats. The

immediate need is for a rapid expansion of the departure (transit) facilities in Bangkok and

Kuala Lumpur and the medical and administrative staffs charged with the essential steps in the processing for which they are responsible. It is essential that ICEM have a larger capability than presently exists of developing charter arrangements which will make up for the shortage of regular plane seats due to the Northwestern strike and the summer tourist season. Since the first large movement under the new parole program is apparently scheduled by August 1, this one fact alone may prove critical. However, I must emphasize that if all of the problems detailed in this letter and the attached memorandum were resolved, one overriding necessity would remain.

A satisfactory volume of sponsorships is by no means assured. The volunteer effort which accounts for such a large part of the assurances that are needed to resettle the refugees coming to our country is bound to slacken during the summer months. Even more incisive is the financial crunch which is making itself increasingly felt owing to the insufficiency of grants budgeted by the State Department for the absorption of the refugees. It stands at \$300 now and is to be raised to \$350 for the next fiscal year. The securing of sponsorships, meetings services at ports of arrival, the finding of apartments, payment of rent and deposit, initial living expenses and resettlement counseling cannot be provided for \$300 or \$350 for one refugee. And the funds the voluntary agencies are able to raise in order to supplement the federal subsidy will not suffice to bridge the gap.

The question of financial cost to the voluntary agencies differs from agency to agency. Some with large Church constituencies can find sponsors more rapidly. A non-sectarian agency like the International Rescue Committee sponsors the cases as an agency. Not surprisingly, there are different philosophies which move the various refugee resettlement agencies in the most effective manner of affecting a durable resettlement. These



differences entail costs either to the agencies themselves or the sponsors they find or to state and local public assistance.

On June 6, all eight of the national voluntary agencies addressed Chairman

Clarence Long of the House Appropriations Committee and did agree on the following

conclusion: "The lack of adequate initial funding for resettlement promotes dependency

on public assistance. It is our firm belief that rapid achievement of self-sufficiency

is cost effective. However, without sufficient funding the resettlement agencies cannot

adequately discharge their professional responsibility to assist the refugees in becoming

productive contributing members of our society. In the long run this costs the federal

government and taxpayer much more."

Let me make some final observations on the business of sponsors, assurances and resettlement. The atmosphere which prevailed following the fall of Saigon and after an initial period of hesitancy and hotility greatly eased the process of finding sponsors and of effecting resettlement. A great deal of national attention was devoted to this subject. The numbers involved (130,000) were large and active leadership support for the undertaking was provided on both federal and state levels in many parts of the country. In addition, of course, during that interval there were the transit camps in the United States which operated as holding centers for the refugees while the voluntary agencies proceeded with their search for sponsors, housing, employment, education, and so forth. With the end of this program more than a year ago, we have approached Indochinese refugee resettlement to this country in fits and starts not only with a succession of small parole "bites" but as quietly as possible. Publicity which has been generated by the tragedy of the boat people and the events in Cambodia have, in my opinion, profoundly changed national awareness. But this will have to be translated

into leadership on the Executive Branch level encouraging citizens to understand that it is not personal charity alone they are being asked to express but to participate in a vital national purpose. If the funds made available to the voluntary agencies from one process or another were raised to the moderate level of \$500 per refugee and national leadership supporting the efforts of the voluntary agencies were provided, I feel more than reasonably confident that the undertaking which faces us can be satisfied by the U.S. voluntary agencies in an efficient and humane manner while speeding the process of resettlement by dissolving the various bottlenecks which are detailed in the attached memorandum. What does concern me is that not only is the present parole decision an inadequate one, even when measured by today's refugee flow, but my own pessimistic conclusion suggests that we are yet to see the size of the movement that will take place when events in Indochina mature further.

With my deep regard,

Sincerely,

FACTORS DELAYING REFUGEE MOVEMENT FROM THAILAND

This memorandum will offer no judgments on the variety of factors which pre-exist the granting of approval by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to an individual and/or his family, making them eligible for resettlement in the United States. What this memorandum does is detail the various factors which may impede resettlement in the United States or delay movement of the particular individuals for varying periods of time after approval has been given by INS.

