

November 9, 1943

[UNRRA (SIR Draft)]

FDR Speech File

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UNRRA SPEECH

11/6/11



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

HOUSE

⑧
UNRA Speech - 11/9/43

Draft - 3 pages in longhand - by Sherwood with corrections by S.I.R.

Draft from Tom Reynolds - Lehman's assistant in UNRA - Oct. 24, 1943 - 12 pages - corrections by S.I.R.

Draft from State Dept. - 9 pages - 10/27/43 - corrections by S.I.R. and R.E.S.

Draft - probably from Oscar Cox - 10/28/43 - 7 pages - original - corrections by S.I.R.

Draft 1 - 10 pages - carbon - no corrections

Draft 2 - 10 pages - brackets but no handwriting

Draft 3 - 10 pages

Draft 4 - with covering memo sending it on to the President - no corrections

Mimeographed copy of agreement establishing UNRA with "This is the final version" written on it by Sherwood and insert A marked on by Rosenman



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FROM THE PAPERS OF

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

My fellow-citizens -

Here in the White House, seated about a table ~~on~~ in the East Room, are representatives of forty-four United Nations.

^{For the first time} These forty-four nations represent approximately ninety per cent. of the human race, united by common devotion to the cause of civilization, ^{and by the} common determination to build for a world of decency and security and peace.

~~These forty-four nations~~
~~have just signed an agreement creating~~
the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration - which, in itself, is a rather large mouthful, so we shall refer to it as UNRRA.

This is the first ^{actual} operating agency ^{set up} by the United Nations - the first ~~fulfillment~~ ^{fulfillment} of the medium for putting into effect the high purposes that were set forth in the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1st, 1942.

Coming after the Declaration of Moscow, this agreement proves that we mean business in this war in a political and a humanitarian sense just as surely as we mean business in a military sense.

~~The United Nations are now signing~~
this ~~is~~ ^{for the agreement} ~~is~~ ^{no} ~~back to the~~ ^{back to the} ~~fundamental~~ ^{fundamental} ~~statements~~ ^{statements} that we have made.



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Shannon L. Bowers

~~CONCERN~~ All the United Nations agree to cooperate in the work of UNRRA - each nation according to its resources - to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.

The first job, obviously, is relief - to be applied ~~the moment~~ as rapidly as possible after ~~all~~ troops have moved in for the liberation of any area.

The second job is rehabilitation - recovering ^{helping to} enabling the occupied countries to get back on their feet, and ~~enabling them to~~ return to a healthy, normal life of freedom and independence.

~~We have already made a successful start on this work in North~~

We can not ~~and should not~~ think of this work as if it were benevolent charity. It is a matter of stark necessity, for ourselves, as well as for those who have been oppressed and rebbed and starved by our enemies.

For example, in Italy today our armies could not be fighting successfully, our lines of communication ~~and~~ and supply would not be safe, if behind those armies were civilian populations in a state of anarchy and utter despair. The Germans have made every effort to produce anarchy - by systematic ^{deliberate} bombing, by ~~deliberate~~ destruction of water and electric power supplies, transportation systems, and so forth.



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as well as by random acts of vandalism
such as the burning of the library of the
University of Naples.

All this is carefully calculated
terrorism, against which we have had to
prepare - just as we have prepared against
their tanks and dis-bombers.



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

From Tom Reynolds
Oct. 24, 1943

A DRAFT OF IDEAS FOR AN ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE SIGNATURE
KEEPING OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRA-
TION. THE WHITE HOUSE, NOV. 2, 1943.

I am happy indeed to participate in this great event tonight.

It gives me deep pleasure to welcome to the White House the
representatives of the nations which are now uniting in common
action to meet the first and most urgent of the problems that
are developing as a consequence of this war.

The signature of this agreement by the representatives of
forty-four nations is an historic event. With this signature,
there comes into being the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation
Administration. Our action tonight provides a real and living
demonstration that the nations of good will now are determined
to stand together in meeting common problems after this war just
as the United Nations are standing together in unwavering measures
to crush finally and forever the Axis aggressors who plunged the
world into history's greatest conflict.

There is a deep and special significance in the fact that
the thirty-three United Nations have been joined here by eleven



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other governments for a great and good work. By the signature of this agreement, the governments of 80 per cent of the world's two billion inhabitants are dedicating themselves to joint efforts in a mutual task toward mutual objectives.

The cry of the millions of suffering men and women in those areas of the world where Germany and Japan have loosed their ruthlessness has brought the nations to common ground above and beyond the ancient barriers which in the past have kept diverse nations and peoples sealed in national compartments.

The men and women and children of Europe and Asia and the islands of the sea who still are suffering in Axis bondage can well take new hope from what is happening here. The United Nations have pledged that they shall be made free and our armies are smashing toward the accomplishment of their liberation. In creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, these forty-four nations now are providing the suffering millions with solid reason for confidence in the things to come. We have now given assurances in substantial form that we are



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determined not only to crush the aggressors and obliterate their evil works but also to begin immediately the first steps toward the better world which must be created after this war.

It is the way of the aggressors to utilize the forces generated for war to complete the subjugation and exploitation of peoples who have been stripped of everything but hope. It should be the way of the democracies to utilize the unity born of war to build for new and better things.

With the creation of UNRRA we are beginning to build.

Through six long years of war in Asia and four years of war in Europe, the Axis policy has been one of plunder and destruction. The overrun nations have been pillaged and exploited with utter ruthlessness. Where the Axis could not harness whole economies to strengthen its own war machine, it destroyed. Where it did not destroy, it exploited.

It has been the stated policy of the United Nations to salvage and restore as our armies advanced. It has been and is our policy



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to bring food for the starving and medicine for the sick, to do all that can be done to restore the suffering nations to a condition of soundness and strength so that they may make their full contribution to the final victory and participate in the establishment of the peace for which we have fought.

That we have done already in North Africa, in Sicily, in Southern Italy. That we shall do in each liberated area as our armies drive out the forces of the aggressors. We shall do this together through UNRRA just as rapidly as military conditions will permit the entrance of civilian relief and rehabilitation authorities to assist the military and to take over from them at the earliest date compatible with military necessity.

Let no one assume that this war is over merely because we have determined to come to grips now with problems of the postwar world. We are going to win this war. We are going to smash forever the forces of Germany and Japan, just as certainly as we broke the military power of Fascist Italy. But before the day of victory, there are great battles to be fought, there are great efforts and hard sacrifices still to be made, there are days of uncertainty and



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peril yet to be endured. Yet, while the battles are joined in Europe and in Asia, the problems that follow in the wake of war are already upon us.

It is fitting that this agency, which is dedicated to minister to the human needs of those who have suffered the most, should be the first concrete mechanism to grow out of the wartime association of the thirty-three United Nations. The objectives of UNRRA represent the highest ideals for which we are fighting. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has been long in the making, but it is coming into being at the proper hour to assume the functions for which it was conceived. As the first of the United Nations operating organizations, it is an important symbol about which sentiments of loyalty can grow.

Never before in the history of the world have so many humans been in need of necessities of life which they, themselves, are powerless to provide. Measured in terms of the pragmatic and material, the human wants of the men and women who dwell in the 35 nations overrun by the Axis are without counterpart. And there is no measure by which we can appraise the spiritual damages



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wrought in the anguish, the hunger, the death which the Axis has imposed on half a billion humans in its mad dream of world domination.

For the task of repairing those damages, the nations of good will now are mobilizing the resources of the greater part of the world. The nations which are the components of UNRRA represent _____ per cent of the food production of the earth. In signing this agreement, they have pledged to utilize their funds, their materials, their services in this work of world repair. It is for you, the representatives of those nations in UNRRA, to demonstrate now that the processes of democracies in action can be as effective and swift in binding up the wounds of suffering nations as were the forces of evil which brought destruction to so great a portion of the earth. A noble beginning has been made.

