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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Washington, D. C.

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT ON HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

Please at 4 AM

January 1, 1957

INTRODUCTION

This report deals only with a symptom, and not with the basic problem. No matter how well we care for the victims of oppression, the guilt of those who drove them from their homes, who killed their fellow-countrymen and who today keep their nation in slavery must never be forgotten.

The revolt of the courageous people of Hungary against their oppressors is one of the most significant events in the history of mankind. Without plan or organization they rose up in final revulsion against the subjugation and cruelty which has been imposed upon them. What they did and are doing was not in vain for, by their deeds, they sounded the death knell of international Communism for all the world to hear.

In a discussion confined as is this report to the present plight of the Hungarian refugees, we recognize that we are not dealing with the basic question of how freedom is to be provided for Hungary. Compliance by the USSR with the resolution of the United Nations calling for the removal of Soviet troops from Hungary is the only adequate and permanent solution to that problem, and to the problems which face the Hungarian people. Solutions short of this must be considered temporary and basically not satisfactory.

On the basis of a first-hand survey of the Hungarian refugees from the time they cross the border into Austria until they leave the Camp Kilmer Reception Center, I submit the following findings and recommendations:

Number and Character of Refugees

Approximately 155,000 refugees have crossed the border between October 23, 1956 and January 1, 1957. An average of approximately 800 per day are coming across the border at this time. (See Appendix 1)

The quality of the people who fled Hungary is of the highest order. For the most part they were in the forefront of the fight for freedom and fled only when the choice was death or deportation at the hands of the foreign invaders or temporary flight to a foreign land to await the inevitable freedom for Hungary. The large majority are young people -- students, technicians, craftsmen and professional people. There are many family units, including a large number of children. (See Appendix 2)

The majority of the refugees who have been interviewed say that they left Hungary because of fear of liquidation or of deportation. The number of floaters and of those who left Hungary purely for economic reasons is relatively small.

The majority of those who have been interviewed to date have expressed a desire to return to Hungary in the event of a change of government which would make it safe for them to do so.

The problem of checking the security backgrounds of the refugees is not as difficult as usual, due to the fact that in addition to the usual documentary evidence available in such cases, direct evidence is being volunteered

by other refugees who are well-informed as to the identity of spies and agents in their communities.

I am convinced that if the screening process which is presently in effect is continued the Hungarian refugees who are admitted to the United States will present no significant risk of internal subversion in this country.

Taking all the above factors into consideration, I believe that the countries which accept these refugees will find that, rather than having assumed a liability, they have acquired a valuable national asset. As Mr. Herbert Hoover said on December 27, 1956, "The Hungarian refugees have proved by their courage and sacrifice that they are the traditional sort of persons who make Americans."

Disposition of Refugees to Date

88,000 of the 155,000 refugees have been resettled in countries other than Austria, as of January 1. Of this 88,000, 15,000 have gone to the United States, and 73,000 have been accepted in other countries.

Of the 67,000 who are in Austria at this time, the Austrian Government had indicated that approximately 30,000 could be assimilated into the Austrian economy, provided some assistance was given to Austria for the construction of housing and other facilities to provide for them during an adjustment period.

This leaves a minimum of 37,000 in Austria at the present time for whom homes must be found in other countries.

Estimate of Eventual Total Refugee Movement

How long the exodus of refugees from Hungary into Austria will continue will depend upon what happens in Hungary. If the character of the Hungarian Government were to change so that a degree of freedom were to be provided for the Hungarian people, there is little question but that the number of refugees leaving Hungary would be substantially reduced, and there is also no question but that many of those who have left Hungary would return.

There is also the possibility that the Hungarian Government might decide to step up its efforts to close the border, and, in that event, the number of refugees leaving Hungary probably would be substantially reduced.

Another factor which must be taken into account in analyzing the total problem is that some of the 73,000 who have gone to other countries did so with the understanding that they were going there temporarily and would eventually have the opportunity to go to the United States.

The President has stated that the United States would accept within this country those who went to other countries with such an understanding.

While the total number of refugees in the above categories can not be estimated with any degree of certainty, there can be but one conclusion. The United States and other free nations must take substantially more refugees than they have agreed to take up to this time.

Recommendations as to Future United States Policy
on Accepting Additional Refugees

It has been suggested that the United States should announce at this time that it would take a fixed additional number of refugees.

Another suggestion that has been made is that the United States should agree to take a certain percentage of all Hungarian refugees who are presently in Austria, and of those who may come to Austria from Hungary in the future.

I have concluded that it would not be wise for the United States to be tied down either to a fixed percentage or a fixed number.

It should be our policy, along with other free nations of the world, to take our full share of these escapees from Communist tyranny.

