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NEW ZEALAND

**UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION
ADMINISTRATION**

REPORT BY THE NEW ZEALAND DELEGATION TO THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE
COUNCIL, GENEVA, 5TH TO 16TH AUGUST, 1946

Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Leave

THE fifth session of the UNRRA Council was held in the former League of Nations building, Geneva, from 5th to 16th August, 1946. Contrary to a general impression before and in the early part of the meeting, this is not the final session. An impressive case was made on behalf of liberated countries for a further review of the facts before the organization is liquidated; regard is paid to the fact that the United Nations (to meet in New York on 23rd October) and other international bodies will deal in part with vital matters hitherto the responsibility of UNRRA; and it has been decided that a further session of UNRRA will be held "not later than the end of November, 1946, unless the Central Committee for substantial reasons decides that a later date would be more appropriate." This, therefore, is not the final UNRRA report, though it is to be said at once that no further contributions beyond the two already made are asked for or expected.

Forty-eight countries, named in the report on the fourth session, were listed as members. Thirty-nine of these took part in the Geneva session. Absentees were Bolivia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Iran, Irak, Liberia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru. Observers were present from five non-member ex-enemy countries: Albania, Austria, Finland, Hungary, and Italy. "Special visitors" attended from Argentine, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Vatican. Substantially the same organizations were represented on this occasion as previously.

The undersigned attended for New Zealand. We were fortunate in having the help, as at the third session, of Mr. H. T. Silcock, representative of the New Zealand Council of Organizations for Relief Services Overseas (CORSO); and fortunate, too, in having Miss Bowden as Secretary to the delegation.

It may perhaps be proper to make a general remark about the spirit of UNRRA's fifth session, for it is, we think, well, and certainly it is true, to say that the Conference, while marked by sharp enough differences of opinion, was wholly cordial and co-operative throughout; it augured well, as was often remarked, for international collaboration when emphasis is put on the substance of common problems, leaving issues of procedure and prestige in their due perspective. Many of the UNRRA delegates came to Geneva after one week at the Paris Peace Conference, then in its preliminary stages. Its problems were, of course, far more complex and difficult than those to be dealt with at UNRRA. Yet, with every allowance for this, the change from the one conference of twenty-one to this larger meeting, which included all of the twenty-one, was a most refreshing one. And probably few, if any, of the delegates had met or worked elsewhere under conditions as wholly admirable as were provided in Geneva with its former League and ILO buildings, now the property of the United Nations. Altogether the suitability of Geneva seemed to create or intensify the hope on the part of many that future meetings of United Nations, on, at any rate, some level, will use this place.

The Council elected as its Chairman the delegate from Norway, Mr. Frihagen, with, as Vice-Chairmen, the delegates for Australia, Yugoslavia, and Byelorussia. Greece, India, New Zealand, and Poland were elected to the General (or "Steering") Committee, which consists of members of the Central Committee, the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Council, and four other members chosen at the session. Dr. Rajchman (Poland) and Sir Atul Chatterjee (India) were elected chairmen of the Committee on Policy and the Committee on Procedure respectively; these are Committees on which all member-countries sit and where the bulk of the work is carried through.

The Committee on Supplies, of which New Zealand is a member, had one meeting during the Geneva session; its subject matter can be best mentioned later in this report.

A general picture of UNRRA's achievements to date and of the tasks still outstanding may be sketched by quoting some material from the Director-General's oral statement of 7th August, 1946, and his written reports up to 30th June, 1946:—

" . . . During July (1946)," said Mr. La Guardia, "UNRRA broke all previous records by shipping over 2,000,000 tons of supplies. Much of this was vitally needed rehabilitation equipment, procurement of which was initiated in 1945 and early 1946. We have shipped a total of over 13,000,000 tons.

"The total programme of UNRRA up to December, 1946, will be 2,937 million dollars . . . and there is not any more. (The United States contributed slightly over 70 per cent. of the total.) Not one of the contributing nations has made any provision for UNRRA for the year 1947."

In more detail, the following shows the volume and value of shipments under the programme as completed to the end of June, and the value of total programmes to the end of 1946:—

Commodities.	To 30th June, 1946.		To 31st December, 1946.
	Tons.	United States Dollars ('000's).	United States Dollars ('000's).
Food	5,905,439	800,654	1,120,977
Clothing, textiles, and footwear	391,095	303,563	448,675
Agricultural rehabilitation	849,950	130,805	361,771
Industrial rehabilitation	4,092,521	260,163	707,341
Medical and sanitation	103,274	64,728	156,280
Supplies procured from military	1,181,410	138,504	138,504
Unclassified	331,556	22,472	3,592
All commodities	12,855,245	1,720,889	2,937,140

By receiving countries the estimated values of shipments to the end of the programme are as follows (with a figure in parentheses showing the percentage of fulfilment to the end of June, 1946):—

	Total Programme, United States Dollars.	Percentage fulfilled to 30th June 1946.
China	550,000,000	(31)
Poland	474,000,000	(66)
Yugoslavia	429,000,000	(77)
Italy	425,000,000	(45)
Greece	358,000,000	(78)
Czechoslovakia	270,000,000	(65)
Ukraine	189,000,000	(48)
Austria	117,000,000	(65)
Byelorussia	61,000,000	(62)
Albania	28,500,000	(55)
All countries	(59)