The presence here in the East Room of the White House of representatives of 44 nations is testimony of clear recognition

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by all of us that the problem we face is of dimensions that transcend the ability of any one nation or small combination of nations for solution. A world catastrophe calls for world action in salvage. The plight of the little men and women who have been ground under the Axis heel can be ameliorated only if we utilize the production of ALL the world to balance the want of All the world. In UNRRA we have devised a mechanism, based on the processes of true democracy, which can go far toward accomplishment of such an objective in the days and months of desperate emergency which will follow disintegration of the Axis.

Axiomatically, in wartime there is never too much and seldom enough of the materials by which nations and men live and wage war. The peoples of the United Nations already have tightened their belts that the fighters on the firing line and the production lines might have enough to carry on. Even the United States, with its tremendous capacity for production of



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food, now is undergoing shortages and compressions which five years ago would have seemed inconceivable to many Americans.

There must be no expectation that these shortages will disappear on the day of final victory. Even in times of peace, there was no nation so fortunate as to produce food enough to provide all of its people with the quantity and kind of food they should have. The United Nations already are addressing themselves to that long range problem through the interim commission established last spring at Hot Springs, Va., by the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture.

The task confronting UNRRA is more immediate and more urgent. As it begins its operations, many of the most highly productive regions of the world still are either under Axis domination or are debilitated as the result of the futile attempt of the dictatorships to make themselves self-sustaining on other people's lands. Additional regions will be blackened as the Nazi and Japanese forces are thrown back toward their homelands and scorch the earth behind them.



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Part
I
Continued

It will be the task of UNRRA to operate among shortages until the establishment of peace and the resumption of peaceful occupations enables the liberated peoples once more to assume the full burden of their own support. It will be for UNRRA first to assure an equitable distribution of available supplies among all of the liberated peoples, irrespective of ability to pay, and second to bring the combined resources of the United Nations to bear in delivering supplies to the liberated nations in quantities sufficient to make certain that no one shall die for the lack of bread or of a garment to ward off the elements.

[All states, great or small, must have equal access to those resources of the world which are necessary to halt suffering and death and to rekindle the spark of hope in the men and women who have fought so well and deserve so much of all of us.]

[That must be the first step toward realization of the Atlantic Charter principle that all state, great or small victor or vanquished, should be permitted access, on equal terms, to the



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Continued*

trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity. While liberated nations are confronted with decisions born of desperation in a struggle to procure the bread that means the difference between death by starvation and life, there can be little hope of achieving that principle of the Atlantic Charter or of sound participation by those nations either in the final strides toward victory or construction of the peace.

The United Nations must leave no step untaken in preparations to meet these desperate problems that will come swiftly and urgently. It would be supreme irony for us to win victory and inherit with victory world chaos because we were unprepared. We know already the urgency of the human wants which will follow liberation. The cities and villages of Tunisia, of Sicily and Southern Italy, of western Russia and of China are scorched and shattered evidence of what the defeated Axis will leave behind.

Although as yet, we can do no more than estimate the quantity



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[and chronology of the materials that will be needed, such estimates must be made and minimum shelf-stocks of materials provided so that not an hour shall be wasted when the Axis-held territories are ripped open by our armed might. It would be an historic catastrophe indeed if any man or woman who fought on for freedom and justice while under the axis yoke should perish after liberation because the United Nations were too late with too little.]

The work which begins tomorrow when the UNRRA council meets for the first time at Atlantic City can be a first bold step toward realization of freedom from want. If the nations of the world can be helped to help themselves through the first critical weeks and months after expulsion of the Axis, they will thereby gain the opportunity of laying foundations for reconstruction under their own power and their own plans. C
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The major interest in world affairs of the nations which are the components of this international agency is that after this war the world should be economically more stable and politically



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more secure for peaceful peoples. Freedom from want and freedom from fear, these go hand in hand. This interest in economic and political stability cannot be secured without the development of more effective international collaboration and of new traditions and techniques of international administration. It is now for UNRRA to blaze the trails of progress into this postwar problem.

We here tonight are confronted with the most immediate challenge developing out of this war. The work of the 44 nations through UNRRA will provide the world with substantial hope that Freedom from Want and fear are within ^{reach} ~~reach~~. UNRRA must not fail.



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10/27/43

from
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PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Four months ago I had the privilege of speaking to the delegates who had just participated in the ^{United Nations Conference} ~~United Nations Conference~~ — the United States Conference on Food and Agriculture. I congratulated these delegates upon their success in reaching unanimous agreement on a host of complex problems, thereby demonstrating beyond question that the United Nations really are united, not only in the prosecution of the war but in establishing the foundations for secure peace.

I also described our common objective. It is to build for ourselves, for all men a world in which every individual human being shall have the opportunity to live out his life in peace; to work productively, earning at least enough for his actual needs and those of his family; to associate with the friends of his choice; to think, speak and worship freely; and to die secure in the knowledge that his children, and their children, will have the same opportunities.

At that time, through the Food and Agriculture Conference, we had taken some first steps towards that goal. The Conference had recommended the creation of a permanent United Nations organization on Food and Agriculture, and had arranged for the establishment of an Interim Commission to carry on until a permanent body has been constituted. That was the first planning body to be set up by the United Nations; ^{To do it} ~~this evening~~ in the signature of the agreement for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, we have witnessed the creation of the first ^{to} such operating body.

This



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[This new Administration will assist us towards our objective in different terms and in a different field from that in which the Food and Agriculture organization will be active.]

The permanent Food and Agricultural body will be concerned with broad post-war problems and the long-range effort of the United Nations to secure in this world freedom from want. The Relief Administration, ^{created 4 days} on the other hand, has a ~~very short~~ short term job. According to the Agreement, it is to plan and administer measures for the relief of victims of war through the provision of food, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

It is hardly possible for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries. [All of us know something of the want that can be created by a depression brought on by man's mistakes. But most of Europe and much of Asia must look back to accidental depression as to days of comparative security and well-being; for they are feeling now the rigors of depression and want deliberately created and enforced upon them.]

^{Germans} The ~~Weas~~ and the Japanese have embarked on a campaign of plunder and destruction calculated to ensure that in the lands they occupy there shall be a generation of half-man, undernourished, crushed in body and ~~expi~~ spirit, without strength of incentive to hope -- ready, in fact, to be used as beasts of burden by the self-styled master races.

The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs, raw materials, essential goods, and even of the industrial machinery



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machinery upon which workers depended for employment and the country's prosperity. The Nazis^{Germans} have proclaimed their purpose to concentrate so far as possible all European heavy industry in Germany itself, making other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon the Third Reich.

This is the so-called New Order, wherein one or two countries and peoples ^{with out the} drain the world of its removable wealth^{of the world,} leaving the inhabitants of enslaved areas ^{and} ~~left~~ ^{and the world, with great} enough so that the healthiest of them will be able to survive to perform those menial tasks which their conquerors impose upon them.

As they are liberated, peoples in these stripped areas must be fed, the sick must receive medical care, and precautions must be taken to prevent the spread of plagues and epidemics. Each area must be assisted in the restoration of those essential services and facilities which will enable the population to regain their vigor and to take their proper part in the war effort and in subsequent efforts to build a peaceful world.

During the period when military operations are conducted in a given area, the armed forces of the United Nations of course have responsibility for and control over the supply and distribution of whatever materials they feel should and can be imported into the area. For purely military reasons, aside from other important considerations, the military authorities will do everything in their power to meet the urgent relief needs, just as they have done in North Africa and are presently doing in Italy. These leaders know that United Nations' soldiers in combat zones can not live or fight in a vacuum, completely insulated against local conditions. Our armies will, wherever possible, be relying upon local resources -- food, shelter, power, etc. -- to meet many of their needs. Famine or pestilence or widespread suffering of any other sort represent almost as great

a menace



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a menace as do enemy forces. A man who has no bread will not be able to work in the fields on crops for the next harvest. Nor will he be able to operate a power plant, providing current for a whole town, including our military installations. Nor can that power plant be operated without fuel. If the enemy has stripped the land bare of food or fuel, we must provide it as a matter of military necessity.

