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Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees

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(III)
OPENING STATEMENT

Senator KENNEDY. The subcommittee will come to order.

Ten years ago, this subcommittee began its inquiry into the humanitarian problems of the second Indochina war.

The year 1965 marked the first major crisis of people. In that year, escalating battle in South Vietnam produced over 1 million refugees, tens of thousands of civilian casualties, and uncounted orphans and war victims of all kinds. But today, after a decade of spreading war and unspeakable human suffering throughout the area, the people of South Vietnam and Cambodia are taking the most ferocious beating of the conflict.

Tragedy is piled on tragedy. More families are torn apart. More innocent children become orphans. More thousands of frightened and hungry people become refugees, and thousands more are injured or maimed or killed.

Millions of people in South Vietnam and Cambodia are crying out for peace and relief. We share in their crisis. And how we help to resolve it will not only influence the fate of these war victims, but our country’s future relations with all the people of Indochina.

The hundreds of calls and letters I have received, from Boston to Saigon, reflect a deep and despairing sense of helplessness among the American people over the human tragedy in South Vietnam and Cambodia. The appeals of our citizens reveal a profound sense of commitment and urgency to help, a commitment and urgency which has yet to find expression in the policy and actions of our national leadership. And so today, the American people want to know, as this
subcommittee wants to know, what our Government is doing to meet the growing crisis of people in Indochina.

For too many weeks, our Government has stood paralyzed, as events rapidly overtook whatever small decision our Government was making to assist the millions of orphans and refugees and war victims in South Vietnam and Cambodia. But this is not a time for paralysis in our Government. This is a time for bold actions by the President. It is a time for new initiatives to fully meet our obligations to the people of Indochina. It is a time to admit our past mistakes and misplaced priorities, and a time to finally use the immense resources of our country to help bring peace and relief to the people of Indochina.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

I call upon the President again for urgent action in several areas of concern to the American people.

First, there is still time for the President to dispatch a special envoy to pursue immediate diplomatic initiatives for humanitarian purposes in South Vietnam and Cambodia. The special envoy should also pursue efforts to help end the violence and return to the political goals of the 1973 Paris Agreements. If we can send our generals to Saigon for assessing the military situation, the least we can do, and must do, is send a man of peace and human concern, who truly reflects the feelings of all Americans.

Second, I urge the President to finally lend our country's full support to the humanitarian initiatives of the United Nations, and Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's international appeal for relief assistance to war victims in Indochina. Without delay, the President should authorize a contribution from immediately available funds to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and UNICEF, whose representatives are present in the field.

Third, I hope the administration will work with the Congress to enact emergency legislation to provide additional funds to support these international relief efforts. A bill I introduced on March 26, which is cosponsored by several Senators, will help accomplish this end.

Fourth, I urge the President, through his special envoy and other means, to communicate with all parties concerned, and to seek the good offices of the United Nations to facilitate the reunion of families, the care and protection of orphans and other dependent persons, and the orderly movement of threatened populations in all areas of South Vietnam and Cambodia. Instead of wringing our hands over this issue, we must immediately pursue those diplomatic agreements and understandings that will help secure the free movement and protection of the civilian population. Such agreements and understandings followed the first Indochina war, and similar wars in recent years; the agreements in Algeria and the agreements that were made in the Biafra-Nigerian war.

Fifth, I urge the President to take needed administrative steps, under existing authorities in the immigration law, to facilitate the movement of Vietnamese nationals to join their families and friends in the United States. And sixth, I urge the President to take needed
administrative steps, under existing authorities of the private voluntary agencies, and to take steps to facilitate their movement under international auspices into all areas of need in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

We have no moral commitment to any army in Indochina. We have no moral commitment to this or that government, to this or that official or political faction. Our only true remaining moral obligations are with the people, to the millions of people in Indochina who cry for help.

I believe the American people are prepared to accept these obligations. And the purpose of today’s hearing is to explore the best ways to go about this national effort. It is still not too late to redeem the hope of the Paris Agreement, and to move, as Secretary Kissinger stated just 2 years ago, “from hostility to normalization to conciliation and cooperation.”

Senator Mathias

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MATHIAS

Senator Mathias, Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am glad you have called this hearing, and invited Mr. Parker and others here to explore with us the dimensions of a crisis of grave concern to the Congress, the executive branch, all the American people; and, of course, most of all, to the people of South Vietnam and Cambodia, who still remain on the razor’s edge of tumultuous social, political, and military upheaval after too many years of virtually constant warfare.

We meet this morning at a moment of intense national questioning and anxiety over the fate of literally millions of Indochinese victims of war, particularly the waves of homeless refugees who have been driven from their ancestral roots by a relentless combination of military conflict, fear and panic.

Many of us, in Congress and in the executive branch, have differed in the past and may still differ in our view of the current value of military assistance, and indeed in our view of the overall wisdom of the policy pursued by the last six U.S. Presidents in Indochina. But I believe that we, and the American people, are united in our desire to help the innocent victims of the war and instability that has gripped Indochina for so long, and the deathly accelerating chaos of the past few weeks.

The tremendous outpouring of public concern over the fate of Vietnamese war orphans is but one example of the clear fact that we are not a people who will simply walk away from a crisis, especially one partly of our own making, without regard for the consequences likely to befall those who are left behind.

This unity of spirit, remarkable in itself in view of the emotional divisions which the war in Vietnam has occasioned throughout our land during the past decade, has been vividly dramatized for me by the hundreds upon hundreds of phone calls my office has received in the past week alone, from Marylanders of all faiths, ideologies, and economic background, seeking to express their concern that humanitarian relief be provided for the victims of the war, and offering to help in any way possible.
This spontaneous and intense national unity and concern is a precious national resource, one which we in Government dare not squander if we are to salvage any humane experience and achievement out of the past decades' brutalizing involvement in Indochina. The task before us now is to seize on that national unity of spirit and purpose, and to forge it into a sensible, humane and coherent overall policy toward Indochina, a policy aimed at providing direct humanitarian relief in the form of food, shelter, and medicine, to the millions of refugees and others in need throughout South Vietnam and Cambodia, while minimizing, insofar as is possible, any further loss of life through continued warfare. I am convinced that a U.S. policy designed to achieve these twin aims would receive the overwhelming support of the Congress, the American people and the world community.

FIVE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

To that end, it is my hope that this morning's hearing can provide a crucial focus on the fundamental questions we must now address. These would fall into five broad categories.

First, what is the precise nature of the problem we are trying to solve? How many refugees are there? Where are they? Under whose military or effective political control? What are their needs?

Second, what resources and structures are currently available to deal with the problem and meet these needs? What can AID do? What are the capabilities of the voluntary and international agencies? What about the Government of South Vietnam itself? To what degree, under the current circumstances, is that Government capable of providing for the social welfare of its citizens?

Third, what about the refugees under the control of the other side or in areas vulnerable to an imminent takeover by the other side?

Fourth, and perhaps most important, what steps need to be taken in the future? What further resources can and should Congress make available for the effort to provide direct humanitarian relief in Indochina, and through what institutional channels?

Fifth, although the United Nations was recently rejected in Indochina, what is its proper role today? Can the United Nations agencies, such as the High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and others be utilized to avoid repeating a unilateral role for the United States in Indochina?

Of course, the answer to all these questions may be made irrelevant very soon by a new wave of chaos and turbulence, if the most basic question of all is not addressed and answered in the highest councils of Government in the very near future; namely, whether the broad thrust of official U.S. policy toward Cambodia and Vietnam will continue to be divided, with the Congress and the executive speaking in two conflicting voices over the question of additional military assistance for Indochina, or whether we can agree once and for all that our truest national purpose can be achieved, not by seeking to stabilize an untenable military situation with further weapons of war, but rather by giving a clear and unmistakable signal that our last remaining objectives in Indochina can only be achieved through humanitarian aid and a peaceful resolution to this terribly painful episode in our history.
STATEMENT BY SENATOR FONG

Senator Kennedy. Thank you very much, Senator Mathias.
We also have a letter and a statement from Senator Fong, who is a very active and interested member of this subcommittee, and we will make that a part of the record. He unfortunately is unable to be with us, he is attending the funeral of former Governor Burns of Hawaii.

[The letter and statement from Senator Hiram Fong follows:]

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., April 8, 1975.

Hon. Edward M. Kennedy,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapes, Senate Committee on Judiciary, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman: I regret very much that I am unable to be in Washington, D.C. today to attend the Subcommittee hearings on refugee and humanitarian problems in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

As you may know, former Governor John A. Burns of Hawaii passed away over the weekend, and I am remaining in Hawaii for the funeral services to show my respect for a man who served Hawaii so faithfully—as Territorial delegate to the U.S. Congress, as a champion of statehood, and as Governor for twelve years until his retirement last December.

