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Presented to the Committee of Ministers by the Special Representative of the Council of Europe for national refugees and over-population

Report
Committee of Ministers

1. RESOLUTION (54) 29 adopted by the Committee of Ministers 19th December, 1954

The Committee of Ministers,

Having examined the final Report submitted by M. Pierre Schneiler, Special Representative of the Council of Europe for national refugees and over-population in Europe;

Congratulating M. Pierre Schneiter on his important contribution to the solution of this problem and thanking him for his unremitting efforts on behalf of national refugees and surplus elements of population;

Endorsing the opinion expressed in Resolution (51) 57 that the existence of the problem of refugees and over-population " may be regarded as impeding the realisation of the aims set out in Article 1 of the Statute of the Couneil of Europe " and reiterating the need for " the adoption by the members of the European Community of a common altitude in regard to these pressing questions ", which are of fundamental importance to the security of Europe and its economic and political stability;

Being determined to continue to seek ways and means of helping the European countries affected by the problem of national refugees and over-population,

Resolves :

a. to approve the spirit enshrined in the general lines of M. Schneiter's report;

b. to extend for a further year the mission entrusted to him under Resolution (53) 35, requesting him to submit detailed proposals on the basis of his report, with particular reference to the institution of the fund mentioned therein ;

c. to set up a Committee, composed of senior officials of the member countries who are specialists in the problem of refugees and overpopulation, which shall be available for consultation by, and shall be entitled to advise, M. Schneiter;

d. to authorise the Secretary-General to transmit M. Schneiter's report to the Consultative Assembly.

2. LETTER - from the Special Representative to the Chairman of the Committee of Ministers

31st October, 1954

Sir,

In its Resolution (54) 10 adopted on 20th May, 1954, the Committee of Ministers requested me to develop in a detailed plan the principles which I had the honour of submitting to it on that date regarding measures to be taken by the Council of Europe to solve the problem of national refugees and over-population.

I am happy now to provide you with my full Report on the task entrusted to me. Ishould perhaps explain that by way of facilitating matters I submitted a preliminary report to the Ministers' Deputies on 21st October, 1954, incorporating the main features of the detailed plan.

My proposals, broadly speaking, are as follows :

2.1. I. Political action

The Governments of Member States should undertake :

a. to make the most of existing possibilities of absorption within Europe itself, in regard to over-population, by :

joint efforts and the co-ordination of all possible forms of international aid so as to encourage any measure intended to foster local integration taken in the countries affected;

pursuing a more liberal immigration policy, especially in the conclusion of special agreements with over-populated countries on the settlement on their territory of workers, agriculturists and craftsmen from those countries;

b. to work out gradually a common policy of European emigration passing through the following stages : mutual information, regular consultation on the conclusion of bilateral agreements with overseas countries, adoption of a standard agreement on emigration and the establishment of emigration quotas by over-populated European countries;

c. to take steps to provide vocational training for European migrants unable to receive such training in their country of residence;

d. to conduct a European and overseas public information compaign to gain public support for the measures mentioned above;

e. to entrust a European coordinating authority (an existing commission or committee, or a single specially appointed official or European personality) with the task of coordination and imparting political impulsion in order to ensure that the above commitments are carried out. The coordinating authority should be supported by a committee of senior officials specialising in such questions; the committee might include representatives of Member States of the Council of Europe, European Members of I. C. E. M. not Members of the Council of Europe, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the international organisations concerned.

2.2. II. Financial action

The Governments of Member States should undertake :

a. to set up a European Fund for the settlement of national refugees and surplus elements of population by means of redeemable loans ;

b. to make redeemable financial contributions to the fund, whose management would be entrusted to an existing international banking institution;

c. to instruct the European coordinat-ingauthority to grant loans from the fund to the various beneficiaries, under the control of the above-mentioned committee of senior officials.

I should be most grateful if the Governments of Member States would let me have their comments on my proposals at the next meeting of the Committee of Ministers, when I hope the latter will express its final views on this matter. Since my appointment will, in pursuance of Resolution (53) 35, come to an end on 31st January, 1955, and the time required to complete negotiations might otherwise prove too short, I should be happy to be given the opportunity of appearing before the Committee of Ministers at that time.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

P. SCHNEITER

Special Representative of the Council of Europe for national refugees and over-population in Europe.

