

1945
NEW ZEALAND

UNITED NATIONS' RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

REPORT BY THE NEW ZEALAND DELEGATION ON THE THIRD SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, LONDON,
7TH TO 24TH AUGUST, 1945

Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Leave

The third* session of the UNRRA Council, also meetings of its Committee for the Far East and of the Committee on Supplies (New Zealand is a member of both of these), were held in London during August, 1945. They were held under conditions that can be summarized in the following diary:—

1945.		
July 17 to August 2	..	Potsdam Three-power Conference.
July 26	..	Change in United Kingdom Government.
August 2	..	UNRRA Committee for the Far East opened.
August 6	..	Atomic bomb.
August 7	..	UNRRA Council opened.
August 15	..	Japanese surrender.
August 24	..	Announcement of end of lend-lease.
August 24	..	UNRRA Council, also Committee for the Far East, closed.

To the forty-four signatories of the original agreement of 9th November, 1943, three new members were added at the 1945 session—Denmark, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine. (The Central Committee was also authorized to admit into membership Governments which are signatories of the Charter of United Nations and which are not now members of UNRRA.) Costa Rica, Iran, and Nicaragua were not represented at the session. Italy, Sweden, and the Vatican were non-member States represented by visitors; also present, as before, were official observers from the League of Nations' Economic, Financial and Transit Department, the International Labour Office, the Inter-governmental Committee for Refugees, and the Food and Agriculture Organization; represented for the first time were the Provisional Organization for European Inland Transport, the United Maritime Authority, the European Coal Organization, and the World Trade Union Organization.

New Zealand representatives were Mr. R. M. Campbell and Professor A. G. B. Fisher. (The High Commissioner, who had been nominated as New Zealand delegate, left for the Dominion on 2nd August.) The New Zealand Council of Overseas Relief Services Organizations nominated Mr. H. T. Silcock as their Observer at the Committee for the Far East and at the Council; he was given that status at the Committee, but the rules and practice of the Council required that he, with representatives of other like organizations, be a "visitor." Mr. Silcock, who has had long experience as a Society of Friends missionary in China and Japan, agreed, however, to take the status of adviser to our small New Zealand team. We thus had the advantage of constant association throughout the meetings with Mr. Silcock, who also acted as New Zealand representative on the Far East Committee's Displaced Persons sub-committee; and we are anxious to acknowledge the valuable help he gave.

The member of the Council representing India, Sir Gurja S. Bajpai, was elected Chairman of the Council for this third session. He was ably assisted by Mr. Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, as Chairman of the Committee on Policy, which is a "committee of the whole" Council.

Particularly before the dramatic events that coincided in point of time with the Council meetings, there was no denying the doubts and misgivings that many had as to UNRRA's fitness for its tasks and whether it deserved further support. Despite the high hopes with which it had been launched, and the substantial funds that had been voted for its work, the organization seemed to have hardly begun to function, even in south-eastern Europe, where the needs were great and the opportunities earliest open. In western Europe the returning Governments, not UNRRA, had the tasks of relief in hand. There, too, as well as in Germany and Italy, most of the millions of displaced persons had returned home, or were returning, through their own improvised devices, or under military plans, UNRRA doing little more than supply personnel for transit camps. Some critics, understandably enough, wondered moreover, whether it was after all the job of a United Nations' body to aid Italy or other ex-enemy countries. In respect to contributions, it was asked, were there not serious defaults by some who had joined in the high-sounding promises at Atlantic City, defaults which would make it inequitable to look for further help from—for example, the hard-pressed United Kingdom, or New Zealand, which had already contributed 1 per cent. of their estimated national incomes? Queries of this kind were effectively reinforced by the well-publicized criticism, at Lapstone and elsewhere, of the competence of administrative personnel in UNRRA.

