

DEC 31 1959

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BY AUTHORITY OF

T. S. Voorhees

29 November 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with Mr. Tracy Voorhees and General William Donovan

Participants: Mr. Voorhees, General Donovan, Mr. Wisner, Mr. Karlow and  
Mr. Cox

1. Mr. Wisner opened the meeting stating that his remarks should be considered in the context of time, since he had left Vienna on November 12 after a five day visit. He pointed out to Mr. Voorhees that General Donovan was really better informed on many of these matters having been in Vienna more recently. Even though there were only 15,000 Hungarian refugees in Austria when Mr. Wisner was there, many of the same problems that existed then still exist today, he felt.

2. Mr. Wisner indicated that CIA is prepared to provide Mr. Voorhees or his representatives with the full support of the CIA mission in Vienna. He said that CIA would arrange also to insure that Max Palmer, the Chief of Austrian security, would also give full cooperation. General Donovan indicated that he concurred in Mr. Wisner's opinion that Max Palmer was an excellent man and an old friend of the United States who could be relied upon.

3. Mr. Wisner then went into detail about the truly remarkable courage of the Austrian Government during this entire period. He contrasted the wonderful response of the Austrians to the Hungarian revolution with the unfortunate response of the West Germans and the Italians. He said that Ambassador Thompson was worried that the Austrian Government might be going even too far in stretching its neutrality to assist the Hungarian refugees. There is a clause in the Austrian peace treaty which provides that up until January 1, 1957, the Soviets may unilaterally re-enter Austria if they determine that the terms of neutrality have been violated. As the Moscow Radio was broadcasting on its Austrian service charges that the Austrians were violating the terms of the treaty, there was real reason for concern by the Austrian Government. Despite this, the Austrians took great risks; for example, one night, all of the communist installations in Vienna, including the book stores, were destroyed with the exception of one important printing plant.

4. Mr. Wisner expressed the opinion that Ambassador Thompson is extremely able and has been performing a magnificent job under the most difficult circumstances. He pointed out that the Ambassador has no Minister and no administrative officer and that the personnel shortage is so extreme that the Ambassador is personally spending time on such matters as the number of blankets

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available to distribute to needy refugees. CIA is giving the Embassy some temporary help by detailing a few of its officers. Mr. Wisner suggested to Thompson that he get in touch with Loy Henderson to send a capable administrative officer at once. Mr. Wisner suggested that what was needed was a young man aged thirty-five to forty-five, and gave the name of an able State Department man who is now attending War College. Mr. Voorhees commented that he thought that Mr. Halim Tuck, who has the full confidence of Herbert Hoover, Sr. would be an able field administrator for his organization. He said that he thought that Tuck's excellent contacts with the voluntary agencies would be valuable. He also thought that General Hardig, former Quartermaster General of the Army, might be a good man to help Ambassador Thompson.

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At this point General Donovan departed for a meeting with DCI.

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5. Mr. Voorhees said that he did not think he personally would be going to Vienna in the near future. He plans to stay in the U.S. and get his organization put together. While Mr. Wisner was taking a telephone call, Mr. Voorhees said that it was his hope to persuade the White House to set up a "President's Committee on Hungarian Refugees" with Herbert Hoover, Sr. as Honorary Chairman and himself as Executive Chairman. He said that he thought it was extremely important to harness in a well organized way the great desire of the American public to participate in aiding the plight of the Hungarian refugees. He said that when he worked with Mr. Hoover on the Finnish Aid Program, they raised in a very short time four million dollars from the American people. He felt that similar amounts of money could be raised for this cause. He stressed that his program should not be limited to aid from the U.S. Government. Mr. Voorhees said that he had called Charles Merz, chief editorial writer of the New York Times, referring to an editorial in yesterday's New York Times and telling Mr. Merz that he had every intention of acting on all aspects of this problem as soon as he is able to get organized.

