

**HELPING THE PEOPLE
TO HELP THEMSELVES**

UNRRA

The Story of the
United Nations Relief
and Rehabilitation

PRICE 4s.

Administration

Published for the
UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION ORGANISATION
by HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

“ The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto

“ Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this way,

“ Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy, the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services,

“ Have agreed as follows.”

From the Preamble of the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, signed at the White House, Washington, D.C., on November 9, 1943.

The Resolutions and Reports adopted by the Council at the Atlantic City Council Meeting (Cmd. 6497), may be obtained from H.M. Stationery Office, price 1s. 3d. (by post, 1s. 5d.)

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LONDON : 1944

The Problem—and the United Nations

Never before in the history of mankind have men been called upon to solve a relief problem of greater magnitude and complexity than that resulting from the present war. Within three years many countries, spread over Europe and Asia and containing more than five hundred million people, have passed under the Axis yoke. They have been robbed of their wealth, their economies have been destroyed, and their peoples have been left in semi-starvation. The older generation is ravaged by disease and hunger; typhus and tuberculosis are spreading; malnutrition threatens to maim the younger generation for life. Tons of food, medicine, clothes and other materials will have to be rushed to liberated Europe, and in the areas of China now under Japanese occupation at least 84,000,000 people will eventually need relief.

Who will take the responsibility for this tremendous task? Who will see to it that a hope for freedom from want and fear is given people, so that instead of desperate social conflict, there will be the normal living and thinking that makes a stable world? Who will pay for the seeds, the wool, the ploughs, the flour and serums? Who will decide all these questions?

Not one nation, or two, or four will decide, but many. For out of World War II has grown an idea which is defeating the Axis, the idea of nations united in action, pooling their resources for the common good.

From that concept has come strength to win the war. When on Tuesday, November 9, 1943, representatives of 44 united and associated nations met in the East Room of the White House and signed an Agreement pledging their countries to cooperate, each according to its abilities, in aiding the victims of the aggressors, men realized there was also strength in the concept to win the peace. Their Agreement created the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, generally known as UNRRA.

Addressing the delegates, the President of the United States said: "We mean business in this war in a political and humanitarian sense, just as surely as we mean business in a military sense. It (UNRRA) is one more strong link joining the United Nations in facing problems of mutual need and interest . . ."

THE AGREEMENT

The UNRRA Agreement signed in the White House on November 9 was not a spontaneous or hastily improvised document, belonging to any one nation. It began when the first home was destroyed, when the first people came under enemy occupation, when the first indication of human need became evident ; it grew out of many minds seeking ways to revive suffering peoples, to aid in the eventual recovery of a war-torn world.

In London, an Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements, known as the Leith-Ross Committee, had worked for over a year on the problem of relief and rehabilitation of devastated areas in Europe. Economic, agricultural, medical experts did valuable spadework in tabulating needs and requirements.

The U.S. Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations under former Governor Lehman of New York had been organised in the United States and had already been at work in French North Africa. On May 17, 1943, the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture had met at Hot Springs, Virginia, U.S.A., to go into long-range post-war problems.

In short, men and nations had been concerned with freedom from want in many ways. With Axis defeat becoming a certainty, the time was ripe for a working organization to carry out urgent, planned steps to relieve the most essential wants of the occupied countries, both in Europe and in Asia. Preliminary discussions began between governments ; tentative proposals were exchanged and amended until a final draft, acceptable to all the United Nations, was approved. The United States agreed to convoke the historical meeting at the White House, where the delegates of 44 nations, coming from all continents and representing 80 per cent. of the human race, attached their signatures to the international agreement which constitutes the charter of UNRRA, the relief and rehabilitation organization.

Signers of this Agreement were :

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nether-

lands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Commonwealth, Poland, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.*

WHAT THE AGREEMENT SAYS

There were few wasted words in the UNRRA pact ; its spirit, devoid of frills and formalities, was one of honest realism. The preamble plunged into the task ahead : The United Nations are "determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy, the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services."

