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Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 70, Folder 3, Refugees, 1980-1981.

MINUTES of a meeting of the Board of Directors of the UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, held on December 5, 1980 at 2 p.m. at the office of Galef and Jacobs at 22 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

Present:

Dorothea Blum
G. Gray Garland
Frances Humphrey Howard
Victor Jacobs
Gloria Starr Kins
Edward B. Marks
Thomas H.E. Quimby

Staff present from USCR:

Wells Klein, Executive Director
Michael de Sherbinin, Program Director and Editor, World Refugee Survey
Pamela Wilson, Public Information Director
Carol Weeg, Staff Assistant

Mr. Thomas H.E. Quimby acted as Chairman of the meeting and Mr. Victor Jacobs acted as Secretary.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

The Notice of the Calling of the Meeting was presented by the Secretary who was ordered to file the Notice with the minutes of this meeting.

Upon motion duly made and unanimously adopted, the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors held May 12, 1980 were approved.

Mr. Klein introduced Ms. Mary Spillane, Director of Operations, Office of Refugee Resettlement, Department of Health and Human Services. Ms. Spillane spoke about the need for an international resource center for shared information about refugees. In this way nations could share information on resettlement problems, with each nation having its own information broker.

Ms. Spillane felt that USCR could play a part in this network because of its unique international view of refugee situations. She added that participation would afford greater visibility to USCR, since it is currently almost unknown to most government agencies. She requested that represen-

tatives of USCR join with other information organizations to decide what is needed, in addition to an obvious need for information about refugees.

Ms. Kins suggested that refugees be told of their responsibilities to their country of resettlement, perhaps in the form of an education document.

Ms. Spillane said that USCR is needed to bring refugee situations to the public, as well as to be in close contact with resettlement groups. Mr. Klein emphasized the importance of USCR efforts to publicize all of the world's refugee problems, without concentrating alone on resettlement in the U.S. Discussion focused on the need for funding for USCR to enlarge activities, as suggested by Ms. Spillane. Mr. Garland suggested that Mr. Klein work with HHS to better define the aims and means of an enlarged publicity program, and to then present them to the board.

Upon motion made and unanimously adopted, it was RESOLVED, that Mr. Klein should move quickly and talk with HHS and report to the board recommendations for specific action.

Upon motion made and unanimously adopted, it was RESOLVED, that Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Garland, and Mr. Rabb work with Mr. Klein on this project.

USCR's audited financial statement was presented and explained by Mr. de Sherbinin, and it was announced that USCR and ACNS will have the same fiscal years.

Upon motion made and unanimously adopted, it was RESOLVED, that the audited financial statement of June 30, 1980 be accepted.

Thanks were expressed to American Council for Nationalities Service for its support.

Mr. Marks suggested that money could be obtained from UNHCR for undertaking an advertising campaign for them. Mr. Jacobs said that the board should see a budget before they talk about funding.

The election of directors followed.

Upon motion made and unanimously adopted, the following were duly re-elected:

G. Gray Garland Jr.
Victor Jacobs
Gloria Starr Kins
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker

Samuel W. Meek
Michael Monroney Jr.
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

Mr. Quimby announced that he could not continue as president of the board, but would like to continue as a member of the board. The board expressed its appreciation to Mr. Quimby for his leadership in the past years.

Upon motion made and unanimously adopted, it was RESOLVED, that Mr. Marks be elected president of the board, that Mr. Jacobs be elected treasurer, that Mr. Garland be elected secretary, and that the other officers remain the same.

The merger of ACNS and USCR was discussed, and it was stated that the USCR directors continue to favor the merger, and endorse a program for accomplishment of this aim.

Mr. Quimby suggested that there should be two corporate identities, with the same board serving both agencies. Mr. Klein said that two separate organizations would be awkward for both staff and administrative reasons, that is would be easier to work with one board, one budget, and a cohesive staff. Mrs. Howard emphasized that USCR should retain its own name. Mr. Klein said that is the intention. Discussion followed about the pros and cons of two corporate identities.

Upon motion made and unanimously adopted, it was
RESOLVED, that USCR is enthusiastically in favor of the merger with
ACNS.

And, upon motion made and unanimously adopted, it was
RESOLVED, that it is time to go from an interim arrangement to
consolidation.

Mr. Klein proposed that an advisory committee be formed for operations.

Mr. Marks suggested that the staff compile a budget for 1981. Mr. Klein
responded that we should get back to that after the consolidation talks
with ACNS.

Ms. Wilson gave a report on fundraising. She said exchanges of donor
lists with other organizations have not proved effective but that income will
cover the cost involved in mailing to the exchange lists.

Mr. Klein and Mr. Jacobs will decide on a date for the next meeting,
which will be in the spring.

It was announced that the Aspen Institute continues to prepare for a
conference in February, 1981 on refugees in Africa. Mr. Marks thought that
USCR should be identified with the meeting, and Mr. de Sherbinin explained
that USCR has supplied information for the meeting.

A discussion followed about the National Council of Women and the
refugee women's project. USCR is exploring the possibilities of holding
a conference in the late spring.

There being no further business before the Meeting, the same was, on
motion, adjourned.



G. Gray Garland

Secretary of the Meeting

NOTES WHICH APPLY TO BOTH FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

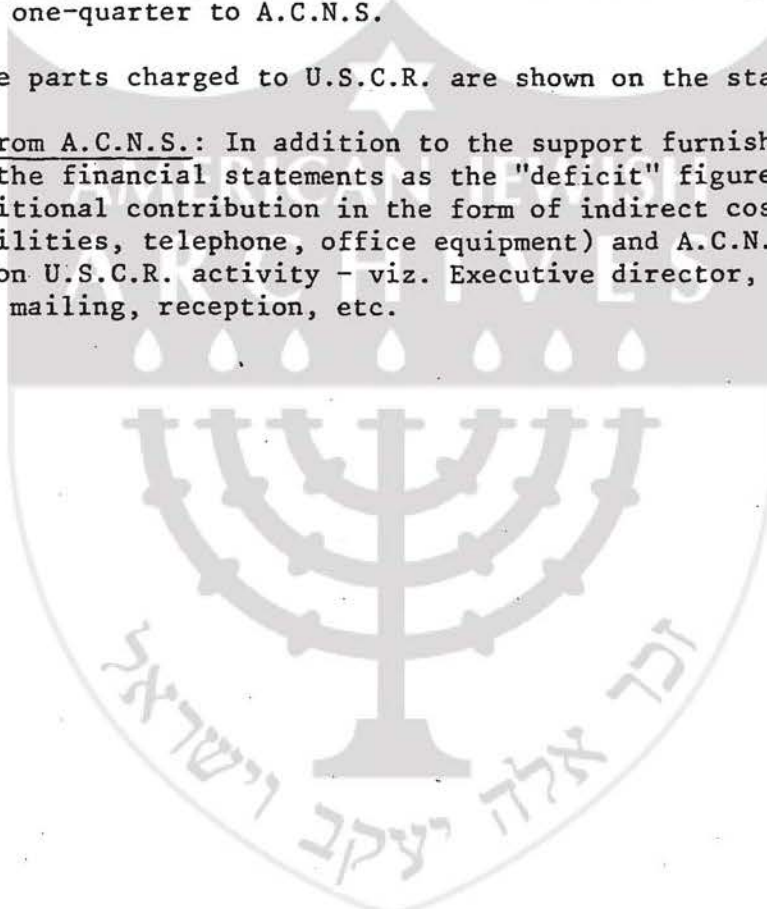
Salary Division: All of the compensation for Program Director (de Sherbinin) is charged to U.S.C.R.

One-half of the compensation for Public Information Director (Wilson) is charged to U.S.C.R.; the other half is charged to A.C.N.S. for work performed for that organization.

Three-quarters of compensation for Staff Assistant (Weeg) is charged to U.S.C.R.; one-quarter to A.C.N.S.

Only those parts charged to U.S.C.R. are shown on the statements.

Support from A.C.N.S.: In addition to the support furnished by A.C.N.S. shown on the financial statements as the "deficit" figure, the A.C.N.S. makes additional contribution in the form of indirect costs: Overhead (rent, utilities, telephone, office equipment) and A.C.N.S. staff time expended on U.S.C.R. activity - viz. Executive director, accounting, clerical, mailing, reception, etc.



December 5, 1980

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.