6. Mr. Wisner returned to say that he was concerned by the fact that other governments, because their procedures were more flexible, less encumbered by red tape, had been able to move rapidly among the refugees and pick the best of them for emigration to their own countries. He said that the Canadians, Australians, French and Swiss had done a particularly effective job of getting the cream of the refugees to go to their countries. Based on the sad experience of the United States during 1947-48 Mr. Wisner felt that unless our procedures were speeded up there was a danger of our getting the residue, the sick and aged people. Mr. Wisner stressed the great importance of the children among the refugees. He said there was evidence that the Soviets were using the technique of fabricated appeals from parents to get the Austrian Government to return the children to Hungary. He also said that the communists were applying intense pressure for the return of all miners who are desperately needed in the Hungarian coal mines. These pressures, both with respect to the miners



and the children, amount to forced repatriation and Mr. Wisner urged Mr. Voorhees to do everything possible to inspire in any way we can a decision to resist any forced repatriation.

7. Mr. Wisner indicated that it is his opinion that the Hungarian revolution is a great defeat for the Soviets and a great victory for free people despite its tragic overtones. It is Mr. Wisner's opinion that the Hungarians are going to continue to resist indefinitely even though their resistance may be a passive one. He said that he was particularly concerned that the U.S. avoid "mea culpa". There has been entirely too much coverage in the U.S. newspapers blaming the crushing intervention of the Red Army on ourselves. He says that the American press has, in fact, been the worst offender on this score. Mr. Wisner feels that we should be emphasizing the positive aspects of the Hungarian revolution and the great victory that the Hungarian people have already won.

8. Mr. Voorhees said that he was going to be spending his time the next few days meeting with the voluntary agencies and with Sherman Adams and Max Rabb in the White House. He said that the U.S. Army can immediately make available up to ten million dollars worth of medical supplies, trucks, bedding, cots, and GI clothing dyed for civilian use. He said that he thought it was important that the Austrian Government should administer this. Mr. Wisner pointed out that the Austrian Government was already terribly overloaded. Mr. Voorhees said that he felt that much of the material being contributed by various voluntary organizations was no good, particularly old clothes, such as evening dresses and corsets, etc. Despite this, Mr. Wisner felt that it was still important that, in Europe at least, people be encouraged to give. He said that when a family gives clothing or food, it has a real sense of participation in the cause of the Hungarian people, and this is a very important psychological factor in the climate of European opinion. Mr. Voorhees agreed, but he said that he hoped that in the U.S. most of the public effort would be limited to fund raising. At this point Mr. Voorhees had to leave for lunch, and it was agreed that Mr. Wisner would pass on to him his remaining suggestions in a subsequent meeting.

ARTHUR M. COX



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30 November 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: White House Meeting on Hungarian Refugees

1. Present were Sherman Adams, Max Rabb, Tracy Voorhees, General Donovan, Loy Henderson, Scott MacLeod and representatives of other agencies.
2. Mr. Adams opened the meeting with a brief chronology of the Hungarian refugee situation. He stressed the President's very strong personal interest in this matter. He outlined briefly the functions of Mr. Voorhees' new job describing it as coordination of the U.S. effort, both Government and private, with respect to the Hungarian refugees. He said that the President was very pleased with the campaign announced that morning by the Red Cross and the Advertising Council. He said the President had stressed the great humanitarian aspects of aid to the Hungarian refugees.
3. Max Rabb then spoke briefly saying that Government agencies and voluntary private organizations have each already done very important work in this field, but there is a need for pulling their efforts together so that the best possible effect can be achieved. He said that Mr. Voorhees would be attempting to pull together all of the loose ends with the purpose of providing one single point of focus on this problem which has been given such high priority by the President. He said that Mr. Voorhees would be concerned with everything ranging from the best handling of job offers made by U.S. corporations to scholarship programs developed by our various universities, etc.
4. Mr. Voorhees said that he considered his role as one of a helper and expediter, not as a czar. He said he had no intention of telling any of the Government agencies how to run their business. He felt that one of the most important aspects of his job was to keep the Hungarian problem before the eyes and ears of the world as dramatically as possible and for as long a time as necessary. He said that there was real danger that people would start forgetting Hungary during the Christmas holiday season unless a major campaign such as he intends to produce was in operation. Mr. Voorhees said that expected his operation to provide very valuable material for the U.S. information programs, and said that he would welcome any suggestions for actions which might improve the impact of the U.S. propaganda effort. He said that he felt that his first job was the problem of organization

