

contribution to the general effort of the organization of international machinery for the better ordering of a peaceful and prosperous world while regaining for the I.L.O. the authority essential for the discharge of its responsibilities under its Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia."

It is evident that Canada is playing a considerable part in the activities of the I.L.O., in spite of constitutional restrictions so far as conventions and recommendations are concerned. She has been represented at every session of the Conference, and her delegates have taken part in the formulation of such conventions and recommendations. Much of the work of a Conference is done in committees, and Canada has not only been represented but adequately recognized in the appointment of such committees, and in their proceedings. For example, at Philadelphia last year, Mr. Paul Martin was Chairman of the Committee on the organization of employment in the transition from war to peace; Mr. W. C. Coulter, the employers' delegate, was Vice-Chairman of the Committee

dealing with the future policy, programme, and status of the I.L.O.; Mr. Bengough, the workers' delegate and Mr. Macdonell (one of the advisers to the employers' delegate) were members of the "Steering Committee" in charge of the business of the Conference; Mr. Dowd was Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and a member of the committees on future policy, and on the application of conventions. Mr. Best and Mr. Carlin were members of the Committee on Social Security. Mr. Burt was a member of the Committee on Employment, and Mr. Larose and Mr. Ingles were also members of this Committee.

However, in spite of Canada's contributions toward the general welfare through the I.L.O., it is generally agreed by all who have participated in its activities that everything possible should be done to place Canada in a position where she cannot only co-operate fully with the I.L.O., but also ratify conventions and act on recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conferences.

Relief and Rehabilitation: The Role of UNRRA.

By LEONARD C. MARSH

THE United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration constitutes a recognition by the Allied and associated nations of the colossal social and economic devastation which war has wrought all over the globe; and the necessity of having among the various instruments of international reconstruction one to assist in the first and most desperately necessary steps. The full machinery of international restoration must include agreements on international exchange clearance, a world food and agricultural policy, a long-term reconstruction loan institution, and other functional economic units, besides a strong system of political

and military security. But it will be futile to expect to bring about recovery or guarantee peace if millions of people in Europe, in China and elsewhere, are not fed, clothed and housed, returned to their homes from the areas where war and deportations have flung them, saved from epidemics, and assisted to grow new crops, set up agencies and associations for self help, restore transport and essential utilities, and restart their industries. It is to these tasks that UNRRA has brought the first post-war application of the principles of mutual aid. The forty-four nations who are parties to the Agreement signed at Atlantic City at the end of 1943, have all contributed to the administrative expenses of the organization, and the

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major relief fund is composed of contributions of one per cent of their national income from those countries which have not been overrun or occupied by the enemy. The fund may reach the total of some \$2,000,000,000, about \$1,250,000,000 having been subscribed to date.

Although the initials figure widely enough in present-day discussions, the nature of the organization of UNRRA is not yet well known, and three aspects of it are worth emphasizing: (a) its worldwide character, (b) its machinery of national representation and participation, and (c) its technical and administrative scope. Against this it will be easier to discuss its present and forthcoming operations. In addition to the Headquarters in Washington, there is a comprehensive regional organization for Europe, located in London. Another, for the Far East, eventually to be based at Chungking, is now being set up in Sydney, Australia. From its near East base in Cairo, UNRRA has been in operation for some time, administering a series of refugee camps in North Africa (and a recent one in Italy) which care for some 80,000 persons, and Cairo has also served as headquarters for UNRRA staffs destined to work in Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania. In the Far East, Chinese relief will be a vast undertaking, and the plan now under way is to cope with it by training a corps of Chinese welfare specialists in subjects ranging from mass feeding to industrial rehabilitation, who will in turn train the many thousands of workers who will be needed to cover the country. From Latin America, a mission has just returned from a visit to sixteen of the South and Central American republics, who are making significant contributions to UNRRA funds and supplies (including recently, for example, a much-needed order for cotton cloth from Brazil).

The supreme governing body of UNRRA is the Council, composed of representatives of all the member governments, large and small, each having one vote. The special concern of the "Big Four" is indicated by their mem-

bership in a Central Committee, which, between sessions of the Council, is empowered to make policy decisions. It is laid down in the constitution, however, that such decisions are open to reconsideration by the Council; and provision is also made for attendance of members of other countries at meetings discussing action of special interest to these countries. The governing body for Europe is linked to headquarters by being itself a Committee of the Council; it is at present composed of twelve European members together with representatives of Brazil, Canada and the United States. Country participation in the counsels of UNRRA is further provided for through the Committees established for the technical Divisions (referred to below). There are in addition, of course, a multiplying series of informal contacts with governments.