We should not place a ceiling on what we will do in fulfilling our traditional national mission of providing a haven of refuge for victims of oppression. In addition, because of the uncertainty of the situation within Hungary, it is not possible for us to make any accurate estimate of what such a fixed number should be.

For us to agree to take a percentage of all refugees is also unrealistic. Conditions change within the various countries which might provide homes for refugees, and our policy should be flexible enough to take such changes into account.

Our policy should be based on the following principles:

1. All free nations should share to the extent of their capabilities in the responsibility for resettling refugees. Both through the United Nations, and through normal diplomatic channels, the government of the United States should work toward the realization of this objective. The U. S. Escapee Program, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees, all of which are engaged in various phases of resettlement activity, should receive support from us for this purpose.

2. Until Congress passes appropriate legislation, admission of Hungarians to the United States should be continued under the parole procedures now in effect. Most of these admissions should continue to apply to Hungarians in Austria to relieve the pressure in that country. However, some should be reserved for the Hungarians now in temporary asylum in Western Europe outside of Austria, with the understanding that they would eventually be admitted to the United States. Preference within this latter group should be given at this time primarily to those with relatives in this country. To this end, we should begin taking applications from the refugees outside of Austria. U. S. Diplomatic representatives in the countries who are now offering asylum should wherever possible work out arrangements whereby refugees from Austria could be received in those countries to replace those we take for resettlement in the United States.

3. An amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act should be presented to the Congress for immediate consideration which would:

- a. Regularize the status of Hungarian refugees brought into the United States under the parole procedure, and
- b. Provide flexible authority to grant admission to this country of additional numbers of Hungarian and other refugees from Communist persecution, through the use of non-quota visas within an annual ceiling.

Such a provision should take into account the escapees who left Hungary before October 23, 1956, and the meritorious cases of those from other Eastern European countries who can not be resettled in the United States because of the termination of the Refugee Relief Program and the lack of any other legislative authority for their admittance.

- c. I strongly urge the enactment of the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act proposed by the President to the Eighty-fourth Congress. Such amendments would provide adequate flexibility in our immigration policy to meet more fully our world responsibilities. For example, it would permit consideration for certain escapees from Communism other than those in Eastern Europe, including Chinese Nationalists who have had to flee from the Communist Government in their country.

4. It has been suggested that no change in the law is needed and that the whole problem of refugees from Communist countries can be handled adequately under the parole provisions of the present Act.

While the Attorney General has interpreted the parole provisions so as to cover the 15,000 Hungarian refugees who have been admitted up to this time, and while I believe that the applications of additional Hungarian refugees should be processed under that provision between now and the time the Congress has an opportunity to consider amendments to the Act, the circumstances and the limits under which this provision should be applied in the future should be spelled out by the Congress.

As the Attorney General has stated, neither he nor any other administrative official should have unlimited authority to admit aliens to the United States on a parole basis. It is obvious that such power, if arbitrarily used, could completely circumvent the basic purposes and objectives of the Immigration Law.

Economic Assistance by the United States

Our governmental aid for care and maintenance of Hungarian refugees has been partially directed through the United Nations. We should continue our participation with the other free nations in this United Nations effort in order to secure the most effective combination of our resources. But it will be necessary, also, to deal directly with the Austrian government and relief agencies on various aid matters, particularly those involving expenditures affecting the Austrian economy.

In connection with economic assistance to Austria, it should be pointed out that the cost to the Austrian government has been considerable up to this time. Austria is a relatively small country of approximately seven million people. It has a housing shortage. Its economic recovery, though remarkable, was impeded by the long occupation of the country, ended only last year. Its budgetary capabilities are already strained. A substantial refugee program was present in Austria prior to this new influx from Hungary and most facilities were already overflowing. It cost approximately one dollar a day to feed each refugee and in addition substantial amounts must be found to improve or renovate existing buildings, to provide internal transportation, furniture, medical care, and related costs.

The refugees arrive destitute with no possessions but the clothes on their backs and they require some additional clothing and the basic amenities needed for living. Although much financial aid has come from the charitable organizations, particularly the Red Cross Societies, and much more will be given through their help, the fact remains that the residual financial burden falls on the Austrian government. This will in turn require the help of other governments, including our own.

The League of Red Cross Societies, of which the American Red Cross is a member, has assumed responsibility for care and maintenance of 35,000 refugees in the larger camps in Austria. The funds which we have transmitted to the United Nations (five million dollars) have been divided between the Austrian Government and the LICROSS based on their respective needs and requirements. Additional financial assistance to LICROSS through the United Nations will be required and should be provided.

It is also recommended that the governmental agencies concerned continue to explore the maximum use of surplus agricultural commodities both for the food requirements of the refugees as well as for the generation of counterpart funds which might be used for some of the cash requirements for the relief program.

