Mr. MILLER. I do not mean to say that. I really do not feel I am in a position to anticipate what the deliberations of the NSC will be or what the President will say in his speech on Thursday.

Senator KENNEDY. Can you possibly foresee the possibility that this objective would be supported if all of its implications in terms of human tragedy and misery that it would mean. What would be your recommendation?

Mr. MILLER. I do not feel I can comment on that. I do not mean that to imply one way or the other.

Senator KENNEDY. What would be your recommendation?

Mr. MILLER. What would be your recommendation?

Mr. MILLER. I think—if we are talking about my personal recommendation—it seems to me that it depends on an overall assessment of the situation. I do not think I am even prepared on a personal basis to make a recommendation of that sort.

REINVOLVEMENT OF THE U.S.?

Senator KENNEDY. Granted that you are not prepared to comment, that we cannot draw implications, but you have to be able to draw at least some implications that that is going to be one of the considerations that would be discussed. Otherwise you would say that it would not be discussed. You can tell us that you are not considering reentry of American troops, you can tell us that, can you not?

Mr. MILLER. On that, I think, the President is clearly on the record, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. That is good.

You could tell us about bombing; you can tell us that that is not going to be reintroduced.

Mr. MILLER. I think, again, the President and the Secretary have stated on the record on that subject, too. It is proscribed by law.

Senator KENNEDY. You cannot tell us whether the policy, as a result of this meeting of the Security Council that is going to be an important one, will come out and say that we are going to support President Thieu's objective to reconquer all the lands that have been taken by the PRG over the period of the last month—that that would mean in terms of human misery. That may be one possible topic. Is it an option or not an option?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I do not feel I am in a position to anticipate what kinds of considerations or options may be discussed in these top level deliberations this week. I do not mean to imply one way or the other whether it is an option or not.

Senator KENNEDY. Well, I suppose I do not have to indicate what my view would be of that kind of consideration. I would think quite frankly, even to bring that matter up with all of its implications would be horrendous in terms of human tragedy and suffering. But we will have to wait and see what the President says on that matter.

I must say, in terms that you would understand, trying to gain any kind of support and understanding of the Congress for the Secretary—as I read his Los Angeles speech and others criticizing Congress and congressional initiatives, complaining about the interference—yet we cannot even get an answer or response out of him.
Given this kind of response—and we have legislation on the floor this afternoon—I will go over there this afternoon and introduce amendments to make sure you cannot do it if I have to, because I have no absolute way of knowing whether that is being actively considered or not. Then the Secretary talks about the interference of the Congress in the exercise of foreign policy. This is something that is enormously frustrating.

NEW DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES

Is there anything that you could tell us about any negotiations that are taking place to bring an end to the fighting in South Vietnam?

Mr. Miller. Mr. Chairman, our position, of course, has long been that we have supported compliance with the Paris Agreement; we have supported the provisions of the Paris Agreement which provide for the political settlement to be arranged by the South Vietnamese parties themselves: we have endorsed the Vietnamese Government's repeatedly expressed willingness to return to the negotiating table in Paris; and I believe that President Thieu reiterated that unconditional willingness as recently as the end of last week in one of his speeches to the South Vietnamese people.

I am not aware of any willingness on the part of the other side to take that up.

Senator Kennedy. There is no new diplomatic initiative to try to bring a termination to the violence that you could tell us about?

Mr. Miller. I am unaware of any at this time.

Senator Kennedy. There are no new initiatives or efforts on the diplomatic front that you know about?

Mr. Miller. Not at this time. Again, I think that is another part of the range of problems that have to be considered this week.

Senator Kennedy. Can we conclude that there is, but you cannot talk about it?

Mr. Miller. Mr. Chairman, again, I really do not mean to imply one way or the other by my statements. I am simply stating that the administration is engaged in an examination of, in effect, the new situation in South Vietnam, and I am not really in a position to anticipate the conclusions.

CONSULTING CONGRESS

Senator Mathias. Mr. Chairman, if you would yield to me on that, because I think this is a terribly important thing that is happening right now. All through the last 10 years that I have been a member of Congress—in that whole period of time, the administration—whatever administration it was—has been making its assessments, making its decisions, and determining its policy in camera—behind closed doors. Then they come down to Capitol Hill and say, this is what our policy is going to be. And that is part of the problem, part of the reason why we are where we are in Vietnam. One of the most important things that could happen, it seems to me, is for the administration to join with the Congress in a national humanitarian
policy towards the refugees in Indochina. Not simply just to come down from Mt. Olympus and tell us what they propose to do, but to join with us in making a national policy.

I stated to Mr. Parker earlier, that our view is that we ought to work with the United Nations, not let the narrow political considerations restrict the aid that people really need in Vietnam. And I will go on the record as fully as it is necessary to do that. I hope that you will carry back with you—I am not trying to argue with you, sir. I understand the limitations under which you are here today. But I hope you will carry back with you a sense of real urgency from this committee. We feel that now is the time to be talking together, now is the time to be consulting together, to see what we, together, can do to develop a national policy; not to develop policies that are so divergent at opposite ends of Pennsylvania Avenue that we have another kind of decisive debate on what to do in Vietnam while people starve and die.

Now is the time to talk.

Mr. MILLER. I will convey your message, sir.

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Kellogg, we have covered a lot of these areas; I know you follow the situation.

Is there anything you would like to add?

Mr. KELLOGG. No sir. I have listened to the comments that the chairman has been making this morning, and Senator Mathias. I have taken note of them. As far as the administration is concerned, sir, we have a great concern for the humanitarian problems in South Vietnam, and we have a program and a policy, and we will try to carry it out.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HUMANITARIAN AID

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Parker, just as a final thought, I want you to understand—at least in our exchanges—my deep-seated feelings about the sense of urgency about the problem. We really have an urgent problem at the present time, and I would certainly hope that this sense of urgency felt, not only by myself—you have heard Senator Mathias, Senator Humphrey, and other members of this committee and Members of Congress—feeling that this is a front-burner item; one of the greatest national issues that we are facing, really, today and in these hours, and communicate that sense of urgency to the administration and to the Department.

The second thing I think that we have to note is the enormous support the American people give to humanitarian assistance—and they want it through the voluntary agencies. They desperately want it through the church agencies and they want it through the United Nations agencies. There is a very considerable degree of support for United Nations specialized agencies, I have found, and they want it through there. The Congress has done what I consider everything it possibly can in recent times, and has now written into law, the amendment that says: To the maximum extent possible, aid will be channeled through the U.N. We cannot do that any more clearly—to say that is what we want and that is where we feel the emphasis ought to be.
You have heard Senator Humphrey—I am sure he is speaking for many of us—say that we are going to take every legislative step that is necessary to free you up from restrictions in responding to this emergency and doing it now. Whatever you need, I wish you would let us know what you need, because we are prepared to respond. The American people want to respond, and I appreciate your own commitments to this—Mr. Miller’s, Ambassador Kellogg’s and others.

I have a continuing respect for what you and many of your people have been attempting to do out in the field, in working in enormously complex and difficult problems. I do not want any of my comments to be misinterpreted as questioning your own sincerity—your own dedication—in trying to relieve some suffering. But I want you to feel that this is something that we just feel has to be done. And done now.

You know we have been asking about the various specialized agencies over a period of years. We have been talking about this particular item for years. We have received indications that other spokesmen have said they will try to work out the details of the program and it just has not been done. I am hopeful that we will get some action.

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, I want to confirm that there is a high sense of urgency. AID, helped by other agencies in the Government, has responded to this emergency with the greatest capability and attention.

Senator KENNEDY. You know, when Ambassador Colby testified in 1971, these are his responses to questions on the U.N.:

We have also gone to some of the international agencies, the U.N., the United Nations development program, to try to get some involvement by other countries as well as ours in the effort.

That is, 1971. Virtually nothing was done.

We are always encouraging U.N. organizations to take over any of these areas in which they are able.

In 1973, I noted in a hearing:

I am distressed by the fact that focus of our attention is bilateral. I am not so sure that there is a reluctance as far as other countries go in assisting Vietnam, as there is reluctance by the administration. They rarely move in various multilateral or multinational approaches in meeting humanitarian problems.

The response of Mr. Nooter was:

As I mentioned in my remarks, we are trying to broaden it. We have mentioned it to you and indicated our support. By the end of this year, hopefully we will be further down in the road for other rephasing and a larger goal, and we will be playing a less predominant role there.

That was 1973.

1974 was the same thing. We have written the amendment in there and instructed you to the maximum extent possible to use the U.N., and I am hopeful andprayful that it will be different after your testimony.

CUTS IN FUNDS

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Chairman, I can assure you that our intentions are to work as closely as possible and support as much as possible
the voluntary agencies and the international organizations. I would rather let them speak to the changes that we have undertaken in the past year or year and a half. I could detail them for you, but I think probably it would take too long. They are on location where they are observing and evaluating what changes are taking place. I would rather have them speak to it. But there are funding restrictions.

I am not casting blame; but I think it needs to be put in perspective, that a new element was introduced into our appropriation legislation this time which, in effect, resulted in a contraint in the amount of grant funds that we could make available.

Senator Kennedy. To specialized agencies?

Mr. Parker. Yes.

Senator Kennedy. To the specialized? Not just the general funds. Not the general funds, but special appeals?

Mr. Parker. First of all, the international organizations have been rather severely cut in appropriations from the authorized level. In addition to that, in the broader relationship that AID has with the voluntary community, we did encounter a new situation which had the effect of forcing us to make severe reductions in the support of grant programs.

Senator Kennedy. That is not special appeals, Mr. Parker.

Mr. Parker. I am talking generally.

Senator Kennedy. We are talking about a few million dollars. We are talking about an $11 million UNICEF program, that we gave $1.68 million.