3. Report

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3.2. Introduction

1. By the mandate conferred upon me by the Committee of Ministers in its Resolution (53) 35 of 12th December, 1953 (Appendix I). I was instructed to put forward proposals for the solution of the problem of national refugees and over-population. In taking this decision the Committee of Ministers was influenced, on the one hand, by the importance and urgency of this problem for the member countries and, on the other, by the fact that there are gaps in the present system of international co-operation.

2. On 19th and 20th May, 1954, I had an opportunity of putting before the Committee of Ministers my views on the manner in which a solution should be sought. Having outlined the basic principles which should underlie such action, I was invited [Res. (54) 10, Appendix II] to convert them into a detailed plan, which constitutes the present document. In preparing it I have borne in mind the opinion expressed by the Committee of Ministers in its Resolution (51) 57 to the effect that the existence of this problem " may be regarded as impeding the realisation of the aims set out in Article 1 of the Statute of the Council of Europe ". The aim of all my proposals is to give concrete form to the decision embodied in this same Resolution, which calls for " the adoption of a common attitude and due co-ordination in regard to these questions". Indeed, if we leave the countries affected by this serious problem to face their own difficulties without assistance on a European scale, not only will they cease to believe in Europe, but the economic stability and political security of the whole Continent will suffer.

3. My basic assumption in drawing up these proposals has been that the problem cannot be mastered by the efforts of the Governments alone : the general public itself must be called upon to make a contribution. The second task which the Committee of Ministers entrusted to me was, in fact, to arouse public interest in this matter. I shall attempt to carry out this part of my mandate as soon as the Committee of Ministers has adopted my proposals, for the support of public opinion can only be secured on the basis of concrete proposals.

4. I regarded the final task specified in Resolution (53) 35—namely the study of these problems, in order to avoid overlapping, in consultation with the Governments and international organisations concerned—as a preliminary to the formulation of proposals. I therefore spent the first part of the appointed year visiting the countries affected and consulting the international organisations concerned.

5. The first chapter of this Report describes this tour of investigation and draws conclusions. The second and third Chapters deal respectively with political and financial measures required to enable the member countries of the Council of Europe Lo dispose of this problem.

3.3. CHAPTER I - Factual position

6. I regarded it as my first duly to gain first-hand information on the situation in each country facing a national refugee or overpopulation problem. I therefore visited [1] the Netherlands, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Greece and Turkey. Before doing so, however, I consulted the intemalional organisations most directly concerned, with a view to ensuring from the oiilsot that as Special Representative of the Council of Europe I should not run the slightest risk of encroaching upon their activities. In the event, this experience was of invaluable assistance to me.

1. 1. A list of persons interviewed during these visits will be found in Appendix III.

3.3.1. A. Account of journeys

3.3.1.1. (a) Visit to governmental and non-governmental organisations at Geneva - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

7. My conversations with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees resulted in a complete identity of views. In comparing the problems of over-population and national refugees with those appertaining to refugees under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner, we came to the conclusion that it would be an easy matter, to quote the joint communiqué published at the close of our conversations, " by continuous, friendly and trustful co-ordination, to avoid all inconsistency and duplication, which would be to the detriment of the interests concerned ".

8. During discussions on our respective terms of reference the High Commissioner pointed out that, in the last analysis, refugees under international protection, insofar as they have not been integrated into the economic system, are part and parcel of the wider problem of European over-population. This bears out the view put forward by the Special Liaison Committee of the Council of Europe (CSL (52) 4) that any results which the Council of Europe could achieve in the integration of national refugees and surplus population would simplify the process of integration of refugees under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner. Thus, the activities of the Council of Europe and the High Commissioner dovetail with one another very satisfactorily.