Although I cannot be present at today's hearings, I want the hearing record to show my concern for the tragedy and pain and dislocation that have been inflicted upon so many people of South Vietnam and Cambodia by the warfare that has disrupted their lives and families. My heart goes out to the homeless, the hungry, the malnourished, the widowed, the orphaned.

Until the past few weeks, we could grasp the dimensions of the refugee problems. But with the painful events of recent days, these problems have mushroomed beyond all expectations and plans. Certainly those dedicated people on the front lines of our assistance efforts—the volunteers in private relief agencies and our own U.S. Government personnel—who are striving to relieve the plight of refugees deserve our utmost commendation. Conditions under which they are forced to operate are often chaotic and often dangerous, and these hearings should accord them full credit for their efforts to alleviate the misery of the victims of war.

Please be assured I shall review the hearing record of today's proceedings in order that I can better assess the situation and better determine how we can improve our humanitarian assistance programs in Indochina.

I ask unanimous consent that my letter and my brief statement attached be printed in the printed hearing record today.

With aloha,
Sincerely yours,

Hiram L. Fong.

Attachment.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HIRAM L. FONG

I regret that I am unable to attend this very important hearing on the current plight of refugees in South Vietnam. In this latest sad chapter of a saga of suffering and turmoil for those people, I have of course followed with attention and concern the reports carried by Senator Mathias, and I have asked the State Department and the Agency for International Development to keep me posted on these developments.

The refugee situation is one aspect of a national tragedy of immense proportion for the people of South Vietnam. The new North Vietnamese offensive has taken from the people of South Vietnam two-thirds to three-quarters of their land area. If we had a comparable situation in The Continental United States, that would mean the loss of all land west of Pittsburgh.

Before the new offensive started, there were 36,700 refugees in camps in South Vietnam and 226,000 other temporarily displaced war victims, all of whom were hoping to return to their homes. As the tide of the North Vietnamese offensive pushed still more people toward the coast in the provinces, our U.S.
Mission took immediate action. When our attempts at an airlift were cut short by hostile action, our evacuation efforts shifted to the sea and to the provinces not yet occupied by hostile forces. Unfortunately, we have not been able to evacuate every man, woman and child seeking refuge from the advancing North Vietnamese forces, but, as far as I can determine, our Americans stationed in Vietnam made—and are making—every effort to aid as many refugees as humanly possible.

Over 130,000 South Vietnamese have been evacuated by sea on American and foreign flag vessels financed by our foreign aid dollars. To date, 30,000 have landed at Phu Quoc Island, and an additional 310,000, most of whom had fled on land, have registered at camps in the area around Saigon and in the Mekong Delta.

Fortunately, our U.S. Mission in Vietnam has experienced refugee officers who have been immediately assigned to areas where the new refugees are being gathered. Nevertheless, the principal burden falls on the staff of the Ministry of Social Welfare of the Government of Vietnam, which is reported to be operating and functioning despite recent governmental changes. In addition, representatives of the private voluntary agencies now in Vietnam are available for reassignment and will be redeployed as needs arise.

Our AID Mission and the Government of South Vietnam are working 24 hours a day to see that every refugee is given at least the bare necessities required by every human being. I am proud of our round-the-clock efforts in the Federal Disaster Relief Center in the State Department.

I believe it is imperative that we in Congress support the efforts of our American Government personnel—those stationed in Vietnam and those in Washington directing and coordinating the refugee and humanitarian programs—and the private voluntary agencies who are giving selflessly to aid the refugees of Vietnam.

Senator Kennedy. We want to welcome our first witness from the executive branch; the Honorable Daniel Parker, who is the Administrator of the Agency for International Development, and the President's special coordinator for international disaster assistance; also Mr. Robert Miller, who is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs. I talked to Secretary Habib yesterday, who is unable to be with us. He indicated to me that the Secretary of State had flown back last evening, and that he had a meeting with him early this morning. But he indicated that he would come up here at another time and talk to us about this problem. We appreciate Mr. Miller, his deputy, being with us. I also want to welcome back Mr. Kellogg, Assistant Secretary for the Secretary for Refugee and Migration Affairs. We appreciate very much your being with us here this morning.

Mr. Parker?

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL PARKER, ADMINISTRATOR, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE, ACCOMPANIED BY ARTHUR Z. GARDINER, JR., ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, EAST ASIA, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT; ROBERT A. MILLER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS; AND THE HONORABLE FRANK KELLOGG, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR REFUGEE AND MIGRATION AFFAIRS

Mr. Parker. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a privilege, as well as a responsibility, to appear before this committee. This is my first appearance as the President's special co-
ordinator for disaster relief. You have asked me to testify on the refugee situation in South Vietnam. First, I would like to highlight the major points that I shall amplify in detail in my statement.

**CURRENT SITUATION**

Before the March offensive, the Government of Vietnam had over 265,000 refugees and war victims. As of April 7, 1975, 310,000 new refugees have been registered; 93,000 more have been scalifled by 20 U.S. vessels, and approximately 40,000 more by 70 other vessels. We estimate another 150,000 refugees are still moving into and in the areas controlled by the Government of Vietnam. Operation Baby Lift has brought, over 1,400 war orphans out of South Vietnam. Emergency rice shipments to feed adults 500 grams per person per day, and fortified food supplements for children, have been ordered.

The U.S. AID mission and the Government of Vietnam are rapidly deploying refugee relief teams. Private and voluntary organizations are responding to meet this challenge. The Foreign Disaster Relief Center has been activated on a 24-hour basis to coordinate refugee activities. The international agencies are increasing their activities in Vietnam. Other donors, including England, Australia, Germany—to name a few—are responding to the tragedy.

Before I address the situation further, I would like to pay tribute to the size and quality of the response that the people of this country, the United States of America, have made and are making to this tragedy. The enormous burdens borne by the people of South Vietnam are being shared or lightened, to the extent possible, by the generosity of a great many people; by the voluntary agencies who have done and are doing so much to help, by the international relief organizations, by the people of my agency and numerous other parts of the Government, and by many, many others.

**SUMMARY OF ACTIONS TAKEN**

Let me summarize for you briefly what has happened and what has been and is being done. When the North Vietnamese offensive began less than 3 weeks ago, South Vietnam already carried the difficult burden of feeding and caring for more than 265,000 refugees and war victims, at an annual cost of millions. Many, fleeing southward, were located in refugee camps scattered throughout the country; others had been or were being relocated in resettlement sites where it was hoped they could become self-sufficient; yet others were receiving temporary assistance in other forms.

As of April 8, new refugees registered with the Republic of Vietnam Government Ministry of Social Welfare were 313,845. An additional 93,600 have been lifted by U.S. ships to date. An estimated total of 40,000 have been lifted on foreign-flag vessels.

An estimated 750,000 refugees are not within these figures. Many are still moving in coastal and river craft, private vehicles, and on foot, into and within areas controlled by the Republic of Vietnam, or have settled with relatives or friends. In sum, the Government of Vietnam's refugee burden has been more than doubled, and may soon be tripled.
The basic needs of the refugees are man's basic needs everywhere: food, shelter, medical care. Some would add to that listing the factor of hope, but these refugees seem to have carried with them the hope that life would be better under the South Vietnamese Government than under the alternative.

It is our immediate objective to assist with these needs. Our prime and almost total concern, necessarily, is with the physical needs. But with respect to the hope factor, I think it should be said that the support of the United States, for those who have fled in hope as well as those who fled in fear, is terribly important, and the assistance we are giving and will give, and the manner in which we give it, are critical indicators of the support.

**MOVEMENT OF REFUGEES**

To meet these needs, the first step is to help the refugees get to safety. Our involvement, indeed all efforts, have been mostly by sea. The Government of Vietnam has committed more than 50 vessels to this task; we have deployed, as of April 7, 8 cargo vessels of the U.S. Military Sealift Command, and 5 U.S. Navy ships, together with 9 tugs which have been operating with multiple barges each. From other countries, as of April 7, one British frigate was standing by, four Republic of China LST's were participating, and one Korean and one Philippine LST were evacuating.

Once the refugees leave the ships, or arrive in Government of Vietnam areas by other means, they are assembled in temporary camps. At this point, they are registered on a roll and issued ration cards which permit the family to draw food and other relief supplies. It is usually at this time that the family is assigned temporary shelter and given a medical screening so that any sick member can be referred for medical care.