The problems which arise tend to fall in one of the following major categories:

- 1) Approval by the INS which contains some unsatisfied condition. There are a substantial number of such individuals, they show up in the data as approved, and yet they cannot move until the reasons for conditional approval have been eliminated.
- 2) Medical problems which arise after INS approval. An estimated 10% of all approved refugees wind up on medical hold. Here too they are reported to Washington as approved, yet not only are they unable to move until the reason for the medical hold has been resolved (and it may involve months) but it also has the effect of backing up other approved cases for whom there is no room in the transit center until the medical hold cases have had their problems resolved.
- 3) <u>Complexity of the process</u>. In order to bring assured refugees from camp to the Bangkok transit center, a lengthy process involving four agencies is required. Not only the complexity but the necessity that certain of the steps involved synchronize do have an effect on the speed of movement.
- 4) The sudden issuance of administrative hold. An individual may be in transit camp, approved for resettlement, when some new question (sometimes of a serious

character) come to light. Often these problems involve purely benign but absolutely vital elements such as locating the relative in the States who is the anchor to which the particular approval is attached. Since an estimated 8% to 10% of all cases wind up on administrative hold for one of a number of reasons, this is an especially significant problem and between administrative and medical holds may account for one in five of all refugees which have been approved by the INS. Quite apart from the disappointment and difficulty this occasions for them, it involves stays of some length in the transit center which prevents the movement of others, a large percentage of whom would encounter no difficulties.

- 5) Problems of ticketing and transportation. Every one of the previous and essentially unpredictable elements may suddenly invalidate not only the ticketing of a particular family group, but the substantial changes in bookings which do occur can occasion a loss of block space reserved in advance by ICEM. Overseas transportation problems do, in fact, become an additional impediment to rapid movement during the tourist season.
- 6) <u>Limitations imposed by a wholly inadequate transit center</u>. A major bottleneck impeding movement is the size of the transit center, since only 800 can with some discomfort, fit into the present facilities. The Minister of Interior will not move new refugees into the center until space has been vacated by their predecessors. The greater number of holds and the more the transit center becomes the unyielding barrier.
- 7) Problems caused by the refugee himself. It is not unusual for a refugee to arrive in the transit center and only then inform those administering the program that there is a relative in another camp for whom he wishes to wait or a relative or friend in the United States he wishes to join in a location different from that he had been destined to travel to.

Weeks of rearrangement and counseling for these and a number of similar problems are required before movement begins.

- 8) Problems encountered by the U.S. voluntary agencies in the United States:
- (a) Difficulty in locating the U.S. relative and in arranging back-up sponsorships in those cases where the relative cannot support the new arrivals.
- (b) U.S. relatives or friends often move before the new relatives come in from Asia, requiring that the agency locate new back-up and new assurances.
- (c) The sponsor has special requests for refugee arrival time, due to holidays, problems locating housing, etc.
- (d) If a refugee is delayed, sponsors may be unable to wait, and will therefore cancel the sponsorship offer.
- (e) Sponsorships are harder to find during summer holiday months, especially for church organizations.

Possible solutions to the previously stated problems

- 1. Additional transit center space, or a holding camp.
- 2. Streamline the process of notification required to move a refugee from camp to transit center.
 - 3. Greater use of charter flights during tourist season.
- 4. Conditional approvals should be avoided and, if absolutely necessary, such cases should not be reported to Washington as approved.
 - 5. Resolution of the opiates hold problem.

6. Presence of a permanent INS officer in Bangkok, to grant final approval as soon as required proof has been received. At present, cases must wait until the next special detail of INS officers visits Thailand.



LAND REFUGEE SITUATION IN THAILAND

1. <u>Foreword</u>. Recently, international attention focused on boat refugees fleeing Vietnam in ever larger numbers. There has been little international attention to the continuing problem of land refugees from Laos and Cambodia pouring into Thailand. The lack of interest from the international community in the land refugee situation could prompt Thailand to return to a more exclusionary policy on refugees which last year saw the refusal to admit hundreds of would-be refugees from Laos.

2. Dimensions of the Problem.

a. At the end of 1975, Thailand had _____land refugees. Since then, despite the fact that _____land refugees have resettled in third countries, the refugee population has now more than doubled to over 135,000 land refugees in Thailand. The population of last year alone has increased by 40,000 refugees, mostly Lao and Hmong.

b. The continued gap between numbers who arrive and the smaller number that leave has foreclosed the opportunity for any near-term movement toward local settlement by Thai authorities. Thus, even though a substantial portion of the refugees (say 50%) might be accepted for resettlement in Thailand, there is little hope the Thai Government will move in that direction in the near future.

- 3. The Refugee Perspective. From the standpoint of the refugee, the average time in a land camp is now two years. In actual fact, that is a mixture of some people who spend about a year in camp before presentation to the American program and others who have spent 3-1/2 years in camp having arrived in the spring and summer of 1975.