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in the United States rather than in Austria. He reiterated Governor Adams' praise for the magnificent courage of the Austrian Government and people. He felt that the Austrians would welcome his assistance, but he intends to operate through the Austrian Government and the International Red Cross, not through additional American agencies. He does not intend to send many more Americans to Austria. In Mr. Voorhees' opinion, Ambassador Thompson should be considered to have the role of theater commander, and all decisions with regard to policy and operation should be made by or with the consent of Ambassador Thompson. Loy Henderson, speaking for the Department of State, said that he appreciated these views of Mr. Voorhees, and that Mr. Voorhees could count on the wholehearted cooperation of the State Department in carrying forward his tremendous task.

5. There was discussion of the number of additional refugees to be admitted into the United States. It was agreed that there would be an announcement made by the White House Saturday morning authorizing a total of 21,500 Hungarian refugees to come to this country. Scott MacLeod said that their lawyers had determined that the Refugee Relief Act could permit a total of only 6,500 Hungarians. Therefore, the other 15,000 will have to be parolees who will be screened for security and health after their arrival here. A new act of Congress will be required probably to permit them to become U.S. citizens. The Public Health Office representative announced that 7,200 refugees had been processed for full health check-out in Austria already. However, only 2,000 refugees have been processed for visas and up until yesterday only 1,000 had entered the United States. It is intended to speed up this procedure.

6. Mr. Voorhees said that he considers his job to be much more than handling a difficult refugee and immigration problem. He considers it to be a vital political operation pointed directly at the Kremlin, and therefore he considers that it must be effectively accomplished in order not to give the Soviets any propaganda bargains. He said that we must remedy the fact that at the present time of those governments operating within Austria on behalf of the refugees, the United States is at the bottom of the list. The Swiss, for example, are reported to have already opened their doors to 10,000 refugees, most of whom have entered Switzerland. Mr. Rabb closed the meeting saying that because of the importance attached to Mr. Voorhees' job, he would be located in an office in the White House and would speak on behalf of the White House. Mr. Voorhees is working without compensation and without any official title. As soon as his telephone number has been ascertained, all of the interested agencies will be informed.

7. After the meeting I spoke briefly to Mr. Voorhees reiterating Mr. Wisner's offer to provide any assistance that CIA could give. Mr. Voorhees said that he would like to have on a regular basis any intelligence we have on the refugee situation. This would presumably include such things as communist penetration and operations among the refugees in Austria by pro-Soviet elements, estimates on the continuing flow of refugees from Hungary, details regarding Soviet moves to close the border, etc. Mr. Voorhees also said that he would like to have a paper outlining those



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activities bearing on the care, resettlement, and employment of Hungarian refugees. Included also in such a paper would presumably be such things as the assistance from the private organizations that can be given in the U.S. campaign by the Crusade for Freedom, the 500 scholarships offered by the Free Europe University in Exile, the International Student Organization programs, the Hungarian National Service Committee activities in Austria, financed by the Free Europe Committee, etc. Finally, Mr. Voorhees indicated that he would welcome any suggestions from CIA which could help him in carrying out his job more effectively.

ARTHUR M. COX

KEITH BOND

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# Terms of Reference

December 17, 1956

## Memorandum for the Record

At the request of Tracy S. Voorhees, I talked to Mr. Gerald Morgan, Counsel to the President, concerning the difference between Mr. Hagerty's statement on TSV's appointment and the terms of reference agreed to between TSV and Mr. Morgan.

Mr. Morgan stated that TSV should ignore any changes from the agreed statement and should consider his terms of reference the following statement originally agreed upon:

"The President today designated Tracy S. Voorhees as his representative in connection with Hungarian refugee relief and resettlement activities to assure full coordination of the work of the various voluntary and Government agencies with each other and with other volunteer efforts in this field. To this end he asked Mr. Voorhees to see that effective machinery is promptly set up to accomplish these purposes."