The foregoing add up to \$2,901,500,000. In the final total of \$2,937,140,000 are included \$41,331,000 for "special projects and emergency programmes, including Displaced Persons, China, and Displaced Persons, Germany"; also smaller amounts for the Philippine Islands (\$6,000,000), the Dodecanese Islands (\$3,600,000), Hungary (\$3,333,000), Finland (\$2,500,000), Korea (\$833,000), San Marino (\$30,000), and Ethiopia (\$13,000 only). The grand total comes to \$2,959,140,000 (or \$22,000,000 more than the total quoted by the Director-General, who added \$15,000,000 to the figure for China and \$7,000,000 to the figure for Austria, evidently without adding these sums to his total).

It is particularly noteworthy that, at the end of June, 1946, the percentage fulfilment of shipments in the total was only 59 per cent.; 41 per cent. is a large outstanding share to set against what seemed to be the immediately pending liquidation of the UNRRA organization.

It emerged, then, probably to the surprise of most delegates, as it will, no doubt, be to distant observers, that a strong case was to be made for continuing the work of UNRRA. Yet against this it was realized that, on all present evidence, no further contributions to UNRRA as such can be expected. So a case, more impressive than we should have thought beforehand, could be made for maintaining the main structure and functioning of UNRRA, but with the modification more and more enforced of debiting costs to recipient countries. Alternatively—and this was the line along which the session proceeded—it was realized that the ending or tapering off in UNRRA's work will leave international problems that will call for international action; it will leave, as was often remarked, human problems "that will take no notice of a date on the calendar." And so, whatever the fate of UNRRA, whatever the date of its liquidation, the vital need will surely be to effect a transition, in part to national governmental and other authorities, in part to new or existing United Nations Organizations.

DISPLACED PERSONS

This problem of "these discouraged, confused, unhappy, demoralized, and depressed persons," to quote the Director-General's words, is still a great and complex one. The latest available figures, contained in the Director-General's report, show that on 31st May, 1946, 826,580 displaced persons were still receiving UNRRA care. Of these, 752,460 were in Germany, 45,800 in Austria, and 28,320 in Italy. About half of them were former Polish citizens, though the Polish delegate stated that some 100,000 of these were of Ukrainian or other non-Polish race and unlikely in any circumstances to desire to go to Poland as it now exists. Next in number are refugees from the former Baltic republics, now incorporated in the U.S.S.R.—viz., 95,900 from Latvia, 57,840 from Lithuania, and 28,930 from Estonia. There are also 30,500 Yugoslavs and 152,370 "Stateless" or of undetermined nationality. Large as these numbers are, they represent little more than 10 per cent. of the total displaced persons at the end of the war. The fact that so many have gone home, coupled with the fact that since the beginning of 1946 the rate of repatriation has dropped to comparatively small proportions, however, serves to emphasize the doubt as to how many of the remainder it will be possible to persuade to return. As was pointed out by Sir Philip Noel-Baker, Minister of State in Great Britain, the problem is made more difficult by the fact that there is still a continual and considerable flow—mainly of Jews—out of Poland, Hungary, and other eastern European countries into occupied Germany and Austria. The Director-General estimated that 1,200 to 1,500 of such new "displaced persons" were arriving daily. Moreover, the accounts given by these new arrivals of conditions in Poland, &c., tend to discourage those already in displaced persons camps, and particularly the Jews among them, from deciding to return home.

As noted in previous reports to New Zealand (particularly those on the third and fourth sessions of the UNRRA Council), this subject is not only a big but a very controversial and complex one. Its discussion at the fifth session has again demonstrated the widely

divergent views of the minority, composed of the principal countries of origin, and the majority, consisting mainly of the western European and the American democracies; but the discussion was at least conducted with a notable absence of the heat so evident on previous occasions. Though there was no lack of frankness in expressing divergent views, there was a marked determination to approach the subject objectively and to endeavour to find common ground and to achieve practical solutions. In the end the minority, while still maintaining their objections on some points, voted for the lengthy resolution passed by the Council on the subject

Without going in detail into the matter, the opposing views may be summarized as follows: the minority lay the whole stress on repatriation and insist that by now the process of repatriation would have been practically complete if the local military authorities of the control powers in Germany and Austria had been more sympathetic and had taken adequate steps to suppress anti-repatriation propaganda by the political opponents of the existing Governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, &c., and had given those Governments sufficient facilities to place the facts before their nationals in the displaced persons' camps. Similar views as to the attitude of the military authorities were also expressed by Mr. La Guardia, who did not, however, share the view that repatriation alone will prove a complete solution. The minority further contend that no steps regarding resettlement, overseas or elsewhere, should be taken until repatriation is complete, as any suggestion of possible resettlement elsewhere only results in displaced persons remaining undecided regarding repatriation, in the hope of better prospects elsewhere. They also reiterated the claim that the consent of his own Government should be essential before any displaced person is accepted for resettlement—a claim which was absolutely repudiated by the majority. The requests of the countries of origin for detailed lists of displaced persons were also opposed by the majority, owing to a sincerely felt fear that this might have harmful consequences for those of their families still in their homelands. Less was heard than at previous Council sessions of the contention that those actively opposed to repatriation were war criminals or collaborators and therefore unworthy of international assistance, though some charges of terrorism by "Fascist elements" in the camps and demands for segregation of such persons were made.