 Some 48,000 people (35% of the camp population) have been incarcerated for over three years. Of the 50,000 refugees entering Thailand each year, fully 50% can expect not to be accepted for any third country program. The physical condition of the camps is often marginal but the real problem is now increasing in the psychological and social deterioration of the camp population. Depression, family disintegration lawlessness in the camps are all manifestations of the tremendous social costs.
- 4. US Program Backlog. There are many ways of measuring the shortfall in US program numbers. If all associations with the US and the former government of Laos were taken into account, _____ refugees would qualify. Under LRP, only the top _____% are being accepted for the _____ Category III slots available. If Category III definition were tightened a little bit, there would still be approximately _____ who could qualify. Many of these -- perhaps most, are individuals who served as US-paid or government soldiers or civilian officials who are being passed over by the US program simply for lack of time in service. The reasoning being that somebody who serves 10 years is more closely associated than somebody who serves five years. On an average, this

means that Lao and Hmong refugees are required to have served

about ______ years to merit consideration under the US program.

This reaches its most ironic when we refuse to consider Hmong

soldiers who enlisted at the standard age of 14 and who are 18 or 19

at war's end but who do not serve "long enough" to qualify.

5. Recommendation. Just to maintain an acceptance program for land refugees which continues to take refugees according to the presently applied standards will require _____ additional parole numbers. If we are to follow through on our association and take a more liberal interpretation of Cat III but without taking the lowest qualified, we would require _____ additional numbers. Such a program would also have a very important added spin-off of being a strong incentive to begin the Thai Government to _____ some resettlement for land refugees. In fact, the two programs might be linked to one another.

ATTACHMENT: PROFILES OF GUALIFIED LRP
Applicans for works LRP
Numbers Not available

Enclosed are the papers you requested the other day.

Hope they are helpful.



COMPLIMENTS OF

EUGENE L. STOCKWELL

Associate General Secretary

Division of Overseas Ministries National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

RESOLUTION ON KAMPUCHEA

I	The Governing	Board	of	the	NCCCUSA,	deeply	concerned	about	the	current	tragedy
2	in Kampuchea,	8 9	**								

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- Urges the U.S. government to press for implementation of President Carter's offer of assistance to Kampuchea, that all possible humanitarian aid be provided speedily, even beyond the \$69,000,000 announced by the President, to include Food for Peace, Foreign Disaster Assistance and other governmental resources available.
 - Commends to member denominations strong support of the Church World Service \$5,000,000 appeal for Kampuchea, to assist with relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction in that country.
 - 3. Reaffirms its call to the U.S. government to move speedily to the normalization of diplomatic relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, in the belief that such normalization will greatly assist our country's understanding and relationships in Indochina, and will contribute to the facilitation of currently needed assistance to the people of Kampuchea.

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Original documents

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REPORT ON VISIT TO KAMPUCHEA BY CHURCH WORLD SERVICE DELEGATION October 19-20, 1979

On October 19 and 20, 1979, a six-person delegation representing Church World Service (Division of Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.) visited Kampuchea as part of a ten-day trip to Indochina. The delegation members were:

Dr. Kirk Alliman, Church World Service Southern Asia Office, New York City.

Bishop Wayne Clymer, United Methodist Church, Bishop of Minnesota.

Dr. Marcus Cummings, Episcopal Church layperson from Cinneinati, Ohio.

Dr. William Netcalf, United Presbyterian Church medical doctor from Freeport, Illinois.

Ms. Joan Shropshire, United Church of Christ layperson from Madison, Wisconsin.

Dr. Fugene L. Stockwell, Associate General Secretary for Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches, New York City.

The delegation was hosted by FUNSK, the Federation for National Unity for the Salvation of Kampuchea. Visits were made to the northwestern city of Siem Reap, site of the ancient temple of Angkor Wat, and to Phnom Penh, Kampuchea's capital city. In addition to the contacts with FUNSK, the delegation met, among others, with:

His Excellency President Heng Samrin

Dr. Nou Beng, Minister of Health and Social Welfare
Dr. Chey Kanha, Deputy Minister of Health and Social Welfare
Mr. Yas Por, Secretary General of the Central Committee
of FUNSK

UNICEF and ICRC representatives in Phnom Penh.