Consolidated Income & Expense Statement

	Audited report on 7-1-79 to 6-30-80 (12 months)	Unaudited report on 7-1-80 to 10-31-80 (4 months)	16-month report 7-1-79 to 10-31-80 Total
<u>INCOME</u>			
Contributions	\$ 43,197	\$ 7,530	\$ 50,727
Contributions-UNHCR		10,000	10,000
World Refugee Survey	757	1,638	2,395
Gift wrap sales	519	39	558
Total income	+44,473	+19,207	+63,680
<u>EXPENSES</u>			
Salaries		13,249	
Fringe benefits		2,095	
Postage/shipping		5,698	
Stationery		66	
Printing		11,137	
Publications/subscription		351	
Travel		4,030	
Fees for Services		408	
Conferences		527	
Misc.		61	
Total expenses	-81,312	-37,622	-118,934
Fund balance July 1, 1979	+7,018		+7,018
Excess of expenses over income	\$ 29,821	\$ 18,415	\$ 48,236

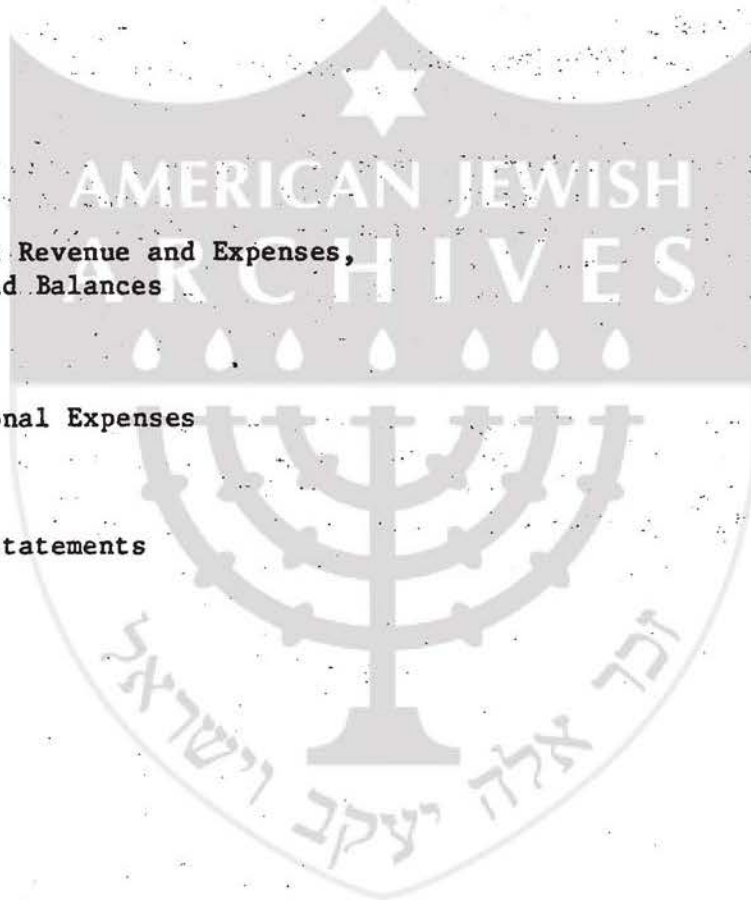
UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.



UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.

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JUNE 30, 1980

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MURPHY, HAUSER, O'CONNOR & QUINN

Certified Public Accountants

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AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Board of Directors of
United States Committee for Refugees, Inc.

We have examined the balance sheet of the United States Committee for Refugees, Inc. as at June 30, 1980 and the related statements of revenue, support and expenses and changes in fund balances and of functional expenses for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the aforementioned financial statements present fairly, the financial position of the United States Committee for Refugees, Inc. at June 30, 1980 and the results of its operations and changes in fund balances for the year then ended in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles consistently applied.

Murphy, Hauser, O'Connor & Quinn

MURPHY, HAUSER, O'CONNOR & QUINN

November 12, 1980
New York, N.Y.

UNITES STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.

BALANCE SHEETS
JUNE 30, 1980

CURRENT FUND - UNRESTRICTED

ASSETS

Cash	\$ 25,737
Accounts receivable	<u>47</u>
Total assets	<u>\$ 25,784</u>

Accounts payable (Note 2)	\$ 56,913
Fund balance (Deficit)	<u>(31,129)</u>
Total liabilities and fund balance	<u>\$ 25,784</u>

CURRENT FUND - RESTRICTED

ASSETS

Cash	\$ <u>1,308</u>
Total assets	<u>\$ 1,308</u>

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE

Fund balance (for specific operating expenses)	\$ <u>1,308</u>
Total liabilities and fund balance	<u>\$ 1,308</u>

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.

STATEMENT OF SUPPORT, REVENUE, EXPENSES
AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1980

	<u>Current Funds</u>		<u>Total All Funds</u>
	<u>Unrestricted</u>	<u>Restricted</u>	
Public support and revenue			
Contributions	\$ 43,197	\$	\$ 43,197
Publications	757		757
Gift wrap sales	519		519
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total public support and revenue	44,473	-	44,473
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Expenses			
Program service			
Public world survey	58,492		58,492
Supporting services			
Management and general	6,516		6,516
Fund raising	16,304		16,304
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total supporting services	22,820	-	22,820
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total expenses	81,312	-	81,312
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Excess (deficiency) of public support and revenue over expenses	(36,839)		(36,839)
Fund balance July 1, 1979	5,710	1,308	7,018
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Fund balance (deficit) June 30, 1980	\$ (31,129)	\$ 1,308	\$ (29,821)
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.

STATEMENT OF FUNCTIONAL EXPENDITURES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1980

	<u>Program Service</u>	<u>Supporting Services</u>			<u>Grand Total</u>
	<u>World Survey Publication</u>	<u>Management and General</u>	<u>Fund Raising</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Salaries	\$ 19,203	\$ 2,134	\$ 4,267	\$ 6,401	\$25,604
Fringe benefits	3,571	397	793	1,190	4,761
Temporary help	1,391	155	309	464	1,855
Office supplies	150	17	33	50	200
Postage and shipping	4,696	521	1,043	1,564	6,260
Stationary	2,670	297	593	890	3,560
Printing	14,135	1,570	3,139	4,709	18,844
Publications	506	56	112	168	674
Travel	8,892	987	1,975	2,962	11,854
Agency fee	488	54	108	162	650
Filing fees	158	17	35	52	210
Professional fees	938	104	208	312	1,250
Outside services	660	73	146	219	879
Memberships	25	3	5	8	33
Conferences	55	6	12	18	73
Administration	38	4	8	12	50
Moving	15	2	3	5	20
Telephone and Telex	71	8	16	24	95
Mailing	806	89	179	268	1,074
Miscellaneous	24	3	5	8	32
Bank charges	-	19	-	19	19
Inventory loss	-	-	3,315	3,315	3,315
	<u>\$ 58,492</u>	<u>\$ 6,516</u>	<u>\$16,304</u>	<u>\$22,820</u>	<u>\$81,312</u>

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, INC.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
JUNE 30, 1980

Note 1 Summary of Significant Accounting Policies

The financial statements include the accounts of the United States Committee for Refugees, Inc., a non-profit organization, whose principal activity presently consist of producing a world refugee survey publication setting forth statistics and various other information regarding the world refugee situation. A summary of significant accounting policies are described below.

The financial statements have been prepared on an accrual basis. Under this method of accounting, revenues and expenses are identified with specific periods of time and are recorded as incurred, without regard to the date of receipt or payment of cash.

All contributions are considered to be available for unrestricted use unless specifically restricted by the donar.

Note 2 Accounts payable

Accounts payable, of \$56,913, represents amounts due to an affiliated organization, the American Council for Nationalities Service, Inc., for expenses incurred on behalf of United States Committee for Refugees, Inc. Since the American Council for Nationalities Service, Inc. is active in the world refugee crisis, they have agreed to contribute such amount that is necessary to fund the current year's operation. At December 31, of each year, the financial situation of the United States Committee for Refugees, Inc. is evaluated and, based upon revenues and expenditures to date, the American Council for Nationalities Service, Inc. will contribute an amount equal to the deficit, if any. Therefore, the accounts payable at June 30, 1980 will be reduced by the contribution (if any) mutually agreed upon by both organizations at December 31, 1980.

Note 3 Tax Exempt Status

The organization is exempt from federal income tax under Section 501 e (3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

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MINUTES of a meeting of the Board of Directors of the UNITED STATES
COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES, held on May 12, 1980 at 2 p.m. at Freedom House at
20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

Present:

John Ford III
G. Gray Garland
Frances Humphrey Howard
Victor Jacobs
Gloria Starr Kins
Edward B. Marks
Maxwell Rabb
Most Rev. Edward Swanstrom
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

Staff present from USCR:

Wells C. Klein, Executive Director
Michael J. de Sherbinin, Program Director and Editor, World Refugee Survey
Pamela Wilson, Public Information Director
Carol Weeg, Staff Assistant

Staff present from American Council for Nationalities Service:

William C. Witherspoon, Comptroller

In the absence of the President, Mr. Wells C. Klein conducted the meeting
and Mr. Victor Jacobs acted as Secretary.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Klein.