The majority view continues to be that, though repatriation of as many as possible would be far the best solution, there must be no compulsion or undue pressure on displaced persons to return to their former countries, and that, in fact, the "hard core" of unrepatriables will run into several hundred thousand. They further stress the *urgency* of finding some solution to the problem, owing not only to the political dangers inherent in the great numbers of displaced persons, but to the inevitable deterioration in their morale and employability if they remain for a further lengthy period in the camps.

Prompt steps were therefore strongly urged for resettlement of unrepatriables, concurrently with all legitimate action to encourage repatriation of those not irreconcilably opposed to it. The work of resettlement would be the main task of the new organization, the International Refugee Organization (IRO), the draft constitution of which was approved by the Economic and Social Council on 21st June, 1946, for submission to the member Governments of the United Nations. The final decision as to the setting-up of this new body will not, however, be made until the next meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in the light of the response of the various Governments to the proposals approved by the Economic and Social Council. On the most optimistic view, therefore, the IRO will not be in a position to commence operations for a considerable time to come. It was therefore unanimously agreed that the work of UNRRA in respect of displaced persons should be continued until the IRO was in a position to take over.

Two of the most important paragraphs of the resolution passed by the Council in this connection read as follows :—

“ That a fund shall be set aside from the resources of the Administration sufficient for the continuation of these operations until 30th June, 1947, on a scale of cost not exceeding that of its present operations. It is contemplated that such a fund may be made available without interfering with the fulfilment of the Administration's programme of operations.

“ That the Administration, with the approval of the Central Committee, may transfer to any of the above organizations or bodies ” (*i.e.*, the International Refugee Organization or any appropriate interim Commission) “ the whole or part of this fund . . . and may arrange for the transfer of any of its personnel to any of these organizations or bodies. The Council expresses the hope that such transfer or transfers may take place as soon as possible and that the International Refugee Organization will begin operations at the earliest possible date.”

It is perhaps well to stress that the control authorities of the Allied Governments are bearing the whole cost of the feeding and housing of displaced persons in Germany and of the transport of those opting for repatriation. UNRRA's responsibilities are confined to administration of the majority (though not all) of the displaced persons' camps and various kinds of welfare work in such camps. In the case of Austria, where there is a relatively small number compared with Germany, UNRRA has also been bearing the cost of food, but will not continue to do so after completion of the existing programme.

The control Powers have undertaken to remove, as far as possible, all obstacles to repatriation. To this end they have already removed from displaced persons' camps all liaison officers originally appointed on the recommendation of the so-called “ London ” Polish Government, and have replaced them by nominees of the recognized Polish Government. They also distribute in the camps literature supplied by the Warsaw Government, and have given assurances that, as far as possible, they are preventing the circulation of clandestine anti-repatriation newspapers. They have also commenced a process of “ screening ” displaced persons to ensure that any war criminals or other ineligible persons are removed from displaced persons' camps and disqualified from receiving UNRRA aid. It was not disputed that many of the displaced persons had been influenced by propaganda hostile to repatriation and to the existing Governments, but, on the other hand, the Director-General in his report, and the representatives of the control Powers, emphasized that the newspapers supplied by the Warsaw Government were largely ineffective in counteracting such propaganda, because the contents of these official newspapers were also so obviously propagandist in character as to destroy confidence as to the accuracy of the information given in them. As one constructive step towards creating a true perspective regarding conditions in their home countries, the New Zealand representative stressed the importance of providing every facility for the exchange of uncensored letters between displaced persons and their families and friends in their homelands.

Another practical step to encourage repatriation, which has already been taken by the United Kingdom and United States Governments, is the provision by the Allied control authorities of sixty to ninety days' rations to all displaced persons who agree to repatriation.

As regards resettlement, the Director-General strongly urged the necessity for careful examination of any plans submitted, to ensure that there should be no exploitation of displaced persons so resettled. In this connection investigations are already being carried out by the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees into proposals made by Brazil for accepting up to 100,000 immigrants in 1947 and a similar number yearly for several years thereafter, and into other much smaller proposals in respect of some other countries. Mr. La Guardia also appealed to the U.S.A. (which, he said, had talked most about it but done least) to agree to vary its laws on immigration quotas to allow of 100,000 displaced persons being accepted there ; and he appealed to a

number of other countries, amongst which he named Australia and New Zealand, to take as many of the displaced persons as they possibly could. The high cost of resettlement, both as regards transport and expenses incidental to settlement, were also stressed by Mr. La Guardia and others. Any such expenditure would, of course, not fall on UNRRA, but on the budget of the new IRO, assuming it is set up. Not only is the date of coming into operation of IRO uncertain, however, but it cannot even be assumed that a sufficient number of Governments will support the proposal in the General Assembly of the United Nations to ensure its establishment at all. In any case, its satisfactory functioning will depend upon adequate funds being made available to it.