In 10 business-like articles, the Agreement continued :

UNRRA has the authority to plan, coordinate and administer, in agreement with the military authorities, the foregoing measures for the relief of victims of war in areas liberated from Axis control.

The Administration is to have the power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations appropriate to its objectives and purposes.

Each member government is to name one representative to the Council of UNRRA. The Council is to be the policy-making body of the Administration and is to be convened not less than twice a year by the Central Committee, consisting of the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The Central Committee is to make policy decisions of an emergency nature between sessions of the Council. All such decisions, however, are to be open to reconsideration by the Council at any

* The Danish Minister in Washington, Mr. Henrik de Kauffmann, attended the Council Meeting in his personal capacity.

of its regular or special sessions. The Central Committee is also to invite the participation of any member government in these meetings if a particular question involving that government is discussed.

Besides the Central Committee, the Agreement provides for the creation of a Committee on Supplies, composed of the members representing the countries likely to be the principal suppliers of food and services ; it also provides for regional Committees for Europe, and for the Far East, and for other regional or technical advisory committees which the Council may consider necessary.

The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is vested in a Director-General, appointed by the Council on the unanimous nomination of the Central Committee.

Under the Agreement each of the 44 member governments accepts the obligation, subject to the approval of its constitutional bodies, to contribute to the support of the Administration and to place at its disposal such supplies and resources as may be decided upon by the Council and approved by the respective national governments.

All purchases by any of the member governments made outside their own territories during the war for relief purposes may be made only after consultation with the Director-General, and are, so far as practicable, to be carried out through the appropriate United Nations' agency.

The Agreement stipulates that the Director-General shall not undertake activities in any area in which the military are operating without the consent of the military command, and that he will be subject to such control as the command may find necessary.

Thus was developed the framework for mobilizing the resources and energies of the United Nations. Concerted action was necessary, for one nation alone could not feed and relieve all the victims of aggression. It was now too plain that the prosperity and peace of any nation depended not upon bankrupt or prostrate peoples, but upon peoples who had food to eat and money with which to buy things.

Elected Director-General of UNRRA, Herbert H. Lehman declared : " We cannot make ourselves secure in a world in which millions of men, women and children are dying of want or by

epidemic. Let us recognize frankly that freedom from gripping want is a basic component of any enduring peace, and that if the world is to have any hope of lasting peace and a stable economy we must all cooperate wholeheartedly to the end that the liberated peoples are restored as rapidly as possible to a self-sustaining basis.

“The fate of all United Nations’ efforts to assure a world of security and of lasting peace may well be largely influenced by the success of this, their first joint effort in relief and rehabilitation.”

AT ATLANTIC CITY—THE WORK BEGINS

The Agreement was signed in Washington on November 9, and the delegates then moved to Atlantic City for the first meeting of UNRRA’s Council. By Wednesday, November 10, some 600 diplomats, experts, scientists and secretaries had assembled at the Claridge Hotel to carry out the terms of the agreement signed the day before. It was the largest international gathering ever held within the United States, and the second to take place in one year.

The problems facing the delegates were many and complex: How to get sugar from the Caribbean countries, rice and coffee from Brazil, beans from Chile, fish from Newfoundland, to the liberated countries in the fastest possible time? How to gather seed, farm machinery, fuel, medical supplies? How to accomplish the stupendous task of repatriating some 20 to 30,000,000 people in Europe alone, for example, refugees from Axis-conquered lands and enslaved workers? How to work out a formula for the equitable sharing of financial responsibility among the United Nations? How to integrate UNRRA’s job with governmental agencies at present organizing supplies for war-time needs and with private war-relief groups already engaged in aiding Axis victims?

None of these problems was avoided. The very nature of the Conference encouraged their solution.

When they reached Atlantic City, the delegates had in their hands the Agreement setting up the organization; their work then was to lay down the broad principles of policy.