**FLUID SITUATION**

The refugee situation, in terms of their location, is an extremely fluid one. The Government of Vietnam's first plan was to provide resettlement areas in three coastal provinces in regions II and III. When this became impossible, the Government of Vietnam identified seven resettlement sites in the Delta, but this plan, too, was modified because of the fast-shifting scene. According to latest reports, there are about 60,000 refugees in the vicinity of Ham Tan, 30,000 on Phu Quoc Island, and mounting numbers are being assisted in Bien Hoa Province, in an area originally intended for permanent resettlement but where the Government of Vietnam, with U.S. AID assistance, is now preparing temporary homesites for up to 100,000 refugees.

We have only sketchy information for some of these locations, but are informed that the Government of Vietnam, with our help, is making every effort to meet supply needs. For example, the ship *Vega* arrived at Phu Quoc Sunday with fish, rice, milk, canned meat, blankets, sleeping mats, and other relief items, supplementing initial air shipment of rice, bulgar, and other foods, plastic sheeting for
shelter, water barrels, and cooking utensils. Thirty-seven Government of Vietnam personnel were also flown in to serve as registration teams.

U.S. ASSISTANCE

Our U.S. AID Mission has experienced officers in the field in the locations where new refugees are being gathered, including Phu Quoc Island. In addition, once the situation stabilizes, representatives of the voluntary agencies now in Saigon available for reassignment, will be redeployed to assure that the supplies consigned to their agencies reach the people who need them.

There are no voluntary agency personnel as yet in Phu Quoc, but some are working in mainland refugee assembly sites. One should also mention that the staff of the Ministry of Social Welfare, both in Saigon and in the provinces, is capable of meeting refugee relief needs in a reliable and orderly manner.

Our efforts to help meet the needs of these refugees use broadly speaking, two channels. I will mention first the voluntary agencies, together with the international institutions; second, the existing infrastructure of the Government of South Vietnam. Any relief effort needs clearly to recognize that both channels are necessary.

EMERGENCY FEEDING

To illustrate the means by which we make relief supplies available, let me mention two emergency feeding actions we have taken under title II of the Public Law 480 program. We recently approved 13,500 tons of blended fortified food, costing $5.6 million, including freight, for use by voluntary agencies in providing nutritional food supplements for the most severely affected children in the Vietnamese refugee population. The voluntary agencies are very well equipped to do this—or, at least, they do it very well, well-equipped or not.

Also, late in March, we approved an emergency 100,000 tons of rice for Vietnam, to support refugee and other war victim feeding programs in Vietnam. We estimate that one refugee will require 500 grams of rice per day. Thus, if the refugee population totals 1 million, the rice that we have provided should prove adequate for a little over 6 months. In this effort, we rely on the Government of Vietnam to handle the distribution, as it is the only entity there which commands the necessary logistic and storage assets. U.S. and international relief agencies will also be utilized to the fullest possible extent in the feeding programs.

These emergency title II programs have supplemented an existing 14,300 tons of blended fortified foods, 10,000 tons of which have already been shipped for U.S. voluntary agency use in South Vietnam this year.

ROLE OF THE VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The private voluntary organizations have extensive programs in Vietnam. Fifteen organizations have had long-term grant agreements and contracts with AID to work in child welfare, rehabilitation of refugees and in public health. I would mention, as among only the largest of the voluntary agency relief programs in Vietnam,
those of CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Services, the International Rescue Committee, and the World Vision Relief Organization. Private contributions to humanitarian assistance in Vietnam are being channeled by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service in New York.

I have been deeply impressed with the work of the voluntary agencies. Their people are as dedicated, as effective in their mission, as any I've known. And they carry the torch of American concern that helps intangibly, as well as tangibly. I speak not only, when I praise them, of the performance of the individuals, about whom I could not say enough. I also speak of the great capacity of the voluntary agencies to be effective as organizations, which I have witnessed countless times, not only as they work with the Agency for International Development, or with a ministry of the Government of South Vietnam, but even more importantly in the capacity these agencies have exhibited for extremely close cooperation among themselves.

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

We also are supporting the international agencies—the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF, and the International Committee for the Red Cross—which are working in Indochina, including South Vietnam. It is not possible precisely to break out the South Vietnam element of our contributions to these programs, as distinct from amounts going to Laos or to Cambodia, but we estimate the South Vietnam element to be close to $5 million so far for this fiscal year.

Where necessary, these international organizations are redirecting their programs for longer term relief efforts to emergency relief for the new refugees.

Let me also mention briefly that other nations are also contributing to the relief effort. The United Kingdom has announced that they will provide $750,000 pounds sterling for Indochina relief. Australia has contributed $1 million to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, has deployed seven C-130 planes for relief assistance to Vietnam, and is flying Vietnamese orphans in RAAF planes to Australia for adoption. The West German Red Cross sent out a 707 plane loaded with supplies and a German medical team has also been dispatched for emergency assistance. The Swedish Government has also announced a substantial contribution.

ORPHAN AIRLIFT

A small but important part of the relief activities, in which the voluntary agencies have played a critical role, has been in connection with orphans. During the recent attacks, children from orphanages in the upper part of South Vietnam were transferred to orphanages in Saigon, making for badly overcrowded conditions. Among the children there were an estimated 2,000 orphans in process for and thus eligible for intercountry adoptions, under the sponsorship of voluntary agencies, for adoption here. As the President's special coordinator, I decided that we should accelerate this process, and we started the airlift, by both military and military charter planes. The
first step in our flights is Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines, where the children receive the necessary medical care to prepare them for the long journey to the United States.

Despite the tragedy of April 4, with the crash of the C-5A airplane, the airlift is going on as scheduled. The emotional impact of this tragic loss of life has been indeed deep, but this has not deterred us or the voluntary agencies from continuing our efforts.

We attach great importance to the fine medical care which Clark Air Force Base personnel are providing these children in preparation for their long journey to the United States.

I should turn in more detail to AID’s financial support for refugees and the present availability of funds. As I have said, besides our programs specifically for refugee relief, we have child care, health care, and other elements in our humanitarian assistance which help others in need, many of whom were earlier refugees.

CONDITION OF THE ORPHANS AND ORPHANAGES

Senator Kennedy. Mr. Parker, I will let you move through your prepared statement, but on this particular point about the orphans—which tugs at the heartstrings of the American people so dramatically—there are aspects about this which I want to indicate my very, very deep concern.

Mr. Parker. That is correct.

Senator Kennedy. How long would you say the process was for these orphans that were coming to the United States—as I understand it, they were all in orphanages in South Vietnam, were they not?

Mr. Parker. That is correct, sir.

Senator Kennedy. They were designated for American parents, were they not, primarily?

Mr. Parker. I think we have to separate the fact, Mr. Chairman, that some other countries have voluntary agencies working—

Senator Kennedy. Yes, I understand that. I am talking now about the ones that we have seen transported here on television at night. They have come to American parents, have they not?

Mr. Parker. That is correct, sir.

Senator Kennedy. They were the ones that were in the orphanages in South Vietnam?

Mr. Parker. That is correct.

Senator Kennedy. They were the ones that were in the orphanages in South Vietnam that were being supported by AID and by other American agencies, were they not?

Mr. Parker. Yes, that is correct.

Senator Kennedy. These were not the children who left the beaches of Danang or Cam Ranh Bay, or any of the other places we have seen evacuated, or which we have read about coming out in little boats, and ending up dying from exposure or whatever? These children were the ones that were living for some time in the orphanages, which were receiving AID support.

WHY THE POOR CONDITION OF ORPHANS?

You just indicated the kind of concern that AID has had about these orphanages. Nonetheless, we read in the news media, and from:
those examining the children who arrive here from Vietnam that many are in the most horrendous kind of condition. Let me just read from the New York Times of April 7, 1975, what Dr. Alex Stalcup said about some arriving in California. He went on one of the charter planes to examine 313 youngsters who arrived, most of whom were infants:

Dr. Stalcup, who was with a team of doctors that boarded the plane as soon as it landed, said the group had found severe cases of dehydration, pneumonia, diarrhea, chicken pox, and other viral diseases. Forty-seven of the children were sent immediately to area hospitals. A number were "unquestionably near death when they landed," the doctor said in answer to a question, but he added they were improving with treatment.

This is the condition of the children who were in the orphanages being assisted by the AID program. These are not the ones, now, that we have watched over the period of the last 10 days, who were caught in the crossfire of the war. This suggests, I think, that they were in a desperate situation, if they are now lingering between life and death. Yet they were in orphanages in South Vietnam where you have had virtual security for a long period of time, and we know where the orphanages are. I have had a chance to visit them some years ago. We have heard AID is supporting them. How do you explain their poor condition?

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, we support the efforts of the Government of Vietnam, as well as the private and voluntary agencies that are working there.