9. The resulting co-operation would extend, in particular, to financial problems, for it would be to our mutual advantage if each would support the other in his efforts to secure the funds required to assist and integrate all types of refugees and surplus elements of the population. Thus, when the Netherlands Government put forward its proposal to establish a fund for refugees under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner, I was glad of the opportunity to give it my warmest support.

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

10. Most cordial relations have been established with the I. C. E. M. Following our first contacts in February, I had an opportunity of addressing members of this Committee at its seventh session in April. The justification for these contacts is that the I. C. E. M. is the only international organisation operating in the field of overseas emigration. As this is one of the means of relieving demographic pressures in Europe, it is natural that the Special Representative should get into touch with this Organisation. The proposals which I have put forward below take into account the part which can be played by the I. C. E. M. in preparing and carrying out a joint European migration policy, in harmony with the constant concern of this body to increase the volume of European migration to such an extent that it can substantially relieve demographic pressures in Europe.

International Labour Office

11. During my conversations with the Director-General of I. L. 0., I was pleased to note that we were in complete agreement on the basic principle that the advantage of European countries would be served by exploiting every possibility of integrating surplus elements of population in the home country or in another European country. It is right indeed that Europe should exploit its own resources to the full. The I. L. 0. could be of great assistance in carrying out my proposals in two respects : it might persuade the national trade unions to look more favourably upon the immigration of foreign labour, and it could make technical arrangements for the departure and resettlement of migrants.

Non-governmental organisations

12. During my visit to Geneva 1 was also able to get in touch with the following nongovernmental organisations : the International Catholic Migration Commission, the Oecumenical Council of Churches and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The information gathered from these conversations will prove invaluable when concrete proposals for a solution have been completed. Such non-governmental organisations, having supporters in all member countries, are bettor equipped than any governmental organisation to carry out tasks which demand action on the spot.

3.3.1.2. (b) Visits to the countries affected - Netherlands

13. My first trip was to the Netherlands, where I was able to ascertain that the population had reached saturation-point with 300 inhabitants to the sq.km. The situation in the Netherlands has been admirably summed up by Mr. William Petersen [2] in the following terms :

" Fo r the past century and particularly in the last fifty years, the population of the Netherlands has been growing more rapidly than in North-west Europe. Fertility was particularly high about the year 1946, and the " cohorts " born at that period will increase the potential labour force by about 50,000 persons per annum when they grow up. On the other hand, the national economy is at a serious disadvantage compared with pre-war times, as a result not only of war damage and the difficulties of post-war reconstruction, but also of the loss of the colonies from which the Netherlands derived up to one-sixth of its national income. In spite of tremendous difficulties, the effort to increase foreign trade and industrial equipment has, all things considered, been a great success. Nevertheless, unemployment, though on a smaller scale than before the war, has steadily risen by 20,000 or more units per annum added to which there is a serious problem of " invisible " unemployment in family farm-holdings ".

14. The increase in the active population tends to produce a growing surplus labour force, and this tendency is accentuated in that there is a demographically vital population. The only rational solution is a moderate degree of emigration to bridge the gap between the annual increase in the active population and the increase in available employment. The high birthrate in the Netherlands removes all fear that such emigration may cause a harmful ageing of the population structure.

15. Surplus manpower mainly consists of unskilled workers, " white collar workers" and farmers' sons. The latter are young farmers in search of a holding of their own who are redundant on their fathers' or brothers' farms. In the greater part of the Netherlands, the birthrate of the farming population remains high, and most farmers still find it normal to prepare their sons for their own profession. However, the shortage of land and the impossibility of indefinitely sub-dividing holdings have deprived many of their children of the remotest prospect of purchasing or renting a farm. The surplus of such farmers' sons is estimated to be 12,000 per annum.

16. The Netherlands Government therefore contemplates emigration at the rate of 50 to 60,000 persons per annum. Dutch people generally prefer to emigrate to other European countries rather than overseas, but, since opportunities in European countries have hitherto been limited, they tend at present to emigrate to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Rhodesia and Brazil.