In any event, whatever additional material to make this point I wish you would supply it, give us a note on it, on the legislative restrictions. We will get to work and try to do something about it.

Let us know. We want to work with you at the Department.

Mr. Parker. I do not think there was any intention to do this.

Senator Kennedy. Let us know what exists. I think we will be glad to find a way.

Mr. Parker. I appreciate that.

REASSESSMENT OF NEEDS IN INDOCHINA

Your third concluding point, about the advice to you of our needs—we are in the process, of course, of recalculating our needs, especially for Southeast Asia. This will be addressed to the National Security Council and to the President. I can, however, tell you that we have been undergoing a process of reallocation. We are taking the view, if we can in a sense abrogate not some legal commitments but some assurances of allocations to the Republic of Vietnam, we will have remaining at the present time about $5 million. However, if we cannot reprogram funds in question, we will be some $53 million in the red. I will advise you. I appreciate your invitation.

Senator Kennedy. If you could, with the greatest degree of specificity as to what you think you need, I cannot believe that the Appropriations Committee within a matter of hours would not act. I do not think there is a question. If it is legislative, I do not think
there is the slightest reluctance on it. We have introduced legisla-
tion, I and others, to try to do the job. We hope you will look at
that legislation. At least I am prepared to support it. Let us get it
done.

We would like to get your general reaction. We want to try to
make that legislation very simple. It is $100 million for the U.N.
agencies and voluntary agencies. You cannot get it much clearer
or simpler than that. They have to be able to justify, obviously all
programs. I am convinced they can.

Finally, let me just say I am going to view with great anticipation
what the President says on Thursday. I, for one, am prepared, and
I think others are prepared to support a generous gesture, a mag-
nanimous gesture, where we can make it. I hope the President recog-
nizes that that is really what the American people are expecting and
want. I think you will get an extraordinarily positive response in
the Congress. I am just waiting to hear it. I hope that you will make
some good recommendations, because I am sure you are capable.

I want to thank you. I hope you will understand that. I indeed
have enjoyed working with the Agency in the past, and hope to in
the future. I appreciate very much your presence here this morning.

Mr. PARKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. We will place your prepared statement and
background materials in the printed record.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Parker follows:]

STATEMENT OF DANIEL PARKER, ADMINISTRATOR, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT, SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR DISASTER RELIEF

It is a privilege, as well as a responsibility, to be here. You have asked me
to testify on the refugee situation in South Vietnam. It is serious:

In a country where there were already many people who had suffered from
the war, recent military developments have left hundreds of thousands, perhaps
millions, in need of food, shelter and medical care.

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.

It is a moving experience, at A.I.D.'s operations room in the State Depart-
ment, to watch the hundreds of calls come in—asking how they can help, is
there an orphan they can adopt; what can they do? One feels that the sympathy
that did exist in this country with respect to United States policy in Vietnam
has been overcome by compassion.

The real burdens are being borne by the people of the Republic of South Viet-
am, in terms of the suffering that the recent attacks have inflicted. The enor-
mous burdens borne by the people of South Vietnam are being shared or light-
ened, 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 inter-
national relief organizations; by the people of my agency and numerous other
parts of the government; and by many, many others.

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 three
weeks ago, South Vietnam already carried with it the difficult burden of feeding
and caring for more than 260,000 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 re-
ceiving temporary assistance in other forms.

As the North Vietnamese columns moved southward from the northern prov-
inces of I Corps, and South Vietnamese resistance unexpectedly and rapidly
collapsed, refugees numbering in the hundreds of thousands, if not millions; fled to
the coastal regions and those other areas still controlled by the Government of
South Vietnam. The difficult burden of caring for the old victims of the Vietnam­
ese conflict was made more enormous and yet more complicated by this new
influx of desperate, homeless human beings.

As of April 7, new refugees registered with the GVN Ministry of Social Wel­
fare were 810,000. An additional 98,000 have been lifted by U.S. ships to date.
An estimated total of 40,000 have been lifted on foreign flag vessels. Tab A.

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 GVN'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 bet­
ter 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 have 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 that support.

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 GVN has com­
mitted more than 50 vessels to this task; we have deployed (as of April 7) 7
cargo vessels of the U.S. Military Sealift Command, and 5 U.S. Navy ships,
together with 8 tugs which have been operating with multiple barges each.

From other countries, as of April 7, one British frigate was standing by; 4 Re­
public of China LSTs were participating, and 1 Korean and 1 Philippine LST
were evacuating.

Once the refugees leave the ships, or arrive in GVN 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 members can be re­
ferred for medical care.

The refugee situation—in terms of their location—is an extremely fluid one.
The GVN's first plan was to provide resettlement areas in three coastal prov­
inces in Regions II and III. When this became impossible, the GVN identi­
fied 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, 20,000 on Phu Quoc Island, and mounting
numbers are being assisted in Bien Hoa Province, in an area originally intended
for permanent resettlement but where GVN, with USAID assistance, is now
preparing temporary homesites for up to 100,000 refugees.

We have only sketchy information from some of these locations, but are in­
formed that the GVN 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, bulgur and other foods, plastic sheeting for shelter,
water barrels and cooking utensils. Thirty-seven GVN personnel were also
 flown in to serve as registration teams.

Our U.S. 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 realignment, will be redeployed to assure that the supplies con­
signed 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
quite capable of meeting refugee relief needs in a reliable and orderly man­
er. The GVN has demonstrated this capability in the past by assisting in the
care of and the return-of-village and resettlement of hundreds of thousands of
refugees who were forced to take shelter in refugee camps following the offe­
sive of 1972. We have no indication that their capacity to operate in GVN-
controlled areas has been impaired by recent events.

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

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 PL 480 program. We recently approved 13,500 tons of blended fortified foods, 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 one million, the rice that we have provided should prove adequate for a little over six months. In this effort, we rely on the GVN 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 agencies in South Vietnam (Tab B.)

The private voluntary organizations have extensive programs in Vietnam. Fifteen organizations have had long-term grant agreements and contracts with A.I.D. 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 which I could not say enough. I also speak of the great capacity of the voluntary agencies to be effective as organizations, which I've 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 amongst themselves.

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. (Tab C).

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 U.K. 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 7 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 loaded with supplies and a German medical team has also been dispatched for emergency assistance. The Swedish Government has also announced a substantial contribution.

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 CIA 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've 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.

AID requested $135 million for these programs together; for FY 1975, $90 million was authorized, $55.7 million allocated from the amounts finally appropriated. We have allotted $68.2 million for humanitarian assistance to date.

Specifically for the refugee relief programs, AID had requested $86.5 million; $70 million was authorized; $41.1 million was allocated from the amounts finally appropriated. Because of the emergency situation created by the offensive, we have allotted $41.6 million for refugee relief to date. The bulk of these allotments have taken place since the start of the offensive. (Tab D).

Commitments have been for initial aircraft/sealift operations and immediate relief requirements identified by the GVN and our Mission—each of which, regrettably, have had some prior experience in the refugee field. Included in these amounts were $2 million which was made available April 2 for child care relief requirements and from which is being funded the airlift costs for the orphans. Also included in this period was an immediate obligation by our Mission of $1.8 million for medical supplies.

As the number of refugees and their situation become clearer—as I say, not all are yet identified—we may be able to make more funds available, where we believe they will do the most good in the shortest time. We are doing everything possible to reprogram as many funds as we can for use in the refugee evacuation and relief effort. However, it is three-quarters of the way through a tight fiscal year, and our flexibility is limited (Tab E).

Because of this desperate situation, it is my experience that the appropriation of more funds will be needed—such as, for instance, the funds authorized but unappropriated under the Foreign Assistance Act—but I do not wish to anticipate the President, who will be speaking on the subject of South Vietnam later this week. The needs are certainly great—and I have been touched by America's response to them. This same feeling is demonstrated in the bill that Senator Kennedy has introduced, S. 1350, to authorize $100 million for humanitarian assistance in South Vietnam and Cambodia. Although I am not in a position at this time to relate this proposal to what the President may later this week propose, I should be happy to provide any further information I have about the refugee situation in South Vietnam.

Tab A

OCHRONOLOGY OF SEALIFT ACTIVITIES

23 March—GNV requests relief assistance from U.S. and all friendly nations.
24 March—USAID requests $10 million to respond to GVN request for assistance in Danang.
25 March—AID/W makes initial $2.0 million available to begin evacuation and relief operations.
26 March—AID/World identifies five ships in area for immediate diversion to refugee evacuation. World Airways' flights begin.
27 March—Military Sealift Command (MSC) requested by SecState to mobilize all available resources and begin sealift.
28 March—Pioneer Contender loading. USNS Miller arrives. (Final official airlift flight into Danang.)
29 March—One tug and barge depart at gunpoint, loaded. Cumulative evac about 20,000 from Danang. First U.S. vessel, Pioneer Contender, departs for Cam Ranh Bay with about 6,000. Second vessel, USNS Miller, completes loading. Third vessel, Pioneer Commander, arrives.
30 March—Danang evacuation disrupted. Two U.S. cargo vessels off shore loading with small craft shuttle. One excursion, two loaded excursion Cam Ranh. Three cargo vessel returns for second load.
Cumulative evacuation by U.S. ships off coastal areas about 30,000. One ship remains off Danang for stragglers. Evacuation attempts being made at Qui Nhon and Tuy Hoa with tug, barge, and small craft shuttle. All above, foreign flags have been mobilized.

1 April—Last U.S. cargo vessel abandons Danang; no more stragglers. Cumulative evacuation about 40,000. Vessels abandon Qui Nhon. Last evacuation at Tuy Hoa accomplished by VN Navy with LSTs moving people over the beach.