The substance of some of these contentions is now of little more than historical interest, and we have no wish to deny that many of them have, or had, some basis in fact. It is, however, fair to say that, though most displaced people managed to get home somehow "under their own steam," this is no reflection on UNRRA; also that the administrative personnel available to UNRRA were only such as member Governments released, and, understandably, at the stage of the war when the administration began, Governments did not meet the Administration's pressing requests.

The non-availability of competent personnel was one important reason for the delays, to which the Committee on Financial Control had directed attention in getting the auditing arrangements of UNRRA into proper working-order. The comparative inactivity of UNRRA in Western Europe

*The first session met in Atlantic City, November, 1943; the second in Montreal, September, 1944; both reports numbered A. 3A, 1944.

was, moreover, not the result of any deliberate choice on the part of the Administration, but of the decision of all the national Governments in this area to retain full responsibility for relief and rehabilitation in their own hands. The larger issues as to further or past contributions will be dealt with in subsequent paragraphs of this report.

Should UNRRA continue, or should it cease to function about the end of 1945? This was the first question behind the London discussions in August, 1945, and is the first question now passed by delegates to their Governments, for it is the plain fact that, in default of further contributions, first financial and then in supplies and services, UNRRA's days are numbered. "Realistically" we are told to use the already overworked word that covers so many and such varied notions—this means that unless the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada make further payments, the work cannot go on, for theirs are the bulk of the total contributions; but we have no doubt we are right in assuming that the case for a further contribution must be faced as well by the smaller countries, and in remembering, too, that a tax of 1 per cent. of national income is a burden proportionately no less onerous on a small country than on a Great Power.

The following paragraphs and tables set out the actual and estimated resources and expenditure of UNRRA:—

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS ALLOCATED BY COUNCIL, 1943-45, AS OF 15th SEPTEMBER, 1945
(In U.S. Dollar Equivalents)

Government.	1943-44.			1945.		
	Allocated.	Paid.	Unpaid.	Allocated.	Paid.	Unpaid.
Australia	150,000	150,000	..	112,500	112,500	..
Belgium	100,000	100,000	..	75,000	75,000	..
Bolivia	10,000	5,833	4,167	7,500	..	7,500
Brazil	150,000	150,000	..	112,500	112,500	..
Canada	300,000	300,000	..	225,000	225,000	..
Chile	20,000	..	20,000	15,000	..	15,000
China	500,000	500,000	..	375,000	375,000	..
Colombia	30,000	30,000	..	22,500	22,001	499
Costa Rica	5,000	..	5,000	3,750	..	3,750
Cuba	20,000	20,000	..	15,000	15,000	..
Czechoslovakia	100,000	100,000	..	75,000	..	75,000
Denmark .. ..	..	..	..	18,750	..	18,750
Dominican Republic	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Ecuador	5,000	..	5,000	3,750	..	3,750
Egypt	70,000	70,000	..	52,500	..	52,500
El Salvador	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	..	3,750
Ethiopia	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
France	400,000	400,000	..	300,000	300,000	..
Greece	50,000	50,000	..	37,500	37,500	..
Guatemala	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Haiti	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Honduras	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Iceland	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
India	400,000	400,000	..	300,000	300,000	..
Iran	10,000	..	10,000	7,500	..	7,500
Iraq	10,000	10,000	..	7,500	7,500	..
Liberia	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Luxembourg	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Mexico	70,000	70,000	..	52,500	..	52,500
Netherlands	150,000	150,000	..	112,500	112,500	..
New Zealand	30,000	30,000	..	22,500	22,500	..
Nicaragua	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	..	3,750
Norway	30,000	30,000	..	22,500	22,500	..
Panama	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Paraguay	5,000	..	5,000	3,750	..	3,750
Peru	25,000	25,000	..	18,750	..	18,750
Philippines	5,000	5,000	..	3,750	3,750	..
Poland	100,000	100,000	..	75,000	..	75,000
Union of South Africa	100,000	100,000	..	75,000	75,000	..
U.S.S.R.	1,000,000	1,000,000	..	750,000	..	750,000
United Kingdom	1,500,000	1,500,000	..	1,125,000	1,125,000	..
United States of America	4,000,000	4,000,000	..	3,000,000	3,000,000	..
Uruguay	20,000	..	20,000	15,000	..	15,000
Venezuela	10,000	10,000	..	7,500	7,500	..
Yugoslavia	70,000	70,000	..	52,500	..	52,500
Total	9,500,000	9,430,833	69,167	7,143,750	5,984,501	1,159,249