Specific places visited included:

In Siem Reep: Temples of Angkor Wat and Angkor Tom
Extermination site of the Pol Pot regime
Orphanage for children
Home of villagers

In Phnom Penh: Presidential Palace
Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
Former Pol Pot government prison
A city hospital
Samaki Hotel (UNICEF and ICRC headquarters)

Though the visit was quite short, with our own eyes we saw how Phnom Penh is today a city in shambles, with houses and building destroyed, and extensive rubble. The central commercial area is gutted. The city is devoid of many of the basic services one expects in any functioning city — transportation, lighting, garbage collection, etc. The city is depopulated, though no longer quite the ghost city reported a few months ago. People are returning slowly under controlled conditions; life is picking up again. We saw a functioning hospital, a school in operation, some street markets, a government ministry in early stages of reorganization, the presidential palace in quite good repair, university buildings standing though without functioning classes as yet. The central bank is destroyed and there is no usable currency. Some reconstruction is under way, though painfully little. In Siem Reap we saw the ancient temples, largely unkempt and untended, yet fortunately not destroyed. People appeared to be poor, drab and needy. We did not see first-hand the reported famine conditions, but these were admitted freely by the President and the Ministry of

Health and Social Welfare. Our hosts did not choose to take us to the areas where they themselves said such conditions were evident and visible.

We talked with government leaders and private citizens who first and foremost attacked the prior regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary for the genocide and senseless murder of Kampucheans in the 1975-1978 period. Reportedly population dropped in that period from some seven million to about four million. A disproportionate number of women are widows. We saw and heard evidence of this brutal regime at many points. We were told there remain in Kampuchea 56 doctors of more than 500 present in the pre-1975 period. Of 2000 Buddhist monks in 1975 only about 750 remain. Many orphans are left in the country, with at least 3000 concentrated in orphanages at present.

Our particular interest was in the food and hunger situations, and it was difficult to ascertain reliable figures and statistics, but the magnitude of the problem is vast. President Heng Samrin spoke of two million persons in conditions of hunger and malnutrition, and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare confirmed this figure. Rice rations, where available, are minimal. Food production is abysmally low. Noone is sure what percentage of the arable land is currently planted, but some estimates go as low as 5%, while none surpass 20%. Thus the prospects of rice and other food production are dismal. In such conditions infant mortality appears to be high, though reliable statistics at this point are unavailable. We saw few children under the age of five. The need for basic foodstuffs is massive, as is the need for medicines, mosquito netting, and in time, immunological vaccines. The present trickle of assistance through international relief agencies, principally UNICEF and ICRC working jointly, and a few other agencies, is miniscule in face of the appalling need, and prospects of delivery and distribution of foodstuffs on a large scale are not heartening. UNICEF/ICEC aims to deliver 145,000 tons of food to Kampuchea over the next six months, but it is questionable whether the port at Kampung Song can handle more than 15,000 to 20,000 tons per month. Deliveries by air are useful but limited. infrastructure for distribution, though being developed, is exceedingly rudimentary. The Ministry of Economic Development is working on the distribution problem. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare lists materials it desires channeled into city and provincial hospitals for good use.

Factories that process food, such as fish processing plants, are inoperative, with machinery out of repair. Schools are only beginning to function. There are few teachers, and there is a complete dearth of the most basic elements such as paper and supplies. There is a dearth of manpower for reconstruction, and the administrative infrastructure of the nation is extremely fragile, lacking basic necessities throughout.

While in Phnom Penh we explored various avenues through which Church World Service (CWS) can contribute immediate relief aid and support the early establishment of basic services. Governmental authorities we contacted emphasized that they had most of the country's affairs under control, yet they pleaded for most any help that could be extended. The authorities' lack of understanding of the potential of CWS assistance made it difficult to initiate arrangements for potential aid. The brevity of our visit made it impossible for us to contact all of the appropriate government offices.

Our primary contact was with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, which has responsibility for bospitals, clinics, dispensaries and orphanages in all 18 provinces and the country's 1900 villages. The Ministry of Economy, with which we had no contact due to the shortage of time, is responsible for the country's general food distribution program. The Minister of Health and Social Velfare gave us a list of needed supplies and urged they be sent clearly labelled for his Ministry.

Future negotiations are complicated by the fact that only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can approve the entry or residence of a foreigner. Other ministries appear to be most reluctant to intercede with Foreign Affairs. While in Hanoi we spoke with the Kampuchea Ambassador to Vietnam who told us that he would do all he could to facilitate the entry of CWS representatives to Kampuchea to pursue aid arrangements.