HTC



13 February 1957

## MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

SUBJECT: Discussion with General Swing as to rate of arrival of Hungarian refugees

I went down to see General Swing today. I said that the memorandum approved by Governor Adams on January 9 called for not to exceed 5000 but that he had told me that this was to be a target of 5000 which State insisted upon and which we were prepared to carry out; that we could not very well contract for the movement of people unless we had the refugees; that I was very disturbed to find that Mr. Hennessey had stated on Monday that they were processing at the rate of only 750 per week and did not propose to change.

General Swing gave in substance the following explanation:- That they were having a 50% "fall down", that is, people who had first been listed then for some reason were not acceptable or had gone to other countries; that he felt that the total figure of refugees in Austria was not a dependable figure, and that it perhaps was very much smaller. He said that in doing the much more careful screening that they were doing now they also had found a lot of them who were not fighters who had left Hungary because they had to, but were people who had heard that things were good in America for Hungarian refugees, and had come along in order to get to America. This was the reason that there were fewer people.

I reached the following agreement with General Swing:-

- (1) That I would seek immediately the funds for ICEM to transport 2000 refugees to the U.S. without naming the date, so that as the refugees were available they could be brought over.



(2) That General Swing is going to leave tomorrow for Vienna; that he would be back about next Tuesday; that his purpose would be to find out what the situation actually is as to the number of acceptable refugees who would continue to be brought here.

(3) That he would immediately communicate by phone with their INS representatives there and would give them the following instructions:- That they would process as many acceptable refugees as was necessary to fill the quota approved by Governor Adams in his February 9 memorandum; that they would not limit it to any specific number; that General Swing would follow this up when he got to Austria.

(4) That I would communicate with the State Department and suggest an immediate message to the Ambassador indicating this, and stating that we would need to know, for the voluntary agencies as well as for the ICEM contracting, what the scale is going to be.

(5) That they would give me before our meeting of The President's Committee in New York on Friday afternoon, at which there would be the four representatives from the principal religious agencies present, their best estimate as to the number which would be coming so that the agencies could make their plans.

We discussed the possibility of getting some kind of an early joint resolution which would give congressional blessing to what the President had done in bringing these people in as an emergency matter, and indicating approval of the use of similar power if confronted with a further emergency



situation. General Swing said he thought that this would not be done by a joint resolution but could be done just as effectively by an understanding with the Immigration subcommittees of both houses that they approved what the President had done under the parole provision, and recognized that it should be continued. I said that if we could get that it would be fine.

General Swing also felt that it would be possible to clear informally with the congressional leaders, that is, the Immigration committees, our acceptance on a parole basis of certain numbers from countries of secondary asylum, such as the UK, with the understanding that such countries would take in an equivalent number of further persons from Austria or Yugoslavia.

Tracy S. Voorhees

cc: State (Mr. Porter)  
Committee (Mr. Carusi)  
W.H. (Mr. Carter)  
ICA (Mr. Sage)



I also discussed with General Swing the C.D. Jackson matter, telling him that I had persuaded CDJ that General Swing was right, and that we should not take these people from Sweden unless the policy was changed to take people from countries of secondary asylum.

As to Governor Harriman's request, I said that it seemed to me that this was in accordance with policy, and that I would like very much to be able to get a favorable reply off to him.

As to the Yugoslavia situation, General Swing said he felt that we should not take refugees in from Yugoslavia on account of the congressional climate. I did not acquiesce in this.

TSV



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February 22, 1957

TREND OF OPINION AS TO THE INADEQUACY OF  
EXISTING MEASURES FOR HUNGARIAN REFUGEES  
NOT COMING TO THE UNITED STATES

Convincing evidence of the immediate need for a more adequate and vigorous U. S. policy to deal with Hungarian refugees who are not coming to America lies in the cumulative build-up of criticism of the condition of these refugees in Austria and Yugoslavia. This trend appears both in private statements from representatives of the principal religious agencies engaged in this resettlement work, as well as in various public statements. Illustrative of this trend are the following:

(A) Public statements: Within the past three days there has been the following press and radio comment.