SUMMARY OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS

	1943-44.	1945.	Total.
Total paid allocations	9,430,833	5,984,501	15,415,334
Total unpaid allocations	69,167	1,159,249	1,228,416
Total administrative contributions allocated by Council, 1943-45	9,500,000	7,143,750	16,643,750

[Division of Finance, 15th September, 1945.]

OPERATING CONTRIBUTIONS AUTHORIZED OR IN PROCESS OF AUTHORIZATION AS OF 15th SEPTEMBER, 1945
(In U.S. Dollar Equivalents)

Government.*	Contributed or available on Request.	Appropriated, but not yet available.	Having Preliminary Approval only.	Total Operating Contributions authorized or in Process of Authorization.
Australia	38,137,500	..	..	38,137,500
Bolivia	25,913	51,825	..	77,738
Brazil	9,737,500	20,000,000	..	29,737,500
Canada	68,844,369	..	..	68,844,369
Chile .. .. .	..	..	2,118,312	2,118,312
Colombia .. .. .	..	..	2,303,993	2,303,993
Costa Rica .. .. .	..	..	391,250	391,250
Cuba .. .. .	..	..	..	..
Dominican Republic	236,250	105,000	..	341,250
Ecuador .. .. .	..	..	141,250	141,250
Egypt .. .. .	..	..	4,133,333	4,133,333
El Salvador .. .. .	..	..	120,000	120,000
Guatemala .. .. .	..	..	..	..
Haiti	40,000	..	..	40,000
Honduras	50,000	..	..	50,000
Iceland	709,225	..	..	709,225
India	23,342,072	..	..	23,342,072
Iran .. .. .	..	..	..	..
Iraq .. .. .	..	..	..	..
Liberia .. .. .	..	..	..	..
Mexico	1,078,000	2,401,000	..	3,479,000
New Zealand	8,423,500	..	..	8,423,500
Nicaragua .. .. .	..	..	120,000	120,000
Panama	133,333	266,667	..	400,000
Paraguay	9,900	19,799	..	29,699
Peru	767,692	188,558	..	956,250
Union of South Africa	3,955,000	14,005,000	..	17,960,000
United Kingdom	319,775,000	..	..	319,775,000
United States of America	793,000,000	..	550,000,000	1,343,000,000
Uruguay	485,000	..	..	485,000
Venezuela .. .. .	..	..	1,000,000	1,000,000
Total	1,268,750,254	37,037,849	560,328,138	1,866,116,241

* The thirty-one member Governments listed are non-invaded countries. The Council has recommended that contributions be made primarily by member Governments whose home territory has not been occupied by the enemy.

[Division of Finance, 15th September, 1945.]

It will be noted that of the forty-four member nations in the year 1944, thirty-nine have paid their allocated share of the administrative expenses. The remaining five have notified the Administration that their payments are in process. Of \$9,500,000 allocated for 1944 administrative expenses, the total amount unpaid as of 15th September was \$69,167.

Of the thirty-one nations which were not occupied by the enemy during the war and which were, therefore, asked to contribute to the operating funds of the Administration, twenty-six have made contributions. The remaining five Governments have notified the Administration that contributions are now in process of authorization or appropriation. To date approximately 70 per cent. of the total operating funds asked by the Atlantic City resolution has been paid in.