This consideration and the limited prospects of resettlement within any reasonable period, the extremely high cost involved, and the fact that many of the older people, the physically unfit, &c., would probably not prove acceptable to any potential country of resettlement, coupled with the very great cost to the controlling Powers of maintaining the displaced persons' camps, were among the factors which led to the acceptance, as common ground between the proponents of the minority and majority views, of the necessity for giving every possible encouragement for repatriation, as quickly as possible, of the large numbers of displaced persons whose attitude was one of indecision rather than implacable hostility to going home.

The special problem of the Chinese and other Eastern peoples displaced by the war from their former countries of residence was barely touched on by the Council, but remains as one of the problems which will confront the IRO if and when it comes into being.

HEALTH

By common consent the work of UNRRA in this field has been of outstanding value. It was therefore with great satisfaction that the Council learnt that the new Health Organization of the United Nations was likely to be in a position to take over at least the greater part of UNRRA's health work by 31st December, 1946, or possibly even earlier in the case of some branches. UNRRA's health activities were described by the Director of its Health Division as falling into four main categories:—

- (1) Epidemiological intelligence and work connected with the carrying-out of the International Sanitary Conventions of 1944. These would be the first which could be handed over, quite early and simply, to the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization.
- (2) Medical and sanitary services in connection with displaced persons, mainly of an administrative and supervisory character. This work, in the main at least, would probably be transferred to the IRO (or other body taking over the displaced persons work) working in association with the World Health Organization.
- (3) Medical and sanitary supplies. The uncompleted UNRRA programmes in this respect will be completed, even after the end of 1946, in the same way as other supply arrangements of UNRRA. Thereafter the responsibility will fall on national health administrations.
- (4) The giving of technical advice and assistance to Health Divisions of the devastated countries, "to stand ready like a fire department to fight any epidemics which might arise," and help in the training of personnel which may be short in various liberated countries. The Director of Health considered that the Health Departments of these countries were now in a position to assume responsibility for these tasks, provided supplies already approved under UNRRA programmes were delivered and that the new World Health Organization would be ready by early 1947 to give advice when called on.

The only doubts with regard to the satisfactory assumption by the World Health Organization of the fourth category of UNRRA's health work, as described above—and they were expressed, amongst others, by Mr. La Guardia and the principal delegate for the United Kingdom—were as to whether the budget of the Interim Commission as approved by the United Nations would prove adequate, particularly if any large epidemic outbreaks should occur.

WELFARE WORK

The work of this Division of UNRRA has been largely in the direction of helping Governments in the liberated countries to re-establish reasonable standards of caring for undernourished children, orphans, nursing and expectant mothers, and groups particularly unprotected because of the war, such as maimed and disabled persons. It has consisted largely in the provision of special equipment and supplies and of trained personnel. It is expected that the work can be readily taken over by the temporary Social Commission of the United Nations. The Council authorized the Director-General to negotiate with the United Nations authorities for the transfer of UNRRA's welfare work and to transfer to the United Nations any available records, equipment, and personnel which they may desire.

International Children's Fund

The initiative with regard to this matter was taken by Dr. Rajchman, formerly Director of the Health Division of the League of Nations, and one of the Polish delegates to this fifth session of the UNRRA Council. The operative part of the resolution adopted unanimously by the Council reads:—

“RESOLVED

“1. That such assets as the Central Committee may determine to be available after completion of the work of UNRRA shall be utilized for the benefits of children and adolescents.

“2. That such purpose might effectively and appropriately be served by the creation of an International Children's Fund to which such assets would be transferred, together with any gifts for this purpose and for child health purposes generally which may be made by Governments, voluntary agencies, individuals, and other sources.

“3. That a Standing Committee of the Council be set up to prepare recommendations, in agreement with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and after consulting appropriate specialized agencies of the United Nations, and such voluntary agencies as the Standing Committee may determine, with a view to the establishment of international machinery and to report to the Council or the Central Committee—

“(a) On the steps which would be taken to organize effectively and without delay the proposed activities; and

“(b) On the response which might be obtained from the several possible sources of funds.

“4. That such Standing Committee shall be composed of the members of the Council represented on the Central Committee or their alternates, together with the members of the Council or their alternates representing Greece, Norway, Poland, Denmark, and the Ukrainian S.S.R.

Although such funds as may eventually be available from UNRRA under this resolution could be spent only for the benefit of children and adolescents in countries devastated by the war, the wording of the second paragraph is designed to give the Fund a wider scope concerning contributions from Governments, voluntary agencies, or individuals. From these assistance could be given for children in any country, particularly in such areas as famine-stricken districts in India, for which the Indian delegate made an eloquent plea. It was pointed out that the greatest need was still

for adequate food, but that there was need also for medical officers, nurses, and social workers to care for the children in many countries victims of the war. In Poland, for instance, the number of doctors had been reduced from 13,000 (a very small number for the population) before the war to not more than 7,000, while, owing to prolonged malnutrition, the incidence of tuberculosis, rickets, &c., was much greater. Infantile mortality in all these countries is also appallingly high. The creation of an International Children's Fund to help national authorities to meet these special needs would be, it was generally agreed, a fitting and continuing monument to the invaluable work begun by UNRRA in this field.