As soon as military conditions permit the armed forces will turn over to civilians responsibility for the supply of essential goods. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will then act together with the local government, the Combined Allocating Boards and the appropriate National Supply Agencies, to continue and increase the flow of foodstuffs, medical supplies and essential consumer goods to meet the critical shortages that may exist. They will assist where necessary in the restoration of transport facilities required to distribute these goods, and of public utilities, ~~etc.~~ and so forth.

It is clearly of great importance that this responsibility should be assumed not by any individual nation, but by all the united and associated nations together. It would be impossible, and most undesirable, for any one country to attempt to bear the burden of meeting vast and widespread relief needs. This is true whether it is applied to financing or to making available supplies. Each of the countries to be liberated will wish to bear the cost for its own supplies so far as its foreign exchange resources permit. It will also wish to contribute to the administrative expenses of the Relief administration, the "donor" countries which have not been occupied ^{by} the enemy, will wish to contribute funds and supplies, to the extent authorized by their appropriate constitutional bodies, each according to its financial ability and material

material resources. Some agreed portions of these contributions made by member governments would normally be expended in that country, unless the commodity required should be in short supply in that country, in which case the government would probably prefer to have the purchase made elsewhere, if that is possible. For this purpose it might be necessary for that government to increase the portion of its contribution to be made in foreign exchange.

Although the task for which this Relief Administration has been created is one of comparatively short duration, its implications are great, not only in terms of present suffering but of future security and peace.

The economic implications are obvious. We know that it will contribute to the war if we can restore the strength of liberated peoples so that they can join in the final drive to victory. Perhaps it is even more important in the years after the war that this strength be restored so that each country may be able to assume as quickly as possible its own economic responsibilities, and that each will be able to sell and buy goods in the world market. It is impossible that there can be a healthy world market if great areas remain depressed, a drain upon the prosperity and resources of other areas.

The Relief Administration will not, of course, be able to prevent depressions, but it will be able to see to it that a temporary lack of foreign exchange does not prevent a country from regaining its strength, and that all devastated areas get a fair chance to do so. In addition to the task of relieving immediate need, there will be much to be done in the way of long-term reconstruction. These long-term tasks will not fall within the sphere of relief administration activities. This will be handled by the countries themselves, after the most urgent relief needs have been met. In the work of reconstruction a country may require considerable outside help,

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and this may be provided through arrangements with other countries or possibly with the assistance of other international bodies which may later be created to facilitate the obtaining of international credit, or the expansion of commerce. Three long term tasks will not fall within the sphere of relief administration activities:

The work of the Relief Administration has also political implications. This present war is being fought against a brutal militaristic force which sought to enslave all peoples under its tyranny. Even more important in the long run, this is a war against those elements in our civilization which brought that force and tyranny into being. The final extinction of Fascism can not be accomplished by planes and bombs and tanks alone, although military defeat is the first prerequisite to its extinction. Fascism was bred in the slums, in poverty, hunger and want and unemployment and frustrated hopes.

However close an alliance may be formed between fanatical adventurers, unscrupulous politicians and magnates whose blind fear of popular government makes their wealth the tool of evil -- however close such an alliance may be, its full effectiveness depends upon a measure of public support, or at least upon the absence of concerted, large-scale, public opposition. The average man hates war; yet in Germany, for example, he lent his support to a government that was openly preparing for war, aggressive war.

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There may have been many reasons for this, but certainly one reason was the depression which hit Germany, together with the rest of the world, after 1929, and which came while memories of the disastrous post-war inflation were still fresh. To men who had lost hope and initiative, the Nazis may have meant war in the future, but for the immediate present they meant work -- even if that work was in munitions factories making the tools of destruction, or in the army learning to use those tools. They meant food, although it might be ersatz food to conserve German resources and promote self-sufficiency for war. The Nazis meant clothing, even if that clothing was a uniform branded with the now infamous mark of the crooked cross. They meant school for a man's children, even if those children's minds were taught only to hate with blind obedience, and their bodies toughened only for death in Russian snows or African sand.

This is not a choice that free men would willingly make. But it is a choice that many men, without a long tradition of democracy to sustain them, did make, in apathy and in weakness, wrongly thinking themselves deprived of all other hope. We do not want men in any country to make that choice again.

We are



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We are showing now that the United Nations are capable of tremendous effort when their existence is threatened by war. We are showing that the free countries are capable of producing huge quantities of war materials, and that every available man and woman can be employed in the war effort. If we can make such efforts to meet the crisis of war, surely we can learn to make similar efforts to enjoy the fruits of peace. [We will face great shortages after this war and there will be unparalleled demands for consumer goods. The men and women who now make tanks and the men who fight in those tanks can surely be employed in making automobiles, farm machinery, and in expanding agricultural production As more are gainfully employed in production, more will be financially able to obtain the goods they need and desire.]

[The United Nations will join together with nations of like mind to work, in the words of the Mutual Aid Agreements, for "the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples." The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will contribute to that end by assisting the occupied and devastated countries to take part in such work as speedily as possible.]

[Although we are already planning and working for the peace, the minds of all of us are still directed first of all upon the rapid achievement of victory. Having indicated the important contributions that I hope the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration may make in the establishment of a peaceful world, I would like to return in closing to

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[One aspect of its significance, to the war itself -- to the enslaved peoples of the occupied countries and even in enemy lands ??] The Nazis and the Japanese have not been satisfied simply to weaken and maltreat the bodies of those under their domination. They have sought also to warp their minds; they have told these people again and again that Democracy can give them but one freedom -- freedom to starve. ~~Any why, they asked, should men take arms and lose lives to win this freedom?~~
P We ~~must~~ ^{shall} demonstrate to all doubters our willingness, and our ability, to save ~~them~~ from starvation, to help them regain their strength, their courage and their hope, so that they may again take up their proper place in a world of free nations.



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[DRAFT — 10/28/43]

In total war, supplies for civilians may be next in importance only to the furnishing of planes, guns and ships to the armed forces. This is particularly true in those countries which have long been under the Nazi yoke. After years of the most ruthless spoil and plunder practiced by the Axis, the civilian population, as well as the military forces, of the occupied countries cannot make their fullest contribution to defeating the Axis without assistance from the United Nations.

Insert I →

Assistance to the liberated peoples is a matter of strategic necessity. It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest. It is also obviously military wisdom. This was apparent before the Nazis were ousted from any of the countries under their control. But it is all the clearer now that the United Nations have actually liberated some of the countries previously under Axis domination.

We need not, therefore, any longer speculate about the desirability or effectiveness of the United Nations' policy of aiding the liberated peoples. We have had nearly a year of experience in French Africa. By supplying arms and munitions to the soldiers of France, we have added



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From the Papers of
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strength to another fighting ally. That strength has already begun to make itself felt in its blows against the Nazis. The recapture of Corsica by the French forces is but an example and a forerunner of what the new spirit of ^{the} fighting men of France will do in speeding victory.

By catching the first harvest in French Africa, the United Nations, through giving assistance in the form of seeds, agricultural supplies and some agricultural equipment, have made it possible for the people of North Africa not only to help themselves but to help the other Allies. At the beginning of the North African operations, a substantial amount of shipping was necessary to get food and other necessary supplies into French Africa. But, as soon as these supplies were translated into food and other production by the people of French Africa, this shipping was saved. The people of French Africa now supply virtually all of their own food needs. They are meeting many of the important needs of the allied armed forces in French Africa. The people of French Africa are also meeting the food needs of some of our armed forces in Sicily and Italy, ^{also the requirements} and of the civilian labor which assists our armed forces there in loading and unloading ships, working in warehouses and doing many of the other tasks which are so vital to military operations. Arrangements are now under discussion by which very substantial quantities of vegetables, fruits and other foods will be made available



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[not only for future allied operations in the Mediterranean, but also to meet the needs of the people of France when the day of liberation comes.]