\$1,866 millions (say, £466,000,000 sterling) is thus shown as available for UNRRA's relief purposes. Not all of the \$1,866,116,000 is currently available to finance the Administration's operations, however. Contributions of \$597,366,000 were not available to the Administration on 15th September, 1945, for several reasons. The largest portion consists of \$550,000,000 of the total contribution of \$1,350,000,000 authorized by the United States, which requires appropriation by Congress before it becomes available. The President in his annual message to Congress on 6th September, and again in a more recent statement, has made a strong plea for granting UNRRA the financial aid it must have in order that it may carry out its programme. Nevertheless, it is fully expected that a further appropriation will meet with a certain amount of opposition in Congress and will undoubtedly be the occasion for some rather caustic criticism of UNRRA's past performance. The Administration, however, is confident that the balance of the first 1 per cent. contribution will be forthcoming and will be available for UNRRA operations before the end of 1945.

In addition to the \$550,000,000 still to be appropriated by the United States, some \$10,328,000 of other contributions have received only preliminary approval by the executive branch of the Governments concerned. It is expected that perhaps as much as half of this amount will be available for expenditure in 1945. In the case of a number of other countries, contributions amounting in all to \$37,038,000 have been appropriated, but are not yet available to UNRRA. Most of this \$37,000,000 will not become available until 1946 and 1947. A considerable proportion of the South African contribution, however, will probably be expended before the end of 1945.

The administration is authorized to incur obligations only to the extent of appropriations made and resources actually received from other sources. Accordingly, deducting the sum not currently available, the resources against which the Administration is authorized to incur obligations for its operations as of 15th September, 1945, totalled \$1,268,750,000. If to this amount is added the balance of the American contribution and other contributions which there is reason to believe will become available within the next three months, the Administration will have at its disposal for operations by the end of 1945 resources totalling between \$1,830,000,000 and \$1,835,000,000.

Contributions in kind have also been made, mainly clothing from the United States and other countries, estimated by the end of 1945 to total £170,000,000. In this connection a paragraph in the Director-General's report to the Committee for the Far East noted with appreciation the good efforts in New Zealand to find clothing for relief purposes.

A substantial contribution from a non-member country is 150,000 tons of wheat received from the Argentine.

As a general comment on the question of contributions, while it is, of course, plainly equitable that all should contribute in proportion to their ability, two observations may perhaps be made—first, that the difference between the sums actually received and those estimated at Atlantic City is not really great enough to warrant alarm; and when it is agreed that "estimated national income" is the appropriate first criterion of ability to contribute it must be added that in the nature of things an authoritative estimate of national incomes is impossible.

Requirements. Czechoslovakia, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Poland submitted estimates of required supplies, for a period of six months, that totalled about \$2,800,000,000. The Council at its second, Montreal, session adopted bases for calculating import requirements; and by the application of these, taking account of the estimates of local supplies and production, the estimates for these four countries for the six-months' period were reduced to approximately \$1,558,000,000.

This figure allowed nothing for the Administration's operations in the Far East, nor in Russia. In the Far East, the Chinese Government requested UNRRA's aid for a part of its estimated total relief and rehabilitation requirements, the requested UNRRA part amounting to an estimated \$865,200,000 in the first twelve months and \$1,228,000,000 in eighteen months (the latter figure including the former).

The U.S.S.R.'s estimate of relief requirements, as originally submitted, totalled \$700,000,000. At the London session, however, the U.S.S.R.'s request was withdrawn on the understanding that the two Soviet Republics of Byelorussia and the Ukraine would each submit a new programme of requirements totalling approximately \$250,000,000.

Nor is this the whole story of requirements. For Italy a special programme to cost \$50,000,000 was authorized at the second session of the Council, but this amount was being supplemented by substantial aid in Italy through military channels, provided by the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, and a good deal of emphasis was put upon the necessity of meeting such relief costs through UNRRA. Indeed, before the Council sessions were through, \$450,000,000 was the authoritative estimate of required expenditure in Italy to provide the necessary relief until the harvest of August or September, 1946.