UNRRA, as distinct from the permanent organization on food and agriculture, was temporary ; it was emergency. It might have to start large-scale operations in a few months ; it might have to function in the midst of war.

COMMITTEES ARE SET UP

Under the chairmanship of Dean Acheson, Member of the Council for the United States, the UNRRA Council divided its agenda into four main committees and fifteen sub-committees. The Committee on Ad Hoc Committees acted as the steering agency of the session.

The UNRRA committees did not attempt to legislate, i.e. to draw up international conventions or treaties to be signed ; what began on November 10 at Atlantic City amounted to business deliberations by nations having urgent stakes in setting up an organization that could act at once.

Committee I on Organization and Administration considered in its four sub-committees the following items : The composition and functions of the regional Committees for Europe and the Far East, together with the Standing Technical Committees on Agriculture, Displaced Persons, Health, Industrial Rehabilitation and Welfare ; rules and procedures of the Council and its Standing Committees ; personnel policies and the administrative budget.

Committee II on General Policy and its three sub-committees dealt with the broad policies of the Administration, its relations with governments and with inter-governmental bodies.

Committee III on Supply and Finance had one sub-committee to study the financial plan for the Administration, and another to examine the procedures for ascertaining and meeting deficits in supplies. It was also charged with setting up the Standing Committees on Supply and Financial Control and with defining their functions.

Committee IV on Relief and Rehabilitation Policies was divided into six sub-committees engaged in discussing technical aspects of relief distribution, health and medical care, welfare services and voluntary relief agencies, assistance to displaced persons, agri-

cultural rehabilitation and rehabilitation of industries, transport and other services essential to relief.

The United States provided the secretariat for this first session of UNRRA. Altogether there were well over 150 meetings of the main committees, sub-committees and drafting groups, some of which had almost daily sessions.

And these meetings were characterized by an avoidance of high-flown oratory and idealistic generalities ; realism was the keynote of the Council Meeting. Within three weeks 41 resolutions were passed and handed over to the Director-General for further action.

THE SCOPE OF UNRRA

Dean Acheson, Chairman of the Council, remarked that UNRRA could not reconstruct the world, neither could it be limited to a mere "soup kitchen" charity. The scope of UNRRA, he pointed out, lay somewhere between these two extremes.

The Conference drew a line among the three R's—Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. Post-war reconstruction was not in its function ; its limit was relief and such material rehabilitation as might be found essential to relief. Thus, the Council concluded that the Administration should ensure the provision of :

- (1) essential consumer goods for immediate needs, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, medical supplies ; and materials, such as seeds, raw materials and machinery ;
- (2) essential services such as health and aid in the repatriation of displaced persons ; the rehabilitation of public utilities (light, water, communications) in so far as they could be restored for immediate needs and to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies for its own and other liberated territories ; and assistance in procuring equipment for schools and universities.

Thus, UNRRA might restore water supply systems damaged by bombing, but could not install a new sewage system in a town which never had a sewage system.

It was realized that in some instances UNRRA might have to operate in liberated areas where there was no organized or respon-

sible government. In such cases UNRRA would work in close agreement with the military command. And once a government has been set up in a liberated area, the Administration would operate only after consultation with, and with the consent of, the government concerned.

In transporting relief materials, repatriating displaced persons, or in combating epidemics, the Administration would probably have to operate in enemy or ex-enemy areas. Moreover, the Administration might, requested by the military command and the established control authorities, find it necessary to extend relief to ex-enemy peoples. The Conference decided that the expenses connected with such operations should be paid by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned; and that aggressor nations should pay for whatever they received as soon as payment could be collected. The Director-General would consult with the military authorities with a view to using any surpluses of supplies found in enemy or ex-enemy territories.