The Notice of the Calling of the Meeting was presented by the Secretary
who was ordered to file the Notice with the minutes of this meeting.

Upon motion duly made and unanimously adopted, the minutes of the meeting
of the Board of Directors held November 8, 1979 were approved.

Mr. de Sherbinin explained that Mail America, a mailing house that
handled USCR gift wrap, has gone out of business and that the whereabouts of
the gift wrap cannot be determined; indications are that it was discarded.
He proposed that two asset items- one of them "gift wrap"- from Peat, Marwick,
Mitchell & Co.'s June 30, 1979 Financial Statements be eliminated so that

P,M,M can conduct a verified audit. The items are Inventory (gift wrap) - \$3,315 and Other - \$20, as explained by Mr. Witherspoon.

Upon motion made and unanimously adopted, it was
RESOLVED, that the assets labeled Inventory and Other be deleted
from the June 30, 1979 Unaudited Financial Statements of Peat,
Marwick, Mitchell & Co.

Mr. Klein explained the Income and Expense Statement for the periods
July 1-December 31, 1979 and January 1-March 31, 1980, attached.

Mr. Klein reported the 1980 World Refugee Survey was published on May
9 and said that he felt the staff produced an excellent report. The Board
agreed that it was an outstanding edition of the Survey, and thanks were
expressed to Mr. Klein and Mr. Marks for their contributions.

Mr. de Sherbinin explained the distribution plan for the Survey, and
the Board had several suggestions about additional methods of distribution
which the staff agreed to pursue. These included selling the Survey at the
UN bookshop, taking it to journalists who write about refugee related issues,
having it read into the Congressional Record, and sending it to additional
organizations and individuals indicated by the Board. Rabbi Tenenbaum
said that he would mention it on his broadcast, and he and Ms. Kins agreed
to meet with the USCR staff at a future date to discuss further distribution
to the press. Mrs. Howard volunteered to take the book to opinion leaders in
Washington. Mr. Jacobs suggested including an order blank in each copy
of the book.

Ms. Wilson spoke about fundraising efforts. The November mailing grossed
\$31,000 with a net of approximately \$25,000. She then described efforts
involved in analyzing the mailing list as it was received from Washington.
The November mailing attempted to analyze and clean up the list of names-

butors who had given to USCR since 1971. This had resulted in a list of 26,000 names, of which 1455 became active donors.

Ms. Wilson then reported on the second mailing which was mailed during the first week in May. This mailing was sent to the 26,000 clean names from the November mailing and to all other names (donors before 1971) in order to completely clean up the entire donor list. This mailing totaled 30,100 names.

Ms. Wilson explained that the remaining names on the computer - approximately 31,000 - are former gift wrap purchasers. The May mailing also included a test of the gift wrap purchasers - a 10% random sampling of 3474 names. This test mailing will be analyzed to determine if a general fundraising mailing to this audience - those who bought gift wrap but did not make a straight contribution - is worth the cost involved.

Thus the May mailing went to a total of 33,574 names. As of the Board meeting, contributions were just beginning to come in.

Mr. Garland suggested that the Survey be sent free to all major contributors. Ms. Kins suggested that a letter be sent to all major contributors asking if they would like a copy. Several directors thought that all contributors should be sent receipts and an offer of a free copy of the Survey. The staff agreed to discuss these ideas further.

Mr. Klein stated that USCR must depend more heavily on Board members for contributions as well as for assistance in approaching foundations and corporations.

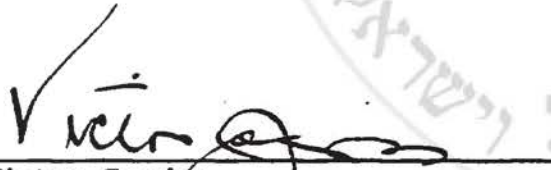
Rabbi Tanenbaum thought that USCR could write about the constructive and productive aspects of refugees in the U.S., such as the amount of taxes paid and the percentage employed. It was also suggested that the Committee

investigate working more closely with Indochina Refugee Action Committee, an information organization in Washington.

Mr. Klein stated that guidance is the most important thing the Board can give to USCR. Mrs. Howard said that she thought the gift wrap program should be continued, and Mr. Marks thought that a manufacturer would provide the gift wrap in return for part of the proceeds. Ms. Kins suggested that lapel pins be sold by the Committee, and Mr. Garland suggested the sale of Christmas tree ornaments.

Mrs. Howard thought it would benefit the Committee if directors would represent USCR at various meetings and committees in their towns. Ms. Kins suggested establishing small committees for various aspects of USCR needs, such as obtaining corporation funding. The committees are to be set up at a later date.

There being no further business before the Meeting, the meeting, on the motion, adjourned.


Victor Jacobs
Secretary of the Meeting

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**UNITED STATES
COMMITTEE
FOR REFUGEES**

20 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018
(212) 398-9142

December 1, 1980

Dear Friend,

As 1980 draws to a close, I want to take this opportunity to personally thank all of you who have contributed to the U.S. Committee for Refugees this year. Your support has helped us accomplish a great deal on behalf of the world's 16 million refugees. For example, during 1980, USCR:

- * Published and distributed 10,000 copies of the 1980 WORLD REFUGEE SURVEY. Many of you requested free copies as contributors. Recognized as an authoritative document by top professionals in the field, the 64-page booklet offered thought-provoking articles on refugee crises throughout the world, as well as extensive statistical tables. The 1981 edition is now being compiled.
- * Researched worldwide contributions to refugee crises and printed early results in "WHO HELPS THE WORLD'S REFUGEES?" (a copy enclosed). This report was distributed to candidates for President, U.S. Senate and the House; to the media, and to agencies working with refugees. A more extensive version will appear in the 1981 WORLD REFUGEE SURVEY.
- * Began planning for two conferences and appropriate follow-up work. The first, in conjunction with the Aspen Institute, will be held in January and will focus attention on refugee crises in Africa. The second, to be co-sponsored by the National Conference of Women, will bring women volunteers and representatives of refugee resettlement agencies together in order to mobilize volunteer support for refugee women in communities across the country.

We have also continued our work with print and broadcast journalists; USCR served as a major resource for a series of eight articles which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor in November. (USCR will make reprints available soon.) We are also building a nationwide educational advisory committee -- its mission: to develop mechanisms to move materials for students and teachers, already available through other agencies but being little utilized, into use in schools across the country. And, of course, individuals -- researchers, teachers, students, congressional staffs, service providers -- continue to write and call us for up-to-date information on refugees in the United States and abroad.

Again, I thank you. Your gift, this year and in the past, has helped make this possible. Contributions from individuals such as you allow us to focus our attentions where the needs are greatest.

If you have given to USCR this year, at the same time that I thank you may I also ask you to consider yet another gift? During this time when we take time to enjoy the pleasures of our families, homes, and well-being, please remember that others do not know such security. And, if you have not given this year, will you please consider it at this time? Thank you.

Sincerely,

Wells C. Klein
Executive Director

Who helps the world's refugees?

1980 is a year of alarming increase in the number of refugees, worldwide. Since January 1st a total of 1.3 million men, women and children have fled their home countries, forced out by war or oppression. Fearfully they have made their way from Afghanistan, Cambodia, Chad, Ethiopia, Cuba . . . The new refugees joined millions of others, living precariously and waiting.

Requests to national governments to help with food, shelter and resettlement offers multiplied dramatically. Within a few months the 1980 budget of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ballooned 143 per cent -- from \$234 million to \$568 million.

Consistent with its strong traditions of concern for human rights and people in need, the United States has responded to the refugee crisis with millions of dollars in aid and with the resettlement of over 360,000 in 1980*.

The United States is the single largest contributor to aid for refugees and sometimes it appears to the American Congress and the public that the U.S. carries a disproportionate amount of the load.

This brief report is an attempt to show that many countries share the concern to help refugees, and to preserve their right to live free from fear of oppression. The U.S., single largest contributor, is also by far the largest of the assisting countries, and its national wealth -- Gross National Product -- is the largest in the world.

Data on what is contributed by governments to help refugees is not easy to compile. The most readily available information -- contributions to the U.N. efforts -- only reveals part of the story. Assistance also comes in the form of other gifts by nations, international and national voluntary agencies, of money, staff and food. Sometimes such assistance is part of existing national systems, extended to accommodate refugees, but not reported separately as "refugee aid."