Most of the cash contributions from our government have up to now been made from the Emergencies Fund provided in Section 401 of the Mutual Security Act. Current estimates are that presently appropriated funds will be adequate to provide for foreseeable costs of the Hungarian Relief Program for this fiscal year - until July 1, 1957.

The United States voluntary agencies may in this emergency period need limited governmental financial aid to assist them in the resettlement program in this country. This assistance would not ordinarily be required, but the sudden influx of Hungarian refugees has in the case of certain agencies placed particularly severe demands on their financial resources which they are unable to meet through the voluntary contributions available to them. To the extent that private contributions are not available there is no alternative but to provide support through government funds.

Coordination of the activities of the voluntary agencies and the Federal Government concerned with refugee resettlement in the United States should continue to be the responsibility of the President's Committee on Hungarian Refugee Relief. The Committee, under the able direction of Mr. Tracy Voorhees, has done an admirable job.

General Comments

This report is not intended to cover all phases of the refugee problem. A more detailed report has already been submitted orally to the President and additional data on economic assistance will be submitted by Mr. Hollister.

After a thorough examination of the placement procedures at the Kilmer Reception Center, I am convinced that there is no question but that the American economy can easily and profitably assimilate into our economy the refugees from Hungary who are entering the United States. (See Appendix 3)

This report would not be complete without paying tribute to the work of the voluntary agencies who have provided an inspiring example in the best American tradition of extra-governmental charity in welfare work. They moved

in quickly when the refugees first began leaving Hungary. They provided food, clothing and care in the first chaotic days. They are processing the refugees for their movement out of Austria and it is to them that we look for the successful resettlement of Hungarian as well as other Iron Curtain refugees in the United States and other countries. They deserve the continued generous financial support of the American people.

I should also like to pay tribute to the American governmental officials who have worked willingly and ably night and day during these last two months. Our Ambassador to Austria and his staff, and the staffs of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Public Health Service, and the Department of Labor have all done a superb job. The contribution of the United States Armed Forces in instituting and running the air and sea lifts has been in the best traditions of their respective services. I saw no more striking example of the generous spirit of America than the activities of the wives of Armed Forces personnel who arranged to provide special care for refugees at the various installations through which the refugees passed on their way to the United States.

Another example is the soup kitchen run by the wives of American governmental personnel in Vienna where three to four thousand refugees are fed daily. These are only examples of similar activities at the various installations where American personnel are assigned to this problem.

In conclusion, it is essential that in our necessary and understandable concern over the immediate problem of providing for the needs of refugees we not lose sight of the historical significance of this mass migration of

people from an area of slavery to an area of freedom. The Communist leaders thought they were building a new order in Hungary. Instead they erected a monument which will stand forever in history as proof of the ultimate failure of International Communism. Those people, both inside and outside of Hungary, who had the courage to expose by their actions this evil ideology for what it is deserve all the gratitude and support which we in the Free World are so willingly giving today.

1.	1,000
2.	1,000
3.	1,000
4.	1,000
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7.	1,000
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10.	1,000
11.	1,000
12.	1,000
13.	1,000
14.	1,000
15.	1,000
16.	1,000
17.	1,000
18.	1,000
19.	1,000
20.	1,000
21.	.....	1,000	.....
22.	.....	1,000	.....
23.	.....	1,000	.....
24.	.....	1,000	.....

25. arrivals in Austria, weekly average by weeks for December

	Number per day
1st week.....	1,218
2nd week.....	1,284
3rd week.....	1,178
4th week.....	868
last 3 days.....	711

26. 5,000 on a temporary basis.

27. 2,000 on a temporary basis.

STATUS REPORT OF HUNGARIAN REFUGEE SITUATION
As of 31 December 1956, 0700 Hours

1. Total influx into Austria 28 October 1956 to date.....	155,085
2. Total number arrived in Austria last 24 hours <u>1/</u>	711
3. Total number residing in Austria as of 31 December 1956.....	67,008
4. Movements:	

<u>Country</u>	<u>Quota</u>	<u>Cumulative total moved</u>
Total		87,572
1. Switzerland.....	10,000 <u>2/</u>	10,300
2. Germany.....	13,552	10,934
3. Holland.....	5,000 <u>3/</u>	2,920
4. France.....	Unlimited	8,395
5. Sweden.....	4,000	3,993
6. United Kingdom.....	Unlimited	12,866
7. Australia.....	5,000	1,055
8. Canada.....	Unlimited	7,635
9. U. S. A.	21,500	19,668
10. Belgium.....	3,000	3,019
11. New Zealand.....	1,000	66
12. Ireland.....	1,000	530
13. Luxembourg.....	200	189
14. Italy.....	4,000	3,451
15. Spain.....		
16. Denmark.....	1,000	1,000
17. Brazil.....	3,000	-
18. Colombia.....	1,000	-
19. Chile.....	1,000	47
20. South Africa.....	500	148
21. Norway.....	1,000	528
22. Argentina.....	2,000	20
23. Iceland.....	-	52
24. Israel.....	-	756

1/ Arrivals in Austria. Daily average by weeks for December.