COOPERATION WITH COMBINED BOARDS

From the very beginning, it was understood that the activities of UNRRA would be conducted without interference in the prosecution of the war. For this purpose, UNRRA officials would have to work in collaboration with military authorities. Consequently, it seemed essential that requirements of relief be coordinated with military requirements "through the use of existing inter-governmental agencies" already concerned with directing supplies and shipping facilities. These "inter-governmental agencies" are the four Combined Boards for food, industrial goods, raw materials and shipping, which are chiefly concerned with the war effort.

A kind of teamwork formula was worked out: The Conference decided that all members governments should keep UNRRA fully informed of all their relief and rehabilitation requirements. On his part, Director-General Lehman may present to the Combined Boards recommendations he deems necessary to obtain a fair distribution of supplies and shipping in the liberated areas. He

will also present the over-all requirements of all areas to permit a global consideration of relief needs with other needs.

Furthermore, he may present the particular requirements of any one country for which UNRRA's assistance has been asked. On the other hand, it is anticipated that the Combined Boards will consult the Director-General when any matter affecting UNRRA is under discussion.

POLICIES ON DISTRIBUTION OF SUPPLIES

Once supplies have been gathered, allocated and shipped, such supplies, according to the Council, shall "at no time be used as a political weapon and no discrimination shall be made because of race, creed or political belief."

In general, it was agreed, the responsibility for distribution of relief is to be borne by the government which exercises administrative authority in the particular area, and that the distribution of supplies should take place under effective rationing and price control. All classes are to receive an equal share; the poor will get relief free, those able to pay will buy the relief goods through normal distributing agencies. When supplies are sold to consumers, prices will be set to speed up the flow of supplies into proper hands, and to avoid maladjustments in the price structures.

UNRRA'S HEALTH AND WELFARE PROGRAMME

Reports received from the occupied countries indicate that the United Nations will have to act swiftly to prevent the spread of epidemics; thousands of lives are being taken by typhus and tuberculosis. The UNRRA Council laid plans to send life-saving teams of doctors and nurses behind the liberating armies to fight disease and starvation. A staff of doctors and technicians will be gathered from all nations and standard units of medical supplies are to be assembled. After first emergencies have been met, the Council agreed, UNRRA will then attempt to provide assistance to governments to enable them to re-establish health services in the least possible time.

An important function of UNRRA's health organization will be epidemic control, particularly epidemics affecting more than one country. Early recognition will be given to the needs of children and expectant and nursing mothers, for upon them depends the restoration of normal family life. Special measures will be taken to deal with communicable diseases among children, particularly those who are homeless and lost, and whose resistance has been lowered by malnutrition.

Welfare was designed by the Council to include the necessities of life for those persons unable to provide for themselves. Welfare services will be designed to help people to help themselves; and UNRRA will also enlist the co-operation of voluntary relief agencies who have been or are working in the field.

DISPLACED PERSONS

There are 1,800,000 Frenchmen in Germany; according to one estimate, to move this number of persons will take 24 trains a day, every day, for nearly three months. This is but one example of the problem of displaced, uprooted peoples—the physical problem, aside from the deep psychological wounds inflicted by the war and the enemy.

According to an official estimate by the Allied Governments, there are now, exclusive of the Soviet territories and the Far East, between 21,000,000 and 30,000,000 homeless or displaced persons scattered over the continent of Europe—forced labourers in the Axis countries, civilian prisoners and persons in concentration camps, war fugitives, hostages and thousands upon thousands who have been forcibly uprooted from century-long homes to allow the Nazis to put into effect their racial and living-space “doctrines”. In the Far East over 40,000,000 Chinese have been driven from town to town, district to district, in regions occupied by the Japanese.

The problem of returning those still alive at the end of the war to their homes has been viewed as a problem of organization almost as great as the problem of relief itself. Yet, transportation is only one part of repatriation. Displaced persons will need food, clothing and temporary shelters. And these relief measures call

for a vast quantity of supplies to be provided for within the minimum requirements for general relief.

Then there is the medical side. Mass movements of displaced persons are likely to cause an acute danger from epidemics, not only among the displaced persons themselves but in the countries of their residence, passage and return. The closest possible collaboration must, therefore, be maintained with the health organization of UNRRA and all other national and international health institutions.