The information on page 2, on contributions, is based on 1979, the latest

* In the year ended September 30, 1980, the U.S. received 231,700 refugees under the new Refugee Act. In addition 122,000 Cubans and 6,000 Haitians were permitted to stay as "entrants".

year available. In a further report, in the forthcoming 1981 World Refugee Survey, the editors expect to add more information about sources of aid.

MONEY FOR INTERNATIONAL AID: Help reaches refugees from different sources-- international agencies, national governments, non-governmental agencies. Information here is limited to assistance through international channels, consisting of 1979 contributions to four United Nations Agencies and one outside U.N. (ICEM). As will be seen, the United States is the largest contributor, but when measured in per capita terms, Scandinavian countries lead.

1979 CONTRIBUTIONS* TO INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE AID AGENCIES

Top 10 countries, ranked by Contribution Per Capita

Population ** (Millions)	COUNTRY	Contribution * (In Mil. of \$)	Contribution Per Capita	Gross National Product Per Capita **
8.3	Sweden	\$ 28.6	\$3.44	\$10,210
4.1	Norway	11.2	2.73	9,510
5.1	Denmark	13.3	2.61	9,920
6.3	Switzerland	10.5	1.66	12,100
14.1	Netherlands	22.7	1.60	8,390
61.1	Germany - FRG	62.8	1.02	9,600
222.5	U.S.A.	165.8	.74	9,700
55.8	U.K.	38.8	.69	5,030
8.2	Saudi Arabia	5.6	.68	8,040
116.8	Japan	75.9	.64	7,330

* Amounts reported by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - UNHCR, United Nations Relief and Works Agency - UNRWA (Palestinian refugees), U.N. Food Programme (for refugees), UNICEF (for refugees) and Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration - ICEM. Contributions by European Economic Community totaling \$66 million have been assigned to countries in proportion to members' budget support. The top 10 countries contributed 83% of the total of \$522 million received.

** Population and GNP figures from Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

RESETTLEMENT OPPORTUNITY: Although the majority of refugees eventually return to their home country, or settle where they are, new homes in countries of resettlement are a necessity for many of them. United States has responded generously to this need, and other countries also have. The following table shows the numbers of refugees resettled by various countries in a five-year period. The top 10 countries are ranked by total of refugees received, compared to the country's population.

5-YEAR RESETTLEMENT TOTALS OF RECEIVING COUNTRIES
Top 10 Countries, Ranked by Ratio of Refugees to Population

<u>Population (Millions)</u>	<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>5-Year Resettlement Total *</u>	<u>Ratio of Refugees to Population</u>
24	Canada	74,000	1: 324
14.6	Australia	44,000	1: 332
222.5	U.S.A.	595,200	1: 374
53.6	France	68,700	1: 780
6.3	Switzerland	5,300	1: 1,189
8.3	Sweden	6,100	1: 1,361
4.1	Norway	2,300	1: 1,783
7.5	Austria	3,700	1: 2,027
61.1	Germany - FRG	28,300	1: 2,159
55.8	U.K.	23,800	1: 2,345

* From spring, 1975, to May 31, 1980, totals taken from reports by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs. The majority of the refugees were from Indochina; others came from the Soviet Union, Cuba and other Latin American countries.

PRESENT LOCATION: Refugees are on every continent. Their arrival in large numbers can cause serious economic, political and social problems for the receiving country, whose resources often are limited. International help may be slow in coming, which adds to the strain. The table which follows shows the impact on countries of residence, in ratio of refugees to local population and Gross National Product per capita.

REFUGEES IN PRESENT LOCATIONS, LOCAL POPULATION, G.N.P.
Top 10 Countries Ranked by Ratio of Refugees to Local Population

<u>Population ** (Millions)</u>	<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>Refugees, As of 4/30/80 *</u>	<u>Ratio, Refugees to Pop.</u>	<u>Gross National Product Per Capita</u>
3.6	Somalia	1.5 million	1: 2.4	\$ 130
3.2	Lebanon	1.2 million	1: 2.6	460
3.2	Jordan	682,600	1: 4.7	1,050
18.7	Sudan	441,000	1: 42	320
8.5	Cameroon	200,000	1: 43	460
8.6	Syria	198,500	1: 43	930
86.5	Pakistan	1 million	1: 87	230
29.3	Zaire	299,000	1: 98	210
47.3	Thailand	460,800	1: 103	490
18.6	Tanzania	156,000	1: 119	230

* Figures are from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the UN Relief and Works Agency, which aids Palestine refugees, and other sources.

** Population and GNP figures from Population Reference Bureau Inc., Washington.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees is continuing research for a further report, in the 1981 World Refugee Survey, on assistance to refugees. In addition to contributions through the United Nations the report will cover other gifts, such as grain through national programs, and the expense of resettling refugees in new homes.

--Michael J. de Sherbinin, Editor
--Carol Weeg, Statistics



**UNITED STATES
COMMITTEE
FOR REFUGEES**

20 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018
(212) 398-9142

1980 World Refugee Survey

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 5, 1981

to Irving Levine and Hyman Bookbinder

from Gary Rubin

subject Meeting with Senator Simpson's Staff Aide on Immigration

Howard Kohr and I met on February 2 with Charles Wood, who is Senator Alan Simpson's (R.-Wyo.) legislative staff aide for immigration matters. Under the new Republican organization of the Senate, Simpson will head the Immigration Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which will have jurisdiction over refugee and immigration initiatives. He made his reputation in this field as an active member (and frequent dissenter) on the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy. The following are the key points that emerged at the meeting:

1. Within a few months of the publication of the report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, Simpson will hold hearings focusing on two aspects of the report, undocumented aliens and refugees.
2. On undocumented aliens, the hearings will focus largely on enforcement issues. Two topics will predominate. First, Simpson will push very hard for a national identification system (whether through a card or computer mechanism) for all legitimate workers so that illegal aliens can be more easily recognized and their employers penalized. The Select Commission at this point seems ready to endorse some sort of enhanced identification capacity, though it has not yet made clear exactly what it plans to do in this regard, and its final recommendation may fall short of what Simpson proposes. Second, Simpson wants to tie any amnesty provision for undocumented aliens closely to a demonstration that enhanced enforcement capacities are working. At present, the Select Commission seems likely to recommend that enforcement procedures be set up before amnesty is granted, but Simpson has indicated that he will go further and require proof that these policing mechanisms are effective before any legalization takes place. Both of these issues have major implications for AJC's policy statement on undocumented aliens and should be followed closely.
3. Hearings also seem likely on the issue of refugees. On this topic, Simpson will probably challenge the Select Commission's recommendations which essentially endorse the gains made in the Refugee Act of 1980. Simpson's objections to the Act are twofold. First, he would like to narrow the definition of refugee in American law which the 1980 legislation brought

into conformity with United Nations standards. At present, a person qualifies as a refugee in U.S. law if he or she would face persecution upon return to the home country. Without being too specific, Wood indicated that Simpson would like a more firm, which means more narrow, definition of persecution. In addition, Simpson is dissatisfied with the current role of Congress in deciding the numbers of refugees to be admitted to the country each year. Under the 1980 Refugee Act, the President must consult with Congress before admitting more than 50,000 refugees in any one year. This consultation process has been largely pro-forma, and various members of Congress have complained that they have not had much input into the process. Simpson has proposed either allowing the Congress to veto admissions over 50,000, or requiring these extra admissions to gain affirmative Congressional approval.

The adoption of either of Simpson's proposals would have serious implications for the Jewish community. AJC fought hard for the current definition of refugee (indeed, our testimony endorsed even broader language than that included in the current statute), and any narrowing of the legal meaning of the term could have restrictive effects on both present and potential refugee flows that would hurt Jews and others in need of refuge. In addition, Simpson's desires for an enhanced Congressional role must be scrutinized because the executive branch has traditionally been more open to refugees than Congress and has historically had the parole prerogative largely in its power.

It should be noted that Simpson will have powerful leverage for effecting the changes in the law which he wants because the current admission numbers for refugees under the 1980 Act come up for reconsideration in 1983. Given his position, he would easily bargain for alterations in the statute in exchange for reauthorization of large refugee flows. I think that this is a key issue for the Jewish community, and one on which AJC should be prepared to testify.