Our interview with President Heng Samrin combined a plea for aid with an expression of the President's intense displeasure with any attempt to provide relief aid of "two faces", namely, to the Phnom Penh government area and to areas still controlled by the Pol Pot forces, which he viewed as abetting the Pol Pot political aims.

We had an informative session with Mr. Knud Christiansen of UNICEF and met a number of other international relief officials whose candor and cooperation was deeply appreciated. There are no significant disagreements on the scope and categories of need. Contact with UNICEF/ICRC and other agencies in Phnom Penh is easily facilitated since all reside in the Samaki Hotel.

We intend to pursue the possibility for Church World Service personnel to enter Phnom Penh in order to work out detailed arrangements for CWS participation in the relief and rehabilitation efforts. We shall be providing specific recommendations to CWS as to the nature of such participation, including cooperation with programs being developed by UNICEF/ICRC and the World Council of Churches/Christian Conference of Asia.

Kirk Alliman Wayne Clymer Marcus Cummings William Metcalf Joan Shropshire Eugene Stockwell

[end]

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"YOU SHALL NOT STAND IDLY BY THE BLOOD OF YOUR NEIGHBOR" - Leviticus 19:16

The plight of tens of thousands of human befings - Vietnamese "boat people," ethnic Chinese, Cambodians, and Laotians - constitutes the greatest humanitarian crisis of this decade.

An estimated 200,000 "boat people" have already drowned in the turbulent waters of the South China Sea. Some 40,000 Cambodian refugees are being forced by the Government of Thailand to return to Kampuchea, facing death by shooting or starvation. Malaysia, omce generous as Thailand, Indonesia, and the Phillipines in providing first asylum for some 76,000 refugees, has begun to deport several thousand Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese in unseaworthy boats. Vietnam has embarked on an apparent policy of forcibly evicting 1.5 million Vietnamese, mainly of ethnic Chinese origin, after extorting most of their property and personal belongings.

It is now estimated by refugee experts that mm some 70 percent of these innocent men, women, and children will perish by starvation or drowning during the coming weeks and months -- unless--

Unless Christians and Jews - who represent the largest/network of American citizens - join hands hearts together immediately and call on President Carter, the United Nations, and the heads of all nations to recognize the emergency character of this massive human crisis and to act to meet these urgent human needs in the following ways:

1 - Call upon the United States and other major nations to DOUBLE THE QUOTAS FOR ADMITTING REFUGEES TO THEIR SHORES! ON A LONG-TERM BASIS.

As of June, some 60,000 persons are arriving in refugee camps in Southeast Asia each month. At current rates, there will be a half million people in these camps by September, and over one million a year from now. Only about 1/6 of this flow of humanity is currently being permanently settled in receiving countries and this threatens to drop to 1/10 in the future. This has discouraged countries of first asylum such as Thailand and Malaysia who see many people coming in and few leaving.

To cope with thes critical situation, these countries need assurances that Western nations, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Latin American countries will resettle their fair share.

It is urgent therefore that President Carter give leadership to the nations of the world by INCREASING IMMEDIATELY THE REFUGEE QUOTA OF 7,000 PER MONTH TO 14,000, AND THAT OTHER NATIONS JOIN IN DOUBLING THEIR QUOTAS...ON A LONG-TERM BASIS AS AN ASSURANCE TO MALAYSIA, THAILAND, INDONESIA, PHILLIPINES, AND HONG KONG THAT THEY WILL NOT BE BURDENED WITH CARRYING THE FULL WEIGHT OF RESOLVING THE REFUGEE CRISIS, AND THEREFORE SHOULD CONTINUE TO OFFER FIRST ASYLUM/UNTIL REFUGEES CAN FIND PERMANENT HOMES

- 2 CALL UPON THE U.S. XENETEXAREXENEXMENTEX SENATE TO JOIN
 THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN VOTING THE U.S. REFUGEE AFFAIRS OFFICE
 REQUEST FOR A \$10 MILLION EMERGENCY FUND APPROPRIATION.
- 3 CALL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANSIT CAMPS AS SAFE HAVENS, TEMPORARY PLACES OF REFUGERA, FOR THOSE FLOUNDERING IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA.
- 4 CALL FOR EXPEDITING THE TRANSPORT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THOSE SEVERAL THOUSAND REFUGEES WHO HAVE ALREADY BEEN PROCESSED BY IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES AND FOR WHOM AERICAN SPONSORS ARE WAITING.

MILITARY TRANSPORTS BY AIR OR SEA SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE AS QUICKLY AS HUMANLY POSSIBLE.