The Administration was also authorized at London to undertake relief operations in Austria, Korea, and Formosa, the total cost of which is estimated at \$100,000,000,000. A programme for Ethiopia is still to be budgeted for. UNRRA, however, has been relieved of the financial burden of providing supplies for displaced persons and for refugee camps in areas other than the countries above named. \$180,000,000 of UNRRA's funds had originally been budgeted for this purpose, but responsibility for these supplies has now been assumed by the military and will not, therefore, be taken into account in UNRRA's budget.

Another presentation of procurement obligations is given on the basis of commodities, estimated to 31st December, 1945:—

	\$
Food	450 millions
Clothing, textiles, and footwear	400 "
Medical and sanitation	55 "
Agricultural rehabilitation	110 "
Industrial rehabilitation	313 "
Shipping and related obligations:	267 "
Total	1,600 "

By countries receiving aid, the programme of shipments estimated to 31st December, 1945, included:—

	\$
Poland	274 millions
Jugoslavia	249 "
Greece	246 "
Czechoslovakia	203 "
Italy	37 "
China	22 "
Albania	17 "
Total	<u>1,048</u> "

The above estimates are necessarily approximate and are subject to revision in the light of changing programmes and, in the case of shipments, in the light of shipping availability, port capacity, &c.

These foregoing statistics, even those showing requirements far exceeding estimated contributions, do not, of course, portray in any humanly impressive way the case for further contributions. For this one looks to the story of conditions in the lands calling for relief and, still more, as we stand upon the threshold of the northern hemisphere winter, to the forecasts of what lies ahead.

First, a couple of notes of appreciation of what has been accomplished. The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister said:—

"We in Czechoslovakia are very, very grateful to UNRRA. UNRRA came in time; even a little sooner than we expected. There was still fighting in the eastern part of our country, and victory was moving towards Prague when the people of UNRRA arrived; at one time 153 UNRRA trucks was all the transport we had in the whole of Czechoslovakia.

"The situation was desperate when UNRRA arrived. In Eastern Slovakia and in the capital of Brno there was definite starvation. They came in time. For about ten days the people were getting nothing except a bit of very inferior bread. UNRRA came with meat, fats, prunes, and also even coffee! Then medical supplies. We were at the threshold of a typhus and typhoid epidemic. We got penicillin and other drugs in time, and a disastrous situation was averted."

Then the Yugoslav representative quoted his Prime Minister, Marshall Tito, in expressing gratitude "because UNRRA really had saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of our compatriots this spring. If it were not for the help that UNRRA had given to the inhabitants of the western part of Yugoslavia, hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs would have died from starvation." Similarly, thanks were recorded from Greece for relief—timely, though still inadequate. As to conditions in countries needing relief, some statements at the 1945 UNRRA Council meeting read:—

"We Yugoslavia have lost the lives of 1,685,000 people—10 per cent. of the population. We have 98,000 invalids who are totally incapacitated, and the families of 353,000 soldiers to support. We have 88,000 orphans who do not remember the names of their fathers or of the villages where they were born. Another 485,000 orphans have some member of their families to take care of them, but need public assistance; another 658,000 children need help from public funds. Altogether, more than five million people are direct victims of war in Yugoslavia. On the average, there are in every family two members at least affected by the war. Then 470,000 houses and other buildings were destroyed; it would take twelve years of normal building activity in our country to make good this war loss. We have lost nearly one million horses, some three million head of cattle, nearly two million pigs, and ten million poultry.

"Byelorussia lost 1,386,000 persons who were tortured by shooting, hanging, burning, or were gassed to death. More than 1,200,000 peasant holdings have been destroyed; nearly all the industrial buildings have been blown up; agriculture has been devastated. The area under the plough has been sharply decreased—cereals by 42 per cent.; technical crops by 86 per cent.; potatoes by 53 per cent.; grass land is entirely ruined. The number of horses has been reduced by 70 per cent.; cattle by 77 per cent.; sheep by 80 per cent.; hogs by 91 per cent."