Senator KENNEDY. Is that typical of the condition of the other orphans? Now, we know there are some 25,000 orphans in orphanages in Vietnam. Is this typical of their condition?

Mr. PARKER. I do not know the total number, and do not know whether it is typical. But there are people, there are fine people in this country and in Vietnam in these voluntary agencies that are, in fact, doing everything they can.

May I clarify a point about the conditions on the flights out? The program that we worked out is very similar to the one that we worked out before for the evacuation of the American prisoners of war from North Vietnam. Our objective was the most rapid and humane evacuation to the point of safety where they could get the proper kind of medical treatment and care. This we have done. We are providing the facilities at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines. If you go ahead and look at the orphans as they arrive at Travis from Clark, you will find their health condition is very solid, because none are being allowed to move from Clark Air Force Base unless their health condition warrants it.

FAILURE TO UPGRADE ORPHANAGES

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Parker, I am not questioning that every possible effort is being made by your agency; or the others once they get aboard the planes. We all were shocked over the tragedy that occurred with one plane. But I am sure they are going to get treatment on the planes once they arrive at Clark Base; they are going to get the best in terms of treatment. I am absolutely convinced they are.
What we are talking about are the orphanages, the condition of orphanages in South Vietnam today. This is where these children came from. These were children who have been processed for adoption over a number of months, so we know very well that they were in orphanages, and that raises questions about conditions existing in the orphanages of South Vietnam—orphansages we were supposedly helping.

We can understand if you are talking about children caught in the crossfire of the war, where you have armies moving from one area to the other, that children may suffer. We can understand the fact that there are civilian tragedies that are brought about by violence, from one side or the other. But I do not know how in the world you can explain the poor condition of children that are in orphanages today under the control of the South Vietnamese Government, which AID has said it is supporting, and have not come up here to this committee or the Appropriations Committee with your hat in your hand and just saying how desperate these orphanage conditions were, and doing something about it.

Mr. Parker. The conditions, Mr. Chairman, in South Vietnam have been difficult for some time.

Senator Kennedy. We are not talking about the conditions in South Vietnam. We are talking about orphanages; we are talking about orphanages under the control of the South Vietnamese Government which AID has been trying to give some degree of support.

Let me point out this is not a new subject. This is not a new subject for this committee. We have been talking about trying to get help and assistance to the child and maternal health programs in South Vietnam for years. I went myself and talked to Secretary of State Rogers about this program. We earmarked $10 million for orphanages in Vietnam this year. Now we see the results of what that care and concern has been; that a number of the children who have come out, a substantial percentage, are close to death.

What are the conditions in those orphanages? Can you tell us that—and what should we be doing about it even today, in the areas that are controlled? This sounds like an emergency situation.

ROLE OF THE VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

Mr. Parker. It is an emergency situation. We are providing to the voluntary agencies all the assistance they can use.

Senator Kennedy. Let us not pass the buck to the voluntary agencies. AID can go out there and hire specialists, pediatricians, child and maternal health care people. You can work with UNICEF, which has a program out there. Let us not suggest that they are not doing the best, and if this is not a successful program, we are just doing the best we can.

You have the authority, or you could have come up to the Congress and asked for additional resources to hire people that could work in those orphanages.

Mr. Parker. We have been helping them. I am concerned that there may be a misinterpretation in your remarks that these voluntary agencies are not performing to their utmost capacity. I think they are. I think they are fine organizations doing a tremendous job.
Senator KENNEDY. We think that they are magnificent, absolutely magnificent. They have exceeded themselves in their service. The only thing we are saying is if you can show me anyplace that prohibits you from hiring additional personnel, pediatricians, nurses, child and maternal health care personnel, show me anyplace in there, or any kind of petition you have made to Congress saying the conditions in the orphanages are absolutely desperate, and Members of Congress have refused?

What kind of confidence can any of us, either Members of Congress or the American people, have in a program when we find out about these conditions in an area that has been virtually secure. These are Saigon orphanages; these are not out in the rural areas being overrun. These are Saigon orphanages.

This is the condition of children who left only a few days ago. What is the condition of the rest of the children? Is it that desperate?

Mr. PARKER. First of all, let me clarify. I do not think the condition on arrival of orphans making the flight of some 10,000 or 12,000 miles is necessarily an indication of the condition in which they left. This is a rigorous flight. It is a flight halfway around the world.

Senator KENNEDY. You do not get viral pneumonia, chicken pox, dehydration on an American plane in a period of 30 hours. I cannot but believe that the kind of care and condition that is being provided by the personnel on that plane is not superior.

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, of all the orphans evacuated from Saigon in the program in which AID is administering the operation, only some 65 orphans have been detained in Clark because of their medical condition.

Senator KENNEDY. Sixty-five?

Mr. PARKER. Only 65. The balance, 1,100 or more, have come on through, and they have come through in good condition. They have not come through suffering.

Senator KENNEDY. This is not even describing the 65 that remained behind. This is an assessment of Dr. Stalcup in San Francisco of those coming here. He goes into considerable detail.

Mr. PARKER. We arrange this program to minimize the trauma of the first stage of the trip, and to be assured that the children would in fact be physically fit to go onward. Tragically, on the inaugural flight of this program, the crash occurred. There was some hesitancy on the part of some of the agencies to continue to participate in the plan that we had provided. A number of people out there obviously were concerned. Their concern, understanding, was to get the children out of Vietnam. I cannot force them to use this program. I would not think of it. They utilize the means of their own choice. We have offered the Clark Air Base facilities.

Under the program that we have provided and those which the voluntary agencies are carrying out themselves, as of early this morning, 1,348 children have departed Saigon, and 1,311 have either arrived or are en route at the present time to the continental United States.

This means that just a few have had to be held at Clark for reasons of health. Of course, arriving in the United States, there are minimal cases of minor physical and health problems.
Funds for Child Welfare Available

Senator Kennedy. I will mention for the record that Dr. Stalcup is a pediatrician at the University of California, and also is heading the emergency service for the children.

Congress did appropriate $10 million for child care last year. As of April 1975, you have only allocated $5.4 million, just about half of that—excuse me, $3.9 obligated, $10 million appropriated, which is a woefully small amount in any event, yet you have only obligated $3.9 million. You have industrial development, $77.8 million appropriated, and you have managed to obligate $77.8 million of that. You have child care, you have $10 million, and you have only obligated $3.9 million. What does that say about priorities?

Mr. Parker. I am sorry to say that, taken out of context, it does not say very much.

Senator Kennedy. Put it in context. Is it that you have not had applications from the voluntary agencies?

Mr. Parker. In addition to the other figures, some $100 million worth of local currency is being expended during fiscal 1975 under humanitarian programs.

Senator Kennedy. Just talking child care, the child care programs devoted toward orphans and children.

Mr. Parker. I do not have the breakdown of that $100 million equivalent of local currency. I am sure a substantial amount of it is going to child care. To clarify the priorities—

Senator Kennedy. If you have a substantial—when we are up here, as you know, we are interested in humanitarian assistance—if you have a substantial program devoted to child care, I am sure we would have all heard about it. I would be glad to hear about it.

Do you have a breakdown, or can you supply it?

Mr. Parker. I can supply it for the record. [The material referred to follows:]

Local Currency Program Support for Care of Vietnamese Children.

For FY 1975, a total of 68.96 billion piasters, valued at $100.7 million, is projected to be available for humanitarian purposes in Vietnam. This includes an estimated $51.8 million for aid to children. The funds stem from both Commodity Import Program (CIP) counterpart and Government of Vietnam budget sources. Data available at this time indicate the following breakdown:

Plaster Program Support for Vietnamese Children

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1 Of this amount, an estimated $11.9 million was expended during the period January-March 1975, and $17.8 million remained unexpended as of Apr. 1, 1975.
2 Of this total, $2 million represents local currency support to voluntary agencies and the ministries of health and social welfare for special child care projects. The balance covers expenditures and commitments for general refugees, social welfare and health care programs totaling $49.3 million, half the amount available for these programs. This figure is based on recent Government of Vietnam census data which show that of the total South Vietnamese population of over 18 million, 8 million, or approximately 50 percent, are under 15 years of age.
Senator Kennedy. Can you tell us why—can your staff assistants tell us why—on the child care program, of the $10 million—and you only requested $8 million but you got $10 million—why have you only obligated $3.9 million? Is it because you do not have bona fide applications from the voluntary agencies, or from your people in the field, about how you can use that money effectively to try to do something about the orphanages?

Mr. Parker. The $100 million of local currency is, of course, a very substantial amount of money.