2 April—Focus of coastal evacuation moves south with enemy offensive. All U.S. cargo vessels deployed vicinity of Cam Ranh. No further evacuation possible in areas to north due to enemy gunfire.

3 April—Six U.S. cargo vessels under charter to Military Sealift Command: cumulative evacuation 50,000 to date. Deployment for Phu Quoc Island begins.

U.S. Naval amphibs. move from stand by to evacuation areas. Foreign flag vessels as above. Heavy seas. Cam Ranh Bay falls. Begin protective deployment USMC.

4 April—(Assisting refugees per Item 2. Refugee Strep.) Seven cargo vessels and four U.S. Navy amphibious ships. Cumulative evacuation 85,000 refugees. Also, seven tugs operating with multiple barges each. Foreign flag; one British frigate standing by; two German cargo standing by; two ROC LSTs evacuating, one enroute; one Philippine LST evacuating; also, one Korean LST.

More than 400 GVN vessels, including LSTs evacuating coastal areas.

5 April—Seven U.S. cargo vessels and four USN ships working, plus six tugs and seven barges. Cumulative evacuation still reported as 85,000 as of 0800 Washington local. No change from previously reported foreign participation.

6 April—Reporting data not available.

7 April—Seven U.S. cargo vessels and five USN ships in use. Cumulative evacuation 99,112 refugees. Also, eight MRC contractor tugs and eight large barges assisting. One British frigate standing by off Cam Ranh. There are one Philippine LST and four Chinese LSTs and one Korean LST participating. There are fifty-three various GVN amphibious vessels participating. (Phu Quoc offloading improves. 60,000 refugees reported at Ham Tan.)

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**TAB B**

**PUBLIC LAW 480 PROGRAM—FY 1975—SOUTH VIET NAM**

**Summary**

| Title II: | 127,816 tons (estimated) value at | $61.9 |
| Title I: | 100,000 tons (estimated) value at | 54.0 |

**Title II**

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</tbody>
</table>

**Purpose.** The rice will be used to support refugee and other war victim feeding programs in Viet Nam. The GVN will control the distribution, as they are the only entity in Viet Nam which commands the necessary logistics and storage assets. U.S. and international relief agencies will be utilized to fullest extent possible in feeding programs.

**Note.** USDA will procure this rice. Meanwhile, GVN has been authorized to borrow from its own reserves to meet immediate refugee feeding needs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of program</th>
<th>Emergency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commodity</td>
<td>Blended fortified foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volume</td>
<td>12,500 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated value (millions):</td>
<td>$3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodity</td>
<td>$2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Purpose.** For use by U.S. relief in providing nutritional food supplements for the most severely affected children in the Vietnamese refugee population.

**Note.** Procurements are under way; meanwhile, some blended foods have been diverted from other programs.
Type of program: __________
Commodity: ____________
Volume: ____________

Estimated value (millions):
Commodity: $3.1.
Freight: $2.2.

**Purpose.**—To be used by U.S. volags to improve nutrition and health for pre-school-age children; support social and economic development through self-help efforts; temporarily sustain Vietnamese whose normal patterns of livelihood are disrupted by war; and assist other needy Vietnamese.

**Note.**—Approximately 10,000 tons have already been shipped.

**TITLE I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type program</th>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Freight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>75,000 tons</td>
<td>$12.0</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>82,500 (bales)</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>7,120</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Freight, except for differentials paid by GVN.

**Purpose.**—Provide the GVN with essentially needed imports without further draw-downs on their declining foreign exchange reserves. These Title I commodities are sold to VN consumers under normal commercial marketing procedures, and the local currencies generated are used to encourage economic development and improve agricultural production. Commodities furnished under Title I are repayable under Title I long-term dollar loans.

**TAB C**

U.S. GOVERNMENT-FINANCED ASSISTANCE FOR MULTILATERAL AND SPECIALIZED AGENCY PROGRAMS—FISCAL YEAR 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Vietnam</th>
<th>Total funding</th>
<th>U.S. Government portion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TAB D**

VIETNAM HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, FISCAL YEAR 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Requested</th>
<th>Authorized</th>
<th>Appropriation</th>
<th>Obligated</th>
<th>Allocated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Refugee relief</td>
<td>$85.5</td>
<td>$70.0</td>
<td>$41.1</td>
<td>$11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City-to-farm</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 135.0 | 90.0 | 55.7 | 16.7 | 31.2 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table: Funding Status, Fiscal Year 1975 Vietnam Program as of April 8, 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Program requirements, absent future relief needs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(In millions)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total available under appropriation: $282.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less commodity import program (CIF) obligations: 188.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subbalance available for program:</strong> 94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Less fixed cost expenses:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation expenses: 17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICCS: 4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and industry (advisory services and miscellaneous projects): 11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong> 32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subbalance available for program:</strong> 61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Less allotments to date for humanitarian assistance:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subbalance available for program:</strong> 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subbalance available for program:</strong> 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Less commitments for unpaid POL reimbursements presently outstanding:</strong> 54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Program deficit as of Apr. 8, 1975:</strong> (-49.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitments for POL reimbursements for balance of fiscal year 1975: (4.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Program deficit, fiscal year 1975:</strong> (-53.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Against this amount we hope to be able to deobligate about $1.2 million which will be reprogrammed for humanitarian purposes.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year 1975 Vietnam Program as of April 8, 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cash availability</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(In millions)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total available under appropriation: $282.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less commodity import program (CIF) obligations: 188.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subbalance available for program:</strong> 94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subbalance available for program:</strong> 94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Less fixed cost expenses:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation expenses: 17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICCS: 4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and industry (advisory services and miscellaneous projects): 11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong> 32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subbalance available for program:</strong> 61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Less allotments to date for humanitarian assistance:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee relief: 41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child care: 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care: 4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong> 56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balance available for program for remainder of fiscal year 1975:</strong> 6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Against this amount we hope to be able to deobligate about $1.2 million which will be reprogrammed for humanitarian purposes.
AID Administrator Daniel Parker was appointed the President's Special Coordinator for International Disaster Assistance on March 29. In his dual role, Parker has called on the varied resources of AID, especially the Agency's Office of Foreign Disaster Relief Coordination and other Federal agencies. He set up the Emergency Indochina Relief Committee, working out of AID's Office of Foreign Disaster Relief Coordination.

AID continues to be involved in humanitarian programs—resettlement, child-care, health-care and city-to-farm projects. Efforts in these areas have been intensified as a result of recent hostilities. AID's immediate concern is meeting the basic needs of refugees: food, shelter and medical care. Working through—and in support of—voluntary agencies, international institutions, and the Government of Vietnam, making relief supplies available, and transporting orphans in process of adoption to the United States.

2. REFUGEES

As of April 10, about 352,000 newly-registered refugees are at the following locations:

MR-III (all located in the vicinity surrounding Saigon and the port city of Vung Tau):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long Khanh</td>
<td>10,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hau Nghia</td>
<td>18,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binh Tay</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binh Duong</td>
<td>42,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binh Hoa</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vung Tau</td>
<td>20,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phuoc Tay</td>
<td>12,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tay Ninh</td>
<td>42,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long An</td>
<td>8,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gia Dinh</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MR-IV (delta areas):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vinh Binh</td>
<td>61,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinh Long</td>
<td>1,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phu Quoc</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total registered: 351,946

Phu Quoc: 27,000

Emergency Supplies

AID has authorized 100,000 metric tons of Food for Peace rice for emergency food programs in Vietnam, enough to provide one million refugees with 800 grams each of rice per day for six months and 13,500 tons of blended fortified foods, used primarily for maternal and child care.

The United States with these additional allotments has committed more than 227,000 tons of food and other products under the Food for Peace program for fiscal year 1975. These commodities and transportation costs are estimated to be worth about $116 million.

The following emergency supplies have been or are being mobilized for support of the new refugees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title II rice (tons)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title II blended food (tons)</td>
<td>13,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter material</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generators</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio transceivers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaccines (doses)</td>
<td>670,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measles</td>
<td>670,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small pox</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholera</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typhoid</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syringes and needles (units)</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following items have been or are being proved for the refugee areas:

Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Social Welfare:
- 138 tons canned fish
- 1,448 rolls plastic sheeting for shelter
- 500 pounds clips for plastic sheeting
- 450 pounds polyethylene fabric
- 44,000 100-pound bags bulgar wheat
- 66,000 150-pound bags wheat-soy blend
- 3,000 empty 65-gallon drums for water containers
- 120,000 pounds rice
- 102,000 pounds rice (Australian donation)
- 22,000 pounds canned fish (Canadian donation)

Catholic Relief Service:
- 184,000 bags Bulgar
- 40,000 bags Corn Soy Blend
- 12,000 bags wheat soy blend
- 300 cases cooking oil
- 40,000 cans of meat
- 8,500 1 gallon cans tomato sauce
- 4,000 bales clothing
- 17,000 pounds rice

Over 550 tons of the above materials have arrived at refugee areas.

ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DELIVERIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2 merchant vessels for refugee evacuation; 20 tons emergency supplies</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>1 frigate for sea lift</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>5-man medical team to reopen Gulf Hospital</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>450,000 cases canned fish</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>212,150 airlift of orphans; 2d flight proposed using Australian Air Force via Bangkok</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2 freighters for Phu Quoc re-supply, 25 tons milk powder from Singapore for South Vietnam, 25 tons dried milk to UNICEF for refugees in Communist held areas of South Vietnam</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>4 LST's; 1 C-130 aircraft</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1 LST for refugees, medical personnel</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1 LST for refugees</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>Further relief supplies enroute to Saigon</td>
<td>In excess of $1 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Vision Relief World Organization</td>
<td>10,000 relief kits</td>
<td>NS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Relief Service</td>
<td>Food, general relief supplies</td>
<td>NA.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMITMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>Relief supplies stockpiled in Singapore for all Indochina</td>
<td>$3.5 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Red Cross</td>
<td>Cash payments and pledges</td>
<td>$5 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>New pledge (including $2.5 million through ICRC and $5 million through UNHCR)</td>
<td>$4 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>New pledge to UNICEF</td>
<td>$3.5 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>New pledge to UNICEF</td>
<td>$10.74 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Aid to Viet Nam</td>
<td>$10.74 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Federation</td>
<td>Receiving funds for distribution through emergency relief of NA</td>
<td>$3 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Through United Nations</td>
<td>$2.5 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To all parties in South Vietnam</td>
<td>$3 million.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. ORPHANS

A. Transportation

As of April 10, 1,818 Vietnamese orphans have arrived in the continental United States. Of the 505 orphans airlifted from Saigon by AID-sponsored U.S. military aircraft, 04 are at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines receiving

54-427-75-4
the medical care necessary to prepare them for the long journey to the United States.

AID has authorized the airlift of orphans from Cambodia. So far, 98 orphans have departed Phnom Penh for Clark Air Force Base. As is the case with the Vietnamese orphans, the Cambodian orphans on AID-sponsored flights will undergo medical examinations at Clark prior to proceeding to the U.S. mainland. All orphans leaving Cambodia must be identified as adoptable by adoption authorities in Phnom Penh and the Cambodian Government.

Six Vietnamese orphans departed Clark AFB yesterday on an aircraft with medical staff and facilities. They were joined by 3 orphan's, at Hickham Air Force Base in Hawaii and have arrived at Travis Air Force Base in California. Aircraft remain available to transport additional orphans from Saigon and Phnom Penh as rapidly as the American agencies responsible for them have processed the children for departure. Since the first flight April 2, there have been 21 orphan flights from Indochina to date, both AID-sponsored and private. All orphans have prospective parents.

B. Adoption

These orphans are in the custody of licensed adoption agencies operating in Vietnam. The children were already in the process of adoption by American families. AID understands that all have been identified for placement by American families or are in the process of being placed with families on the waiting list of the agencies.

(During the recent military attacks, children from orphanages in the upper part of South Vietnam were transferred to Saigon, making for deeply overcrowded conditions. Among the children there were an estimated 2,000 orphans in process—and thus eligible for inter-country adoptions under the sponsorship of voluntary agencies—for adoption in the United States.)

AID understands that any additional orphans brought to the United States under the auspices of adoption agencies will be eligible for adoption into families already on the waiting lists of those agencies.

Individuals with inquiries pertaining to inter-country adoption should contact by letter or mailgram the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016, for the addresses of specific agencies working in Vietnam. In addition, they should contact the nearest local government or private licensed adoption agency for state requirements.

4. WHAT THE U.S. CITIZEN CAN DO TO HELP

At present AID understands there are adequate numbers of voluntary agency personnel now in Vietnam. Those who had been working in the recently occupied areas have been evacuated and are being redeployed in the South.

Cash contribution to U.S. voluntary social service agencies working in Indochina is the most useful form of relief assistance one can offer under the present circumstances.

Monetary contributions earmarked for Indochina use may be made through the American National Red Cross as well as to such voluntary relief agencies as CARE, Inc., Catholic Relief Service, Church World Service, International Rescue Committee, Lutheran World Relief, and World Vision Relief Organization.

Many of the relief materials offered to AID and to voluntary agencies are already available in the Far East. There is no assurance that these materials, even if they are required, can be shipped to affected areas because of the prohibitive transportation costs.

If there is any change in the situation, the public will be so notified by their state foreign disaster assistance coordinators.

Senator Kennedy, Our next witnesses are members of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. We welcome your appearance this morning, because of your long experience in the field. Over the years we have worked with the voluntary agencies. They have really led the way in providing relief assistance wherever people need it. I must say they have been ahead of our Government by their moral leadership and example, and have contributed greatly to America's claim to humanitarianism.
I welcome you here. We will have Mr. Tom Neal, Lutheran World Relief; Martin Teitel, American Friends Service Committee; Charles MacCormack, Save the Children/Community Development Foundation; Father Robert Charlebois, Catholic Relief Services; Howard Burbank, Seventh-Day Adventist World Service; Rev. John Schauer, Church World Service; and Leon Marion, executive director of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies.

Mr. Neal, I understand you just got back, that you just returned.

Mr. NEAL. That is right.

Senator KENNEDY. We welcome you here.

Mr. NEAL. We are very happy to be here.

Senator KENNEDY. Take your time and bring the mike up a little closer.

STATEMENT OF TOM NEAL, LUTHERAN WORLD RELIEF

Mr. NEAL. I am staff person of the Lutheran World Relief. During the past 27 months, I have worked with the Vietnam Christian Service, a program sponsored jointly by Lutheran World Relief and Church World Service and administered by Church World Service.

My field work experience in Vietnam has been for 7½ years spanning the period from 1962 to the present. My involvement has related to agricultural and community development work in the northern provinces of Quang Ngai and Quang Nam and more recently in the Central Highlands.

My work with Vietnam Christian Service has been with Montagnard leaders at the five provincial locations of Pleiku, Phu Bon, Quang Duc, Tuyen Duc, Darlac or Ban Me Thuot, and Lam Dong. I have placed heavy emphasis on community organization and leadership training with our local Montagnard staff.

CURRENT CONDITIONS

Senator KENNEDY. We will include your statement at the end. We are interested in how the situation exists today. We will put your whole statement in the record.

What was it like when you left there? How long ago did you leave?

Mr. NEAL. We left Saturday, we arrived here Sunday evening. So it is less than 48 hours.

Senator KENNEDY. Tell us about it.

Mr. NEAL. We came over on the Holt Adoption Agency plane, a 747. We volunteered to escort 400 children to the United States. It was quite an experience. We each were taking care of nine children. The flight lasted for about 50 hours, so we are exhausted.

The situation in Vietnam and Saigon is one of desperation. I particularly feel for our Vietnam local staff, our senior staff, to whom we have devoted a considerable amount of time in training. Their morale is at a very low point. We lost our senior staff in the Central Highlands. We have lost contact with them. I think this is the general situation. It has been a very fluid situation. We have funds for refugee relief, but it has been changing so quickly. It has been very difficult up to now to respond, although we are attempting to.
WORK OF THE VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

Senator KENNEDY. Can you tell us a little bit about what the voluntary agencies can do over there. As far as your organization, what was it primarily doing? What do you think you could do today?

Mr. NEAL. Prior to 1 month ago, our organization supported programs of agricultural and community development in the Central Highlands in addition to physical therapy and social service centers in the Saigon area. Scholarship support to students at various levels is also an important part of our program. Now the effort is primarily refugee relief. Much of the funds have been released, because we have no more programs in the Central Highlands. So, we are attempting with our funds to respond to refugee relief in the Saigon area, particularly now in the Vung-Tau area. Most areas as of last week, were hard to reach; hard to find out what is going on.

Senator KENNEDY. What were the conditions of the children? How did you first meet the children that you were going to escort?

Mr. NEAL. We had nothing to do with the Holt agency. We volunteered for this for the flight to leave the country. The children were in good condition, I would say, on this flight. We had 400 children on the 747, and we were understaffed. We were taking care of a lot of children. I think there was a lot of contamination, a lot of possibility for chicken pox and dehydration to occur. In fact, it did occur on the plane.

So, when it did arrive, there were some ill children, though I did not feel that there was anything critical.

CONDITION OF THE REFUGEES

Senator KENNEDY. What can you tell us about the conditions of the people, the refugee conditions in the south when you left? You must have left the highlands some period of time ago before you caught this plane. Did you have any contact with refugees or people during that period of time?

Mr. NEAL. I visited refugee camps in the Saigon area last week, and refugees are beginning to come to Saigon. The conditions are very bad.

Senator KENNEDY. What do you mean by that?

Mr. NEAL. I mean they do not have anything but what they have on their backs. They are without medical attention, without water or food. I think this is particularly the case along the coast, which we are not able to have contact with now. But I think this will be increasing in the Saigon area.

Senator KENNEDY. We might come back to this.

Senator MATHIAS. If I could ask one question.

You said a moment ago that you had no program in the Central Highlands, which leads to the question of what you envision for the areas that are now under either the Vietcong or North Vietnamese control. Do you envision a complete withdrawal of the voluntary agencies in those areas, or the possibility to reestablish something if some liaison could be worked out?
Mr. Neal. This will have to be worked out. To date there has been no contact. We do not know.

Senator Mathias. Has there been an attempt?

Mr. Neal. No. The offensive has been moving quickly. Nearly one provincial capital a day has fallen these past 2 weeks.

Senator Mathias. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Neal follows:]

TESTIMONY BY THOMAS C. NEAL, LUTHERAN WORLD RELIEF, INC.

I am Thomas Neal, a staff person of Lutheran World Relief. During the past twenty-seven months I have worked with Vietnam Christian Service, a program sponsored jointly by Lutheran World Relief and Church World Service and administered by Church World Service.

My field work experience in Vietnam has been for seven-and-one-half years spanning the period from 1962 to the present. My involvement has related to agricultural and community development work in the northern provinces of Quang Hgae and Quang Nam and more recently in the Central Highlands.

My work with Vietnam Christian Service has been with Montagnard leaders at the five provincial locations of Pleiku, Phu Loc, Quang Duc, Tuyen Du, Dairac (Ban Me Thout) and Lam Dong. I have placed heavy emphasis on community organization and leadership training with our local Montagnard staff. The specific goal of our work was encouraging Highland communities to meet together for discussion and to work out solutions for the improvement of village life. Such solutions took the form of self-help projects, such as a dug well or a bridge which the people desired and agreed to cooperate in providing labor and what local resources were available. Vietnam Christian Service would then agree to provide the resources that were not available in order to stimulate cooperative community participation.