The will and speed with which the people of French Africa have helped themselves and their allies is one of the heartening things of this war.

In the course of our military operations in North Africa and in Sicily and Italy, [we had the full support of the liberated peoples] of French Africa. [It goes without saying that] the United Nations' policy of seeing that no liberated peoples will go hungry or without the other necessities of life, if the United Nations can possibly do anything about it, was not without its effect in getting full-hearted support and assistance for our military operations. [Nor is this policy — in contrast to the Nazi policy of exploitation — likely to be without] ~~This policy will have the same~~ effect upon the spirit and will and hopes of those people still to be liberated.

Although it is not of primary significance, ^{with a} and may not be the case in other countries, such as Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the net dollar expenditure of the United States for making supplies available to civilians in French Africa has been zero. All the civilian supplies that we have made available there have been paid



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for dollar for dollar by the French Committee of Liberation. [They will continue to be paid for as long as they are financially able to do so.]

In addition,
[At the same time,] the French have supplied and are expected to supply us without payment and under reverse lend-lease with food and other essential materials, as against the finished munitions which we have supplied to the French armed forces under lend-lease.

The assistance rendered to the liberated peoples of French Africa was a joint venture of the United Kingdom and the United States. [In terms of the strategic needs of French Africa, both the United States and the United Kingdom each supplied to the full measure of its ability what it was able to supply under the prevailing conditions.] The United Kingdom supplied such items as coal, while we supplied such material as spare parts for agricultural machinery. Both countries acted jointly in this way, in much the same manner that they have acted in complete concert in the Fifth Army and in the air bombardment of Germany.

The next step, as in the case of other joint operations of the United Nations, is to handle the problems of supply for the liberated areas on a United Nations basis. *10* That is why, in proceeding step by step in the practical solution of the problems which are facing the United Nations, we have *11* come to the point of signing the document beginning the life of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is a document *which* upon which history will put its full appraisal. *It joins*



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the United Nations by another strong link to face the problems of mutual need and interest. [If and when this authority comes into full being and operation, each of the United Nations ^{is joining} will join, in accordance with its ability, in aiding the other United Nations who need it most. *Insert A*]

[In the course of the war] ^{by} helping the liberated peoples with essential supplies and services, we will be aiding materially in hastening the day of the defeat of the Axis powers. By helping our friends, who are under subjugation, we will in reality be helping ourselves — not only by saving the lives of many of the people in the occupied areas but also in saving many of the lives of the allied, as well as our own armed forces.

When the shooting stops and ^{the} ~~the~~ war is ended, it will also be to our self-interest, as well as to those of the other United Nations, to furnish essential supplies and services to the liberated peoples. Then, too, it will certainly not only be an act of charity and common humanity to help the men, women and children who have been through years of torture, illness and undernourishment and without freedom, peace or security. Without the foundation stone of such assistance, the winning and the maintenance of a secure peace would be exceedingly difficult.

How long this vital assistance will be necessary to meet these objectives, no one can tell in advance with any degree of certainty. That will depend on all of the circumstances and the needs, in the light of



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the end objectives which we are all trying to achieve. [If the experience of the past and in this war is of any relevance, the speed, with which this vital assistance can be translated into action by the liberated peoples in helping themselves, ought to be relatively high.] In less than a year, the people of French Africa have restored themselves to a position of self-sufficiency and assistance to their friends that might have been thought impossible a year ago. The problems in other liberated areas will doubtless be much more complex and more difficult, but if all the United Nations join, to the full extent of their abilities, in the light of the strategic needs, I am sure the tasks can be accomplished well and efficiently with a greater dispatch than each of us could do it alone.

[The discussions which have taken place and will take place in the setting up and functioning of this authority, by which the United Nations will furnish vital supplies and services to the liberated peoples in the war and immediately after the war, are not without some broader effects.] We have worked together with the United Nations in full agreement and action in the fighting on land, on the sea and in the air. We have acted together with the other United Nations in harnessing our raw materials, our production and our other resources to defeat the common enemy. We are now about to take an additional step in the combined



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actions which are necessary to win the war and to build the foundation
for a secure peace. B

It is not merely words on paper or hopes alone that form the essential connections between friends among nations to win the war and to keep the peace. Actions and habits of action, too, are of significant importance. Like most difficult and complex things in life, we, the United Nations, learn to work together by working together on common problems to meet common objectives. So it is, with a lift of hope, that I look on the signing of this document by all of the United Nations as joining them together still more. This joining together again will, I am sure, augur well for the war and what comes after. This occasion will be part of that broad picture which we can survey when our enemies are defeated, and when free men and women can live, work and worship in peace, freedom and security. C



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DRAFT 1

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Four months ago the United Nations held their first Conference — the United States Conference on Food and Agriculture.

The Conference recommended the creation of a permanent United Nations organization on Food and Agriculture. That was the first planning body to be set up by the United Nations. Today, in the signature of the agreement for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, we have witnessed the creation of its first operating body.

The permanent Food and Agricultural body will be concerned with broad post-war problems and the long-range effort of the United Nations to secure in this world freedom from want. The Relief Administration created today, on the other hand, has a short term job.

According to the Agreement, it is to plan and administer measures for the relief of victims of war through the provision of food, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

It is hardly possible for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.



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DRAFT 1

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The Germans and the Japanese have embarked on a campaign of plunder and destruction calculated to ensure that in the lands they occupy there shall be a generation of half-men, undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope -- ready, in fact, to be used as beasts of burden by the self-styled master races.

The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs, raw materials, essential goods, and even of the industrial machinery upon which workers depended for employment and the country's prosperity. The Germans have proclaimed their purpose to concentrate so far as possible all European heavy industry in Germany itself, making other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon the Third Reich.

This is the so-called New Order -- one or two countries and peoples with all the renewable wealth of the world, and the inhabitants of the rest of the world, with just enough to survive to perform those menial tasks which their conquerors impose upon them.

It is clearly of great importance that responsibility should be assumed not by any individual nation, but by all the united and associated nations together. It would be impossible, and undesirable, for any one country to attempt to bear the burden of meeting vast and widespread relief needs. This is true whether it is applied to financing



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DRAFT 1

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or to making available supplies.

Although the task for which this Relief Administration has been created is one of comparatively short duration, its implications are great, not only in terms of present suffering but of future security and peace.

The task confronting UNRRA is more immediate and more urgent. As it begins its operations, many of the most highly productive regions of the world still are either under Axis domination or are debilitated as the result of the futile attempt of the dictatorships to make themselves self-sustaining on other people's lands. Additional regions will be blackened as the Nazi and Japanese forces are thrown back toward their homelands and scourch the earth behind them.

It will be the task of UNRRA to operate among shortages until the establishment of peace and the resumption of peaceful occupations enables the liberated peoples once more to assume the full burden of their own support. It will be for UNRRA first to assure an equitable distribution of available supplies among all of the liberated peoples, irrespective of ability to pay, and second to bring the combined resources of the United Nations to bear in delivering supplies to the liberated nations in quantities sufficient to make certain that no one



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DRAFT 1

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shall die for the lack of bread or of a garment to ward off the elements.

It would be supreme irony for us to win victory and inherit with victory world chaos because we were unprepared. We know already the urgency of the human wants which will follow liberation. The cities and villages of Tunisia, of Sicily and Southern Italy, of western Russia and of China are scorched and shattered evidence of what the defeated Axis will leave behind.

Assistance to the liberated peoples is a matter of strategic necessity. It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest. It is also obviously military wisdom. This was apparent before the Nazis were ousted from any of the countries under their control. But it is all the clearer now that the United Nations have actually liberated some of the countries previously under Axis domination.

We need not any longer speculate about the desirability or effectiveness of the United Nations' policy of aiding the liberated peoples. We have had nearly a year of experience in French Africa.