4. Wood also indicated that Simpson would like to cut down somewhat on the emphasis on family reunification in the current immigration law, although no immediate hearings are planned on this issue. Specifically, Simpson wants to eliminate preferences for brothers and sisters and to limit some nuclear family admissions numbers, especially for permanent resident aliens. Also, he would like to see a rise in the ratio of "independent" immigrants, as opposed to those coming to join relatives. As criteria for independent admissions, he suggests the obtaining of firm job offers, ability to speak English, employment skills, etc. This proposal for having "independent" immigrants may be a good one, and the Select Commission may endorse a version of this idea, but I do not believe that it has to come at the expense of family preferences. (The Select Commission will likely recommend a slight rise in legal immigration ceilings so that independents can be accommodated.) Since AJC has traditionally supported family reunification as a key determinant in immigration preference, we ought to follow this issue carefully.

5. Simpson has also proposed the institution of a firm cap on immigration for any one year. This could cut down on flexibility for admitting refugees in emergency situations.
6. In the meeting, Howard and I did not get into substantive discussions with Wood; our purpose was to learn about Simpson and his plans for the sub-committee. We did try to convey to him the impression that AJC is a major organization with a long historical interest in immigration issues. We stressed that our advocacy rests on a base of careful research and deliberation. We also gave him copies of our policy statements and testimony on this topic. We proposed that at some time in the near future, a delegation from AJC may want to meet with Simpson to convey our concerns, and Wood welcomed this suggestion. Of course, we mentioned that we would like to be involved in any hearings on this subject.

In sum, Simpson is emerging as a powerful figure on immigration who is proposing some major changes in our present laws. Given AJC's past policy statements, his proposals on refugees and family reunification may require some action on our part supportive of our positions on these issues. In addition, his ideas on undocumented aliens need to be discussed within the context of our statement on that topic. Immigration and refugees will certainly be a key item on the agenda of the next Congress, and AJC will have the opportunity to play a major role in these deliberations.

81-695-4

cc: Sam Rabinove
Abe Karlikow





**UNITED STATES
COMMITTEE
FOR REFUGEES**

20 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018
(212) 398-9142

Informing the public since 1958

To: Members of USCR Board of Directors

From: Wells C. Klein, Executive Director

Re: 1981 World Refugee Survey

I am sending you with this memo an advance copy of the 1981 World Refugee Survey. It will be released to the media and the general public within two weeks.

I was extremely pleased with last year's Survey, as I think you were. It was received with appreciation and praise by professionals in the field of refugee affairs, as well as by hundreds of other interested individuals. It also helped to firmly re-establish USCR as an important source of factual information on refugees around the world.

This year's Survey should carry that reputation even farther. Serious effort was applied to the development of articles and the analysis of the statistics. You will note that we have reported the statistics differently, more truly reflecting the numbers of refugees in the world who are in need of international assistance. This change, which now reports refugees resettled in separate tables, reflects extensive discussions with authorities in the field in an attempt to draw an even clearer picture of the refugee situation than we did last year.

Thus, the statistics reported here show a total of 12.6 million refugees in need of help worldwide. By continent, these include:

- * Asia and Oceania, 2 million;
- * Africa, 6.3 million;
- * Middle East, 3.5 million;
- * Latin America, 240 thousand;
- * Europe, 350 thousand.

The narrative focuses attention on those areas of the world most prominently involved in refugee producing situations during the past year -- Africa, Afghanistan, Cuba, Haiti and Indochina. We again owe appreciation to numerous professionals who contributed exceptional material to this issue of the Survey.

I hope you find the 1981 World Refugee Survey interesting, useful, and a product with which you are proud to be associated. Should you wish additional copies, please feel free to contact me.

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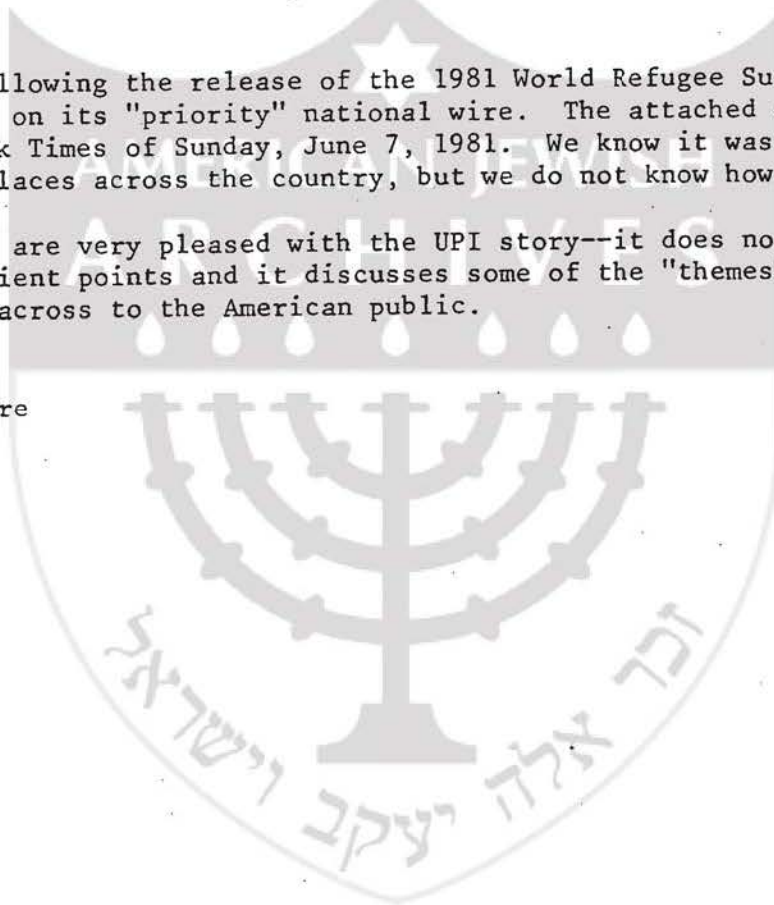
June 9, 1981

To: Board of Directors-United States Committee for Refugees
From: Wells C. Klein, Executive Director
Subject: 1981 World Refugee Survey-New York Times Article

Following the release of the 1981 World Refugee Survey, UPI put out a story on its "priority" national wire. The attached appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, June 7, 1981. We know it was picked up in other places across the country, but we do not know how many.

We are very pleased with the UPI story--it does not misquote, it hits the salient points and it discusses some of the "themes" we are most anxious to get across to the American public.

WCK/hc
Enclosure



Worldwide Total of Refugees is Put at 12.6 Million

By United Press International

A total of 12.6 million people were refugees from their homelands or displaced from their homes within their native countries at the beginning of 1981, according to a report by the U.S. Committee for Refugees.

The committee, a nonprofit information agency, released its yearly survey of the worldwide refugee situation on Thursday.

The committee's report also said that the focus of the world refugee problem was shifting from Southeast Asia to Af-

rica and that conditions for refugees in Africa had reached "life-threatening" proportions.

The worldwide refugee total dropped 3.4 million over the last year, the committee said. Because of the improving situation in Southeast Asia, where millions of Cambodians who were displaced by war and famine have returned to their farms.

But in Africa, amid political turmoil and drought, the number of refugees and displaced persons jumped from 4 million to 6.3 million.

Another crisis spot is Pakistan, where

about a million Afghans who fled after the Soviet intervention are living "in miserable condition with no solution in sight," said Wells Klein, executive director of the committee.

The report "does not mean we're out of the woods in Asia," Mr. Klein said, "but the situation in Cambodia itself is far better than it was a year ago."

Cambodia, devastated by war and social upheaval, had its first successful harvest in a decade in 1980. "If conditions do not deteriorate during 1981, it is possible Cambodia will again become self-suffi-

cient in rice after the end of the year harvest," the report said.

There are still about 250,000 Cambodian refugees in camps in Thailand and on the Thai-Cambodian border. Mr. Klein said the "vast majority" of the refugees would return to Cambodia if the Thai and Cambodian Governments, which do not recognize each other, could agree on a way to transport them back.

Refugees continue to leave Vietnam whenever the ocean is calm enough for sailing, he said, adding, "The number this spring is double last year."

The refugee camps in Southeast Asia, set up during a decade of turmoil, now have sufficient food and basic sanitation

and medical care, Mr. Klein said.

The problems in Africa are compounded by the poverty of the areas to which refugees from war and drought are fleeing, he said.

"One positive factor is that historically, the African countries and their people have been incredibly hospitable to refugees coming from other areas," he added. "That is the single largest factor that has avoided total catastrophe."

"The whole attitude of the people is not one of send them back where they came from. It just wouldn't occur to them — unless there are traditional ethnic hostilities — to set up border guards."

Impoverished Somalia now has one

refugee for every three Somalians, Mr. Klein said.

Although the United States contributes more money than any other nation to refugee aid, the effort is not necessarily greater than that of other countries, the committee said.