Another very important part of our work in the Highlands was in the area of technical agriculture. Improved seeds and loans were provided to cooperatives and capable Highland farmers for the purchase of improved agricultural machinery and equipment. Other work was done in training draft animals and in irrigation and water control.

The events over the past month have had tragic consequences for the people of the Central Highlands. All of Highland ethnic Vietnamese and Montagnards involved with the Government of Vietnam were given a twenty-four hour notice in most of the locations that the area was no longer to be protected. Many thousands of people were trapped on Highland roads leading to the coast by either NVA (North Vietnamese Military) action or physical barriers. Only after three weeks did the Highland residents, most Vietnamese, begin to trickle into the coastal provincial capitals of Ty Hoa, Nga Trang, Phan Tiet and Phan Rang. It is not yet clear if the majority of Montagnard villagers chose to become refugees. According to the PRO, there are six million people on their side in the Central Highlands, of which one million are refugees.

At present, with the fall of the coastal cities, the people fleeing the Highlands are caught in a desperate situation. Without water, food, medical care and shelter, over one million refugees have absorbed and surrounded the coastal cities. In addition many refugees are arriving in the Salgon area. It is likely that the refugee population in Salgon will be quickly increasing. Suffering is acute.

I believe that the United States government should be generous in helping all people of Vietnam who need assistance. This need for humanitarian assistance must not go unmet in this tragic situation of such enormous proportion. We note that some United States government leaders insist that money given to the United Nations should not be spent in the PRO area. If such restrictions are lifted, such aid can be given to agencies such as the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and UNICEF.

STATEMENT OF REV. JOHN SCHAUER, CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

Mr. Schauer. Mr. Chairman, I wish to apologize that we do not have a formal statement to present to the committee. Unfortunately
the time lag and the pressures of what is happening in Indochina have kept us from getting ourselves to doing this particular task.

I would like to note that Church World Service (CWS) and Lutheran World Relief together are working in Vietnam with the Vietnam Christian Service, and you have heard from one of our workers, Mr. Tom Neal about his experiences.

I would like to broaden that a bit, if I may, about our involvement, to indicate that we represent in the Church World Service, the cooperative work of the Protestant and Orthodox communions in close cooperation with the World Council of Churches; and through the World Council of Churches we have been supportive of the East Asian Christian Council. That has mounted a program of the Asian Christian Service which is working in Cambodia and Laos. In turn, we are in the process of developing and working together on an organization known as the Fund for Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Indochina; $5 million has been raised for that. Conversations are going on with the North Vietnamese, PRG, with the Cambodians, with Khmer Rouge, with the South Vietnamese.

In February, the board of directors of this Fund Committee were sent out to talk with the various groups and to see what could be done as far as relief and working be carried on, and what are the needs of the people and what are the responses of the people.

**HUMANITARIAN AID WITHOUT STRINGS**

We are deeply concerned at CWS that humanitarian relief concerns have much too long been related to U.S. interests. We would support the direction that we are hearing spoken here today—internationalization of the humanitarian aid so it can get to where the people are.

We are deeply concerned that the people that we were supporting yesterday are the same people who are in need today; who, because of change in the tide of the war and in circumstance, are either eligible or ineligible. It seems rather ridiculous to us that we are caught in this kind of a problem.

We are also concerned about the safety of the staff. We have problems with many Vietnamese, as Mr. Neal mentioned who are on the staff, who have been well trained in community development. It seems to us that these people are in imminent danger. We would hope in the course of working with the specialized agencies of the United Nations, with an agency that exists or that some new agency be developed, that some sort of security and protection in passports be made available to voluntary agencies working so that they would have a cloak of security which they need.

**Senator Kennedy.** That was done in some places, has it not?

**Mr. Schauer.** Yes.

**Senator Kennedy.** Have you approached AID about that?

**Mr. Schauer.** Again, I am not the Secretary for this particular function. I believe that conversations have gone forward. As yet I am not positive of that, sir.
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CONCERN FOR LONGER-TERM REHABILITATION

We are also concerned, Mr. Chairman, that we do not impose upon the people who are the refugees, and also the people who are affected by the crisis and the results of this war. We cannot just talk about the people who are in motion, or just children. You have to talk about the parents, the people who reside in the areas equally as much. We hope that their wishes would be heard, and in turn as much as possible that the relief work be carried on through an indigenous organization that will be able to continue its work after the American and humanitarian concern wanes and interest wanes and we fall into compassion fatigue. It is so easy for us to go in with temporary aid. But if we could build a kind of program that would remain after the American support or international support would no longer be available, Mr. Chairman.

This is how we in Church World Service would look at the situation.

FUND FOR RECONCILIATION

Senator Kennedy. You have a fund for reconciliation, I understand, at Church World Service?

Mr. Schauer. The Church World Service through the World Council of Churches.

Senator Kennedy. That operates on all sides?

Mr. Schauer. Yes, sir, it is operating.

Senator Kennedy. It is today?

Mr. Schauer. Yes. Contributions have been made to North Vietnam and to the PRG.

Senator Kennedy. What is your criteria, whether you help or assist?

Mr. Schauer. I am sorry?

Senator Kennedy. What is your standard whether you will help or respond to requests—whether it is in the North or South, or wherever it might be?

Mr. Schauer. Proposals are received by the fund. Then there is an international Board that sits, and it includes primarily Asians who know the area, who know the people and know the need.

This group evaluates that proposal and acts accordingly. At this very moment it is my understanding—

Senator Kennedy. Do you have any information or have you heard from the people, your sources in the PRG area, about the conditions?

Mr. Schauer. We understand that there is a need for food, medicine, and, in turn, funds are being made available. We are trying to locate food through the FRRI, not through the NCS.

Senator Kennedy. Are these in the newly occupied area?

Mr. Schauer. Yes.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

Senator Kennedy. So, you are prepared to respond to those needs. You do not take any AID assistance?
Mr. Schauer. No, sir. We have not taken any direct grants. We have been privileged to receive accommodations from AID for travel and reimbursement of freight and that sort of thing. Basically we have not accepted AID contributions.

Senator Kennedy. Would you accept any assistance through the U.N., the U.N. specialized fund?

Mr. Schauer. May I clarify why we have not accepted AID funds. We would probably use much the same standard with U.N. funding, as well. Our concern is that we, as a foreign presence receiving funds from an outside source, would be building a massive program much too great for the people of Vietnam to continue once that fund was reduced. Our concern was to develop a program which the indigenous people could sustain.

In the matter of this present emergency of millions of people disbursed, in God's name, how could we refuse to accept food, if that is what is needed, or medicine, if that is what is needed, or funds to acquire this from AID. The situation and terrain have changed overnight. In principle we would hold toward developing a program that the indigenous people, after having been trained and given the immediate thrust, so that they could begin the work and continue after the current situation has subsided.

Senator Kennedy. You do not have any rough figures about how you could be useful if expanded resources were available to you in terms of food or medicines or other humanitarian assistance in the areas that are newly occupied?

Mr. Schauer. The World Council of Churches suggested to appeal for an additional $1 million; there is an additional appeal for $5 million for the fund for reconciliation and reconstruction in Indochina. At the World Council of Churches meeting in Nairobi the fund will be $5 million for the coming year.

I have here, sir, a statement of how funds have been used in the various areas. It is not complete, but it gives a general outline. I would be glad to give this to you, sir. However, may I request that it be not put in the record, but be made available to your staff and to the committee.

Senator Kennedy. Yes.

Mr. Schauer. I do not have the authority to release it.

Senator Kennedy. Very good.

One other thing. I think you heard the hearings. You heard the comments made earlier. We are interested in any information you can give to the subcommittee in terms of your current assessment, whether you are prepared to work on both sides, whatever side, or pulling out with humanitarian aid—whether you think we should; and whether you are willing to either accept aid, or do you prefer working with an international agency.

Evacuation of Voluntary Agency Personnel?

Senator Mathias. If I may interpose a question at this point, have any of the people in your organization had to evacuate areas where the PRG or North Vietnamese forces have moved in?

And, if so, are you just one step ahead of the forces coming in and one step behind the refugees going out? And, are there are
any channels at the U.N., which could assure the safety of your personnel, and ameliorate conditions of the refugees?

Mr. Schauer. Senator, I am not quite as qualified to answer this question as Mr. Neal, however I would like to note that our policy is that we have not ordered our people to evacuate. We left this entirely for their decision, with no question as to whether they should or should not, if they decided to leave.

In turn, we have had people move out of the areas. At the present time, we have a doctor who is apparently on one of the boats coming in with refugees, having moved several times.

If I may, sir, could I ask Mr. Neal to give the details?

Mr. Neal. The thinking is now that we will all evacuate. The only thing that is stopping it at the present time is the difficulty in obtaining exit visas for three of our personnel who have Vietnamese wives, and it is a problem to get their visas.

We will evacuate and go to Bangkok, stay intact as an organization, and wait and see what happens.

STATEMENT OF FATHER ROBERT CHARLEBOIS, CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES

Father CHARLEBOIS. Our policy is that we have just evacuated our international staff from Phnom Penh last Saturday. However, the total program is continuing under the supervision of the Khmer employees of Catholic Relief Services. Again, it was a question of security.

We are the largest voluntary agency in Cambodia with the life and death responsibility for some 400,000 refugees every day. These programs continue. The rice lift that the American Government has sustained is still going directly to the refugees and the continuance of the CRS program is primarily a question of security.