By catching the first harvest in French Africa, the United Nations, through giving assistance in the form of seeds, agricultural



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DRAFT 1

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supplies and some agricultural equipment, have made it possible for the people of North Africa not only to help themselves but to help the other Allies. The people of French Africa now supply virtually all of their own food needs. They are meeting many of the important needs of the allied armed forces in French Africa. The people of French Africa are also meeting the food needs of some of our armed forces in Sicily and Italy, and also the requirements of the civilian labor which assists our armed forces there in loading and unloading ships, working in warehouses and doing many of the other tasks which are so vital to military operations.

The will and speed with which the people of French Africa have helped themselves and their allies is one of the heartening things of this war.

The United Nations' policy of seeing that no liberated peoples will go hungry or without the other necessities of life, if the United Nations can possibly do anything about it, was not without its effect in getting full-hearted support and assistance for our military operations in North Africa and in Sicily and Italy. This policy will have the same effect upon the spirit and will and hopes of those people still to be liberated.



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DRAFT 1

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Although it is not of primary significance, and although it may not be the case in other countries, such as Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the net dollar expenditure of the United States for making supplies available to civilians in French Africa has been zero. All the civilian supplies that we have made available there have been paid for dollar for dollar by the French Committee of Liberation. In addition, the French have supplied and are expected to supply us without payment and under reverse lend-lease with food and other essential materials, as against the finished munitions which we have supplied to the French armed forces under lend-lease.

The assistance rendered to the liberated peoples of French Africa was a joint venture of the United Kingdom and the United States. The United Kingdom supplied such items as coal, while we supplied such material as spare parts for agricultural machinery. Both countries acted jointly in this way, in much the same manner that they have acted in complete concert in the Fifth Army and in the air bombardment of Germany.

The next step, as in the case of other joint operations of the



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DRAFT 1

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United Nations, is to handle the problems of supply for the liberated areas on a United Nations basis.

That is why, in proceeding step by step in the practical solution of the problems which are facing the United Nations, we have now come to the point of signing the document beginning the life of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It is a document which joins the United Nations by another strong link to face the problems of mutual need and interest. Each of the United Nations is joining, in accordance with its ability, in aiding the other United Nations who need it most. By the signature of this agreement, the governments of 80 per cent of the world's two billion inhabitants are dedicating themselves to joint efforts in a mutual task toward mutual objectives.

By helping the liberated peoples with essential supplies and services, we will be aiding materially in hastening the day of the defeat of the Axis powers. By helping our friends, who are under subjugation, we will in reality be helping ourselves -- not only by saving the lives of many of the people in the occupied areas but also in saving many of the lives of the allied, as well as our own armed forces.



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DRAFT 1

- 8 -

When the shooting stops and victory comes, it will also be to our self-interest, as well as to those of the other United Nations, to furnish essential supplies and services to the liberated peoples. Then, too, it will certainly not only be an act of charity and common humanity to help the men, women and children who have been through years of torture, illness and undernourishment and without freedom, peace or security. Without the foundation stone of such assistance, the winning and the maintenance of a secure peace would be exceedingly difficult.

How long this vital assistance will be necessary to meet these objectives, no one can tell in advance with any degree of certainty. That will depend on all of the circumstances and the needs, in the light of the end objectives which we are all trying to achieve. In less than a year, the people of French Africa have restored themselves to a position of self-sufficiency and assistance to their friends that might have been thought impossible a year ago. The problems in other liberated areas will doubtless be much more complex and more difficult, but if all the United Nations join, to the full extent of their abilities, in the light of the strategic needs, I am sure the tasks can be accomplished well and efficiently with a greater dispatch than each of us could do it alone.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
GENERAL L. ROOSEVELT

DRAFT 1

- 2 -

We have worked together with the United Nations in full agreement and action in the fighting on land, on the sea and in the air. We have acted together with the other United Nations in harnessing our raw materials, our production and our other resources to defeat the common enemy. We are now about to take an additional step in the combined actions which are necessary to win the war and to build the foundation for a secure peace.

The presence here in the East Room of the White House of representatives of 44 nations is testimony of clear recognition by all of us that the problem we face is of dimensions that transcend the ability of any one nation or small combination of nations for solution. A world catastrophe calls for world action in salvage. The plight of the little men and women who have been ground under the Axis heel can be alleviated only if we utilize the production of ALL the world to balance the want of ALL the world. In UEMRA we have devised a mechanism, based on the processes of true democracy, which can go far toward accomplishment of such an objective in the days and months of desperate emergency which will follow disintegration of the Axis.

It is not merely words on paper or hopes alone that form the essential connections between friends among nations to win the war and to



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DRAFT 1

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keep the peace. Actions and habits of action, too, are of significant importance. Like most difficult and complex things in life, we, the United Nations, learn to work together by working together on common problems to meet common objectives. So it is, with a lift of hope, that I look on the signing of this document by all of the United Nations as joining them together still more. This joining together again will, I am sure, sugar well for the war and what comes after.

The work which begins tomorrow when the UNRRA council meets for the first time at Atlantic City can be a first bold step toward realization of freedom from want. If the nations of the world can be helped to help themselves through the first critical weeks and months after expulsion of the Axis, they will thereby gain the opportunity of laying foundations for reconstruction under their own power and their own plans.

This occasion will be part of that broad picture which we can survey when our enemies are defeated, and when free men and women can live, work and worship in peace, freedom and security.



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General I. Eisenhower

DRAFT 2

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT

Here in the White House seated about a table in the historic East Room are representatives of forty-four nations -- United Nations.

The people of these forty-four nations include approximately 80 percent of the human race, now united by a common devotion to the cause of civilization and by a common determination to build a world of decency and security and peace.

Representatives of these forty-four nations have just signed an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration -- commonly known as UNRRA.

This is the first actual operating agency set up by the United Nations -- the first medium for putting into practical effect some of the high purposes that were set forth in the declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942.

Coming after the Declarations of Moscow, this agreement shows that we mean business in this war in a political and humanitarian sense, just as surely as we mean business in a military sense.

The agreement which we have all just signed is based on the preamble that 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



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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."

All of the United Nations agree to cooperate in the work of UNRRA -- each nation according to its resources -- to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.

According to the agreement, UNRRA is to adopt and administer measures for the relief of victims of war through the provision of food, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to provide relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

It is hard for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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The Germans and the Japanese have embarked on a campaign of plunder and destruction with one purpose in mind; that in the lands they occupy there shall be left only a generation of half-men — undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope — ready, in fact, to be used as beasts of burden by the self-styled master races.

The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs and raw materials, and even of the industrial machinery upon which workers must depend for employment. The Germans have boasted of their plan to concentrate, so far as possible, all European heavy industry in Germany itself, making the other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon the Third Reich.

This then is the so-called New Order — one or two countries with all the removable wealth of the world; and the rest of the world left with just enough to survive to perform those menial tasks which their conquerors impose upon them.

Responsibility for alleviating the suffering and misery occasioned by this New Order must be assumed not by any individual nation but by all the united and associated nations acting together.



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DRAFT 2

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No one country could, or should, attempt to bear the burden of meeting the vast relief needs — either in money or in supplies.

The task confronting UNRRA is immediate and urgent. As it begins its operations, many of the most fertile food regions of the world are either under Axis domination or have been stripped by the practice of the dictatorships to make themselves self-sustaining on other people's lands. Additional regions will be blackened as the Nazi and Japanese forces are thrown back toward their homelands and scorch the earth behind them.

It will be the task of UNRRA to operate in these areas of food shortages until the resumption of peaceful occupations enables the liberated peoples once more to assume the full burden of their own support. It will be for UNRRA, first, to assure a fair distribution of available supplies among all of the liberated peoples, irrespective of ability to pay; and, second, to deliver supplies to the liberated nations in quantities sufficient to ward off death by starvation or exposure.