"In Europe reports indicate that on the average at least 15 per cent. of the population in the five countries which have requested UNRRA aid (exclusive of Italy) will require imports of basic household equipment to enable them to resume living in their own homes. The enemy's policy in the Balkans of burning villages has made the need for aid more widespread than originally supposed. In Greece, over 1,000 villages were burned and more than 1,000,000 persons are reported to be homeless; in Albania thousands are reported to be living in makeshift shelters as the result of the destruction of 250 villages. Yugoslavia recently requested imports of basic household equipment for 4,000,000 persons, or about 25 per cent. of her population."

"It is estimated that in China approximately 4,000,000 persons will require temporary group feeding."

(The last two are extracts from the Director-General's "Programme of Operations," August, 1945.)

The Director-General, Governor Lehman, had visited south-eastern Europe immediately before the Council session began, and he spoke of what he had seen "in each liberated land, blasted ports and railways, decimated herds, gutted fields, destroyed industrial plants, homeless, ragged, hungry people, debased currencies." He, and, indeed, all speakers in touch with conditions in Europe or in Asia, expressed their fears of the coming winter, their sense of the urgency of the work to be done.

"The situation is still menacing. But it is manageable. If, as may still happen, millions, and perhaps many millions, in liberated Europe again this winter freeze and starve, with political chaos as a result, this will not be the unavoidable result of destruction and world shortage. It will be due to defects in organization, in and outside Europe, to psychological factors, in general to all that prevents the available man-power from making full use of the available factories, land, and raw materials." (Quoted from Sir Arthur Salter, M.P., in the *Observer*, 26th August, 1945.)

Before the main question of continuing or ending the work of UNRRA had been dealt with, so far as it could be, in a Council resolution, a good deal of attention was given to two relatively subordinate issues: (1) the conditions under which help might be given to displaced persons, particularly those who may be able but are at present unwilling to return to their former countries, and (2) extending aid to ex-enemy territories, notably Italy and Austria. The first of these arose in the application of a resolution (No. 57), carried at the Montreal session in 1941, authorizing the Administration to carry out operations (in enemy or ex-enemy areas) for the care and repatriation or return of displaced persons *in agreement with the Government of the country of which they are nationals*. These last thirteen words appeared to require the agreement of the nationals' home Government as a condition of their being cared for by UNRRA, though it was also argued that this condition should not be interpreted as a qualification of the general mandate to provide relief without discrimination on account of either race, creed, or political belief. The question assumed practical importance on account of the large number of displaced persons who, at least for the time being, and partly because of political uncertainties at home, were unwilling to return to their own countries. To refuse them relief because their national Governments objected would, it was argued, be equivalent to discrimination on account of political belief; while, on the other hand, some national Governments maintained that the provision of relief would encourage such persons in an irrational intransigence, and would in fact be a political act of a kind beyond the competence of UNRRA. The Council finally agreed, on a majority vote, to permit the provision of relief to these people without requiring the formal consent of their Governments, the Administration undertaking to encourage them to return to their homes at the earliest possible moment, and the whole matter to be reconsidered at the end of six months after the termination of the Council session.

UNRRA aid to Italy, to the extent of \$50,000,000, was authorized at the Montreal session, but a much greater measure of assistance was brought to her under military auspices, financed by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. These three countries were foremost in pressing the view that substantial aid to Italy should now be allowed as a part of UNRRA'S functions. Similar proposals were also made to permit UNRRA activities in Austria, Korea, and Formosa, and these necessarily brought to the fore the question whether ex-enemies should be helped by UNRRA. Is this organization, in short, one for helping the United Nations exclusively, or is it to be more broadly regarded as an organization of the United Nations to bring relief where relief is most needed, but without applying the test at every point of the applicant country's war record?

At an early stage, before, in fact, UNRRA was formally set up, there was good authority for taking the wider view, for, on 20th August, 1940, the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Churchill, declared:

"We can and we will arrange in advance for the speedy entry of food into any part of the enslaved area, when this part has been wholly cleared of German forces and has genuinely regained its freedom. We shall do our best to encourage the building-up of reserves of food all over the world, so that there will always be held up before the eyes of the peoples of Europe, including I say it deliberately the German and Austrian peoples, the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom, and peace."