On a per capita basis, the United States ranked 12th in its financial contribution, according to the report. Sweden and Norway ranked highest. The United States accepted more refugees — 677,000 — than any other country, but ranked fifth on a per capita basis. Israel accepted one refugee for every 37 residents, and Malaysia, Australia and Canada also accepted more refugees per capita than the United States.

Enclosure with ACNS

Memorandum 81-#52

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

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

To: Members of Citizens Commission

Date: May 26, 1981

From: Al Kastner

Subject: Enclosure

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

I am enclosing the text of the keynote address delivered by Leo Cherne at a recent refugee conference held in Houston. There were many favorable comments on Leo's talk from both private and government sources, and you may want to know what he said.

a. k.

International Aspects of
Refugee Resettlement in the U.S.

By

Leo Cherne, Chairman
Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees

Keynote Address at the RRP/Houston Midway Information Exchange Workshop
February 4-6, 1981, Houston, Texas, ACTION/Office of Voluntary Citizens
Participation/Refugee Resettlement Project (RRP)

Alan Clark's reference to 138th Street in the movie Fort Apache, The Bronx, happens to be literally true. I spent the first eighteen years of my life within a hundred feet of that precinct house. I must honestly tell it wasn't then quite what it is now, but no garden spot then either. In some sense the word refugee was then unknown, but my concern from very early childhood was those who came to the United States fleeing a variety of countries, especially in Europe. I happen to be Jewish. I knew very few Jews in my childhood; the neighborhood was Irish and Protestant.

The history of this country with respect to those who were fleeing a variety of evils is not a generous history--it is an acquiescent history--it is more often, an exploitative history. The remarks that we have heard tonight, and I cannot adequately express my admiration for Secretary Obledo's remarks, these expressions of humanity so very deeply felt and so richly conveyed by the States and private agencies represented in this room, simply do not have a background that is more than thirty to forty years old. It is not part of our history--it is not part of our reality--it is at least in part, fantasy; but fantasy of which we are very proud. Nevertheless, myths do have a place in shaping National attitudes. I think we do no service to the work we're all engaged in if we either romanticize it, romanticize our past, romanticize the real problems we face, or romanticize the harsh realities.

I was asked to say what I could on the international aspect of the refugee problems we face now and are likely to face in the future. You know a great deal more about the domestic aspects of resettlement than I ever will, despite the fact that I have been Chairman of an organization involved in resettlement for exactly thirty years, as well as a member of that Board for another seven. The International Rescue Committee came into existence a week after Hitler rose to power. It was an American response by Professor John Dewey, by Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr and others to a request from Albert Einstein in Europe alerting his American colleagues that some would have to flee Hitler's reprisals. It was not a very good time for refugees. Indeed, the word itself was essentially not in existence.

You are all too young here to know that the United States took no refugees from Nazi Germany in the 1930s. They may have been distinguished as Albert Einstein was, as Enrico Fermi was, as Edward Teller was, as Leo Szilard was. Some people in America tried their best to prevent their coming here. There are still others today who might in fact wish they never came because these men were subsequently responsible for harnessing nuclear energy. They brought their scientific eminence with them not as refugees but under the regular immigration quota. This means that many others like them never did get here and were scattered to the many corners of the world. By far the greater number found no sanctuary anywhere and ultimately filled the concentration camps of Nazi-occupied Europe. There were some countries that did provide limited sanctuary--no country has historically been the most generous in that respect. It may well be the only modern country which does have a reasonably continuous history of sanctuary for political refugees is France, not the United States.

Whether there were those who fled from the Spanish Civil War or those who fled from Mussolini's Italy or those who fled from neighboring Germany, not always happily, France was a country of sanctuary.

There were many shocking episodes in that period. It is important to remember it. I tell you this not simply for historical reasons, but because I do believe we will again relive some of these harsher aspects of our personality. I think we're entering a very hard period for political refugees and I intend to say something about that and how indeed we will, without burdening our conscience, manage to unlearn the humanity we've been expressing in recent years.

One episode was dramatically conveyed in the movie "The Voyage of the Damned". You will find the book by that title rewarding. It tells a tragic but true story. It was in June of 1939 that a rather fiendish plan was conceived by some people close to Adolf Hitler. They made available a ship, a luxury liner, the SS St Louis, to take as many Jews as could fill that ship to Cuba and they were told by the Cuban government as well as the Germans that they would be permitted to land in Cuba. Those aboard the St. Louis were a remarkable mixture of people. Some were freed from concentration camps. The very first camps were already in existence. They weren't death camps yet. Others aboard that ship were among the most wealthy elite--the educated of the Jewish community that had for generations not thought of themselves as Jewish. And there was a cross section of Jews in between--some nine hundred people. Incidentally, they were required to pay double fare because they were told that they would leave the ship in Havana and the cost of the ship's journey back empty had to be reimbursed. After days at sea they did find themselves in Havana Harbor but after many days of

agonizing negotiation, the Cuban authorities refused their permission to land. By this time fuel, food, water, all were running down. The St. Louis now made its way to the coast of Florida. It remained there for a period of several days until the Coast Guard conveyed President Franklin Roosevelt's instructions that the ship would not be permitted to land in any U.S. port. Now with its remaining supplies dwindling, the St. Louis had no alternative but to turn back to Europe. It did so only to learn that France refused it permission to land; so did Belgium; so did Holland; so did England. It was a ship without a port. After frantic negotiations which took further time, and at the very last moment, the passengers were permitted to land in Belgium. England, France and Belgium had each agreed to take a share of those aboard the St. Louis. All those who were sent to England survived, but roughly half of those who reentered the Continent died in concentration camps. We carry a heavy responsibility for that fact but that was United States reality in 1939.

It's a very different country now. It's a country in which you can feel pride in the work that each of you do. It's also a very different world. It is crudely estimated that there are now sixteen million refugees in different places, for different reasons, and almost all of them in countries which are themselves poor--one of the changes that has occurred in the refugee picture. Refugees from Vietnam, from Cambodia, from Laos seek refuge in Thailand or Malaysia. Of those who come by boat, and there is no other way out of Vietnam, an estimated fifty percent die at sea. Never lose sight of that fact because you are going to hear more with each passing month about these people being economic migrants; that they're not really in any political danger; that they're simply trying to better their circumstances. Those circumstances must be wretched indeed, if people are willing to risk the lives of their parents, children,

brothers, sisters. Believe me, they know what the odds are.

There's nothing more precise than a refugee grapevine. Take Cambodia--there has not been, with the exception of the fate that was suffered by the Jews in the death camps, in this whole century--anything quite like the self genocide which occurred in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. A population of seven and a half million was reduced in a period of less than five years, to at most four and a half million. Almost all who were educated were killed because education was a sign of having been under the influence of an earlier corrupt regime. Those who needed to wear glasses, nevertheless smashed their glasses because to wear glasses was an indication that you were educated. All doctors, all teachers, all Buddhist monks, gone. An entire culture destroyed.

Look for a moment at Laos--because this is where most of the so-called "economic refugees" are coming from. That's this year's perception--that they are economic refugees, not last year's. In this so-called economic pilgrimage, many infants drown as they are strapped to the backs of their mothers who never having learned to swim must nevertheless cross the Mekong River. When they can, they use inflated plastic bags as life wings.

In Laos there are the hill tribes, the Hmong. We have, as you know, a special debt to them. I use the word debt precisely. They would resent it if I said they fought our war. They desperately disagree with that. They'd say we helped them fight their war. They are a very stubborn, freedom loving people and they have for generations, resisted every effort to destroy their very separate identity. In violation of an agreement which had been reached between North

Vietnam and President Kennedy, North Vietnam nevertheless did invade Laos and the Pathet Lao, as others did before them, sought to uproot the Hmong. The CIA was quite eager to take advantage of their fierce independence in what has come to be known as the secret war. That war is long over but not for the Hmong. They have the very dubious privilege of having chemical warfare conducted against their mountain hideouts. It is conducted routinely, sometimes with a yellow powder dropped from planes, sometimes with a greenish liquid. We don't quite know the nature of the chemicals--we know that many die, others survive, and their symptoms have been treated by doctors in the refugee camps in Northern Thailand. Are these, too, economic migrants?

I said that there are an estimated sixteen million refugees. There are a million and a half Afghans just across the border in Pakistan. I needn't underline the fact that there could hardly have been a more blatant aggression than that which resulted in Soviet troops moving into Afghanistan. There are nearly two million refugees from Ethiopia--most of them are in Somalia, some of them in the Sudan. There have been the tenacious efforts of Col. Mengistu's government to wipe out the ethnic group known as the Eritreans. In total these refugees are the most desperate of all refugees anywhere on the face of the earth. And of course within the last year there have been the Cubans. A special word needs to be said about the Cubans. The Cuban movement of this last year is the event that will make life difficult for all of us and above all for all refugees, until the memory of that Cuban influx fades. Why? Because suddenly the United States found itself like Malaysia, inundated with a group of people we hadn't asked for, didn't want, didn't know what to do with. Our happiness was further complicated by the thousands emptied out of jails or bordellos or homosexual hang-outs.