Senator Kennedy. I am not asking about local currency. Congress put in $10 million in dollars. We say we have some responsibilities, too, Mr. Parker, and we say we thought the child care program ought to get $10 million. If the President did not like it, it is all right. He can go ahead and veto it, and we can take our chances.

We say in Congress that $10 million is needed for child care in South Vietnam. That is what the Congress has said, and yet you have obligated only $3.9 million of it. I would like to know what you are saving the rest of it for, if you are saving it.

LOCAL CURRENCY AVAILABLE

Mr. Parker. Mr. Chairman, I go back to the figure you have. It has to be taken in context with the local currency availability for these programs.

Senator Kennedy. Does that have any impact on child care?

Mr. Parker. Absolutely.

Senator Kennedy. Can you tell us about it?

Mr. Parker. Yes, I will. As I said before, I cannot give you the breakdown at this time. We do not have it from the field. I will submit it for the record. You will find a substantial portion of $100 million in local currency available in fiscal 1975 has been allocated to these programs.

Senator Kennedy. Let's take an organization like UNICEF. We understand what that wonderful organization has done—looking after children. They have a program over there now, in South Vietnam, $11.2 million. They can use dollars, and we made a contribution of only $1.68 million, which constitutes just about 10 percent.

Mr. Parker. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Kennedy. Your figures are as of Saturday. Let me give you the sheet here. On the Vietnam humanitarian program, that was supplied here for us this morning, in terms of Vietnam humanitarian assistance as of April 7, 1975, you have appropriated $55 million, obligated $15.7 million, allocated $31.2 million.

Then in your statement this morning, you indicated that the whole $55 million—on page 11 of your statement you say, AID requested $135 million for these programs together; $90 million was authorized, $55.7 allocated from the amounts finally appropriated.

Mr. Parker. May I clarify?

Senator Kennedy. As of this morning, from Saturday to this morning, how much have you allocated—obligated?
OBLIGATION OF FUNDS

Mr. Parker. At the present time, this is a very rapidly moving situation in Vietnam. If I may, I will give you these figures up to date as of now.

For refugee relief we requested in our initial budget $86.5 million. We were authorized $70 million and we have allocated $41.6 million.

Child care: $8.2—

Senator Kennedy. Can I ask you then, what is this figure you give? The figure is absolutely identical to what you said. Refugee relief—requested $86 million, authorized $70 million, allocated $41 million, and your testimony here—this is part of your testimony—obligated $11.8 million.

Mr. Parker. The difference between allotted and obligated is a technical term.

Senator Kennedy. You have allotted $25.8 million in the testimony I have.

Mr. Parker. Mr. Chairman, what is the date on your chart?

Senator Kennedy. April 7.

Mr. Parker. I am referring to the figures we have as of April 8.

Senator Kennedy. Come on now, Mr. Administrator. What is the difference? You mean you have obligated all that in the last 24 hours?

Mr. Parker. Obligated or allotted. This is on the basis of the cable traffic we get in and our response to requests from the field. We have the responsibility also to channel these funds because total outlays are limited, and the field has had requests pending that we have reviewed over several days; based on these decisions this allocation now is up to the total of $41.6 million.

Senator Kennedy. In the last 24 hours you have gone from $25.8 to $41.6 million; is that right?

Mr. Parker. That implies that we made a capricious and arbitrary decision.

Senator Kennedy. Exactly. That is not only an implication. That is the conclusion I have made.

Mr. Parker. That is not the case. The fact is the mission has been working diligently to try to put together the estimate of needs over this period of time. In fact, this proposal did come in by cable. We reviewed it, and we took decisive action.

Senator Kennedy. Do you mean to suggest that you spent several months, as I understand it, studying these needs and allocated $25.8 million, and in the last 24 hours you went up to $41.6 million?

Mr. Parker. I did not say several months. I said during the period of the crisis. We have been constantly increasing allocations as we could, and we have been asking the mission to study these needs.

I ask you to understand the burdens that the people in the field are carrying. They are going out and trying to help the Government find settlement and refugee campsites and activate them.

Senator Kennedy. They could have gone down to the orphanages. I am not talking about—we always get drifting off, going on into insecure areas. I am just talking about orphanages. They certainly could have, from what we have seen of the condition of those who
arrived here from the orphanages, they certainly could have used those resources there earlier.

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, again I have to fundamentally disagree because the children arriving in the AID orphan airlift—as they arrive here—are in good health.

Senator KENNEDY. That is not what the chief pediatrician of the University of California says.

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, he is not referring to the operation which we are running. I ask you to clarify that.

Senator KENNEDY. Is the charter Pan Am World Airways 747 of 313 youngsters—

Mr. PARKER. That is not AID.

Senator KENNEDY. It describes at least the conditions of orphans from orphanages, which were orphanages that were suppose to be supported by AID.

Mr. PARKER. As they arrived here.

Senator KENNEDY. As they arrived here?

Mr. PARKER. That is correct.

Senator KENNEDY. You are suggesting one of two things: the kind of conditions that he has described either happened while they were in flight—

Mr. PARKER. From having read the press I am concerned, and I have received reports on the parts of the program for which I am responsible. As I gave you those figures before, we have some 1,311 children that have arrived in the program that we are conducting, and I believe only 37 have had to lay over in Clark for health reasons. There have been only some 65 cases, minor cases of a variety of health problems, who were hospitalized in San Francisco, but only as an act of precaution. They were released from the hospital in some cases in a matter of a few hours.

I can only comment about those who have arrived in the program that I am managing and for which I am responsible.

FUTURE PROGRAM FOR ORPHANS

Senator MATHIAS. Mr. Chairman, this colloquy is a useful one. We only find out where we go if we find out where we have been. I think it becomes also important to determine from Mr. Parker what he is prepared to do in the immediate future in the way of committing resources and medical personnel for diagnosis and treatment of these remaining orphans. I understand the airlift has been continued or the organization for it to continue has been given by the South Vietnam Government, but not only the orphans in the airlift, but others that fall in categories for whom we want to give aid.

Mr. PARKER. Of course, this is a very complex thing. Senator Mathias.

Senator MATHIAS. You might tell us how you would feel personally, what you would like to see us do that would help you carry out what you feel should be done.

Mr. PARKER. First of all, Senator Mathias, as the President’s special coordinator for this refugee program, I am focusing on the
needs, the immediate needs, of the refugees in Vietnam. Second, those also affected in South Vietnam because of the disruption of war and the presence of refugees. We are helping to meet these needs. This is a preoccupying objective at the present time.

The planning ahead is rather difficult under these very fluid circumstances. We have had to change our planning in major ways, change destination sites I think three times because of the rapidly changing military situation. Originally, for example, we hoped to bring the refugees from Hue and Danang down south, we thought to a safe haven at Cam Ranh Bay, and that situation deteriorated, and of course we had to relift these refugees further south.

We were attempting to prepare sites in regions 2 and 3, and they disappeared.

**AID TO REFUGEES LEFT BEHIND?**

**Senator Mathias.** You are anticipating a question I was going to ask you later. Let me ask you now.

What about refugees that did not get out of Danang? Did any of your people stay behind? Did you have any kind of liaison with the forces that occupied Danang? Arrangements to deliver aid to any of these people?

**Mr. Parker.** We have left none of our people behind, and I might say the only information we have had—and I say we in the broad international sense—is that the sampans and other small boats which were trying to evacuate refugees to the international mercy fleet standing in international waters were fired upon by the occupying forces.

**UPGRADE ORPHANAGES NOW?**

**Senator Mathias.** Turning to the question of orphanages, what can you do quickly to upgrade the level of care? For instance, could you turn to UNICEF which is the logical vehicle for quick help? In view of the logistical and planning problem you mentioned, is that an option that is open to you?

**Mr. Parker.** As I mentioned before, we do have program support for both UNICEF as well as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Indochina. Under the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974, U.S. funds are precluded from going to North Vietnam. We have been advised by legal counsel in interpreting the legislation that we should probably direct that those funds not go to the so-called Provisional Revolutionary Government.

**Senator Kennedy.** Would you support an amendment to strike that provision?

**Mr. Parker.** I would not for direct—

**Senator Kennedy.** Just humanitarian.

**Mr. Parker.** Mr. Chairman, I am going to have to explain that this is a part of a complex set of evaluations and decisions which are to be considered tomorrow by the National Security Council and by the President. I cannot comment on any part of this complex set of policy decisions.
Senator KENNEDY. If the Senator would yield further, that is basic to the question of whether we are going to respond to the United Nations Secretary-General appeal. They do not respect any border there, just looking out after people.

Mr. PARKER. We have indeed provided support within these restraints, and there may be some fungibility of funding.