The international civil service which forms the secretariat of UNRRA has, so far, been drawn from more than a score of countries. Its principal sections are the administrative ones of Supply (subdivided into a dozen material and equipment groups, and closely liaised with the Combined Boards), Areas (concerned with the organization of country missions), and Administration, (including finance, personnel and publicity), and the technical Divisions. The latter, which give the simplest clue to the range of UNRRA operations, are health, welfare, displaced persons, agriculture and industrial rehabilitation. While the main structure is more or less similar in the Headquarters and European Regional Offices, there are a number of variations in detail; the Far Eastern Regional Office will probably evolve other differences to conform to its particular circumstances. The executive authority of UNRRA is vested in the Director-General (Governor Lehman), his Deputies being the highest officers of the principal departments. Executive authority is delegated in Europe to the three Deputy-Directors-General, who are the heads of Administration, Supply and Areas, and together constitute the Administrative Council. (The present

incumbents are British, Russian and American, and the Executive Secretary of the Administrative Council is a Canadian.)

Organizational Developments in the First Year

The first Council session, held in Atlantic City in November-December, 1943, formulated policy on the general pattern of operations as well as the administrative and financial structure referred to above. The range of UNRRA services was defined as including primary needs (food, fuel, clothing, shelter and medical supplies); health, welfare and repatriation services; rehabilitation supplies (such as seeds, raw materials, machinery) and technical services; and the restoration of public utilities to meet immediate needs. It was laid down that UNRRA should enter liberated territories only with the consent of the government concerned and by agreement with the military command, with special provisions for ex-enemy territory. It was agreed that demands for all scarce supplies and for shipping space should be coordinated between UNRRA and the Combined Boards in order to assure "not only that the requirements of the armed forces are fully met, but also that a fair distribution of supplies is made between the civil populations of the various areas having due regard to their actual or potential contribution to the war effort."¹ The basic principle which should guide distribution was established as that of relative needs, "without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief."

UNRRA immediately took over its various antecedents in relief plans and operations. These included the staff and products of the Inter-Allied Post-war Requirements Bureau, (under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross) which, taking advantage of the presence of governments-in-exile in London, had made estimates of the most

immediately needed supplies of a number of European countries; also OFRRO, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (under the direction of Mr. Herbert Lehman) from the U. S. State Department. By absorbing the staff and responsibilities of MERRA, the (British) Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration, it was launched into actual operations within the first few months of its existence. In initiating its plans for the repatriation of displaced persons, particularly in Europe, arrangements were made to cooperate with the International Red Cross and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, the two international bodies concerned respectively with the records of displaced persons, and the settlement of refugees who have been rendered stateless. A far-reaching programme of recruitment had to be carried out, many of the administrators and specialists having to be secured from bureaux, government departments, and private agencies already hard pressed for personnel. One of the particular functions assigned to UNRRA at its creation was the coordination of donations and overseas relief work undertaken by voluntary societies. In the United States and Britain, contacts with voluntary associations were made through previously existing federal bodies (the American Council of Voluntary Societies, and the Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad); in Canada a new organization was set up for the purpose (the Council of Voluntary Societies Assisting UNRRA, which works in direct liaison with the Department of National War Services), and a similar body is projected in Australia. In the United States, a special training centre was set up for UNRRA mission personnel, (including welfare specialists working as members of particular Societies.) Coordinated training was not similarly undertaken in London, in view of the varied resources of organizations which had already had much practical experience in the emergency operations of the blitzes. But in recent months training has been initiated on a substantial scale by the European

1. UNRRA: *First Session of the Council (1943), Selected Documents*: p. 29. This reference gives all the essential information on the many detailed points which cannot be covered in the above text.