	<u>Number per day</u>
1st week.....	2,532
2nd week.....	1,724
3rd week.....	1,185
4th week.....	866
Last 3 days.....	714

2/ 6,000 on a temporary basis.

3/ 2,000 on a temporary basis.

RECENT HUNGARIAN REFUGEES AND PAROLEES ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES
BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP

(Received and processed in Central Office through December 28, 1956)

Occupation group	Number
Total.....	9,253
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	1,060
Farmers and farm managers	112
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	121
Clerical and kindred workers	557
Sales workers	100
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	1,963
Operatives and kindred workers	1,538
Private household workers	65
Service workers, except private household	244
Farm laborers	99
Laborers, except farm and mine.....	435
No occupation	2,959
Housewives.....	746
Retired.....	6
Students.....	602
Children under 14 years of age.....	1,565
Not reported.....	40

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RECENT HUNGARIAN REFUGEES AND PAROLEES ADMITTED.
BY SEX, AGE, AND MARITAL OR FAMILY STATUS
(Received in Central Office through December 28, 1956)

	Total	Males	Females
Total	9,253	6,028	3,225
AGE:			
Under 5 years	572	298	274
5 - 9 years	611	320	291
10 - 14 years	461	238	223
15 - 19 years	1,309	955	354
20 - 29 years	3,310	2,354	956
30 - 39 years	1,762	1,099	663
40 - 49 years	865	561	304
50 - 59 years	281	170	111
60 years and over	71	28	43
Not reported	11	5	6
MARITAL STATUS - REFUGEES ONLY:			
Single	3,205	2,458	747
Married	1,932	1,084	848
Widowed	81	27	54
Divorced	197	128	69
Unknown	22	16	6
FAMILY STATUS - PAROLEES ONLY:			
Principal applicant	2,339	1,859	480
Spouse	629	24	605
Child	847	432	415
Unknown	1	-	1

KILMER REFUGEE STATUS SUMMARY
as of December 30, 1956

MONTH <u>December</u> DATE	# OF PLANES ARRIVED	# OF REFUGEES ARRIVED	# OF REFUGEES DEPARTED	TOTAL PLANES ARRIVED	TOTAL REFUGEES RECEIVED	REFUGEES DEPARTED	TOTAL REFUGEES ON HAND
1 Saturday	2	149	90	13	951	583	33
2 Sunday	0	0	90	13	951	613	315
3 Monday	2	143	57	15	1,058	730	329
4 Tuesday	3	211	108	18	1,269	838	431
5 Wednesday	3	218	156	21	1,487	994	493
6 Thursday	4	277	62	25	1,764	1,056	782
7 Friday	4	290	97	29	2,054	1,153	975
8 Saturday	3	207	223	32	2,261	1,376	885
9 Sunday	3	224	144	35	2,485	1,520	965
10 Monday	4	292	384	39	2,777	1,904	873
11 Tuesday	5	359	161	44	3,136	2,065	1,071
12 Wednesday	8	494	163	52	3,630	2,228	1,402
13 Thursday	7	417	239	59	4,047	2,467	1,580
14 Friday	15	1,025	55	74	5,072	2,522	2,550
15 Saturday	7	466	202	81	5,538	2,724	2,814
16 Sunday	12	694	117	93	6,232	2,841	3,391
17 Monday	5	330	256	98	6,562	3,097	3,465
18 Tuesday	17	1,101	365	115	7,663	3,462	4,201
19 Wednesday	2	124	400	117	7,787	3,862	3,925
20 Thursday	6	416	519	123	8,203	4,381	3,822
21 Friday	5	313	341	128	8,516	4,722	3,794
22 Saturday	11	709	229	139	9,225	4,951	4,274
23 Sunday	12	740	169	151	9,965	4,120	4,845
24 Monday	8	517	282	159	10,482	5,402	5,080
25 Tuesday	22	1,406	186	181	11,888	5,588	6,300
26 Wednesday	9	597	316	190	12,485	5,904	6,581
27 Thursday	13	870	823	203	13,355	6,727	6,628
28 Friday	9	596	575	212	13,951	7,302	6,649
29 Saturday	8	473	542	220	14,424	7,844	6,580
30 Sunday	7	491	445	227	14,915	8,289	6,626