SUPPLY PROBLEM

The most obvious fact in relation to supplies is that, contrary to previous impressions (as stated, for instance, in the preamble to Resolution 80, adopted at the third session), shipments to Europe will *not* be completed by the end of 1946, nor to the Far East three months thereafter. Accordingly, the fifth session resolved, in substance, that "whereas shipments have been delayed by shortages, work stoppages, transport difficulties . . . the Administration is authorized to arrange for procurement and shipment to receiving countries in Europe after the end of 1946 and in the Far East after 31st March, 1947." This was in line with discussions at the permanent Committee on Supplies, the twenty-fifth meeting of which, as mentioned, was held in Geneva between sittings of the Council. Further, the Council urged "member Governments and others upon whom supplies and shipments depend to make every effort to facilitate the earliest possible completion of procurement and shipment against approved programmes."

The New Zealand Government already, as the Council was gratified to hear, had acted in the spirit of the resolution last quoted, for, on the eve of the Council meeting, they agreed to make available in sterling any balance of their second contribution which could not be used for the purchase of supplies in New Zealand.

But a far greater problem looms ahead, and no further ahead than 1947 at that. For, as expressed in the Director-General's report to 30th June, 1946, "The problems which the Administration has attempted to meet will continue after UNRRA ceases to function"—ceases because of the exhaustion of its funds—" . . . The food emergency is expected to continue at least through the 1947 harvest." The same sentiment underlay a message to this session from the former Director-General: "There is no possibility that the urgent need for further assistance will have ceased by the time UNRRA ceases work . . . I feel it is imperative that before UNRRA is liquidated there must be set up adequate machinery to carry on the unfinished work, either through the United Nations Organization or through other agencies, lest chaotic conditions and much increased suffering ensue and a considerable part of UNRRA's very successful efforts of relief and rehabilitation be wiped out. The greatest need for further assistance will obviously be in the care of refugees and displaced persons and in the furnishing of urgent food and agricultural supplies during the coming winter to the war-ravaged countries which are not in a position to finance foreign purchases."

Spokesmen for one country after another expressed thanks for what had been done. Delegates from contributing countries, New Zealand amongst them by name, were asked to carry home sincere gratitude for their help—"their help in these hard times will never be forgotten by the Ukrainian people" was one such expression. And the representative of China told how, of all international bodies, UNRRA was the best known to his people. Yet always, with the thanks, was anxiety for the future near ahead.

Nor was the anxiety confined to the receiving countries. The fears of the Directors-General have been quoted. Their experts from the Bureau of Supply confirmed and amplified the estimates of shortages. Thus for Greece, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Yugoslavia (on the basis of allowing a diet of only 2,000 calories a day), shortages now estimated in the fourteen months, July, 1946, to harvest time in

September, 1947, are of the order of 4,000,000 tons of grain, 200,000 tons of sugar, 650,000 tons of fat, 360,000 tons of meat and animal proteins; while, expressed in terms of dollars, the shortage is of the order of \$1,300,000,000; deduct, say, \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000 still available from UNRRA's 1946 budget, and a gap of the order of \$1,000,000,000 remains. These figures are, of course, subject to change: happily, the latest crop reports at the time of writing show improvement rather than deterioration. Though it may be optimistic to expect such changes to do more than reduce the degree of the need, the U.S.A. delegation, supported to some extent by that of the United Kingdom, deprecated the too ready acceptance of estimates of shortages. They further maintained that the real problem is more one of finance, and particularly of foreign exchange, than one calling for supplies on a relief basis, and that insufficient allowance had been made for increasing ability of some countries to pay for imports by the rapid improvement in their export trade. The possibility of foreign exchange resources being increased materially by individual remittances from abroad was also mentioned and the suggestion made that the flow of remittances could be stimulated by the removal of exchange restrictions.

As with food, so with other needed supplies, and in particular those required for agricultural production. UNRRA has brought, and is bringing, splendid help. There is anxiety for the future.

FUTURE RELIEF NEEDS

Full and frank discussions took place in the Committee on Policy; for a time these were apt to divide the disputants between receiving countries and contributing countries; but agreement was reached unanimously in the Committee, as in the full Council later, in a resolution which may be quoted in full. It read:—

“ A Resolution relating to Future Relief Needs

“ WHEREAS

“ 1. By their agreement to the terms of the Atlantic Charter the United Nations have accepted the establishment of general economic well-being as one of the objectives of their association;

“ 2. In pursuance of that objective UNRRA was established in order to meet the needs of the liberated peoples in the emergency period following their liberation;

“ 3. UNRRA's resources, supplementing the efforts of the liberated peoples to help themselves to the greatest possible extent, have permitted the liberated countries to make marked progress upon the road to economic recovery:

“ 4. UNRRA's funds will soon have been fully utilized toward meeting the needs for which it was designed, and it was made clear that no further contributions in addition to those contemplated under Resolution 80 would be made available to UNRRA;