Senator Mathias. At least speaking for one member of this committee, I feel that the humanitarian assistance is a paramount interest and concern of the American people. I do not think that the narrow political question involved in excluding the United Nations and its effective organizations from participation should prevent what the American people want, which is to give aid to these people.

Mr. PARKER. I appreciate your expressing these views, Senator Mathias. I would say that I would be delighted to convey them and be sure that they are in the minds of all those who would be involved in the decisionmaking.

Senator Mathias. In January of this year the Study Mission Report of this subcommittee reported this:

In Vietnam the Ministry of Social Welfare desperately needs technical assistance as well as recognition if it is to fulfill its mandate. UNICEF is a logical vehicle to provide assistance of this nature, both in Vietnam and Cambodia. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees could provide vital assistance for refugee care and resettlement programs, as could the World Health Organization and IFG in the health field.

The important farm program in Vietnam would be a logical focus for assistance. In Cambodia UNICEF and the World Health Organization could make important contributions in assisting the government in dealing with its health and nutritional problems.

I just offer that for the record as a reflection of the fact that there is a mechanism in being with which we could work to get help to people when they need it. This is a problem in which time is a very critical factor; 6 months, 8 months from now it may not be important.

Mr. PARKER. I would commend, Senator Mathias, the way in which these organizations have altered their directions in this crisis. Although their programs have longer term objectives, they have turned around and directed their priority efforts to these high priority needs.

Senator Mathias. Which would suggest that we could turn around also, I would hope.

Mr. PARKER. Indeed, Senator Mathias, we have, and will continue to do so.

I would like to commend the objective of the bill you have introduced, which has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Its objective I think here carries great meaning. Operationally, I would like to discuss some aspects of it with you, but I certainly commend its intent and objectives.

ROLE OF U.N. AGENCIES

Senator KENNEDY. We would welcome obviously your support and your help on this. I have felt for a long period of time—since I went
myself and visited the United Nations and the specialized agencies in 1966 and asked whether they would be willing to provide humanitarian assistance, and uniformly they said they would—all that was really needed was some assurance of funding, which would permit them to operate and function, which never came. And that happened under the Democratic Administration, and it has happened with the Republicans, in spite of the fact that we included in the foreign aid assistance bill language—passed it three times in the Senate, and finally we have written it into the foreign aid bill—that to the maximum extent possible, we use the specialized agencies of the United Nations in providing humanitarian assistance in Indochina.

That is in the foreign aid bill at this time. In spite of that fact, as I understand it, only 6 percent of actually appropriated funds have gone through the specialized agencies. There has been clear congressional intention for a considerable period of time about the desirability of providing humanitarian aid through the specialized U.N. and voluntary agencies, and to take it out of the area of the political arm of the government, which is the AID program. I do not question that there are an awful lot of dedicated, marvelous human beings at AID. I have seen them working and risking their lives under the most desperate conditions.

Nonetheless, there has been this clear instruction by the Congress. I want to cover one more area, then we are going to have Senator Humphrey here. He has to leave at half past 10. I would just like to ask a question.

As I understand the position now, if a refugee happens to be in South Vietnam, but is in an area that is overrun by the PRG, can he benefit from any program that is developed by the specialized agencies or any other church agencies?

Mr. PARKER. As far as I know, I believe both UNICEF and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have operations on both sides, and quite possibly the International Committee of the Red Cross. These organizations this year are receiving $7 million for operations in Indochina. To the extent that funds are fundible, I am sure you could consider that there may be some effective U.S. funds indirectly assisting refugees wherever they are.

AID TO REFUGEES LEFT BEHIND

Senator KENNEDY. A number of the refugees stayed behind, at least the ones that I know of in Danang. What is the policy now in trying to look out after refugees in areas that are overrun below the 17th parallel? Is there any reason, from a policy point of view, that the administration will not support voluntary agency groups or United Nations groups in providing humanitarian assistance in areas that have been overrun?

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, this is part of that large complex of difficult decisions that will have to be made. I will have to defer comment on that.

Senator KENNEDY. The question of whether we provide any kind of assistance to refugees that have been in the South for whatever number of years and have been overrun, that is still an open policy
question? I will be listening to the President on this. I hope we will get some decision on it, and I hope it will be positive.

Second, the question about supporting the United Nations agencies. They function on both sides. They function or work purely for humanitarian purposes, for a child who lost his leg in North Vietnam as well as for a child who is down in the South. They, as I understand it, work purely for humanitarian purposes; is there any existing prohibition for this type of assistance under existing law? If there is, one of the things I am hopeful the President will talk about is whether he is going to recommend that we amend that and change that, so that we can support the specialized agencies who are working purely on the basis of humanitarianism anywhere in the Indochina peninsula. I hope we would get some attention from the President on that. He will get one strong voice of support for that kind of humanitarian assistance from me, as well as, I am sure, from many of my colleagues.

I am just wondering, Mr. Parker—this is an extraordinary inconvenience for you—I am wondering if Senator Humphrey—he has indicated that he will have to leave by half past 10, if we could interrupt and come back, and I have just a few more areas, if that is all right? I apologize for the interruption.

If you could remain, we will have Senator Humphrey to come right up to the table.

STATEMENT OF HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Senator Humphrey. Mr. Chairman, first, may I thank you for accommodating me here, and also Mr. Parker for his consideration. I wanted to come here to do two things: First of all, to salute you for the leadership you have given to the refugee matter. The amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act are essentially those that you have recommended. But looking ahead to the necessity of utilizing the special agencies of the United Nations and the international instrumentalities for refugee relief, I also want to commend you on the program that you have outlined today, the statement that you have made available to us; and particularly your calling on the President of the United States, and indeed the entire government, to pursue, as you put it, immediate diplomatic initiatives for humanitarian purposes in South Vietnam and Cambodia. Also, I endorse the idea of the special envoy to pursue a program or a path to the political goals of the Paris Agreements of 1973.

I urge the administration, as you have, to look over all the legislation we have on the books as of now to see what flexibility there is to transfer or utilize funds presently authorized and not obligated for a refugee relief program under international auspices. I have joined with you; as you know, in your bill which is before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and I myself have an additional bill. I simply want to say that I am prepared to work with you to accomplish what I think is absolutely necessary, and that is a substantial commitment of funds by the Government of the United States and the people of the United States for an immediate program of refugee assistance.
The problem here, Mr. Chairman, is a lack of a sense of urgency. The military developments in South Vietnam and Cambodia tell us that things are moving far more rapidly in terms of disaster and tragedy for the peoples of those countries than has ever been contemplated by the authorities in this government.

I can tell you that only 10 days ago, I met with the intelligence officers of this Government. They gave me a picture of what they thought was going to develop in South Vietnam. That picture was anything but what has developed; the disintegration of the military forces in South Vietnam is appalling. I cannot predict, nor can anyone, just what will happen in the area around Saigon. But we do know that hundreds of thousands, indeed I suppose millions, of people are in the areas now occupied by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese. These are the innocent victims of a war. They cannot be reached now by any American aid program directly administered by the United States, by our AID Administration. But they can be reached by the international agencies. For example, UNICEF, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees—these agencies of the U.N. are in place. They are non-ideological. Essentially, their only concern is assistance to the individuals. Therefore, it must be understood that whatever refugee relief we give, the overwhelming proportion of it must go through international instrumentalities. Hopefully, we can negotiate with authorities through international channels, through the U.N.—in whatever way possible, so some of our private, voluntary organizations can also participate. That would have to be under assured international safeguards.

You have given, in your announcement today, a six-point program which I hope would not only be taken seriously by the administration, by the President, and the Secretary of State and others, but would also be promptly accepted. There is not a single feature there that is not absolutely necessary. I am convinced that the Congress is prepared to support assistance of a humanitarian nature—what you are advancing and what I am supporting. And it is my intention, might I say, when the Cambodia bill comes before the Congress, hopefully to work with you, to amend that bill as a substitute by putting in the funds that are necessary for international refugee relief.

As you well know, I oppose military assistance to South Vietnam and Cambodia. I think it is no solution to the problem. I believe the overwhelming opinion of the American people is opposition to any further military assistance in this area.

TRANSFER OF FUNDS

I want to say to our friend Mr. Parker, who has worked tirelessly to make the refugee program effective, that I hope he will examine with all possible resources every feature of the AID program, to promptly make available, as the Senator from Massachusetts has suggested, aid under the respective titles or sections of the bill.
yours, the bill that I have introduced, which I will offer as an amendment to the Cambodia military assistance bill, would not only authorize additional funds, but also it reads, "notwithstanding any other provision of law, any amounts authorized in paragraphs 1 and 2 of section 36"—which is the economic aid section to Vietnam and Cambodia—"of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974 which have not been obligated under date of enactment of this act, may be used to carry out the provisions of this act."