It would be supreme irony for us to win victory and inherit with victory world chaos because we were unprepared to meet what we know we shall have to meet. We know the human wants which will follow liberation. The cities and villages of Tunisia, of Sicily and Southern Italy, of western Russia and of China are scorched and shattered evidence of what the defeated Axis will leave behind.



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It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest - of strategic necessity. It is also obviously military wisdom. This was apparent to us even before the Nazis were ousted from any of the countries under their control.

But we need not any longer speculate about the desirability or effectiveness of the United Nations' policy of aiding the liberated peoples. We have had nearly a year of experience in French Africa - and later experience in Sicily and in Italy.

By catching the first harvest in French Africa, the United Nations, through giving assistance in the form of seeds, agricultural supplies and some agricultural equipment, have made it possible for the people of North Africa not only to help themselves but to help our Allies.

The people of French Africa now supply virtually all of their own food needs. But more than that, they are meeting many of the important needs of the allied armed forces in French Africa. They are even meeting the food needs of some of our armed forces in Sicily and Italy, and of the civilian labor which assists our armed forces there in loading and unloading ships, and in warehouses and other operations.



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From the Papers of
General I. Hosenbaum

The will and speed with which the people of French Africa have helped themselves and are now helping us and our allies are dividends from the help and relief which we sent them after our military victory in that area.

The United Nations' policy that no liberated peoples will go hungry or without the other necessities of life also helped in getting full-hearted support and assistance for our military operations in North Africa and in Sicily and Italy. And this policy will have the same effect upon the spirit and will and hopes of those people still waiting to be liberated.

Although it is not of primary significance, and although it may not be the case in other countries, such as Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the net dollar expenditure of the United States in making supplies available to civilians in French Africa has been zero. All the civilian supplies that we have made available there have been paid for, dollar for dollar, by the French Committee of Liberation. In addition, the French have supplied and are expected to supply us — without payment and under reverse lend-lease — with food and other essential materials, as against the finished munitions which we have supplied to the French armed forces under lend-lease.



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General L. B. Rowan

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The assistance rendered to the liberated peoples of French Africa was a joint venture of the United Kingdom and the United States. The United Kingdom supplied such items as coal, while we supplied such material as spare parts for agricultural machinery. Both countries acted jointly in this way, in much the same manner that they have acted in complete concert in the Fifth Army and in the air bombardment of Germany.

The next step, as in the case of other joint operations of the United Nations, is to handle the problems of supply for the liberated areas on a United Nations basis - rather than the cooperation of two nations.

That is why, in proceeding step by step in the practical solution of the problems which are facing the United Nations, we have now come to the point of signing the document beginning the life of the UMRRA. It is a document which joins the United Nations by one more strong link to face the problems of mutual need and interest. By the signature of this agreement, the governments of 80 percent of the world's two billion inhabitants are dedicating themselves to joint efforts in a mutual task toward mutual objectives.

We have shown that while the war lasts, whenever we help the liberated peoples with essential supplies and services, we



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hasten the day of the defeat of the Axis powers. By helping our friends, who are under subjugation, we will in reality be helping ourselves -- not only by saving the lives of many of the people in the occupied areas but also in saving many of the lives of the allied, as well as our own armed forces.

In the same way, when the shooting stops and victory comes, it will also be to the self-interest of the United Nations, to furnish essential supplies and services to the liberated peoples. It will certainly not only be an act of charity and common humanity to help the men, women and children who have been through years of torture, illness and undernourishment. Without the foundation stone of such assistance, the winning and the maintenance of a secure peace might be impossible.

How long this vital assistance will be necessary to meet these objectives, no one can tell in advance with any degree of certainty. In less than a year, for example, the people of French Africa have restored themselves to a position of self-sufficiency and assistance to their allies that might have been thought impossible a year ago. The problems in other liberated areas may be more complex and more difficult - and take more time - but if all the United Nations join, to the fullest extent of their abilities and in the light of the strategic needs, I am sure the



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tasks can be accomplished well and efficiently with a greater dispatch than any of us could do it alone.

We have worked together with the United Nations in full agreement and action in the fighting on land, on the sea and in the air. We have acted together with the other United Nations in harnessing our raw materials, our production and our other resources to defeat the common enemy. We are now about to take an additional step in the combined actions which are necessary to win the war and to build the foundation for a secure peace.

The presence here in the East Room of the White House of representatives of forty-four nations is testimony of the clear recognition by all of us that the problem we face is of dimensions that transcend the ability of any one nation or small combination of nations for solution. A world catastrophe calls for world action in salvage. The plight of the little men and women who have been ground under the Axis heel can be ameliorated only if we utilize the production of ALL the world to balance the want of ALL the world. In UNRRA we have devised a mechanism, based on the processes of true democracy, which can go far toward accomplishment of such an objective in the days and months of desperate emergency which will follow the overthrow of the Axis.

It is not merely words on paper or hopes alone that form the essential connections among nations to win the war and to keep the peace.



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Actions and habits of action, too, are of significant importance. Like most difficult and complex things in life nations learn to work together by working together on common problems to meet common objectives.

It is, therefore, with a lift of hope, that we look on the signing of this document by all of the United Nations as a means of joining them together still more firmly.

Tomorrow the UNRRA council meets for the first time at Atlantic City. That meeting can be a first bold step toward realization of freedom from want. If the occupied and presently enslaved nations of the world can be helped to help themselves through the first critical weeks and months after the explosion of the Axis, they will gain an opportunity to lay their foundations for reconstruction under their own power and their own plans. It may be the first outlines of that broad picture which we can survey when our enemies are defeated, and when free men and women can once more live, work and worship in peace, freedom and security.



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DRAFT 5

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT

Here in the White House seated about a table in the historic East Room are representatives of forty-four nations -- United Nations.

The people of these forty-four nations include approximately 80 percent of the human race, now united by a common devotion to the cause of civilization and by a common determination to build for the future a world of decency and security and peace.

Representatives of these forty-four nations have just signed an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration -- commonly known as UNRRA.

This is the first actual operating agency set up by the United Nations -- the first medium for putting into practical effect some of the high purposes that were set forth in the declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942.

Coming after the Declarations of Moscow, this agreement shows that we mean business in this war in a political and humanitarian sense, just as surely as we mean business in a military sense. This is one more strong link joining the United Nations in facing problems of actual need and interest.

The agreement which we have all just signed is based on the preamble that the United Nations are: "determined that immediately upon



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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.*

All of the United Nations agree to cooperate and share in the work of UNRRA -- each nation according to its own individual resources -- to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.

According to the agreement, UNRRA is to adopt and administer measures for the relief of victims of war through the provision of food, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to provide relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

It is hard for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.



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The Germans and the Japanese have embarked on a campaign of plunder and destruction with one purpose in mind: that in the lands they occupy there shall be left only a generation of half-men -- undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope -- ready, in fact, to be used as beasts of burden by the self-styled master races.

The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs and raw materials, and even of the industrial machinery upon which workers must depend for employment. The Germans have boasted of their plan to concentrate, so far as possible, all European heavy industry in Germany itself, making the other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon and utterly subservient to the Nazi tyrants.

This then was the purpose of the so-called New Order -- one or two countries with all the removable wealth of the world; and the rest of the world left with just enough to survive to perform those menial tasks which their conquerors impose upon them.

Responsibility for alleviating the suffering and misery occasioned by this New Order must be assumed not by any individual nation but by all the united and associated nations acting together. No one country could, or should, attempt to bear the burden of meeting the vast



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relief needs -- either in money or in supplies.

The task confronting UNRRA is immediate and urgent. As it begins its operations, many of the most fertile food regions of the world are either under Axis domination or have been stripped by the practice of the dictatorships to make themselves self-sustaining on other people's lands. Additional regions will be blackened as the German and Japanese forces are thrown back toward their homelands and scorch the earth behind them.