As you know, the boats that went from southern Florida to Mariel Bay were not permitted to bring family members unless they also took a number of those who were shovelled into the boats by the Cuban government. And we better know what we are going to do about such an event next time it happens because all indications I have is that it's going to happen again.

As a result of that experience, the always latent xenophobia in American life now burns more brightly. Let's be frank about our darker nature--few here are simply crazy about foreigners. It is astonishing enough that we have subdued this nativism during recent years to turn in the remarkable performance we have. But all of a sudden, that Cuban episode made it possible for perfectly respectable people to say, "we don't want any more foreigners," and that reaction makes few distinctions between Cubans, Lao, Vietnamese, whatever.

We're in an anti-refugee period now and I am not wise enough to guess how long it will last. Let's keep our very real generosity of these last few years in perspective. When the total is added for all the refugees we resettle, we are talking of a number which is statistically insignificant. The movement to the United States is quite unlike the tidal "Tribal Flight" which takes place in Africa. We must face a fact which happens to be shocking but which needs to be understood. There are roughly ten times as many blacks who flee black countries, countries governed by blacks, than the sum total who flee the white racism of South Africa. Do not misunderstand what I have said--I have not now made a case for South Africa--I have simply described the reality of inhumanity--it knows no color.

Angola has a rich province called Cabinda. Its riches come from oil and that matters greatly to the Gulf Oil Company. Cabinda is run by Cuban mercenaries. Over 200 thousand Cabindans were killed or shoved out into neighboring Zaire. Zaire is one of the very few countries of first asylum which absorbed all of the people it received. As a country of first asylum, it also happens to be one of the most bankrupt countries of the world. Remarkably enough, it can't pay its debts to the banks which have loaned it money or to the International Monetary Fund, but it did absorb the Cabindans.

The numbers of those permitted to leave the Soviet Union are now down. I suspect the numbers are going to go down still further because the hard words which are being exchanged by the Soviet Union and the Reagan Administration will take their toll in the number of Jews who are permitted out of the Soviet Union.

Let me return now once more to Asia. What is it the people flee from in Vietnam? Something so harmlessly called the "new economic zones". In the Soviet Union--those are called "gulags". In Laos they are called "seminars". Those seminars are very interesting--they sound so educational--yet, this is an education from which virtually no one ever returns. In Asia, too, there have been the flights from aggression. I believe the largest refugee wave of all time was a flight from aggression. Ten million people fled East Pakistan, after unimaginable butchery, all within one week, totally destroyed the faculty and students of the only two universities in that country in Dacca and Chittagong. Ten million Bengalis fled West Pakistan's aggression and they fled for safety to one of the most wretched areas of the world--they fled to the hell hole of India, Calcutta and the countryside around it.

I was asked to talk about the future--the trends are unhappy trends, almost without exception. One of the most hospitable places, often reluctantly, but nevertheless, consistently, has been the crown colony of Hong Kong. Hong Kong is a British colony and inclined to follow British sporting rules. If you risked your life to make the twelve-hour swim across the tidal waters of Deep Bay or Mirs Bay and were caught at sea either by a British patrol boat or by a Chinese helicopter, you were returned to the Mainland. But if you touched shore, British fair play said, "you made it; we did our best to prevent it; but now you are safe". No more is that the case. Four months ago that policy which has existed now for 20 years has been changed. There is no sanctuary in Hong Kong for those who came from Mainland China. It doesn't matter if you've lived there for months or years--if you're an "illegal", you will now be returned.

I can't tell you exactly why the United States did it--maybe a little gesture to make the British feel somewhat less conspicuous. We had been following a grudging resettlement policy in connection with Mainland Chinese who had reached Hong Kong. We had been taking for resettlement in the United States about 100 a month. We closed that gate 90 days ago. We resettle no refugees from Hong Kong if they are Mainland Chinese. The Carter Administration, in consultation with the Congress, agreed on a resettlement intake of fourteen thousand a month from Indochina. Well, it has been months since fourteen thousand have come, and the illusion is that the problem is being solved. The fact is the numbers have hardly dried up at all. The group which has suffered most was never accorded the same right to resettlement which had been extended to the Lao and the Vietnamese. I am talking about the Khmer, the Cambodians. Little by little those who have been concerned with them have sought to widen the door. After all, they suffered

the most. By what earthly logic do we single them out for exclusionary treatment? Now, here's the additional irony--these people who are in Khao I-Dang are the last remnants of the educated who survived those years of Pol Pot's bestiality. They are much more easily resettled than a Lao peasant.

I have said virtually nothing about what's happening inside Cambodia or Kampuchea as it is now known. A number of voluntary agencies moved heaven and earth to make sure that enough food went into Cambodia a year ago to staunch the famine which was then in progress. To be sure, compared to Pol Pot, Vietnam's puppet, Heng Samrin, is a saint. But let's not lose sight of the fact that Cambodia is an occupied nation and the occupier is Vietnam, and no government will be the government of Cambodia that is not satisfactory to Vietnam. Little by little we have been drawing a curtain over all this. We are left to assume that things are "hunky dory" in Cambodia. This now brings me to a concept which may prove more tragic than the new emphasis on "economic refugees". Get prepared for it--you will hear it more and more. The concept is "repatriation". It happens to be one of the favorite answers of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to the refugee problem. No one can object to voluntary repatriation. Where an individual chooses to take the risks which may exist in order to return to whatever family may still have survived or even to the graves of the ancestors, he should not be discouraged; but we must be especially cautious that repatriation is voluntary and not by means, subtle or explicit, coerced. There are some places where repatriation is not only sensible, but, in fact, the only decent policy. To repatriate the ten million Bengalis who fled their country back to a Bangladesh that was their own--that is humane. But there are other circumstances--the four hundred thousand surviving Jews who did live through the concentration camps and were the displaced persons in camps throughout Europe--how do you think they would have responded to the idea of being repatriated to Germany? And we

must avoid doing that to those Cambodians to whom the horror of recent years makes Cambodia their Germany.

We tried it out on a voluntary basis. UNHCR pressed for it hard enough, the government of Thailand went along. Thailand has its own fish to fry. Thailand would love to see as many Cambodians who hate the government as possible inside Cambodia. That's playing high stakes politics with human lives. There's not a ghost of a chance of the Government of Cambodia being Cambodian. I think not in my lifetime. Well, they tried it out on a voluntary basis and out of 130 thousand people in Khao-I-Dang, something like 4,000 went back.

Where are the problems going to be in the future? Some are readily easy to see and they are going to be tough for us. They're going to come increasingly from the Caribbean, from Central America. That means there are going to be boat people, and we were very snotty about the way boat people were handled by Malaysia and Thailand. Are we going to be better? This time they're going to be our boat people. Am I describing a problem for which there is an easy answer? I'm not even sure there is an answer, easy or tough. We don't have the answer for cancer either, but we keep the terminal patients alive as long as we can, don't we?

Before this year is out, perhaps before this winter is out, we may have a problem called "Polish refugees". It is not likely in my view that the Soviet Union can tolerate the heresy that is occurring in Poland. The Kremlin will be "patient". It will look to the Polish government, the Polish police, the Polish military, to correct that heresy and when that fails, the Warsaw Pact troops are right next door. And once again the world may see the ugly sight of East German troops marching into Poland. And, of course, there will be refugees, though it's not easy to get out of Poland. It doesn't have very friendly contiguous borders.

And I think that before the year is out, there will be refugees in some substantial number in Iran. "Internal refugees"--because I expect Iran to break apart and as it has been during so much of its history, to become a group of states which loathe each other. But the Kurds or Baluchis, or Afghans are not going to present us with a resettlement problem. Theirs is an Iranian problem.

I've scratched the surface of agony. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the new and brilliant U. S. Ambassador to the U.N. wrote an article in Commentary in November 1979, that brought her to the attention of Ronald Reagan and started a process which led to her being our Ambassador. She's one of the most brilliant people I have ever known. I've had the great privilege of working with her in several contexts. I want to read these lines from that article, "Communist regimes create refugees by the millions because they claim jurisdiction over the whole life of the society"--let me underline that brief sentence. When anybody tells you that someone who flees a Communist state is an economic refugee, try to remember her words, "Communist regimes create refugees by the million because they claim jurisdiction over the whole life of a society and make demands for change that so violate eternal values and habits that the inhabitants flee by the tens of thousands in the remarkable expectation that their attitudes, values, and goals will fit better in a foreign country than in their native land".