Office, for UNRRA officers who will staff the Assembly Centres for the care and repatriation of displaced persons to be set up in Germany and elsewhere.²

The work of the technical divisions was exemplified by the reports at the Montreal meeting. The Welfare Division has completed studies of the welfare needs and institutions of a series of European countries and many of the Far East, has formulated programmes and methods for the various branches of emergency service, recruited welfare personnel, and developed liaison with the voluntary societies. The Health Division has mobilized a great programme of epidemic and disease control; established a reserve of medical and nutritional supplies; and through its personnel, drawn in part from the health departments in the United States and the United Kingdom, has developed close liaison with the medical officers of the Armies. UNRRA is the temporary repository of the two International Sanitary Conventions of 1926 and 1933 (the latter referring to aerial navigation) which have been revised to meet post-war needs, in cooperation with the Office International d'Hygiène Publique in Paris. Preparations for the vast task of repatriating displaced persons has gone on apace. At the military level, planning has been advanced through liaison officers accredited to various sections of SHAEF. At the country level, a multilateral agreement on the handling of displaced persons within their territories has been offered to the member governments: several have now signed this, some have negotiated bilateral agreements only, and some are utilizing both types. An important development consummated at the 1944 session was the expansion of the definition of "displaced persons" which makes it quite clear that UNRRA services

cover all persons expelled from the Reich as victims of racial, religious or political persecution. Reports from the other divisions fill in the picture of immediate requirements for agricultural, industrial and transport rehabilitation in Europe, and the arrangements which have been worked out for the handling and supervised distribution of supplies.³

Supplies and Liaison

Significantly, reports were heard in September from representatives of the military authorities and of the Combined Records, as well as from the various sections of UNRRA. One of the developments of modern military organization, which is now assuming much importance is the Civil Affairs (or G-5) section of SHAEF whose functions are to take the various measures necessary to restore civilian order in the wake of advancing armies. While it is their purpose to turn over the administration of the country to the local and national authorities as immediately as possible, they must necessarily be concerned in some degree with the provision of relief for the civilian population; and this responsibility is all the more important because supplies and transportation will be more or less wholly under military control. At the first UNRRA session it was common to distinguish between the "military period" and the "UNRRA period," but it is now more clearly realized how closely these must interlock. In practice there has developed increasing liaison between UNRRA and SHAEF, the better to bridge the transition between the two "periods," and in some matters to provide for operations by UNRRA personnel as temporary agents of the military. In Europe, the outstanding example of this latter arrangement is the care and repatriation of deported workers, refugees, and other displaced persons, since the majority are in German territory which will have to

2. The first stage of Assembly Centre operations in Germany will be in collaboration with the Civil Affairs section of the Allied Armies, i.e., under military not UNRRA direction. It may be noted also that under the arrangements determined by SHAEF, relief workers operating as auxiliaries to the Armies in France and the Low Countries at present, are coordinated under the Red Cross, not COBSRA. There is little doubt that when the SHAEF-UNRRA agreement is signed, it will provide for UNRRA to take over civilian relief services as soon as possible.

3. This again is only a bare outline. For details see UNRRA: *Report of the Director-General* (Part I, Second Session of the Council; Montreal, September 1944. Part II, a separate document, contains the supply reports, statements of the Combined Chiefs of Staffs, and the resolutions passed at the Session

remain under military command for some time.

The report on supplies was more favourable than many had anticipated. Great efforts of procurement which at first appeared to be able to glean nothing from the far-reaching allocations for war orders, gradually harvested a growing volume of commitments. It should be remembered that even a billion dollars is small against the war totals. But the Boards gave it as their opinion that "given the necessary cooperation between governments, the problem of meeting over-all requirements of Allied countries in Europe during 1945 can be met." The "cooperation" referred to will be needed in the fitting of relief goods into production schedules, the furnishing of transportation and assistance in local distribution. The chief deficiencies, it is anticipated, will be in clothing supplies, proteins, fats, sugar and milk.

Canadian Contributions

Canadian participation in UNRRA during the formative period has been wholehearted. The Dominion's financial contribution was one of the first to be paid in full. Canadians who have been drawn into its personnel include the Director of the Welfare Division, the Executive Secretary of the European Administrative Council, the Welfare Liaison Officer in France, the principal paediatrician in the Health Division, welfare specialists in several of the missions. The important Committee on Supplies (which is also responsible for a sub-committee on the capacity of countries to pay) is chaired by Canada. It is doubly significant that Mr. L. B. Pearson, who is the Canadian representative on the UNRRA Council, is also Chairman and an active proponent of the new international Commission on Food and Agriculture. When Canada was host to UNRRA during the Montreal meetings, Mr. Pearson was also Chairman of the Session. Canadian goods which have either been supplied or are being produced for UNRRA include wheat, farm machinery, woollen goods, cotton

cloth, cod liver oil, soap, canned fish and meat. Arrangements are also being made to dispose of such things as uniforms and army trucks which are still serviceable at the end of the war. These are concrete aids enough, but the procedure worked out between UNRRA and the Canadian Mutual Aid Board has the distinction of being described in the Director-General's Report as "a model of simplicity and expedition."