We have no determination at this time with regards to Vietnam. I hope, from hearings such as this, that men of good will can, perhaps through the good office of the United Nations or the Government of North Vietnam, insure that the humanitarian agencies will be given the freedom and security to go to the refugees in need, the people in need, wherever they may be, regardless of political identity and geography of the refugees.

TWO CONDITIONS FOR STAYING

This is the wish of the Holy Father, the total opinion of the Vietnamese hierarchy; Catholic Relief Services will extend its programs and projects to go wherever the refugees are, provided two conditions are met.

The first condition is the security of our staff. The second condition is the accountability of the funds we spend, whether they be governmental or private; that we do insist upon, the accountability of our funds.

Those are our only two conditions. This has been made public. This has been made known. We have had private overtures regarding this matter.

Senator Mathias. You are prepared to return to any of these areas of service as long as these two conditions are met?
Father Charlebois: Absolutely. In fact, we are so prepared to do so, Senator, that some Cambodian staff and the entire international staff of CRS is on standby status in Bangkok, waiting to return to Cambodia.

EMERGENCY NEEDS IN CAMBODIA

Mr. Chairman, I am the regional director of the Catholic Relief Services for the United States Catholic Conference, for East Asia and the Pacific.

I would like to address myself, if I might, to some of the urgency of which you spoke. I believe the urgency is with regard to the human needs of the people. I think we have to get away from the bureaucracy, whether it be in government or church or the United Nations.

I think we have to focus in on the recipient and not necessarily the agencies or the governmental bureaus. Now it has been demonstrated, without a shadow of a doubt, that when we have coordination and cooperation—in which I am very happy to say publicly that Senator Kennedy played a great role—that in the Cambodian humanitarian effort, there is the opportunity for every American to be 10 feet tall. Thought the intercession of Senator Kennedy and Catholic Relief Services with the U.S. Agency for International Development and Ambassador Dean, the rice airlift, that originally was going to the Government and to the military in Cambodia, was consigned to the voluntary agencies and the lives of some 400,000 refugees within the secure areas of Cambodia.

It has been proven and demonstrated that, through the coordination and cooperation of those who are vitally interested in humanitarian efforts, the joint efforts of government and the private sector, can and do work.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES VS. U.N. AGENCIES

And I must say that, while it is contrary to some talk that has been heard here today, that without a shadow of a doubt the private voluntary agencies are far more effective than you can ever hope the United Nations' agencies to be. It is a matter of record. It is a matter that can be demonstrated, on the grass-roots level.

It is a matter where the voluntary agencies are not involved in the delicate situations of politics. They are not involved in the delicate situations of diplomacy and corresponding relationships of these changing times with changing governments. If indeed and in fact, humanitarian interests are sincere, it has to be directed to the American private voluntary agencies who are able to produce for the taxpayer the accountability of their funds.

And I hope that the discussions I have heard this morning are not setting up, either in law or practice, a double standard of humanitarian aid. I am very concerned, Senator, when I hear that we are going to have the United Nations receiving aid one way, and the voluntary agencies receiving aid another way.

I wonder about the morality and sincerity of such a process. As you know, in fact, the United Nations receives a check for their humanitarian efforts with no strings attached. And as you know also, in
fact, the voluntary agencies come under every single piece of legislation of the Government of the United States before they can operate their own programs of relief and development.

A double standard which would establish procedure in that what the U.S. Government gives to the United Nations, the United States would not give to the American voluntary agencies. I would hope that within the legislation that is prepared and proposed, that this double standard would not be included.

Senator KENNEDY. So I understand you clearly, what you want, and what I think is what our intention is, with the establishment of the fund under the executive branch, that there be immediate opportunities to receive that, without all the red tape?

Father CHARLEBOIS. And the same leeway. We do not want a double standard—one for the United Nations and one for the volags.

Senator KENNEDY. And we ought to review it. It would certainly be my intention that we would want to make sure that that point is very clear. You are absolutely right about that.

THE ORPHAN QUESTION

Father CHARLEBOIS. And the same leeway. We do not want a double thing on the orphans. I was in San Francisco on the weekend when the first planeload of Catholic Relief Services children arrived, I was on the phone and as of an hour ago, all the babies CRS was responsible for have arrived.

It is extremely important to get away from the emotional level of the problem, and I would like to set straight, for the record, that the orphans come from a multiplicity of sources. For example, it will be a matter of record, that the vast majority of orphans that the Catholic Relief Services had in its institutions in Saigon, passed the medicals both at Clark and at the Presidio in San Francisco.

However, we must understand that human beings adopted do not change with geography. The very sad cases that people have spoken about are those children who, at the last moment, had either been secured by orphanages, or abandoned.

I remember when I lived in Vietnam, from 1967 to 1971, and ran the CRS program there, how appalled I was at the fact that 60 percent of all orphans received at the orphanages died within 1 month. I remember many reporters coming with the real statistics that were never denied. Until you go to the orphanage itself and see the condition of the children when they are abandoned—the Vietnamese mother is no different from the American mother—she only surrenders the child at the very last instance.

And I would hope, in a very positive way, that we Americans will seize the challenge of the reality of the health situation of these children; that we would open up—it would be only those children where adoption is "the" solution—to as many hearts and as many homes, that have come so spontaneously to us from the good people of the United States.

I think it is extremely important that we do not take this whole mission out of focus. I would say that the children who have arrived, who looked so desperate to us with our American eyes, are much better than those that remain. I think that that is the challenge of the crisis.
I also think in this instance the U.S. Government is to be tremendously commended on how they were able to do the airlift—how quickly, how professionally, how they had the children land at Clark Air Force Base so we would not have the problem of dehydration, pneumonia and other health risks that such a long journey presents to these little ones.

I hope many of you will get to see actually what is there. The facilities of the military are absolutely fantastic. It is a real beginning of a real sense of the principle of social welfare, not to have panic.

I think we ought to save those children who can be helped and aided, and that it be done so by cutting through the red tape. As all of us know, that is what has happened up to this point, and now we must look ahead.

**ORPHANS IN DANANG**

Senator Kennedy. Do you have any information on what happened to the children who were left at Sacred Heart Orphanage in Danang?

Father Charlebois. Yes, we do have some information as of yesterday, from the children who were left at Sacred Heart Orphanage in Danang. There was a group of them taken to the airport for an air flight. When this attempt failed, several of them arrived by boat at Vung Tau.

I am happy to tell you that the Sisters are back at Sacred Heart Orphanage in Danang and the children, as far as we know, are with the Sisters in Danang.

Senator Kennedy. You have Sisters there now that are operating the orphanage?

Father Charlebois. Very fortunately, yes. In Danang’s diocese, everyone is in place and the church is continuing its efforts, as far as we know.

Senator Kennedy. Have you had any communications from them as to their condition? Their well-being? Or are you going to try to provide some emergency assistance to them?

Father Charlebois. Through some other channels, some emergency assistance has been delivered. We were having a very interesting feedback on a different situation. We find in some areas, all the clergy and the religious have been taken from the area. We do have hard information that in the highlands, that all the priests and the religious were removed from the institutions and the children were abandoned. We are not getting direct information. We are not getting uniform reports. It varies in regard to the degree and intensity of the situation.

**NO MASS EVACUATION PLANNED FOR CATHOLICS**

We have every reason to believe that there will be no mass evacuation in any way, shape or form, or any mass movement as there was in 1954. The hierarchy and Christians will stay in place, provided, of course, that there is always respect for the principle of self-determination of those who want to flee. With regard to that, I hope that that will be the principle that the President will address
himself to on Sunday, that the people of Vietnam as human beings, are provided the right to express their self determination.

I think it is up to those people in the conflict to determine where they would like to go, or if they want to go. The choice is theirs; not ours.

Senator Kennedy. This is a very important point, about the counsel-
selling that you give to the Catholics to remain, because we have often heard our national leaders say that they were the principal targeted group in terms of the PRG. But the church leaders have much the decision and are advising and counselling to stay in place, both in the religious orders, as well as other leaders, that they should not evacuate?

Father CHARLEBOIS. This is true, and to date, with new evidence, I think it is important to state that two bishops have been killed and 17 priests have been killed.

Senator Kennedy. When? In this last offensive?

Father CHARLEBOIS. In this last offensive. As I say, you have to be very careful in seeing that it is different in different areas, which is something that we do not quite understand yet.

We also know that the priests and religious in some other areas have been grouped together and taken out of their respective villages. Whether this is part of a larger plan, we are not in a position to state.

CONTACTS WITH PRG NECESSARY

Senator Kennedy. Do you think it would be useful for those who are interested in remaining behind that at least there is somebody talking to high PRG officials?

Father CHARLEBOIS. Absolutely. I think there should be discussion. I could not agree with you more. There is no way to talk about humanitarian aid unless you can be pragmatic enough to say, who are the people who will be responsible for opening up these channels where help can reach these people. Otherwise, all of us concerned are whistling Dixie, or any other song, for that matter.

Senator Kennedy. Certainly it seems incomprehensible to me, given the fact that these people are prepared to risk their lives, and remain behind, in order to provide some kind of humanitarian assistance to these orphanages and emergency hospitals, to get tied up when we can not send an envoy to talk to their foreign minister about their safety or security because we feel that they are an agent of the North Vietnamese Government.

Does that trouble you?

Father CHARLEBOIS. Yes, you are troubling me somewhat also with your statement saying to send an envoy. You have three very difficult situations. I just wonder if it is not a realistic approach to send three envoys, one to the North, one to the PRG, and one to the South, requesting separate information regarding their humanitarian needs.

First of all, I really feel and sense the urgency of the problem of time. Why do we not fan out and really focus on the human needs? We say that these people control the destinies of these people. Let us talk to them.