- (1) The NEW YORK TIMES on February 20 contained a public statement by the field director of the Catholic Relief Services in Austria, Father Flynn, issued immediately upon his return from Austria. This included his assertion that:

"...if 'immoral and obscene' conditions in overcrowded refugee camps were not relieved, 'hundreds of Hungarians' would elect to return to their homeland.

"'One thing that cries to heaven in Austria these days is the condition of the refugees. '

"The overcrowding was described as 'morally indecent and without privacy' by Father Flynn.

"Virtually no Hungarians have responded to efforts of a repatriation commission to have them return to Hungary, Father Flynn said. However, he added, 'if the Government does not correct these evils of camp life, I'm sure hundreds will go back. '"



- (2) The WASHINGTON POST of February 21 contained a statement by Edward H. Meyerding, Chief of the Quaker refugee mission in Austria who also had just returned from refugee work in Europe. He said: -

"At least 70,000 Hungarians are still in Austria and the Hungarian food crisis may well bring another 100,000 or 200,000 by spring or early summer. It is a tremendous expense with the main burden still on the Austrian government. And there are signs of rapid deterioration of morale among the refugees, particularly those in the camps. '"

- (3) Charles Collingwood on the Ed Murrow radio program at 7:45 p.m., February 19, made a major statement on this subject containing the following highlights:

"...the speed with which the fires of concern die down sometimes amazes even a reporter who has seen it happen so many times before. A case in point is the plight of the Hungarian refugees who fled their country to what they thought was a bright new life of freedom. Few things so mobilized the sympathies of the world as the gallant, hopeless struggle of the Hungarians against their Communist government. And when 200 thousand of them crossed the border and came out, they were met with a great wave of sympathy and a fervid and frequently stated resolve that a place would be found for them and that life indeed would be better than what they left.

"The exodus from Hungary began in November. It is now February. Of the 170 thousand who escaped to Austria 60 thousand are still there...in camps...trying to get out...an increasingly heavy burden on little Austria which is still harboring 114 thousand refugees left over from World War II. But the Hungarians who fled to Austria are the luckiest. Two thirds of them have been settled. The United States has taken 26 thousand, Britain has taken 16 thousand, and smaller countries smaller numbers. At least the 60 thousand remaining have hope that they will find a house.

"17 thousand Hungarians escaped to Yugoslavia and they don't even have hope. The only place any of them have got to from Yugoslavia is back to Hungary. They are going back across the border to the land they left at the rate of 700 a week. This is not because the Yugoslavs have changed their attitude, they are taking care of them as well as they can, but there is nowhere for them to go. No country has taken any of the refugees from Yugoslavia. There's only one camp in Yugoslavia that the refugees could be put in. (Emphasis supplied.)



"...the United Nations Refugee authorities say the Hungarians aren't being pressed to leave, it's just that after awhile they get the idea that no one wants them and so they start the dreary trek back home. It's not a pretty picture and it's a gloomy contrast not only to all the hopes they had, but to the great outpouring of world sympathy and support which greeted the Hungarians when they sought freedom.

(B) Private statements include:

Protests made to me by the heads of the principal religious agencies engaged in Hungarian refugee resettlement. These include all of such agencies represented on the President's Committee. While I ruled as Chairman of the Committee that such a discussion was out of order at a recent meeting of the Committee as not being a subject within the Committee's functions, I received afterwards their statements made both orally and in writing.

- (1) Monsignor Edward E. Swanstrom, Executive Director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, in addition to even more emphatic oral statements, has written me a letter containing the following excerpts:

"I am writing to you not so much as a member of the President's Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief, but as the Director of one of the large voluntary resettlement agencies that has had the privilege of working with you in the resettlement of the Hungarian refugees who have come into the United States in recent weeks.

"... This letter is primarily to reemphasize some of the remarks I made at the informal meeting we held yesterday to discuss Mr. William Hallam Tuck's very excellent report on the situation as he found it in Austria in regard to the care, integration and resettlement of Hungarian refugees. I am sure that everyone who read it was struck with the thoroughness of the report and the wisdom of his observations.