This was one of the toughest problems before the Atlantic City Council. Political implications were obvious and politics did not come into the scope of UNRRA. Will the victims in Axis territories be rescued before the Nazis lay their hands on them in the eleventh hour of revengeful desperation? What about enemy or ex-enemy nationals who have settled in Allied countries, moved into Allied homes?

The Council suggested that while it is not the purpose of UNRRA to assist enemy subjects, the removal of enemy or ex-enemy nationals who may still be in occupation of Allied homes might be undertaken by UNRRA. Realizing the implications of the question, it also suggested, therefore, that the return of such ex-enemy intruders to their homes be referred to an early meeting of the Council as a separate issue for further consideration.

Why teamwork was necessary, why a United Nations' agency was the only practical means to straighten out the awful tangle of displaced peoples was revealed in the next recommendation :

Four countries might be involved before a family, a father or a son could return to their home. There will be the country where they are living temporarily, the country through which they must pass, the country where they have lived, and the country of which they are nationals. Therefore, agreements have to be reached with all of them. The Council expressed the hope, that all governments would cooperate with UNRRA in helping people get back home, whether those people were their nationals or not.

The Council recommended that the Administration should take steps to ensure the closest cooperation with the military authorities, the International Committee of the Red Cross (which already possesses a wealth of information and experience, particularly records containing some 15,000,000 names), and with the Inter-

Governmental Committee on Refugees in London which has long dealt with persons who have had to leave their homes for reasons of nationality, race, religion or political belief. It will be the responsibility of UNRRA to assist in the care of such refugees as cannot or do not wish to be repatriated until the Inter-Governmental Committee can find places for them to live.

FOOD COMES FIRST— REHABILITATION OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES

In his first Press conference, Director-General Lehman declared that food would take priority over all shipments other than war materials to the liberated countries. The flow of food will be tagged "emergency relief". Hunger must be assuaged, bodies nourished before the many schemes of rehabilitation can even be started.

UNRRA will furnish "energy" foods to relieve hunger and simultaneously begin the rehabilitation of agriculture. The big shortages after the war will be in milk, meat and fats; there will have to be concentration at first on supplies of wheat and cereals for energy foods, as there are plentiful stock-piles of wheat. Seed, farm machinery, fertilizers, lubricants and fuel will be required. Food processing machinery may be required to convert new food into edible form. Retreating Germans, for instance, tried desperately to destroy olive crushers in Tunisia.

Agricultural experts at the Council Meeting pointed out that for the first crop year after liberation, absolute priority should be given to producing foods for direct human consumption. Only when danger of actual hunger is removed can more ambitious farming goals be contemplated. This means that production of pigs and poultry will be discouraged. This is a programme for a one-year crop, and that is the most critical period.

The Council adopted the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs that a permanent international food organization should handle long-range plans for increasing world-wide food production and standards of living. It was agreed that UNRRA should confine itself to emergency matters, but should cooperate with the permanent food organization.

How much and what food is needed is to be based on the lowest rate of nutritional value for maintaining health. It is known that the Inter-Allied Committee estimated the minimum rate at an average of 2,000 calories daily per person subject to some adaptations, but urged that it be increased at the earliest opportunity. This standard is, however, now to be reviewed by the appropriate bodies of UNRRA. In comparison, the official report on Food Consumption Levels in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom recently published by H.M. Stationery Office states the average daily consumption in 1943 per head of the civil population as 3,283 calories for the U.S.A., 3,223 calories for Canada, and 2,827 for the United Kingdom.

To get occupied Europe back to its pre-war state of self-sufficiency, it has been estimated that 400,000 tons of seeds will have to be imported in the first half-year. Imports of dried milk will be needed to replace the loss of milk resulting from the wartime slaughter of cattle in Europe. It was recommended that liberated countries increase their production and consumption of cereals, potatoes and milk to the maximum.