One envoy has the odious position, I think. Senator, of trying to juggle balls and come back here and report. He has to come back.
here and report to the President or the Congress on what he sees through a maze of three different aspects. So he has to sort of bring together three different views, which will lose its reality when viewed as a single unit.

Senator Kennedy. I think your suggestion is eminently a fair one. We will get back to Mr. Miller and Mr. Parker during the lunch hour and say we hope they will amend what they are going to hopefully tell Mr. Kissinger and the President, that it should be multifaceted.

Obviously, I would think that Paris or Saigon, as well as direct contact to be made with the North, and try to get it done. That is a problem, but the attitude is more of a problem, as I see it, today—reluctance to talk.

Mr. Martin Teitel?

STATEMENT OF MARTIN TEITEL, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Mr. Teitel. My name is Martin Teitel of the American Friends Service Committee. I have a brief prepared statement which I would like to submit for the record.

With regard to the current situation and the questions, particularly the envoy that has just been discussed, the Quakers are supposed to be very patient, but we have not waited for an envoy and we wound up with a round of discussions based upon the program the American Friends Service Committee had in Saigon since 1966 and with the DRV and the PRG since 1969.

It has been our experience in talking with the PRG in Paris and in the North, that they are very approachable on the question of aid from outsiders, and they specifically include Americans, and are very open to concrete discussions on this.

CONTACT WITH THE PRG

They have been willing to list, in a very precise way, what their needs are and what goals they may see for it. I had an opportunity to talk with a representative from the PRG no less than 2 weeks ago in Paris, and we have had four representatives in Hanoi who just came out from Hanoi over this last weekend, arriving back in the States.

I might also mention that we have five expatriate staff working for the Quakers in Saigon, and a staff member that Senator Kennedy referred to earlier, who has gone to Danang, and has approval to set up a clinic.

He arrived about 3 days before Danang went over to the other side. He chose to remain through that situation and we communicated his location to the PRG. So far he has not been able to check with us, but he was never a good letter writer.

I might also just touch on one other point that Senator Kennedy asked about earlier, which was a report of the situation in the zones that have been taken over by the PRG, although we do not have a whole lot of information.
Since 1966, our program in the southern part of Vietnam has been focusing in Quang Ngai. We have received some sketchy reports from Quang Ngai, from people who left after people went to the other side. They report a total absence of fighting. The markets were open. Shops were open. There was no petrol, so people were getting around on bicycles and pedicabs. Finally, they said that some things never change; new identity cards were being issued to the young people by the new administration.

Senator Kennedy. Tell us a little bit about your program there, what you are prepared to do? If you are able to get assistance, what you are prepared to continue?

Mr. Teitel. The program we have had has been a rehabilitation center for civilians touched by the war. We do not think that the government changing hands altered the needs of those people. Therefore, we would like very much to continue that program, more or less exactly as we have in the past. Second, we would like to respond to the immediate needs of people who have been displaced by the current level of fighting, that would be on both sides.

Conditions Necessary to Operate in Quang Ngai

Senator Mathias. I would like to interrupt at this point. What conditions do you have for continuing to operate in areas under the control of the PRG or the North Vietnamese?

Mr. Teitel. We discussed that with the PRG in Paris a couple of weeks ago and they seem very amendable to having our rehabilitation center intact with the staff, continuing with administrative help of the PRG. In fact, last month they wrote us a letter and asked that we give them a rehab center, and now they have it, but not exactly in the way they asked.

We discussed the question of American personnel who worked in the center returning to it and the PRG was very open to discussions of that. The discussions were mainly the logistical questions of how they would get there, how they would be supplied, how we would communicate with them, et cetera.

They said that as long as our staff behaved themselves, they thought that a return to Quang Ngai was something they would like to try, at least for a period of months.

Senator Mathias. The point of view of the American Friends Service Committee, do you have no apprehension about security or other problems once these agreements have been reached?

Mr. Teitel. No, not at all. We have had people visit PRG areas and they certainly have been very well treated. I have been to Hanoi, myself, twice, although not to the South, and the treatment is very good. All along, our main fear has been the Saigon troops who have been left without their commanders in some cases and have run amuck. That is what we observed in Danang and that has been our only major fear.

Senator Kennedy. What is the backup time now for prosthetic devices—what is the length of time?

Mr. Teitel. How long does one wait?
Senator Kennedy. Yes.

Mr. Teitel. I think a patient is admitted, and if there are no complications, he or she is treated more or less immediately; mainly there has not been a backlog. We do not have reports since the PRG took over, but the situation was that we were turning out about 90 to 100 artificial limbs and braces per month, and that was virtually—

Senator Kennedy. There is quite a backlog in Saigon, I know, and other parts of the country. Would you be prepared to expand your program generally if you had the resources?

Mr. Teitel. If we had the resources, we would be prepared to expand in any way that we could. There certainly is a need. This committee has pointed up on a number of occasions, from the Senate staff investigations, the tremendous need for physical rehabilitation for civilians in all parts of Vietnam, and we will be prepared to offer whatever we could in that regard.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Teitel follows:]

**Testimony of Martin Teitel, American Friends Service Committee**

Senators, Ladies and Gentlemen: My name is Martin Teitel. I am Director of Asia Service Programs for the American Friends Service Committee, based in Philadelphia. I would like to share with you today a number of observations about the current situation in Vietnam, based on nine years of direct Quaker involvement in that country. In the last six years I have spent a considerable amount of time in Asia, including 12 visits to south Vietnam and two visits to North Vietnam. The American Friends Service Committee resident staff in Vietnam consists of six westerners, all of whom speak Vietnamese. Their collective experience in Vietnam totals 16 years. Currently, five of our staff are in Saigon, while the sixth, a medical doctor, is in Da Nang, an area of Vietnam no longer under Saigon control.

It is the strong conviction of the American Friends Service Committee, based on our years of direct experience in the Vietnam situation, that the United States can achieve the greatest benefit for Vietnamese refugees and orphans by shifting its aid from military assistance that prolongs the war, to directly aiding the suffering people of Vietnam, wherever they might reside.

Regarding the refugees in Vietnam, recent reports from our staff in Saigon indicate that the panic and disorder of Saigon troops has contributed to the flight of refugees as much as anything else. The Quaker staff report that many Vietnamese are not fleeing southwards, but returning to their homes or taking refuge in the hills and mountains, in areas no longer controlled by the Saigon regime. Refugees who move or are moved into Saigon-controlled zones are frequently left in areas without adequate housing, sanitation or food.

But why do some refugees flee into Saigon-controlled zones? A recent report from a Quaker staff member in Vietnam says, "First, liberated areas are usually bombed and shelled to rubble, and civilians are the least adept at saving themselves from destruction; and second, the GVN is particularly savage in reprisals against people who chose to remain in an area that was definitely going to be controlled by the other side. If (the refugees) know that they have to suffer the destruction of their homes and loss of life, and also arrest and torture should the GVN come back in, then they seem to opt for the uncertain fate of the refugee."

A telex from Saigon several days ago notes, "We are seriously opposed to massive transfers of people away from their homes. Their movement is based on panic and not on any real military threat." A later telex adds, "There is more misery in store beyond the present death by starvation and lack of sanitation. By offering refugees places like Cam Ranh the Government of Vietnam has moved people away from zones where the fighting has just finished back into places where fighting will soon begin." The message continues, "The policy seems to be to deny the Communists some population and not to improve the lot of the refugees at all. The effort to move them is a cynical, immoral program. Are these people being used as a human buffer zone? The refugees become a pawn in requests for further foreign aid."
Commenting on the question of foreign adoption of Vietnamese orphans, Quaker staff in Vietnam have noted that of the estimated 25,000 orphans in south Vietnam, some still have living parents. "We are responsible for the prolongation of a murderous war, which would have been classified as orphans under both Vietnamese and U.S. law. The American Friends Service Committee is totally opposed to illegal massive airlifting of Vietnamese children out of Vietnam. Both the Saigon Government and the other side have spoken out against this," Douglas Hostetter, of the Methodist Office for the United Nations, who himself has lived and worked in Vietnam, explains this congruence of opinion between the two sides in south Vietnam: "There are good reasons why almost every Vietnamese is against intercountry adoption. First, there have been several million Vietnamese who have died as a result of the war. It is the children who are the future hope, the next generation of Vietnamese. Secondly, there is the factor of Vietnamese national pride. For the Vietnamese to see their children taken and raised in another country is to suggest that they are incapable of taking care of them, or that there are others who could do it better. Finally, there is the fear among many Vietnamese that when peace comes and relatives try to locate their families they will discover the children have been sent to another country."

Our Quaker team in Vietnam points out, "the adoption of orphans by well-meaning people can create more problems than already exist." For example, there are reliable reports from Hostetter and others that the demand by Americans over the last few years for the adoption of Vietnamese babies has actually created a black market for infants. Because of the breakdown in traditional Vietnamese family patterns and great economic hardships caused by the war, some mothers have sold their babies, for prices ranging from $80 in some Saigon maternity hospitals to $800 in Bangkok for the children of Asian mothers and American fathers. Steps can be taken to stop this inhuman practice. One example is a small program in Saigon operated by Vietnam Christian Service in which Vietnamese social workers help women to understand the needs of children and the benefits of a family and the liabilities of orphanages; they encourage the women not to abandon their children. American energy and money should be going into projects such as this one, which supports the structure of Vietnamese society rather than working against it.