"Mr. Tuck's report and the reports that our agency has been receiving from Austria serve to emphasize again the inadequacy of governmental and intergovernmental effort toward a proper solution of this newest refugee problem.



"... The President's Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief has done an excellent job in helping some twenty odd thousand people to find homes in the United States. This is only the barest segment of the problem. Hungarian refugees who have been located in France, Germany, Italy and other Western European countries are far from permanently resettled, and the coming months will witness many pressures upon all of us to more adequately meet their needs.

"Austria cannot possibly cope with the seventy to eighty thousand refugees still remaining in that country. Recent reports indicate that in many of the Austria refugee camps there has been little improvement in the deplorable conditions I personally witnessed there in December, 1956.

"... I know that I can say with justification that many of the leaders in the field of refugee relief and resettlement feel that a new serious look should be taken at international effort and American effort in regard to refugees. How it should be done, of course, is something for our leaders in Washington and in the State Department to decide.

"... These are just a few suggestions, and I place them before you as one of our leaders who has demonstrated a sincere sympathy, understanding and a willingness to cope with the problem."

- (2) Mr. Moses Leavitt, Executive Vice-Chairman of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc., says in a letter:

"I feel I should share with you some of the thoughts which I expressed at the informal meeting that we had last Friday. This is not an official letter from me to you as a member of the President's Committee, but represents the experience and the knowledge that I have of the Hungarian situation as reported to me by our field staff and from what I saw myself in Austria last month.

"... At best, the conditions in the camps are horrible beyond words, if one were to take one simple requirement of every human being, that is privacy. The massing together of men, women and children - 60, 70 and 80 in a room - breaks down normal inhibitions which human beings have absorbed in their upbringing and which we take for granted. Inaction, the lack of work, the rumors, true and false, that sweep the camps, all create a bad atmosphere which develops into what we know as the 'DP psychology.' The longer human beings stay in these camps the worse and the longer is their readjustment in a normal society.



"Despite the extraordinary results obtained by the President's Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief in resettling 25,000 refugees in the United States in two months' time, and despite the generous reception given to Hungarian refugees by Germany, Switzerland, France, England, Canada and Australia, the fact remains that there are over 100,000 refugees still in need of permanent resettlement for whom coordinated and large scale planning should be done. I speak of the 60,000 to 65,000 refugees in Austria, 20,000 in Yugoslavia and 20,000 to 30,000 that have gone temporarily to countries like Switzerland, Germany, France, Belgium and Holland.

"I have seen many refugee groups in the last 20 years and I must say that this group of Hungarian refugees represents the most promising from the viewpoint of resettlement in a new country. They are young, they are healthy, they are trained and they are enthusiastically aware of the benefits of freedom and liberty that they will find in the Western world.

".....all of the refugees in Austria must be treated equally and given a minimal decent place in which to live pending their emigration out of Austria. Only the United States can be expected to meet this crying need. .... The break in the iron curtain signaled by the Hungarian revolt and the movement of 170,000 people out of the country, has been utilized, but there can be no diminution in effort until the problem of these 170,000 people has been solved. Otherwise we would undo all of the great work that has been done so far."

- (3) Dr. R. Norris Wilson, head of the protestant Church World Services, who has just returned from a first hand study of the situation in Austria was almost violent in his oral comments to me criticising conditions in various of the camps in Austria.

It is my belief that the above comments fully confirm the report made by Mr. Tuck and General Hardigg a month ago about the inadequacy of a substantial part of the camps in Austria and of the need for effective U. S. action. (The Yugoslavia situation developed after Mr. Tuck and General Hardigg had departed and they, therefore, did not comment on it.)