It will be the task of UNRRA to operate in these areas of food shortages until the resumption of peaceful occupations enables the liberated peoples once more to assume the full burden of their own support. It will be for UNRRA, first, to assure a fair distribution of available supplies among all of the liberated peoples, irrespective of ability to pay; and, second, to deliver supplies to the liberated nations in quantities sufficient to ward off death by starvation or exposure.

It would be supreme irony for us to win victory and inherit with victory world chaos because we were unprepared to meet what we know we shall have to meet. We know the human wants which will follow liberation. The cities and villages of Tunisia, of Sicily and Southern Italy, of western Russia and of China are scorched and shattered evidence of what the defeated Axis will leave behind.



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It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest -- of military strategic necessity. This was apparent to us even before the Germans were ousted from any of the countries under their control.

But we need not any longer speculate about the desirability or effectiveness of the United Nations' policy of aiding the liberated peoples. We have had nearly a year of experience in French Africa -- and later experience in Sicily and in Italy.

The United Nations have contributed to the increase of this year's harvest in French Africa. We have given assistance in the form of seeds, agricultural supplies and some agricultural equipment, and we have thus made it possible for the people of North Africa not only to help themselves but to help our own armed forces and those of our Allies.

The people of French Africa now supply virtually all of their own food needs. They are meeting many of the important needs of the allied armed forces in French Africa, in Sicily and Italy, and of the civilian labor which assists our armed forces there in loading and unloading ships, and in warehouses and other operations.

The will and speed with which the people of French Africa



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

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have helped themselves and are now helping us and our allies are dividends from the help and relief which we sent them after our successful military progress in that area. And the same process is being repeated in Sicily and Southern Italy.

Although it is not of primary significance, and although it may not be the case in other countries, such as Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the net dollar expenditure of the United States in making supplies available to civilians in French Africa has been zero. All the civilian supplies that we have made available there have been paid for, dollar for dollar, by the French Committee of National Liberation. In addition, the French have supplied and are expected to supply us — without payment and under reverse lend-lease — with food and other essential materials, as against the finished munitions which we have supplied to the French armed forces under lend-lease.

The assistance rendered to the liberated peoples of French Africa was a joint venture of Great Britain and the United States. Our British Allies supplied such items as coal, while we supplied such material as spare parts for agricultural machinery. Both countries acted jointly in this way, in much the same manner that they have acted in complete concert in the triumphant military campaigns of the past year.



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The next step, as in the case of other joint operations of the United Nations, is to handle the problems of supply for the liberated areas on a United Nations basis — rather than the cooperation of two nations.

We have shown that while the war lasts, whenever we help the liberated peoples with essential supplies and services, we hasten the day of the defeat of the Axis powers. By helping our friends, who are under subjugation, we will in reality be helping ourselves — not only by saving the lives of many of the people in the occupied areas but also in saving many of the lives of the allied, as well as our own armed forces.

In the same way, when the shooting stops and victory comes, it will also be to the self-interest of the United Nations, to furnish essential supplies and services to the liberated peoples. It will certainly not only be an act of charity and common humanity to help the men, women and children who have been through years of torture, illness and undernourishment. Without the foundation stone of such assistance, the winning and the maintenance of a secure peace might be impossible.

We have worked together with the United Nations in full agreement and action in the fighting on land, on the sea and in the air. We



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From the Program of
General L. Rosenbaum

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have acted together with the other United Nations in harnessing our raw materials, our production and our other resources to defeat the common enemy. We are now about to take an additional step in the combined actions which are necessary to win the war and to build the foundation for a secure peace.

The presence here in the East Room of the White House of representatives of forty-four nations is testimony of the clear recognition by all of us that the problem we face is of dimensions that transcend the ability of any one nation or small combination of nations for solution.

A world catastrophe calls for world action in salvage. The plight of the little men and women who have been ground under the Axis heel can be ameliorated only if we utilize the production of ALL the world to balance the want of ALL the world. In UNRRA we have devised a mechanism, based on the processes of true democracy, which can go far toward accomplishment of such an objective in the days and months of desperate emergency which will follow the overthrow of the Axis.

It is not merely words on paper or hopes alone that form the essential connections among nations to win the war and to keep the peace.



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SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

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Actions and habits of action, too, are of significant importance. Like most difficult and complex things in life nations learn to work together by working together on common problems to meet common objectives.

It is, therefore, with a lift of hope, that we look on the signing of this agreement by all of the United Nations as a means of joining them together still more firmly.

And we look with pride upon this agreement and upon the historic achievements of the Conference at Moscow.

The key point of the Moscow Declarations is recognition of "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

That far-sighted and eternally important declaration was made by the Governments of the United States of America, United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China. It has been approved overwhelmingly by the Senate and by the people of this country.

Such is the spirit and such is the positive action of the United Nations at the time when our power is becoming predominant, when our enemies are retreating all over the world.



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Compare this with the actions of our enemies. When they were seemingly all powerful, when they thought they were winning, they increased their oppressions and the cruelties they inflicted upon their neighbors. Today, when they are weakening, when the German and Japanese leaders know that they are losing the war, they begin to talk belatedly and hypocritically of the "freedom" and "independence" of the enslaved nations of Europe and Asia.

The Nazi and Prussian and Japanese militarists sing a different tune when they realize that the superior strength is on our side. But they can never use the words "freedom" and "independence" because they themselves have never begun to understand the true meaning of those words.

The United Nations, on the other hand, have never deviated in defeat or in victory from adherence to the basic principles of freedom, tolerance, justice and security.

Tomorrow the UNRRA begins its first conference — and makes the first bold steps toward the practicable, workable realization of freedom from want.

The forces of the United Nations march forward and the peoples of the United Nations march with them.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR

ORACE TULLY

This is a draft of the UNRRA speech which Bob Sherwood and I have prepared from drafts submitted by the State Department and Governor Lehman.

The President said he might work on it tonight and see us in the morning. Will you please see that he takes it over with him for tonight?

S. I. R.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT 4

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT

Here in the White House seated about a table in the historic East Room are representatives of forty-four nations — United Nations.

The people of these forty-four nations include approximately 80 percent of the human race, now united by a common devotion to the cause of civilization and by a common determination to build for the future a world of decency and security and peace.

Representatives of these forty-four nations have just signed an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration — commonly known as UNRRA.

This is the first actual operating agency set up by the United Nations — the first medium for putting into practical effect some of the high purposes that were set forth in the declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942.

Coming after the Declarations of Moscow, this agreement shows that we mean business in this war in a political and humanitarian sense, just as surely as we mean business in a military sense. This is one more strong link joining the United Nations in facing problems of mutual need and interest.

The agreement which we have all just signed is based on a preamble in which the United Nations declare that they are: "determined that



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immediately upon the liberation of any area.....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.* That is the preamble of the agreement which has just been signed here today.

All of the United Nations agree to cooperate and share in the work of UNRRA -- each nation according to its own individual resources -- to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.

It is hard for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.

The Germans and the Japanese have carried their campaigns of plunder and destruction with one purpose in mind: that in the lands they occupy there shall be left only a generation of half-men -- undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope -- ready, in fact, to be enslaved and used as beasts of burden by the self-styled MASTER RACES.



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The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs and raw materials, and even of the industrial machinery upon which their workers must depend for employment. The Germans have been systematically carrying out their plan to concentrate, so far as possible, all European heavy industry in Germany itself, making the other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon and completely subservient to the Nazi tyrants.

This then was the purpose of the so-called New Order — one or two countries with all the removable wealth of the earth; and the rest of the world reduced to slavery and bare subsistence.

Responsibility for alleviating the suffering and misery occasioned by this New Order must be assumed not by any individual nation but by all the united and associated nations acting together. No one country could — or should — attempt to bear the burden of meeting the vast relief needs — either in money or in supplies.

The work confronting UNRRA is immediate and urgent. As it now begins its operations, many of the most fertile food regions of the world are either under Axis domination or have been stripped by the practice of the dictatorships to make themselves self-sustaining on other people's lands. Additional regions will be blackened as the German and



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Japanese forces are thrown back toward their homelands and scorch the earth behind them.