Many countries will want tractors. In the field of farm production, the chief responsibility of UNRRA will be to help local governments with imported supplies and equipment in order to reduce the need for relief after the first harvest.

INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION

So far the Council had studied many aspects of relief—health, food, welfare services, farm production, deported and displaced persons. None was found separate from the other. Health depended upon food, which depended upon social services and so on. They were inter-related; each was emergency; all would be tackled simultaneously. The success of immediate relief depends upon an efficient transportation system, railway equipment, water and power supplies, and upon minor repairs to factories which, when operating, could produce relief goods themselves.

The Council decided that UNRRA would help those countries whose industries can be rebuilt for production of relief goods. This would cut down on shipping problems, would get urgently needed supplies faster to other liberated areas.

If raw materials, machinery and spare parts must be imported from overseas, each country will give the Administration the necessary explanation of the volume, number and types which are generally used and might be purchased beforehand. To encourage this type of rehabilitation, UNRRA would specially seek allocation of raw materials, machinery and spare parts ; moreover, it would provide, if the interested governments so requested, an experienced technical staff, and priorities for the return of skilled workers awaiting repatriation. It was suggested that stock-piles of machine tools be built up so they could be quickly transported to liberated areas.

In carrying out industrial rehabilitation a definite order of priority is to be established. First, it will be necessary to restore water, electricity and other public services. The rapid resumption of industrial activity will start the liberated areas on the road to build and provide for themselves.

Priority in the repair of buildings in devastated areas will be accorded hospitals, schools and accommodation for homeless persons, especially workers engaged in essential public services : farmers and agricultural workers and workers in industries important to the relief programme. For displaced persons existing buildings, camps, barracks, hospitals and other public buildings will be used.

THE FINANCIAL PLAN FOR UNRRA

The Council was aware that no matter how important the lists of essential goods might be, it was also important to fix a budget which could be assembled from the member states and other sources. First, it was agreed that the formula covering the finances for UNRRA should be acceptable to all nations able and willing to contribute. The success of UNRRA depended upon a genuine collaboration of all the United Nations ; consequently, the contribution of each must represent a reasonable amount in accordance with the ability to pay.

This purpose was met by the adoption of what has become known as the American financial plan. Each member government whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy shall make a contribution for participation in the work of the Administration, approximately equivalent to one per cent. of the national

income of the country for the year ending June 30, 1943, as determined by the member government. Richer countries may, if they so wish, contribute more, while countries who have been excessively burdened by the continuance of the war may have an opportunity to make adjustments. Contributions are also expected from neutral countries and from private sources.

The relief resources of the free world were being pooled and distributed on the basis of a nation's ability to pay. Many of the invaded nations would need supplies, of course, and would be able to contribute in other ways to the United Nations' relief pool. For example, Belgium will need food and medicine for her half-starved people, but Belgium would be able to pay for all assistance given her. Besides, the Belgian Congo could supply raw materials and food products to other needy nations. Norway will need much food, but out of its great merchant fleet and fishing industry it would be able to provide shipping and fish to bring help to other countries.

This "world community chest" of \$2,000,000,000-\$2,500,000,000 (roughly £500,000,000—£625,000,000) will be accumulated for the entire relief period. The recommended contribution for the United States is \$1,350,000,000 (roughly £337,500,000); it will be the largest single contribution by a member nation. On the other hand, it will be just about \$1,000,000,000 (roughly £250,000,000) less than the United States put up for relief after World War I.

For the United Kingdom the recommended contribution is approximately £80,000,000. The rest would come chiefly from other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations and from the Latin American Republics. Invaded countries such as Russia, China and others that will need relief are not assigned quotas under the one per cent. clause; it is recommended that those who are able to contribute to the work of UNRRA outside their own territory should do so.