Tracy S. Voorhees

March 5, 1957

TREND OF OPINION AS TO CURRENT HUNGARIAN REFUGEE PROBLEMS IN AUSTRIA & YUGOSLAVIA

This supplements my memorandum of February 22 entitled "TREND OF OPINION AS TO THE INADEQUACY OF EXISTING MEASURES FOR HUNGARIAN REFUGEES NOT COMING TO THE UNITED STATES." The latter illustrated what I felt at the time - and still feel - is a cumulative build-up of criticism of the inadequacy of the measures taken by the U.S. for these refugees in Austria and Yugoslavia. Since the above date, the following, among other papers, have come to my attention: -

First - A special report to the Board of Directors of CARE, Inc., dated February 27, by Richard W. Reuter, Executive Director of CARE. Following are excerpts from this (underlining mine): -

"Austrian Refugee Picture Stabilized -

"As of the end of February there are approximately 58,500 Hungarian refugees still in Austria. The Austrian Interior Minister feels that they can absorb into the Austrian economy about 20,000 of this number, which will leave 38 to 40 thousand still to emigrate. I.C.E.M. plans to move a minimum of 5,000 per month. The Hungarian border is now pretty tightly sealed. The U.S. Embassy said about 200 refugees came across last week; the Austrian authorities put the figure much lower; at the main reception point at Andau they told me seven had come through in the preceding seven days.

"In Austria the picture has definitely stabilized and is starting to run more nearly like the smooth operation for escapees in Berlin. Even the numerous officially appointed coordinators are beginning to coordinate among themselves.

"II - THE OPERATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

"A - No Emigration Morale and Program Determinant

"The Yugoslav picture is less promising. I believe I was the second American (the first was Bob Meyer, our Mission Chief in Belgrade) and the fourth westerner to visit with the refugees in Yugoslavia (A representative from the U.N. High Commissioner and a representative of the League of Red Cross Societies have been active previously).

"Of 18,185 refugees who arrived in Yugoslavia through February 22nd, 16,979 are now in refugee centers. (976 repatriated to Hungary; 397 were integrated by choice into the Yugoslav economy; 231 emigrated to western countries). Of the some 17,000 now in Yugoslav camps, about 14,000 want to go western countries, 111 more wish to go back to Hungary and 39 would like



"to stay in Yugoslavia. The rest have not yet decided where to go or what to do. (All figures are from the Yugoslav Interior Ministry).

"Morale is sagging among the refugees in Yugoslavia because none seem to be leaving and information is so meagre. They want to know what will happen to them. The Yugoslavs would like to know too."

"C - Yugoslav Care of Refugees Excellent

"The Yugoslavs, it seems to me, have tried to be very correct in this situation but made a bad blunder originally in not allowing outside observers and newspaper eyewitness reports. The refugees in Yugoslavia are living primarily in summer hotels on the coast, at inland spas, and in the mountains. Actually they are housed and fed better than their counterparts in Austria and probably better than the majority of the Yugoslav population. But the Yugoslavs now need the hotels back for the tourists and their own people under their social security program. The refugees will have to be transferred to camps that now largely do not yet exist. Morale will drop seriously when this happens because of the implications of such a transfer to a camp. This is one reason the vastly stepped up CARE program seems so important to us and is urged so strongly by the Yugoslav officials. We are transferring Bud Brady from our Austrian staff to work with our regular Yugoslav staff. His experience should be particularly helpful to Bob Meyer."

"D - Emigration Program Still Not Set Up

"There is no U.S. or western nation program for moving blocks of these Hungarians out of Yugoslavia. Apparently, the long Hungarian - Yugoslav border is also being sealed more effectively. Again, figures are hard to check but apparently from a top figure of 2,000 a day in January, the stream of refugees has now dropped to a level of about 200 a week."

Second - A by-line story by Charles Lucey in the February 28 NEW YORK

WORLD-TELEGRAM. I presume that this was a syndicated story appearing also in other Scripps-Howard papers. The following are the highlights:

"HUNGARY REFUGEE PROBLEM AWAITS U.S. MOVE

"By Charles Lucey

"Vienna, Feb. 28 - Nearly 60,000 Hungarians are still in Austrian refugee camps.

"Any real solution of what is to happen to them seems likely to be delayed until the United States decides on a long-range policy in regard to these homeless people."