“ 5. Since the foundation of UNRRA, there have been established or are being established permanent agencies of the United Nations, including the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund, in order to promote economic well-being amongst the nations:

“ 6. Difficulties, including lack of adequate foreign exchange, may nevertheless be experienced in 1947 by liberated countries in different degrees in ensuring that the basic essentials of life, particularly food and supplies for agricultural production, may be provided to the peoples while still maintaining that progress toward economic recovery which is a prerequisite to the success of the United Nations' co-operation;

“ 7. Such difficulties may result in hardship and suffering in some countries unless prompt international action is taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations;

" 8. No organization now exists or has been designated which, after the termination of UNRRA, can advise the United Nations of the means to provide further financial assistance if and when required; it is therefore—

.. RESOLVED

" A. That the Council recommends—

" 1. That the General Assembly of the United Nations, after consideration of the relief and rehabilitation problems to be dealt with in 1947, forthwith establish or designate such agency or agencies as it may deem appropriate, whose functions shall include—

" (a) A review of the needs in 1947 for financing urgent imports of the basic essentials of life, particularly food and supplies for agricultural production, after the termination of UNRRA programmes to the extent that they cannot otherwise be met; and

" (b) The making of recommendations as to the financial assistance that might be required to meet such needs as are found to exist as a result of foreign exchange difficulties which cannot be dealt with by existing agencies.

" 2. That the Council delegates immediately consult with their respective Governments with a view to the issuance of instructions by the member Governments to their representatives in the General Assembly to secure the adoption and implementation of the foregoing recommendation.

" B. That the Council requests the Director-General to transmit this recommendation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for consideration at the next meeting of the General Assembly, and, in agreement with the Central Committee, to consult with and assist such agency or agencies as may be established or designated by the United Nations in order to facilitate its work."

And so the problem is passed to the United Nations Assembly, for attention, it is hoped, in New York in October–November, 1946.

Forthcoming problems, of supply especially of food, for war-stricken countries seem at this stage to have an element of difficulty greater than those connected with some other UNRRA problems—for example, displaced persons and health. It may be hoped that, reasonably quickly, new United Nations bodies will be able to take over these latter tasks. But where is the comparable body to take over supply problems, in particular, food problems, up till now dealt with by UNRRA?

The Food and Agriculture Organization may be part, but it cannot be more than a part, of the answer. It is not, and was not designed to be, an "operating agency." It lacks funds. Note is taken of the proposal for a "World Food Board"; but again it does not seem to be even intended to deal with immediately pending shortage problems. Without, one may hope, belittling the relevance of FAO to immediate problems, the Council of UNRRA agreed to recommend—

" That the Food and Agriculture Organization at its forthcoming meeting in Copenhagen consider the special problem of the liberated countries with a view to providing the maximum technical assistance in the expeditious re-establishment of their agricultural production."

Stress is laid, and properly so, on the "lack of foreign exchange." So what of "Bretton Woods" and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development? The answer, alas, seems conclusive that advances for current consumption are not within its competence; and food is in a category more unfavourable than other supply items.

Thus the problems, which UNRRA for lack of funds must presently pass into other hands, depend for their handling mainly on the provision of funds. And conversely, when deserved tributes are paid to UNRRA, the substantial funds made available to

it must be emphasized as the main basis of all its work ; \$2,937,000,000, say £734,000,000 sterling, is a substantial amount. On the possible availability of military surpluses of medical stores a resolution was passed :—

“ The Council, recognizing the continued need for assistance in the field of health and medical services, and being informed that there may be surpluses of medical stores and equipment in certain countries, requests the Director-General to invite Governments and private organizations, such as the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, to make such supplies available to the administration to assist in the completion of its work.”

AUSTRIA

A more controversial issue was raised by the Director-General when (recalling a resolution—No. 91—passed at the fourth session) he referred to conditions in Austria : —

“ Austria,” said Mr. La Guardia, “ is an occupied country ; there are four armies of occupation there. The very purpose and intent of UNRRA is inconsistent with military occupation . . . Resolution 91 specifically provided that all indigenous food and supplies in a receiving country must be used for the economy of that country . . . In the zone occupied by the U.S.S.R. there is production of oil—crude petroleum. I do not question the right under the Potsdam Agreement— if it so provides, I do not know—for the Russian Army to take that oil, but if it does, it is inconsistent with the rules and regulations and the law of UNRRA, and the differences ought to be reconciled by the appropriate international authority.”

The Director-General referred also to large areas of cropland in the Russian zone requisitioned and occupied.

The U.S.S.R. objected to the inclusion of this subject in the agenda ; after long discussion in the General Committee the United States delegate withdrew his proposal for so including it as a specific item ; but he presently spoke frankly, critically, and in public session backing up the Director-General. Similarly, the U.S.S.R. delegate repeated his protest against raising this, as he claimed, extraneous and political matter, before UNRRA. The United Kingdom delegate looked to the signing of a peace treaty with Austria and the evacuation of armies therefrom as the one hopeful solution. On another occasion the observer for Austria, addressing the Council, said that his country's difficulties “ will only cease when Austria has concluded a treaty with the United Nations which will establish a legal basis for her future.” He reviewed Austria's prospects, particularly in regard to food, and spoke of the work of UNRRA in impressive words, some of which deserve to be quoted even in this short report :

“ UNRRA has given to the Austrian people some of the inspiration and the practical example they need if they are to help themselves and, before long, help others, and thus make their contribution to the peace of the world . . .