In contrast with these magnanimous words, the first UNRRA Council at Atlantic City severely limited, and went far to prevent, possible UNRRA operations in ex-enemy countries. The second Session at Montreal went some distance, notably in the vote for relief in Italy, to allow such operations; and the resolutions of the third, London, session, involved further significant steps in the same direction.

Thus, the principal United States delegate said:

"The question naturally arises, Should a United Nations' organization assume the responsibility for relief in an area which only two years ago was an enemy country? I believe that during these two intervening years Italy has earned the right to be treated as a member of the community of free nations. Italy's partisans played a major part in the liberation of the Po Valley, as Field Marshal Alexander and General Mark Clark have testified. The new Italian Government, which began its life under great handicaps in a tiny section of the country, has been progressively strengthened, is growing in a democratic mould, and is now headed by a Prime Minister who formerly directed the resistance movement in Northern Italy."

And he cited the words from the recent Potsdam Tripartite Conference statement crediting Italy with having freed herself from the Fascist regime and with making progress towards democratic institutions. Likewise, Mr. Clayton favoured treating Austria as a liberated area which in the past seven years had suffered as an enemy-occupied country. Mr. Noel Baker, for the United Kingdom, had no hesitation in supporting these views. He had, in fact, already emphasized his, and his Government's view that the essential purpose of UNRRA is to bring relief where it is most needed, to help reconstruct the shattered economies of countries who cannot do it for themselves, and "whose rehabilitation will help not them only, but the rest of the world." It is a common effort in the common interest of the world at large not to bring charity, not to reward merit, nor to equalize the suffering and the sacrifice between those who took part in the war. Elsewhere Mr. Noel Baker quoted with full approval Mr. Eden's statement in the House of Commons, "It is not generosity, it is in our own interest to ensure that Europe shall not collapse." The representative of China, Dr. Tsiang, said:

"It is our view that the spirit of fraternity among the different nations should be nourished and kept alive . . . I know very well that if (ex-enemies are provided for) the share that will fall to China will be diminished; I know that that would mean hardship among many people in China. But it seems to me that it is wiser to adopt that attitude. Many people in the world to-day are in need. Our resources are not enough to meet all those needs. Then, what shall we do? I feel it is best for us to share what we have, even though that sharing may mean a smaller portion for us . . . One of our colleagues warned us about a day when we may be asked to include even Japan and Germany. To-day I must say that the Chinese people hate the Japanese, but if we should come to the question of extension of relief to Japan, I would say I would vote for it . . . UNRRA was created to take care of the pressing needs of the common people, not to settle accounts of the past, for which purpose the United Nations have set up other instruments."

In the result, it was agreed unanimously (but with South Africa abstaining) that Korea and Formosa be considered "liberated areas" in which the Administration was authorized to operate. Similarly, it was agreed that Austria should benefit by the assistance of the Administration "as soon as possible," UNRRA being authorized to operate there in agreement with the authorities exercising administrative control of the country; and, as to Italy, it was agreed that the Administration be authorized and directed to initiate as soon as possible a programme of relief and rehabilitation assistance, "adequate to meet the urgent needs of the Italian population." The cases of Austria and Italy came together before the Council, when the resolutions covering them were carried, with one member (Yugoslavia) voting against the motion, and South Africa again abstaining.