"There are two reasons: First, some Western countries apparently are waiting to see what the leader of the free world proposes to do. Second, many refugees are disinterested in heading for other countries now for fear they'll miss a later chance to go to America.

"Up to now, Austria, an example of generosity to the world, has spent \$16 million buying food and rehabilitating former army camps to shelter refugees,

"It is absorbing 30,000 refugees into its own economy, more than any other country so far -- and this in a nation which took a half-million refugees from other countries after World War II."

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"Austrian officials are beginning to suggest that the United States could take many more. They praise President Eisenhower and the Americans for setting an example to the world in the airlift. But they say the ratio isn't quite right when Austria, with a population of 7 million, takes as many refugees as the United States."

\* \* \*

"Here in Austria, the refugee is having it hard. The Austrian family which opened its doors to share already cramped space with a Hungarian family, thinking this would last only a couple weeks, finds itself with permanent guests. Refugees' free streetcar rides are gone. Life in some camps has been made more restrictive. And there's irritation about Hungarians taking jobs."

Third - A letter to me from Mr. Lewis M. Hoskins who is a member of the President's Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief and also Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, Inc.:

"Regarding the Committee's operations at Kilmer, to me this has been an amazing and remarkably effective program. Under severe emergency conditions a crash program was set up promptly which combined the best of America's humanitarian hospitality, individual treatment and efficiency. There were, of course, many rough spots and no doubt errors, but for such an emergency program a remarkable job was done. The massing of diverse voluntary agencies, governmental bureaus with the Army into a coordinated team was exceedingly well done. Through the pressures of the emergency period a great deal of team work emerged that precluded the kind of blow-up or disaster that might have occurred.

"Now that machinery has been set up for smooth operations, we face a new problem. We are tooled up at Kilmer for efficient operation of a rather large, continuous flow of refugees. The IBM equipment has organized the data of job offers and available refugee personnel. Through the efforts of voluntary agencies and community organizations as well as governors' committees there are thousands of valid sponsorship offers, including job opportunities and housing, throughout the country. The communities, too, are now ready to receive refugees in a way they have not been previously.

"But there is only a trickle of refugees to be serviced at Kilmer and to be sent on to the communities awaiting them."

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"There appears to be inadequate coordination between the executive and legislative branches on immigration policy. Both appear to fear what the other may do, or is, doing. Perhaps this can be looked at afresh by a government united on its foreign policy implications. Immigration aspects may actually be a minor portion of the total policy that needs to be clarified and enunciated. I am inclined to think that Congressmen would welcome initiative and leadership from the Executive Branch in formulating a foreign policy which covers Hungarian and all other refugees and spells out America's responsibility for them. This would be in close harmony with Vice



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"President Nixon's report and the President's immigration message. It could include reference to the United States welcome of refugees from East Europe and to American assistance in helping them find new homes in various parts of the world. Once such a policy were enunciated the various governmental branches would be able to find their appropriate role under it.

"The urgency of such a step, it seems to me, is emphasized by the deteriorating morale and declining regard for American leadership in Austria. Refugees in overly-large camps are getting bitter and find it difficult to understand what are the criteria that operate to get them to this country. Refugees from second countries of asylum who want to emigrate to America ask about their chances. No one is sure how many emigres will be permitted to come to the United States and at what point individual refugees should resign themselves to alternative options. Authorities can't advise regarding Australian offers of asylum without knowing about U.S. dollars towards transportation costs. If these questions are not clarified soon our staff in Austria are inclined to fear a reluctant, voluntary repatriation to Hungary through disillusionment at American practice. This would be a major catastrophe for the United States and the West, as well as to those individual refugees who chose that step. I am so concerned on this question that I am considering flying to Austria for a brief visit in the near future."

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"May I reiterate that this seems to be essentially a foreign policy decision and not only an immigration one and that it should be within the responsibility of the executive branch to formulate. I think the appropriate committees in Congress - Foreign Affairs Committees - would be eager to consider and, hopefully, approve such formulations."

[ SIGNED ]

Tracy S. Voorhees