In other words, there are funds already there. If we can give the release language in the amendment to an appropriate vehicle, such as the Cambodia military assistance bill, we will be able to immediately release funds for the international programs of the International Red Cross, the United Nations—what UNICEF is doing—and the High Commissioner for Refugees. We will be following in line with what you have advocated here in your six-point program today.

**HUMANITARIAN AID TO ALL IN NEED**

This is my concern, Mr. Chairman; that this subcommittee really reflect the conscience of the United States in the area of refugee relief. And what this world needs to know from us today is that we are interested in humanitarian assistance, and that we are not worried about whether needy people are north of Saigon or south of Saigon, but simply whether they are in any of the areas of what was once called South Vietnam and Cambodia, no matter which military forces may be in play or position. We should be prepared to help the victims of this war. That is our moral commitment. Our moral commitment is not to the military or to a government. The moral commitment is to the people.

I hope that we will act promptly. I am sure that there will be action. I can assure you if there is any bill up this week that permits us to act, that action will take place.

Senator KENNEDY. I want to thank you, Senator Humphrey, for coming here before the committee. I think your words, I am sure, will be heard within the administration, as the one who I have seen day after day fighting for the foreign aid program on the floor of the U.S. Senate, and winning it by a very few votes; and I think your message ought to be very clear to those who are interested in that program. And, more specifically, to those that are concerned about humanitarian assistance.

Let me ask you, if I understand your position, that you feel if the specialized agencies are going to be working in South Vietnam, even in areas that have been overrun by the PCTG, and are going to be able to develop programs in those areas, we should also be willing to support the specialized agencies?

Senator HUMPHREY. Absolutely.

Senator KENNEDY. If the specialized agencies are working purely for humanitarian purposes, and have developed a program that is going to work in all areas—working irrespective of political boundaries, recognizing that the real plight is humanitarian, and they are going to focus on programs that are going to be beneficial to human beings, to the wounded of the war—do you think we ought to be supporting those kinds of programs?
Senator HUMPHREY. I do. I think this Government needs to make up its mind whether its interest is innocent people, suffering people, people who are the victims of war, people who are victims of famine, people who are the victims of tragedy. I believe this will pay well for us now, as in the days ahead, because no one can really fully predict what is going to develop in Southeast Asia—just exactly the trend of government, or the formulations of government, or what policies will be. More significantly, this country now needs to do something decent, Senator. That is what America is looking for.

I believe there is a tremendous wellspring of desire on the part of American people to do something that is proper, decent, humane and compassionate. That is why there is such an overwhelming rejection now of any further military assistance.

Senator KENNEDY. I want to thank you very much for your appearance here. I think this has been enormously helpful, and I will look forward to working with you this week, working closely together on this whole issue; and we appreciate very much your appearance here.

Senator HUMPHREY. May I suggest, when the appropriate vehicle comes up, we get together and offer your amendment, or modification—whatever is necessary—and we amend the legislation, so we can get away from military assistance and get on to humanitarian assistance—which I think will sail through the Congress.

Senator KENNEDY. Very good. Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL PARKER—Resumed

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Parker, before we leave the issue of the plane that arrived here—was that not paid for by AID?

Mr. PARKER. To my knowledge, it was not, Mr. Chairman. We have agreed that where those organizations lacked sufficient contributions to meet the extra costs, they were incurring, we would do our utmost to try to help them. They, in turn, being the fine, responsible organizations they are, indicated they would be interested and willing to repay us any advances that we made to them, if they could do so later on.

SPECIAL HUMANITARIAN ENVOY

Senator KENNEDY. I noticed in the State Department briefing of last week that the question of a special envoy came up, and they were asked about the possibilities of a special envoy to pursue humanitarian issues, and they indicated that this was under consideration. I am just wondering whether there is anything you could tell us about whether it is still under consideration?

Mr. PARKER. Not to my knowledge. The principal basis has been to help the government in South Vietnam deal with the refugee problem there. Other than that, I am not aware of any specific consideration.

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Miller?
Mr. Miller. Senator, I wonder if I could add a word to what Mr. Parker has said. I think when the rapidly deteriorating situation in South Vietnam developed, the U.S. Government moved very quickly, really, on two fronts. We moved very quickly to mobilize shipping, both our own shipping and in appeals to other countries, in order to be able to move refugees from the areas in the northern part of military region 1, and also military region 2, in order to move them down the coast into safer areas. As Mr. Parker explained earlier, this program of moving them into safe areas has continued as the situation continued to deteriorate.

Secondly, as Mr. Parker has described, we moved quickly—and the President personally expressed interest in this program—to organize transport in order to get the number of orphans out that were already ready for adoption in the United States. Beyond that, of course, the President desired to send General Weid for his own personal assessment in Vietnam. The general is now back, he has reported to the President. As Secretary Kissinger said in his press conference last Saturday the administration is now in the process of considering what options there are, really, in the whole complex of problems we now face in this new situation in South Vietnam. There will be a meeting tomorrow to consider all these possibilities. Then the President will give a speech on Thursday.

I think the U.S. Government has moved very rapidly, in light of the new situation, first of all to meet the immediate refugee needs, and examine all the ramifications in the new situation, looking toward decisions as quickly as possible in the near future.

Senator Kennedy. Did the general make recommendations? Was he instructed to make recommendations on the question of humanitarian assistance?

Mr. Miller. I am not aware, sir, whether he was expressly instructed to make recommendations on the humanitarian side. Certainly, it is my understanding that his personal assessment includes, let us say, the destruction of the society brought about by the deterioration of the military situation.

Senator Kennedy. At least in my reading of the newspapers, he was primarily sent there to assess the military situation. Am I not correct? I could get the news articles, the newspapers, the White House statements out.

Mr. Miller. I think that is correct.

Senator Kennedy. Has there been anyone there who has been sent to assess the humanitarian crisis?

Mr. Miller. Of course, we have been in constant contact.

Senator Kennedy. You are in regards to the military situation too, are you not? You are in constant cable contact with regard to the military situation.

Mr. Miller. That is right.

Senator Kennedy. Yet you thought it was important enough to send somebody over there to assess the military situation. I am asking, are you considering to send someone over to consider the humanitarian—

Mr. Miller. Mr. Chairman, I do not know of any consideration given to sending a special envoy in this regard. As I say, I think
this is a matter, among many others, that are under current consider-
ation by the administration, looking towards early decisions on a whole range of problems we face.

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Parker?

Mr. PARKER. The USAID mission in Vietnam stands at approxi-
mately, I would say, 270 people, plus an additional 120 contract personnel.

Senator KENNEDY. How many people in child and maternal care?

Mr. PARKER. Consequently, the need for assessments by a special representative was considerably reduced, because we have these specialists in the field.

Senator KENNEDY. How many people in the defense attaché's office?

Mr. PARKER. I do not know. I know the capacity of the people we have that are in constant touch. There is not the immediate urgency to assess that. We also have close working relationships with the voluntary agencies here. They have their own channels of communication, I would say, and commend them for the information they get and the way in which they cooperate in exchange of information.

EVACUATION PLANS?

Senator KENNEDY. One of the things that I think that concerns many Americans is the extent that we are going to talk about evacuating people from Indochina. I would like to know, what the policy is.

I think it is understandable that we would have, over any period of time, an indication of interest by American parents that they would like to adopt a Vietnamese. This has been going on for a period of time, and it has been working rather quietly and quite effectively, and I would say quite successfully. Now we are confronted with this extraordinary kind of human tragedy that has just ripped at the heart and soul of the American people, and everyone wants to do what they can. I was walking in Boston on Saturday night, and there was a policeman who was directing traffic, who stopped my car and reached in with a crumpled envelope and said, what can my wife and I do? I would like to adopt a Vietnamese. Write to me, care of the station. This is just a typical kind of the response. Everyone wants to do something.

But it is a mistake to think about all Americans adopting 850,000 orphans or half orphans. That does not make sense, and it can't be done. But what is important, however, is that we look at the needs of the people who are still in Vietnam, and care for them there; and the orphans, the other war victims there.

Now, I am just interested in what the policy is. We do not want it to be sort of to assuage the American conscience by the fact that we are going to adopt 30,000 and forget the other 820,000 that are still over there. I am sure you do not. What is the policy on this? What can we expect?