“ For a long time the people of Austria continued to believe that strings were attached to the relief provided by UNRRA, that repayment will have to be made, and that interest is charged for UNRRA's help. Slowly, however, they have realized that UNRRA has set an example which creates bonds of mutual respect between all partners in this great adventure of relief and rehabilitation. They have learned to appreciate the inspiration, the enthusiasm, the courage, and the patience that must have gone into the work of UNRRA . . . This Assembly and, above all, the contributing countries have set an example. Many Austrians want to follow this example. They hope, above all, that their country will soon be in a position to follow this example by soon making a worthwhile contribution to the solution of the difficulties which the world is facing. If they receive generous help in 1947, they hope they will soon cease to be a burden to their friends and be able to make their contribution to the welfare and peace of the world.” (For full text, see *Journal*, Vol. V, No. 5, pages 44-46.)

No action was taken, and resolution 91 remains as it was.

KOREA

Difference of opinion, arising from zonal military occupation of the country, were also expressed regarding UNRRA operations in Korea. The U.S.S.R. delegate, recalling that resolution 76 had designated Korea a "liberated area," asked that a programme of relief and rehabilitation be worked out without delay so that on approval by the Central Committee the Administration should immediately carry it out. The Director-General later replied that he was not in a position to submit to the Central Committee a plan for the relief of Korea. Though there were two military zones, UNRRA must treat the country as a single community, for which purpose unhampered passage of personnel and supplies between the zones was necessary. The fulfilment of the resolution, he added, would be facilitated if China, Poland, Yugoslavia, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine would relinquish the necessary percentage of the programme already approved for themselves. The resolution proposed by the delegate for the U.S.S.R. was then seconded by the representative of China, who said that it implied that UNRRA would have the facilities to carry out its obligations. The U.S. delegate, while supporting the U.S.S.R.'s right to have the matter discussed by the Council, insisted that, before UNRRA supplies were sent to Korea, Russia should consent, as the U.S.A. had consented, to the free flow of indigenous supplies between the two zones.

In further discussion the U.S.S.R. delegate said that his delegation believed there would be reserves from which a programme for Korea could be financed, and suggested that the people of Korea might at least be sent items of the programme which were not surplus in either zone. To this the U.S. delegate replied that it was not feasible to segregate a part of the relief programme.

Eventually the following resolution was carried unanimously :—

“ RESOLVED

“ 1. That, without curtailing the programme already approved for receiving countries, a programme of relief and rehabilitation supplies for Korea shall be worked out without delay and submitted by the Director-General to the Central Committee for approval.

“ 2. That, upon the approval by the Central Committee of the programme of relief and rehabilitation supplies for Korea and the conditions of its execution, the Administration shall immediately proceed to carry out this programme.”

CONTRIBUTIONS

Up to this point only general reference has been made in this report to the crucial issue of contributions. It remains to add that (correct as at 15th August, 1946) eleven countries had authorized a second contribution in terms of the August, 1945, recommendation. These eleven are Australia, Brazil, Canada, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Iceland, India, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay.

Substantial contributions in money or commodities have been made, too, by some of the liberated countries themselves: Denmark (\$5,209,411), Norway (\$2,117,765), Poland (\$1,950,000), Yugoslavia (\$30,000).

Finally, in this connection, a welcome new move may be noted by quoting some words from Mr. La Guardia's statement to the Council on 13th August, 1946. The record reads :—

“ *Constructive Hungarian Proposal*

“ To-day I received a proposition concerning an agricultural rehabilitation programme for Hungary. The representatives of Hungary are here as observers, but it is such a novel proposition that I believe it might be well to call attention

to it, because it contained the germ of an idea on the lines which we have been discussing for so many days, and that is the best form of future mutual helpfulness. There are just two paragraphs that I would like to read :

“ ‘ Detailed propositions concerning the implements to be imported have been submitted by the Hungarian Government in a memorandum to the UNRRA Council on 15th June, 1946. The main items of the proposed imports were : live-stock ; tractors ; agricultural machinery and tools ; materials required for the reconstruction of an industrial plant which formerly produced about 50,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizers per annum, and which can at full capacity produce 80,000 tons per year.’ ”

“ And here is a proposition :—

“ ‘ The Hungarian Government is willing to assume the obligations of contributing gratuitously to the food supply of Europe by delivering agricultural products to the value of the imports of the agricultural implements requested.’ ”

“ I want to commend the Hungarian delegation for its vision in submitting such a proposition, which is most interesting, and to assure the Hungarian delegation of the support of the Administration in aiding and making any such arrangements that may be possible to carry out the purpose of this proposition.”

LIQUIDATION OF UNRRA

When in due time UNRRA is ended, it may have some unexpended funds. Reference has been made above to the proposal that an International Children's Fund be the residuary legatee in such an event.