The Deputy Chairman of Vietnam's National Assembly from 1976 to his defection early in August 1979, Doan von Hoan, described the impact of Vietnam's on-going revolution on that country's more than one million Chinese inhabitants-- "they have been expelled from places they've lived in for generations. They have been dispossed of virtually all possessions, their land, their houses. They've been

driven into areas called new economic zones, but they have not been given any aid. How can they eke out a living in such conditions reclaiming new land. They gradually die -- for a number of reasons--diseases, the hard life. They also die of humiliation".

Some ten years ago a book written by a brilliant young woman made a profound difference in our attitudes toward U.S. policy in Vietnam. The book was FIRE IN THE LAKE by Frances Fitzgerald. The book advanced an important thesis--that the whole American policy in that war was doomed to defeat because we were separating people from "the lands of their ancestors". Are we now to believe that those who flee Vietnam by boat, that those who cannot swim but nevertheless cross the Mekong from Laos, that those who make their way to Malaysia or Indonesia or Hong Kong are leaving the land of their ancestors, risking the lives of their beloved children, or more importantly, their venerated parents, on some vast job hunt? If Frances Fitzgerald's thesis had any validity a decade ago, it gives us a measure of the desperation of those who have fled and those who continue to do so.

I will close with some else's final words--he could hardly have more stature--his words are more eloquent than any I could use. They are the closing lines in Ronald Reagan's acceptance speech at the end of the convention which nominated him:

"I have thought of something that is not a part of my speech and worried over whether I should say it. Can we doubt that only a divine providence placed this land, this island, the freedom here as a refuge for all those people in the world who yearn to be free. Jews and Christians enduring persecution behind the iron curtain, the boat people of southeast Asia, Cuba and Haiti, the victims of drought and famine in Africa, the freedom fighters in Afghanistan, and our own countrymen held in savage captivity. Can we begin our crusade joined together in a moment of silent prayer for these people."

I cannot tell you how much I hope that these words are the philosophic base of this government's policy. I'm waiting to see.



Dear Mike - I decided to send you our minutes so you could be up to date on our activities

TASK FORCE FOR CAMBODIAN CHILDREN

Minutes for the May 26th meeting, 9-11 AM, 85 Perry Street

Present: Bill Erat, Teri Bergman, Kitty Dukakis, Peter Pond, Judith Thompson, Bob Farmer

Absent: Paul Menitoff, Ronne Friedman, Maha Ghosananda, Elise Morrill, Vartan Hartunian

The meeting started with a discussion of fund-raising. Bob suggested that the best method is to involve people personally in the issue. Everyone agreed and it was decided to form a Board of Directors who would be invited by Kitty to attend a meeting on June 14th at 4 pm, Kitty's home. The invitation would include: joining the Board, coming to Bangkok with the delegation. The children will be at Kitty's home that afternoon anyway for the Evening at Pop's, so the timing seemed right. A list of 15 people was compiled, but the first seven to be contacted are: An Wang, Sandra Bakalar, Pat McGovern, David Rockefeller, Hessie Sargeant, and Joey & Adrain Silverstein. These seven will be invited to the June 14th meeting where they will discuss the activities of the Task Force, meeting the children and build up the uniqueness of their circumstances. Others mentioned for this Board were: Barry Brazelton, Dr. Charles Tres, Dr. Joan Fried, Bob Horowitz, Sid Schneider, Judy Slater, Nancy Chohen, Wilford Welsh and John Collonade.

The Delegation to Bangkok is growing. At this point it has potential participants in: Pat Schroeder, Barney Frank, Jerry Tinker, Bill Erat, Bob Farmer, Kitty, Peter, and the seven potential Board members. The tentative departure date is June 21st, returning around the 26th.

We discussed the formation of several support committee: 1) foundation fundraising, 2) foster care committee, 3) education committee, 4) medical experts committee. It was decided that foster care parents from New Hampshire and Massachusetts would be invited to come to our next meeting and join our group. It is hoped that they will then become the core group for the foster care committee. Bill will contact people in Massachusetts and Peter will contact those in New Hampshire, including Sister Angie. They will be sent a cover letter and the agenda for the next meeting which will be on June 9th - 8 pm at Kitty's house.

On June 3rd, Peter, Kitty and Arn will be guests on the Good Morning Show (Channel 5). People should tune in at 9 AM. They will talk about foster care for the Cambodian children. Kitty is also working on WBZ's Evening Magazine show.

On June 14th, Kitty has invited all of the Cambodian children to be guests at an Evening at Pops.

Respectfully submitted,

Judith

THE TASK FORCE FOR CAMBODIAN CHILDREN
An Affiliate Of The
National Center For Genocide Studies, Inc.

c/o Education For Management
85 Main Street
Watertown, MA 02172

Chairperson
Rabbi Paul Menitoff

Teri Bergman
Kitty Dukakis
Rev. William Erat
Robert A. Farmer
Rabbi Ronne Friedman
The Venerable Maha Ghossananda
Rev. Vartan Hartunian
Elise Morrill
Peter Pond
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Judith Thompson

MEETING ANNOUNCEMENT

JUNE 9TH
8PM

KITTY'S HOME, 85 PERRY STREET, BROOKLINE, MA

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

AGENDA

1. INTRODUCTIONS -- FOSTER PARENTS AND AGENCY REPRESENTATIVES
2. BACKGROUND - SHARING OUR ACTIVITIES WITH NEW MEMBERS
3. REPORT ON POLITICAL ISSUES
4. TRIP TO THAILAND
5. FOSTER CARE RECRUITMENT
6. EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES
7. FUNDRAISING UPDATE.

May 28, 1981

Mrs. Nancy Bearg Dyke
National Security Advisor
to the Vice President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20501

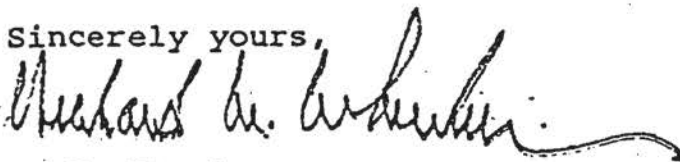
Dear Mrs. Dyke:

I am writing to you in my capacity as a chairman of the Religious Advisory Council on Immigration/Refugee Concerns. This group represents the leadership of the major churches and religious groups in the United States who have been intimately involved with ministering to refugees and immigrants since before World War II.

Vice President Bush, in response to a letter from Mrs. Marnie Linen Dawson, Assistant Director for Migration Affairs, Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief, suggested that our group, as well as the American Council of Voluntary Agencies Migration and Refugee Committee, which represents operative national refugee resettlement agencies, meet with you and Mr. Garrett concerning refugee policy from the standpoint of the involved private voluntary sector. In anticipation of this meeting within the next ten days, I am enclosing a proposed agenda. A core group of representatives from the Religious Advisory Council and the American Council of Voluntary Agencies are looking forward to this meeting.

As concerned citizens from the private sector who are dedicated to alleviating refugee suffering worldwide, we are grateful that this administration is sensitive both to our viewpoints and to the vital importance of our role in the continuing ability of the United States to respond to refugee needs.

Sincerely yours,



R. W. Wheeler

399 PARK AVENUE

June 3, 1981

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Marc:

At our meeting in May, we discussed amongst other things, the proposal to meet with the Vice-President and his staff concerning the major refugee and migration issues that are rapidly evolving. Since that time, our discussions have led us to conclude that at this point, it may be more advantageous to meet with the staff as the preliminary step and to this end a small group will be gathering in Washington to meet with Mr. Garrett and Mrs. Dyke, together with a few representatives of The American Council of Voluntary Agencies, Migration and Refugee Committee.

It is hoped that our combined presentation will enable us to present on the respective behalf of each of us, a balanced and forceful presentation. I will report to you after the meeting and at that time we can determine how we may best proceed.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. Wheeler.
(dictated by R.W. Wheeler
by phone)

May 28, 1981

Mr. Thaddeus Garrett
Domestic Policy Advisor
to the Vice President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20501

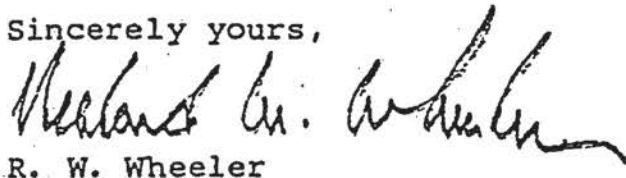
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Sincerely yours,



R. W. Wheeler