UNRRA will not spend money for the relief and rehabilitation of any area whose government is in a position to pay in foreign exchange. If a government considers that it is not in a position to pay, the Director-General will consult with that government, and with a special committee of the Council. Acting on the latter's advice, he will determine whether or not the country or the government is in a position to make payments for relief.

All financial transactions of UNRRA are to be audited by an Auditor selected by the Council, and the Director-General will make periodical reports to the Council on the financial status of the Administration. All the member governments are requested to see to it that UNRRA supplies in transit are not subjected to any taxes or other hindrances likely to reduce the resources of the Administration. To meet the needs of other liberated areas, member governments will keep the Director-General constantly informed about any surpluses of supplies. Similarly any available surpluses from enemy or ex-enemy territories may be used to meet the needs of liberated areas.

Director-General Lehman told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives that UNRRA's resources "must be used only to meet the most pressing needs," and "not dissipated in financing long-range reconstruction projects." The success of UNRRA, he went on, "must be measured by the speed with which it is able to liquidate itself; the sooner it becomes unnecessary, the greater will have been its accomplishments."

ESTABLISHMENT OF STANDING COMMITTEES

Outstanding among the results of the Council at Atlantic City was the establishment of Standing Committees as part of UNRRA's working machinery.

The Committee of the Council for Europe, seated in London, consists of Council members representing Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia. The United States, Brazil and Canada are also represented.

The Committee of the Council for the Far East, temporarily at Washington, D.C., comprises Australia, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Commonwealth, the United Kingdom and the United States.

In cases of emergency, the Central Committee is authorized to appoint additional members of the regional Committees.

The functions of the two regional Committees consist of basic work in the preparation of estimates for over-all requirements in their areas ; they are to advise the Director-General on all questions within their province related to UNRRA activities ; they are to promote appropriate national and inter-governmental action on the part of their member governments.

The Committee on Supplies is made up of eleven representatives of countries likely to be the principal suppliers of relief materials and services at the start of UNRRA operations. Its roll is : Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The Supplies Committee is charged with handling supplies in consultation with the Director-General, the Central Committee, the Council and the Combined Boards. It will concern itself with the financing and transportation of supplies, it will make sure that required materials and services are available and it will see to the equitable distribution of liability for supplies and services among the supplying countries. It appoints, in consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Financial Control, a sub-committee of not more than five members to advise the Director-General in determining whether a government is in a position to pay, as provided in the Financial Plan. The Supplies Committee will meet at Washington, D.C.

The Committee on Financial Control, also located at Washington, consists of representatives of eight countries : China, Greece, Mexico, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. Its work is to advise the Administration on how to aid in counteracting inflationary trends, to attend to UNRRA's administrative budget as well as to any financial matter it may be entrusted with by the Central Committee.

Technical Sub-Committees. Many of the policy problems of UNRRA are of a technical nature and cannot be worked out without constant advice by specialists. Consequently, the Conference agreed to create five standing technical committees on agriculture, displaced persons, health, industrial rehabilitation, and welfare. Each member government may participate in the

work of each of these technical committees ; only persons possessing special ability and expert knowledge should be appointed as members or alternates.

These committees, and parallel sub-committees to be organized within the framework of the Regional Committees for Europe and the Far East, will also formulate proposals for technical policies within their province, and will advise the Director-General, the Regional Committees and the Council.

The four leading Powers hold vital posts on the Central Committee, the Committee on Supplies, the Committee on Financial Control and on both regional Committees. The member of the Council for the United Kingdom was elected chairman of the Committee for Europe, that for China chairman of the Committee for the Far East, while the chairmanship of the Committees on Supplies and Financial Control went to the representatives of Canada and the United States respectively.

THE UNRRA OFFICE

The Council agreed that UNRRA headquarters are to be located in Washington, D.C. Regional offices will be established in London, in the Far East and possibly in Cairo.

Recognizing that the success of the Administration would depend largely upon the vision, competence, integrity and loyalty of the men and women who would become its officers and technical staff, the Council recommended that the Director, under his full executive authority, act with the greatest possible freedom in the selection of personnel.