In his opening address the Director-General recalled that—

“ UNRRA delivers its supplies to the Government of the receiving country, which distributes through the regular channels of trade. After deducting all costs of distribution there necessarily should be some net proceeds, and these are reserved for further use, by the terms of UNRRA agreements.”

He cited some actual or expected “ surplus sales fund ” amounts—such as (Czechoslovakia, \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 ; Italy, \$200,000,000 ; Ukraine, 1,020,000,000 roubles (“ there is no exchange rate ”) ; Yugoslavia (“ I want to congratulate Yugoslavia,” said Mr. La Guardia, “ Yugoslavia has been most efficient in its distribution system ; it has no black market ; and there is a present fund of \$90,000,000 from commodity sales ”). Special reference was also made by him to the excellent work in Italy, with funds from local sales, in a campaign against malaria.

The Director-General continued :—

“ The UNRRA agreement in each country calls for a control of these funds realized from the sale of supplies, and provides that they may be used for welfare and medical services and for rehabilitation. I recommend an agreement with these countries that these funds may be used as a revolving fund for industrial and agricultural rehabilitation . . . In this way UNRRA's service and usefulness would continue long after we have ceased our field activities.”

At the end of the Geneva session, despite opposition by the U.S.S.R. and receiving countries, a resolution was adopted in the following terms :—

“ WHEREAS

“ (i) Resolution 14, Section 19, and the various agreements between the Administration and the recipient Governments contemplate the utilization for relief and rehabilitation work of sums equivalent to the local currency proceeds from the sale of supplies furnished by the Administration ; and

“ (ii) Such agreements also provide for consultation between the Governments and the Administration in the planning and execution of such relief and rehabilitation expenditures ; and

“(iii) The relevant provisions of such agreements will remain in effect beyond the period of the Administration’s activities and it is contemplated that the Administration will have ceased operations before the completion of this relief and rehabilitation work, it is therefore

“RESOLVED that—

“1. The Director-General shall review the present position in regard to the proceeds of sale of supplies provided under the Programme of Operations and, after consultation with the Central Committee, shall, in agreement with the receiving countries concerned, make any modifications in the arrangements as to the use of proceeds of sale which may be found desirable.

“2. The Council also recommends that—

“(a) The functions and responsibilities of the Administration in regard to the utilization of local proceeds or equivalent sums for such relief and rehabilitation work, as set out in the relevant agreements, be transferred at the appropriate time to the United Nations or to such specialized body as may be designated by the United Nations, and that the United Nations or such specialized body undertake those functions; and

“(b) The Governments which have concluded agreements with the Administration be requested to agree to the assumption by the United Nations, or such specialized agencies, of the functions hitherto exercised by the Administration under these agreements.

“3. The Director-General shall consult with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations with a view to arranging for implementation of the recommendation in paragraph 2.”

STAFF OF UNRRA

A resolution, on the use of the experience of UNRRA personnel, was passed in the terms quoted :—

“WHEREAS

“(i) The staff of UNRRA has gained valuable experience in the various fields of the Administration’s operations; and

“(ii) The success of other international organizations will to a large extent depend on their ability to obtain the services of qualified and experienced personnel; and

“(iii) With the impending cessation of UNRRA’s activities the experience of its personnel might be lost, it is therefore

“RESOLVED that—

“The Council recommends to all international organizations and in particular to those which are performing or will be taking over any of the work of UNRRA that they should take advantage of the experience gained by the personnel of UNRRA and make arrangements for drawing upon the experienced staff of the Administration for employment in their various fields of activity.”

Throughout this report the yet unfinished tasks of UNRRA are emphasized; and this, too, was the spirit of our Geneva meeting. The work to which the United Nations set their hand remains incomplete. Yet is it not in the nature of these things, as of so many human affairs, that they never will be completed in any final sense? And so there was no impatience nor petulant criticism. On the contrary, thanks and appreciation were warmly expressed. “Perhaps we came here,” some one said, “not to praise UNRRA but to bury it . . . If that were so, we have done just the opposite.”

Stressed too, we hope, in this report is the role now of the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations in the problems which, it seems, UNRRA must presently relinquish. The International Refugees Organization; the World Health Organization; the Food and Agriculture Organization; the “Bretton Woods” Organizations;

UNESCO in some measure ; doubtless the proposed International Trade Organization ; the ILO—all these are or may be concerned. Likewise (as we were instructed by our Government and put on formal record), the Economic and Social Council might well “ keep the situation as a whole under review and recommend measures for assistance wherever possible ”—may, indeed, “ inherit and apply something of the spirit of UNRRA, something of its constructiveness, of its practical outlook and its sense of urgency.” Needless to repeat, as more than once this report mentions, that the successful concluding of the work of the Peace Conferences bears directly on the unfinished problems of UNRRA. But, first and foremost, it is to the forthcoming Assembly of the United Nations that these problems are now referred.

UNRRA’S work, after allowing for all criticism, has been and is impressively good ; the same nations that are in UNRRA are in the United Nations ; and so, despite unconcealed anxiety as the end of UNRRA approaches, hopefulness does break through.

R. M. CAMPBELL.

C. B. BURDEKIN.

Geneva, 19th August, 1946.

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