Recent Developments

With liberation a reality in Europe, the Montreal sessions were conducted under a sense of urgency, which was frequently expressed. Many of the spokesmen addressed their appeal to the member governments, on whose consent and cooperation the work of UNRRA depends. It is not a supra-national body, able to distribute relief and organize rehabilitation by a mechanism completely independent of existing territorial and civilian channels, and of the network of transport and commissariat facilities at present mobilized solely for war. Moreover, each returning government is beset with a host of problems which Nazi looting, deportations and black marketeering have done their best to aggravate. In spite of these, the governments of France and other Western countries have elected to finance their own relief supplies and to administer their own rehabilitation operations—decisions which release more of the UNRRA funds for other areas. Only liaison missions have been called for from UNRRA, therefore. UNRRA now has mission representatives in France and Luxembourg, and agreements have been concluded with Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands for the dispatch of similar liaison missions to them. For Poland and Czechoslovakia, groups of technical experts are ready to move in as soon as transport and visas are assured. And a staff of relief specialists and administrative personnel is already in Italy, following the decision of the 1944 session to undertake a limited relief programme there. UNRRA workers who

were able to enter Greece and begin operations there just before the fighting broke out, were not evacuated completely, as may appear from some summary accounts, but only from the Athens-Piraeus area; and this after nine members of the personnel had been wounded and one killed. The situation with regard to Yugo-Slavian negotiations, of which there were two sets (one with military authorities, one with UNRRA) has been confused, and required clarification by the Director-General in a recent press conference.⁴

The story of suffering, devastation, of homeless families, millions exiled from their countries, is not wiped out by these explanations. UNRRA's task, the crying necessity of getting aid to the people who need it, still remains. But the liberation stage of the war brings home the fact that relief must cope not only with supply shortage but with the lack of shipping, port facilities and above all (as has been so sadly demonstrated in France) road and rail transport. International relief is hardly less complicated a procedure than that of mobilizing for war itself. It may indeed be helpful to remember that the same kind of fretful (and undeniably dangerous) delays—rather analogous to the "tooling-up" period of 1940, when there seemed to be

much confused activity but no production—may be repeated in other spheres of reconstruction. War and Nazi occupation create vicious circles which are hard to break. Imports would not be so necessary if industries could be restarted; but factories require raw materials. Railways require coal, but coal cannot be mined without pit props. Ships cannot be efficiently unloaded by men living on inadequate rations. Nor can black markets be fundamentally attacked until food and commodity supplies are available in reasonable volume. It may be that only small-scale and token deliveries can be made at first, whether by the military services or by UNRRA. For they are being made while the war is still on.

At the close of the 1944 session, the delegate for Great Britain (Mr. Law) voiced the strong determination of his government "to do everything in our power to make a tremendous success of UNRRA. For if this, the first venture in practical peace-time cooperation among the United Nations fails, nothing is going to succeed." The United States representative (Mr. Acheson) echoed these views: "The Government of the United States has made its choice . . . It is irrevocably committed to UNRRA and will give itself fully." And at another point he said "no nation can ever live with itself again with self-respect if it has not joined in this work." It is fair to believe that Dominion participation to date is evidence that Canadians share these views. There is much to do yet, but it will be the better done with such support.

4. "UNRRA has had no plans for bypassing the Yugo-Slavs and undertaking the distribution itself, but has only insisted it be permitted a sufficient number of observers to certify the distribution is made in accordance with UNRRA principles. The Yugo-Slav authorities are in substantial agreement with the principles, and the conclusion of this agreement awaits only the further clarification and consolidation of the political position in Yugo-Slavia." For further discussion of the European scene, see the article "UNRRA's Opportunity" in the *Economist* of December 23, 1944.