It was decided that the staff of UNRRA should be of an international character, selected upon the basis of individual qualifications and without discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, nationality or creed, and recruited upon as wide a geographic basis as is compatible with efficient administration. National governments and international agencies are being urged to make available to the Administration such persons in their own service whom the Director-General may invite to join UNRRA's staff.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COUNCIL

When after the last session of the Council, on December 1, the representatives of 44 nations packed their bags and left Atlantic City, a job had been started. In their discussions, within a comparatively short period of three weeks, they had realistically met a great and staggering problem.

Dean Acheson, Chairman of the Council at Atlantic City, declared: "If we are asked what we have done here, I believe that we can answer: we have reached agreement upon a practicable programme . . . fully possible of achievement in action. A general purpose has been translated into a definite plan."

The work at Atlantic City, according to Colonel John L. Lewellin, of the United Kingdom, was "a crusade to bring food to the hungry, shelter to the homeless, clothing to those who are in rags; a crusade against the scourge of epidemics and to help the return to their homes of many millions who are prisoners or who are being treated as slaves."

In his message to Congress asking for appropriations for the Administration, the President of the United States pointed out: "UNRRA will be able to make only a beginning in the vast task of aiding the victims of war. The greatest part of the job will have to be done by the liberated peoples themselves. What UNRRA can do is to help the liberated peoples to help themselves, so that they may have the strength to undertake the task of rebuilding their destroyed homes, their ruined factories and their plundered farms. . . . They do not want charity. They seek the strength to fight and to do their part in securing the peace. . . ."

Food, clothing, medicines and shelter are cheaper than blood. They can save many lives and remove the danger of another war. The resolutions passed at the UNRRA Council contain this hope. Translated into action, they mean that good will, as well as stocks of food and material, must be available, that victory over want, confusion and despair must be as clearly kept in mind as victory over the enemy.

Moreover, the success of UNRRA may point the way to a realistic blueprint for future unity among the free peoples of the world. Its success will greatly influence the development of the concept of cooperation among the United Nations, and upon its

success depends the answer to whether the titanic energies stimulated by the war can be directed toward constructive action.

The steps to be taken will not only prove whether UNRRA can succeed, but also whether any common enterprise of the United Nations can proceed "from the talking to the acting stage". Quoting again from the Director-General's testimony at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives: "If UNRRA succeeds, the world will know that international cooperation is possible, that common interests can be stronger than separate differences. Having done it once, the United Nations will have more confidence that they can do it again. The habit will have been formed."

**LIST OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FIRST
SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, UNITED NATIONS
RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION**

*The page references below are to the British
Government White Paper Cmd. 6497*

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Resolution No. 3. Relating to assistance from member governments (p. 8).

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Resolution No. 5. Relating to the relations of the Administration with inter-governmental agencies other than those established to deal with supplies, shipping and related questions (p. 9).

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RELIEF AND REHABILITATION POLICIES

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Resolution No. 9. Relating to welfare services and voluntary relief agencies (p. 11).

Resolution No. 10. Relating to policies with respect to displaced persons (p. 12).

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Resolution No. 41. Relating to regulations with respect to expenditures and receipts of the Administration (p. 35).

STANDING COMMITTEES OF UNRRA

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Central Committee

Location—Washington.

Members—China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Committee of the Council for Europe

Location—London.

Members—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the French Committee of National Liberation, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia. The United States, Brazil and Canada are also represented.

Committee of the Council for the Far East

Location—Temporarily Washington, D.C.

Members—Australia, China, the French Committee of National Liberation, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Commonwealth, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Committee on Supplies

Location—Washington.

Members—Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, the French Committee of National Liberation, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Committee on Financial Control.

Location—Washington.

Members—China, Greece, Mexico, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Standing Technical Committees on :—

Agriculture, Displaced Persons, Health, Industrial Rehabilitation, and Welfare.

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