It will be the task of UNRRA to operate in those areas of food shortages until the resumption of peaceful occupations enables the liberated peoples once more to assume the full burden of their own support. It will be for UNRRA, first, to assure a fair distribution of available supplies among all of the liberated peoples irrespective of ability to pay; and, second, to deliver supplies to the liberated nations in quantities sufficient to ward off death by starvation or exposure.

It would be supreme irony for us to win victory, and then to inherit world chaos simply because we were unprepared to meet what we know we shall have to meet. We know the human wants which will follow liberation. Many ruthlessly shattered cities and villages in Russia, China and Italy provide horrible evidence of what the defeated retreating Germans and Japanese will leave behind.

It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest -- of military strategic necessity. This was apparent to us even before the Germans were ousted from any of the countries under their control.



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But we need not any longer speculate about the desirability or effectiveness of the United Nations' policy of aiding the liberated peoples. We have had nearly a year of experience in French Africa -- and later experience in Sicily and in Italy.

In French North Africa, the United Nations have given assistance in the form of seeds, agricultural supplies and agricultural equipment; and have made it possible for the people there to increase their harvest.

After years of looting by the Germans, the people of French Africa are now able to supply virtually all of their own food needs. Besides, they are meeting many of the important needs of the allied armed forces in French Africa, in Sicily and Italy, and of the civilian labor which assists our armed forces there in loading and unloading ships, and in warehouses and other operations.

The will and speed with which the people of French Africa have helped themselves and are now helping us and our allies are dividends from the help and relief which we sent them after our successful military progress in that area. And the same process is being repeated in Sicily and Southern Italy.

The assistance rendered to the liberated peoples of French Africa was a joint venture of Great Britain and the United States. Our



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British Allies supplied such items as coal, while we supplied such material as spare parts for agricultural machinery. Both countries acted jointly in this way, in much the same manner that they have acted in complete concert in the triumphant military campaign of the past year.

The next step, as in the case of other joint operations of the United Nations, is to handle the problem of supply for the liberated areas on a United Nations basis -- rather than the cooperation of two nations.

We have shown that while the war lasts, whenever we help the liberated peoples with essential supplies and services, we hasten the day of the defeat of the Axis powers.

In the same way, when the shooting stops and victory comes, it will also be to the self-interest of the United Nations, to furnish essential supplies and services to the liberated peoples. It will not only be an act of charity and common humanity to help the men, women and children who have been through years of torture, illness and undernourishment. Without the foundation stone of such assistance, the winning and the maintenance of a secure peace might be impossible.

There can certainly be no secure peace until there is a return of law and order in the oppressed countries, until the peoples of these

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countries have been restored to a normal, healthy, self-sustaining existence. This means that the more quickly and effectually we apply measures of relief and rehabilitation, the more quickly will our own boys overseas be able to come home.

We have acted together with the other United Nations in harnessing our raw materials, our production and our other resources to defeat the common enemy. We have worked together with the United Nations in full agreement and action in the fighting on land, on the sea and in the air. We are now about to take an additional step in the combined actions which are necessary to win the war and to build the foundation for a secure peace.

The sufferings of the little men and women who have ^{been} ground under the Axis heel can be relieved only if we utilize the production of ALL the world to balance the want of ALL the world. In UENRA we have devised a mechanism, based on the processes of true democracy, which can go far toward accomplishment of such an objective in the days and months of desperate emergency which will follow the overthrow of the Axis.

It is not merely words on paper or hopes alone that form the essential connections among nations to win the war and to keep the peace. Actions and habits of action, too, are of significant importance. Like



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in most of the difficult and complex things in life, nations can learn to work together only by actually working together for the achievement of common objectives.

It is, therefore, with a lift of hope, that we look on the signing of this agreement by all of the United Nations as a means of joining them together still more firmly.

The key point of the Moscow Declarations is recognition of "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

That far-sighted and eternally important declaration was made by the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China. It has been approved overwhelmingly by the Senate and by the people of this country.

Such is the spirit and such is the positive action of the United Nations at the time when our military power is becoming predominant, when our enemies are being pushed back -- all over the world.



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Contrast this with the actions of our enemies. When they were seemingly all powerful, when they thought they were winning, they increased their oppressions and cruelties upon their neighbors. But today, when they are weakening, when the German and Japanese leaders know that they are losing the war, they begin to talk belatedly and hypocritically of the "freedom" and "independence" of the enslaved nations of Europe and Asia.

convincingly
But they cannot use these words/because they themselves have never begun to understand that freedom and independence really mean.

The United Nations, on the other hand, in defeat or in victory, have never deviated from adherence to the basic principles of freedom, tolerance, independence, and security.

Tomorrow the UNRRA begins its first conference -- and makes the first bold steps toward the practicable, workable realization of freedom from want.

The forces of the United Nations march forward and the peoples of the United Nations march with them.



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Agreement for United Nations
Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Draft of September 20, 1943

The Governments or Authorities whose duly-authorized
representatives have subscribed hereto,

Being United Nations or being associated with the United
Nations in this war,

Have 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 prepara-
tion 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:

Article I

There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and
Rehabilitation Administration.

1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold
and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake
obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the
activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and
in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects
and purposes.

2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the
purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as
follows:

(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for
the administration of measures for the relief of victims
of war in any area under the control of any of the United

Nations



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Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such coordination measures as may be authorized by the member governments concerned.

(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recommendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be referred to any or all of the member governments for individual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

Article II

Membership

The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new members between sessions of the Council.

Wherever the term "member government" is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration whether a government or an authority.

Article III

The Council

1. Each member government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which shall be the policy-making body of
the



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the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the Council shall vote by simple majority.

2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by one-third of the members of the Council.

3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director General presiding, without vote. Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee which shall be communicated promptly to each member government. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by the Council at any regular session or at any special session called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representatives of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee on supplies shall consider, formulate and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area, and such other members of the Council, representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area, as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area, and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be

appointed



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appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The regional committees shall normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European post-war relief established in London on September 24, 1941 and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in paragraph 5 of this Article with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such technical standing committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council or alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. Should a regional committee so desire, subcommittees of the technical standing committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

7. The travel and other expenses of members of the Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by the governments which they represent.

8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.

Article IV

The Director General

1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director General may be removed by the Council on recommendation, by unanimous vote, of the Central Committee.

2. The Director General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by



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by Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies and create or select the emergency organization required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties of the Director General are subject to the limitations of Article VII.

3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the organization and the direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraphs 2(b) and 2(c).

4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees. Such Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program within the region.

5. The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests of a member government in such a way as to render it questionable whether it should be published, such government shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the question of publication. The Director General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Administration within each region and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional committees.

Article V

Supplies and Resources

1. In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the Administration in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2(a). The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

2. The supplies and resources made available by the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to securing such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

3. All

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

Article VI

Administrative Expenses

The Director General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.

Article VII

Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

Article VIII

Amendment

The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as follows:

a. Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it;

b. Amendments involving modification of Article III or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee;

c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote.

Article IX

Entry into Force

This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

Article X

Withdrawal

Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve months after the date of its communication to the Director General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it.

* * *



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Here in the White House seated about a table in the historic East Room are representatives of 44 nations -- United Nations.

The people of these 44 nations include approximately 80 percent of the human race, now united by a common devotion to the cause of civilization and by a common determination to build a world of decency and security and peace.

Representatives of these 44 nations have just signed an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, commonly known as UNRRA.

This is the first actual operating agency set up by the United Nations -- the first medium for putting into practical effect some of the high purposes that were set forth in the declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942.

Coming after the declarations of Moscow, this agreement shows that we mean business in this war in a political and humanitarian sense just as surely as we mean business in a military sense.

For the agreement which we have all just signed is based on the preamble that the United Nations are: "determined



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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."

All of the United Nations agree to cooperate in the work of UNRRA -- each nation according to its resources -- to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.



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