The great diversion of American public opinion over the foreign adoption of a small number of Vietnamese orphans does nothing for the millions of Vietnamese children who remain caught in the tragic and continuing war. Insofar as U.S. attention has been riveted on this small number of children, most of whom have already been adopted, time and energy are diverted away from the much greater numbers of children and adults who remain on both sides in Vietnam, and who continue to suffer. Therefore, I hope that in considering the complex and serious situation in South Vietnam today, this Committee will turn its attention to the larger needs of millions of innocent civilians in all of Vietnam, whose suffering from the war has not been altered as the result of the territory in which they live changing from the control of one group to another. It is heart-rending to see refugees and orphans used as the basis for reams of publicity when the greater tragedy is the prolongation of a murderous war, which would have ended long ago but for uninterrupted infusions of U.S. military support. What is needed now is an end to the sending of U.S. military supplies and advice to Vietnam, and a replacement of that destructive power with a coherent and massive program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction, for all the people of Vietnam.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES MACCORMACK, SAVE THE CHILDREN/COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION.

Mr. MacCormack, Mr. Chairman, one of the fortunate things in coming toward the end of a panel such as this is that most of what you have to say has already been said.

I am Charles MacCormack, director of the programs for Save the Children Federation and the Community Development Foundation. We have been working in Vietnam for a number of years, primarily
in the area of the development of the rural sector in the greater Saigon area and other areas. We have been in contact with our staff there yesterday by phone, and the situation—as has been pointed out on several occasions this morning—is one of desperation and inquietude. Much of the situation, I think, follows from the lack of stability and to a certain extent the polarization of the situation.

POSSIBLE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

It would seem to me that it would be extremely helpful to take whatever actions that are necessary toward diminishing the polarization between the sides. In terms of the role of voluntary agencies, once again it seems to me that there is a very positive role that these agencies can perform at this particular time.

One is the fact that by and large—compared to the United Nations, AID, and government agencies—they are relatively small, flexible, and able to work at the local level very effectively.

Second, in many cases they do provide a vehicle by which the American people are able directly to feel a sense of involvement with what is happening in the Indochina situation. It seems to me that this will be very important in the coming months: that some mechanism to allow the great desire of most people in this country to continue to help human beings, people, in Vietnam be developed, and that the voluntary agencies are very definitely a set of institutions that the great number of people in the United States trust implicitly and believe can be relied upon to help at the local level.

Finally, in my opinion and perhaps most importantly, our agency—and I think without exception all the voluntary agencies—are concerned with the long-run developmental implications of activities in Indochina. I think there is a fear, as has been alluded to once or twice this morning, that when the urgency of the situation diminishes to a certain extent, concern and resources will also diminish.

The voluntary agencies on the other hand, by and large, and particularly I think those represented here are concerned with long-term development consequences; and the matter of refugees is the most overwhelming kind of issue that must be assisted in such a way as to ultimately deal with the development issues.

In my opinion, the voluntary agencies are prepared through the support that they have at the grass roots in the United States, to follow through with development issues. I am somewhat concerned today—for example, I have heard nothing about Laos. There is a country that underwent to a significant degree the same kind of devastation and destruction we are talking about in the other countries of Indochina, where the opportunities for resettlement and long-term assistance appear to be somewhat more significant and appropriate than they do in Cambodia and South Vietnam. Yet at a time where perhaps lesser amounts of assistance could produce long-term results for people interested in returning to their traditional roles and returning to their homes to undertake a permanent new way of life.

Attention moves from the long term to the short term. I do feel the voluntary agencies can maintain both kinds of perspectives.
Finally, by working at the local level—and this is again referring to the urgent situation in South Vietnam and the refugee situation—mention was made here to the basic human necessities of food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. It is our own experience in situations like this that issues of some sort of pride and hope are also essential to human beings for their survival.

Once again it seems to me that private agencies, agencies with no partisan commitment, are the kind that perhaps offer the best opportunity for hope as well as physical survival. From our point of view, by and large governments do not have the same appearance that governments might have from another perspective. We examine the governing group basically according to its commitments to the rural poor and to the long-term development of the rural poor. That does not necessarily coincide with which side of the Iron Curtain or cold war of other such issue that one may be looking at.

Finally, United States Save the Children, the particular organization I represent, is only one of a worldwide network of autonomous agencies. There are also Save the Children Federations in Britain, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries, and we do have to a certain extent an international division of labor. For example, the Scandinavian Save the Children Federations have been working rather closely with the North Vietnamese and the PRG, where we have been working more closely with the South Vietnamese. But it has been possible to coordinate a more integrated regional kind of input based on an appropriate relationship by the particular national federation.

One question that might be considered is the role of nongovernmental voluntary agencies not legally domiciled in the United States; for example, wherein a Swedish voluntary agency, for example, provides particular kinds of assistance that might or might not be appropriate for an American-based agency to provide.

**IMPACT OF CURRENT EVENTS ON PROGRAMS**

Senator Kennedy. Those are useful comments. What has happened to your current programs now in the areas that have been overrun?

Mr. McCormack. About half our programs are still in the area controlled by the Saigon Government. The other half are in areas that no longer are—our programs as I have said are based on an integrated concept of rural development and particularly food productivity. To the best of our knowledge our impact programs in the South are continuing, for example, to supply Saigon and refugees with food which is produced within Vietnam itself. Once again I hope and we hope that this kind of nationally based rehabilitation can take place, rather than to a certain extent overwhelming the entire system with external assistance for the short run but perhaps even destroying the long-term or medium-term capabilities for indigenous agricultural productivity.

That is in terms of our southern programs. I should mention that our agency internationally has only five American citizens employed overseas. Our overseas staff is almost totally nationals and people in our field work we all recruited from the locality. In our nation programs, almost without exception as far as we know now, those local
fieldworkers and those communities have remained in place. In other words, in the Montagnard communities in which we were working, the individuals remained.

Senator Kennedy. Have you heard from any of those people?

Mr. MacCormack. We have not heard directly. We have in the sense that there is not contact with them on the coast or any refugee related contact. We have rumors that there have been no particular reprisals or any particular problems for the people with whom we have worked, or even for our field workers, although again only later information will determine this finally.

I do sense the same sort of thing that was mentioned earlier, that decisions are made at the local level. The local relationships and local activities may very well be determinative in terms of the particular result. In one area the particular PRG military sector may have one attitude and another in another. A particular field worker may have worked well with the PRG and the Viet Cong for years, and another one might not have. These are the kinds of things I really do not get particularly informed about at the headquarters' level. On the other hand, I am happy that our people are basically able to work on a long-term way at the grass roots level and that they made arrangements in the most positive kinds of ways for the local community.

Senator Kennedy. Mr. Burbank is next, who represents the Seventh Day Adventists.

STATEMENT OF HOWARD BURBANK, SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST WORLD SERVICE

Mr. Burbank. Mr. Chairman, I am indeed gratified by the humanitarian aspects that I have been listening to here today because this is what the voluntary agencies are all about. We have been in Vietnam for a number of years. We operate the Saigon Adventists hospital, and the Seventh Day Adventist World Service Inc. is the famine and disaster relief arm of our church. The operation that we have been happy to be involved in Vietnam, Saigon in particular, with our hospital has been very rewarding. In the past we have even brought into this hospital our heart team from Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, Calif., as you have probably heard more than 100 open-heart surgeries were conducted there at the hospital.

We occupy the old Army hospital, as you know. This of course is quite cumbersome, so we are trying to build and now have a four-story building partially erected, hoping that we can move into this, which of course will cut our expenses because this is one of the things that is very important to any voluntary organization.

We have been channeling many kinds of relief supplies into Vietnam. We even have some on the high seas now and are hoping we can get them in. Our hospital will continue to play an important part as it did in the tragedy that took place the other day when the orphan loaded plane crashed. It touched our hearts when we saw what happened.

The second floor of this hospital is devoted to the caring for of orphans from any organization which brings them in for hospitalization. As far as operating orphanages are concerned, we do not
operate one as such. Our orphans are placed in the homes of individuals, and we pay the Vietnamese foster parents for this and assure them of medical and educational background.

For the future, who knows? I have been instructed by our organization to inform those who need to know that we are prepared to carry forward our work. We will continue our work as we stay there. We of course will need the assurance of security as do the other volunteer agencies.

We are there today, and we intend to stay just as long as we possibly can. We are naturally very much interested in the relief work that is going on in both sectors of the country, and we are prepared to work with any organization—I should say, any political organization that is there because naturally that is a part of our basic foundation. We are interested in people, and in helping these people.

I might just say that our doctors organization has already gone on record that they are willing to send 50 doctors over there whenever it is necessary. I had the privilege of meeting the plane that came to New York on Sunday with the orphans, and two of our doctors from Vietnam were on this plane. They were making the round trip and were on the way back to Saigon. They had accompanied the orphans as they came over. We intend to keep on the job. We would hope that we could be even more involved with the program in that area because we feel that we do have work that we can do.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

Senator Kennedy. Do you get government support now?

Mr. Burbank. The support that we receive is mainly what we call reimbursement for our normal shipping cost that we use for sending our relief supplies, clothing, so on, which by the way has completely run out. We have no more.

Senator Kennedy. No more what?

Mr. Burbank. No more reimbursement for the normal shipping that we usually use for this process. We are now using our own funds at this time.

In other words, the volunteer organizations are allotted a certain amount. Our allotment is gone.

Senator Kennedy. For what?

Mr. Burbank. For shipping of relief supplies.

Senator Kennedy. That is going to this hospital?

Mr. Burbank. Yes.

Senator Kennedy. AID has not any more resources to make available to you to cover shipping?

Mr. Burbank. I understand the budget has been cut. That is all I know.

Senator Kennedy. What sort of things would you ship?

Mr. Burbank. Medical supplies, clothing, relief supplies things of this type.

Senator Kennedy. That astounds me. What is the nature of the kind of cargo that would be covered?

Mr. Burbank. We have appropriated $100,000 of our own funds for this particular purpose, as I said.

Senator Kennedy. You obviously didn’t get in on that last 24 hours of obligated funding which we heard about earlier.