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, the policy that we are operating now is the same that we have operated on before. This is to trust the judgment and sensitivities and mores and all characteristics of the
voluntary agencies involved in intercountry adoption procedures. Because they have proven to be sensitive and capable and are recognized by the Government in Vietnam, I continue to rely upon their judgment. Unless the situation changes, or they change their policies, I will continue on that premise. They have been very effective. And as you of course know, the principal objective of their programs in Vietnam is to place the adoptable Vietnamese orphans in Vietnamese homes properly able to care for them. This has been the priority objective in this regard.

To the extent that there is, not the capacity in the Vietnamese society to accept these orphans, then and only then do they become available for intergovernmental adoption.

Senator Kennedy. As I understand it—and I think this is important—and I certainly agree that the process, in terms of adoption, it is going to proceed in the way it has in the past—rather modest and case-by-case. Only under very special circumstances, are we going to be emphasizing intercountry adoption.

Mr. Parker. We will provide in-country support, and only in the case of last resort, in effect, do we deal with intercountry adoptions, and then on the basis of the judgment and the capability of the voluntary agencies.

Senator Kennedy. Let me ask you; what are you considering about the movement or evacuation of other peoples from the south? Are you planning anything on that?

Mr. Parker. Mr. Chairman, again this is a part of this complex that is under consideration at the present time. I regret that I cannot comment further on it.

Senator Kennedy. Can you give us any ideas on how it is going to be resolved?

Mr. Parker. The President will address this on Thursday night.

EVACUATION CONTINGENCY PLANS?

Senator Kennedy. Mr. Miller, can you add anything on that issue on what some of the alternatives are? We have seen some estimates as many as a million people may be evacuated from the south.

Mr. Miller. At this time, I do not think I really have anything to add to what Mr. Parker says. Obviously, the executive branch is engaged in contingency planning of a sort.

Senator Kennedy. Which sort?

Mr. Miller. Let us say the various possibilities of what might happen in South Vietnam. This again, as Mr. Parker says, is a part of the full range of questions that are under consideration now, and on which decisions will be required in the near future.

Senator Kennedy. The problem that we are seeing, I think, is that looking at the recent track record, most of your contingencies have been overtaken by events. I am wondering now what some of these various contingencies are that are being examined by the Government. Could you let us in on it?

Mr. Miller. Mr. Chairman, I really do not think I can comment any further at this point. As Secretary Kissinger said in the press conference on Saturday, we are looking at a range of options, the
number of problems, studying contingencies. This is via the process that is going on this week within the executive branch.

Senator Kennedy. We have also heard about Mr. Kissinger trying to cooperate with the Congress. We have an interest in this. We appropriate the resources and money. Why should not the Congress have some idea as to what is being planned, at least the possible alternatives that are being considered by the administration?

Mr. Miller. Mr. Chairman, I am sure, when the NSC meets— Senator Kennedy. After the President decides, then he will inform.

Mr. Miller. Then we will obviously have to come to the Congress to discuss the recommendations of the executive branch.

CONDITIONS IN PRG TERRITORY

Senator Kennedy. What can you tell us, Mr. Miller, or Mr. Parker, about the conditions that exist in the areas that have been overrun by the PRG?

Mr. Parker. As far as I know, we have rather sparse information.

Mr. Miller. We do not have a great deal of information. We have some reports of refugees who have managed to get out of areas like Hue and Danang after the North Vietnamese forces have moved in. Obviously, we have reports from the refugee columns coming out of the highlands, the ones that were able to make it to the coast, and so on. Those are really reports at the very early stages, just after the North Vietnamese forces took over.

Information beyond that is very sketchy, indeed.

Senator Kennedy. Do you have any idea as to the plight of the people that have been left behind, their needs? Have we, for example—you have access to PRG officials in the South—do you talk to them about the humanitarian needs and conditions that exist in those areas? Have you done that; do you know? You cannot tell us what the general is going to suggest to the President, but can you tell us whether they talked to the members of the PRG about the condition of the people in the areas that have been overrun?

Mr. Miller. To my knowledge, we have not talked to the PRG representatives in the South. The PRG representative in Saigon gave a press conference in the last couple of days. He was asked a number of questions about conditions of the people in the areas now controlled by North Vietnamese forces, and he did not provide very much information. Of course, he tried to give the impression that the people there were being well treated, except for the ones who were not cooperating, and so on.

We have also had an appeal by, I believe, the so-called PRG, for contributions and assistance of a humanitarian nature from other countries.

CONTACT WITH PRG OFFICIALS?

Senator Kennedy. As I understand, Madame Binh is in Paris, is she not?

Mr. Miller. She was recently.
Senator KENNEDY. I understand she is there.

Mr. MILLER. Perhaps she is.

Senator KENNEDY. Would it not make some sense to have someone talk to her about what is happening to old people and children in the areas that have been overrun by the PRG, as well as to send a general to Saigon? Would you make a suggestion, would you ask either the Secretary to ask our American Ambassador to ask her if she is there, or wherever she is, to find out, could we not do that?

Mr. MILLER. I will certainly pass on your suggestion, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. Is that unreasonable?

Mr. MILLER. As I am sure you are aware, our feeling about the so-called PRG really is that it is simply an arm of North Vietnam. It has no independent authority or ability to deal with problems.

Senator KENNEDY. Unlike Thieu and the United States?

Is it not possible to try to find out what the conditions are? You indicated it is an open policy question whether we are going to provide humanitarian assistance for people who have perhaps been our allies, who perhaps have been receiving our help until last week.

As I understand it, at least at this point, it is an open question whether we are going to try to look after a sick child, wherever he might be. Yet we are not even going to try and find out what the conditions are because we will not ask somebody on the other side who may have the answer.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I think it is fair to say that up to now we have been concentrating on major efforts in the areas where we do have access. The problem of moving the refugees from the North Vietnamese controlled areas down the coast to the safer areas, and of course the problems with dealing with the orphans, daily moving them out as conditions permit, and as we have said a number of times here this morning, that other question, this broader question remains under consideration.

Senator KENNEDY. Do you not think from a humanitarian point of view that we would gain some information about those conditions if we had someone talk to the PRG?

Mr. MILLER. Let me pass on your suggestion, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. We are in the midst of a vote right now. I am sorry, I just have a very few other areas. I thought we could finish up very quickly. You have been generous with your time. We will recess for a moment. I will get back to you just as soon as I can to cover some other areas.

Mr. Miller, just before recessing, I hope what we might do, I would hope that the United States would do it, to try to talk to her and find out, and I would hope you would give some consideration in asking the Secretary General whether they would make some assessment that might be independent, that they talk to the PRG. Evidently, they have done that, trying to get that kind of input in terms of what the conditions are of people—again, I am talking about the South.

We will recess briefly. We will be back. [A brief recess was taken.]
SECRET UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THIEU?

Senator Kennedy. The subcommittee will come to order. I thank our witnesses for their patience.

I ask either one of you, perhaps you can enlighten us—I do not know whether you can—I was just listening to one of my colleagues over on the floor, the Senator from Washington, Senator Jackson, make the allegation that there have been secret understandings—I think he even mentioned written commitments between the Saigon Government and the United States—that were of a secret nature. I had written to the Secretary of State in March of 1974, and we got a long letter back where he indicated actually the general content and nature of the existing obligations and moral commitments to the Government in Saigon, and in Phnom Penh, but that the United States had no written commitments with the Government of South Vietnam.

I wonder whether you can tell us whether there is, or is not, secret agreements?

Mr. Parker. I know nothing more than what Secretary Kissinger said in his press conference the other day in Palm Springs.

Senator Kennedy. Do you know, Mr. Miller?

Mr. Miller. No, sir.

Senator Kennedy. You would know would you not? You are closely in touch, I suppose, with the Secretary.

Mr. Miller. I would think so. I know nothing that goes beyond that statement.

Senator Kennedy. I appreciate that.

RECONQUERING LOST TERRITORY IN VIETNAM

Let me ask this question. Will one of the considerations to be taken in this meeting of the National Security Council be the question of Mr. Thieu's statement of last week that it is his intention to reconquer all these territories?

Mr. Parker. Not to my knowledge, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Kennedy. Mr. Miller?

Mr. Miller. No, I do not know that that would be any specific subject to be taken up.

Senator Kennedy. Is that something which we would support? I am thinking now in terms of the humanitarian implications of this: what that would possibly mean in terms of hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties, and certainly, I expect, millions more refugees. And Mr. Thieu has indicated that this is at least his intention. I am not only interested in the orphans today in the orphanages in Saigon or who are coming here—we are interested in the refugees in the south—but we are also interested in what further refugees may be generated.

What can you tell us about that?

Mr. Miller. Mr. Chairman, I do not think I can anticipate, really, what the deliberations will be, or what they will result in.

Senator Kennedy. You mean this is a possibility?