Supplies: At the London Council session, as hitherto, it was well recognized that the physical availability of supplies is a first condition of success in UNRRA's relief work; and that this in turn depends upon the readiness of Governments and peoples to limit their own demands so that the pressing needs of others can be met. The Combined Food Board's report, distributed during the session, appreciatively mentioned New Zealand amongst the countries whose sacrifices in consumption and stocks had made supplies available to liberated countries. Immediately hostilities ended in the Far East, the Committee of Supplies, and then the whole Council, adopted the following resolution:—

A Resolution relating to Possible Sources of Increased Supplies as a Result of the Termination of the War with Japan

Whereas

The termination of war with Japan

- (a) Will result in a diminished demand by military authorities for raw materials, food, transport equipment and other manufactured goods,
- (b) Will release much productive capacity of the supplying countries now engaged in production of military supplies and make it available for the production of civilian goods, and
- (c) Will result in war surplus supplies which will be available for civilian consumption; and

Whereas

The needs for relief and rehabilitation supplies of all liberated areas are most urgent and immediate now, in anticipation of the coming winter; it is therefore

Resolved,

That the Council recommends that

- (a) The member governments of the supplying countries take such measures in relation to the production, distribution and shipping of supplies as are necessary to ensure the prompt and equitable flow from current stocks and new production of relief and rehabilitation supplies to the liberated areas.
- (b) The highest authorities of the supplying governments concerned instruct their military and civilian supply agencies to make available to the Administration and to the governments of liberated areas with the least possible delay as much as practicable of war supplies to meet approved relief and rehabilitation requirements.

The membership of the Committee on Supplies was increased from twelve to twenty (New Zealand remaining a member), and its functions were extended to include the discussing of broad programmes for securing equitable distribution of supplies.

The Central Committee of UNRRA up to the present consisted of only four Great Powers—the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and China. To these, France and Canada were added at the London meeting. A further amendment, to add Australia, Brazil, and Yugoslavia, thus making a Committee more in conformity with the principles accepted at San Francisco, failed for lack of unanimity amongst the Great Powers already on the Committee: the U.S.S.R. representative explained that there had been insufficient time for him to get the views of his Government on this matter; and an amendment on these lines will presumably be again pressed at the next session.

The membership of the Committee of the Council for the Far East was extended to include the U.S.S.R.

Generally, the system of standing committees through which UNRRA has largely functioned was under critical review, and power was taken to dissolve such bodies, replacing them by new committees as required. In so acting, the Council, as also in its constructively critical survey of UNRRA's administration generally, showed an awareness of the need for a constant check on the machinery to which the work of UNRRA is entrusted.

This report must end on the severely practical note of quoting, and commending to the best consideration of our Government, the resolution on further contributions. It reads:—

"Whereas it is deemed essential to make financial provision for the completion of the work of UNRRA, and

"Whereas it is contemplated that UNRRA will complete its shipments to the receiving countries in Europe not later than the end of 1946 and in the Far East three months thereafter, and

"Whereas the programmes of the Administration should be subject to continuing consideration in the light of the relative needs of the receiving countries, their ability to pay and the availability of supplies and finance before any final determination of the extent or cost of such programmes can be made.

"The Council recommends:

- "I. That the member Governments should make available on the basis of the recommendations contained in sections 4 and 5 of the Financial Plan an additional contribution approximately equivalent to 1 per cent. of the national income of the contributing country for the year ending June 30th. 1943, as determined by the contributing member Government;

- “ 2. That the Administration should be enabled to draw upon the funds so provided as may be necessary to carry out the programmes of operations of the Director-General as approved from time to time by the Central Committee of the Council. For this purpose the Central Committee of the Council shall be advised by the committees established under Resolution 23 which shall become standing committees and shall, in addition to their existing functions, keep under continuous review the financial situation of the receiving countries and the extent of their need for free assistance ;
- “ 3. That the member Governments to whom section 7 of the Financial Plan applies should make every effort to contribute appropriately to the work of the Administration ; and
- “ 4. That in carrying out the programmes of operations of the Director-General as approved from time to time by the Central Committee of the Council supplies shall be equitably distributed on the basis of the principles laid down in the resolutions of the Council and in particular in Resolutions 7 and 56.”

R. M. CAMPBELL.
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Approximate Cost of Paper.—Preparation, not given ; printing (760 copies), £17 10s.

By Authority: E. V. PAUL, Government Printer, Wellington. —1945.

Price 6d.]