5 -CALL FOR AN EMERGENCY SEA-LIFT INVOLVING MARITIME AND U.S.
NAVY VESSELS TO RETRIEVE THE REFUGEES WHO ARE BEING CAST OUT
TO SEA ON UNSEAWORTHY BOATS. WE WRGE ALL MARITIME POWERS WHOSE
SHIPS PLY THIS SEA TO JOIN IN THIS LIFE-SAVING EFFORT.

We, Christians and Jews - Roman Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Eastern Orthodox, all denominations of Judaism - believe that that the Indochinese Refugee Drisis is one of the greatest single moral and hyman challenges to the central affirmation of our Biblical and democratic traditions - the dignity of every human being created in the sacred image of God. The epidemic of dehumanization that is at large in the main world today can only be contained by men and women of conscience enveloping their suffering brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia and elsewhere by a wide and unstinting embrace of caring and compassion.

Do not stand idly by - join us by:

*WRITE PRESIDENT CARTER, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND MEMBERS
OF CONGRESS URGING THEM TO IMPLEMENT THESE FIVE OBJECTIVES:

*WRITE SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

*SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION FOR REFUGEE RELIEF AND REHABILITATION
WHICH WILL BE DISTRIBUTED IMMEDIATELY TO

CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES
CHURCH WORLD SERVICES
AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE
INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

"HE WHO SAVES A SINGLE LIFE IS REGARDED AS IF HE SAVED AN ENTIRE WORLD."

(The Telmud)

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IRC- Nobel Proje

CITIZENS COMMISSION ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES MEETS WITH SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE

Washington, D.C., Jan. 17 -- The Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees told Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance today (Wednesday) that a human disaster is imminent unless free nations undertake a massive resettlement effort to relieve first asylum countries of their intolerable burden. The Commission appealed to President Carter to take the lead in this effort by calling an emergency White House Conference of national leaders to mobilize Americans to participate in a resettlement program, with the conference to be followed by similar action on an international scale.

The Commission submitted its report to Secretary Vance and Undersecretary David D. Newsom at a meeting this morning at the State Department. It recommended specifically that the United States double its acceptance of Indochinese refugees from 50,000 to 100,000 as an interim measure. Other countries now resettling the refugees were urged to increase their number of acceptances generously, and nations whose doors are now closed to the Indochinese were asked to start admitting the refugees.

The immediate danger, the Commission said, is that first asylum countries particularly Malaysia and Thailand, where 200,000 Indochinese refugees are

concentrated - will close their doors unless their heavy burden is lifted.

The result would be to condemn boat people and land refugees to return to the countries from which they had escaped. As an immediate step to prevent this tragedy, the Commission urged two actions: 1) The establishment of a United States transit facility at an appropriate location for refugees approved for admission here; 2) The establishment in Asia of an internationalized reception area for refugees who have not yet been approved for admission anywhere.

The Citizens Commission delegation was headed by Co-Chairmen Leo Cherne,
Chairman of the International Rescue Committee, and William J. Casey, former
Undersecretary of State who attended the UNHCR conference on Indochinese Refugees
in Geneva last month. The Commission returned recently from a fact-finding study
in Southeast Asia, where it visited the refugee camps and transit centers in
Malaysia, Thailand, Hong Kong and Macau. The Commission had extensive discussions with government officials of all countries visited, including the Prime
Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Malaysia and Thailand; with the American
Ambassadors and other embassy personnel; with representatives of the UNHCR and
voluntary agencies.

Other Commission members who met with Secretary Vance and Undersecretary
Newsom were Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum,
Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee; Warren
C. Meeker, Chairman of the Research Institute of America; Mrs. Lawrence Copley
Thaw, a member of the IRC Board of Directors; Robert DeVecchi and Alton Kastner,
IRC staff executives.

Following the meeting with Secretary Vance, the Commission will meet representatives of the White House, the Attorney General's office, Congressional leaders, intergovernmental bodies and private sector groups.

The Commission also reported the serious financial problems faced by

American voluntary agencies active in the Indochinese resettlement effort.

The problem stems largely from the reduction of essential federal assistance, the report stated, and it must be corrected if the resettlement program is to be effective. The Commission also noted that a basic goal of an emergency White House conference would be the encouragement of refugee sponsorships by American organizations and individuals.

The Citizens Commission, an independent group of prominent Americans, was set up with the assistance of the International Rescue Committee, a nonsectarian voluntary agency devoted to refugee relief and resettlement.