17. I was particularly impressed by the quality of the arrangements for emigration in the Netherlands. There are about 300 Emigration Offices, and particulars of would-be emigrants are drawn up by private organisations, religious and undenominational. Application forms for immigration are supplied by the receiving countries, but the emigrant chooses his country of destination. When the particulars of candidates have been completed, they are transmitted to the Emigration Office, which divides candidates into broad categories according to age, family background, and qualifications. Generally speaking, the emigrant pays for his own transport, but, if his means are insufficient, the Government grants him an unsecured loan. The emigration authorities have the use of five transport ships.

18. This situation throws into relief the continuous efforts of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Government to help to solve the demographic problems of other European countries. I should be loath to conclude this section on the Netherlands without paying one more tribute to the noble attitude of the Dutch people.

German Federal Republic

19. In post-war years Western Germany has had to contend with immigration forced upon her by treaties. Thus, space has had to be found for a further ten million inhabitants. The fact that two-thirds of these refugees have since been found permanent or temporary employment may be ascribed to a number of favourable factors : refugees have been able to fill vacancies resulting from war casualties; a 20 % increase in the population has led to increased production; the international economic situation has favoured the German economy; finally, the most enterprising refugees were able to fend for themselves. Integration will henceforth be more difficult because saturation- point has been reached.

20. Severe fiscal measures—such as the 'equalisation of burdens' law (Lastendusgleich)— were adopted by the Federal Government to enable those who had lost all their possessions to buy a minimum of furniture and household equipment and start their lives afresh. Similarly, new permanent posts were created in industry and the crafts, and farms were allocated to refugee agricultural workers.

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2. 1. Some Factors influencing Post-war Emigration from the Netherlands, published by the Research Group for European Migration, The Hague, 1952.

21. My attention was drawn to two aspects of integration. In the first place it was achieved at the cost of a considerable fall in the social standing of the refugees. Whereas 40 % were independently employed before their expulsion, only 10 % have been able to rebuild their lives on an independent basis. Although there is no prospect of settling all refugees in their previous occupations, since they represent the total population of vast areas, it is no less true to say that they must be found reasonably satisfying employment, in order to avoid tensions which might be a threat to social peace. The second lesson to be drawn is that even successful cases of integration are vulnerable to any fluctuation in the international markets. Where refugee industries have been established, they suffer from a dangerous lack of reserves. Wholesale dismissals would be unavoidable in the event of the slightest disturbance.

22. The situation in the Federal Republic is further aggravated by the constant arrival of refugees from the Eastern Zone, of which there were three hundred thousand during 1953. It may be noted, by way of comparison, that American immigration laws authorise an annual intake of only 160,000 immigrants into the United States. When this latest influx of refugees arrived, 300,000 earlier refugees, were still housed in camps.

23. After my conversations I had an opportunity of seeing for myself both the positive and negative aspects of the refugee problem in Germany : the successful integration and the endless succession of camps. 1 saw how about a hundred peasant families from the Koenigsberg district had been settled on Government-constructed farms in a barren valley, which had hitherto been used solely as a military target-range because of the poverty of the soil. The joy of having a roof over their heads and land to till after years of enforced idleness in refugee camps had inspired these people to make the utmost effort, as the excellent state of the settlement demonstrated. This bore out the truth that, when man is offered the prospect and the means of rebuilding his life, the rest may be left to him.

24. However, a refugee camp can offer no scope for this spirit of initiative. I have met people who had been moving from camp to camp since 1945, hoping in each case to find a jumping-off ground to a new existence, but always frustrated in their efforts. Four persons —often two couples—would be sharing a cubicle in a former dance hall which had been divided into twenty sections. These cubicles were separated by cardboard partitions slightly more than human height; in other words there was no hope of privacy even in one's own cell. Yet their inmates had not abandoned hope. For instance, there was a peasant from Silesia who had already made one successful attempt to re-establish himself in Western Germany. He was now a refugee for the second time and was looking for a small-holding in Eastern Germany. He might have a 40 % chance of finding one, but what were the prospects of a widowed mother of four children, aged 5 to 10 years? The children are destined to spend their whole youth in the surroundings of a cubicle measuring two square metres.

25. 290,000 persons arc still permanently housed in camps, the majority of whom have had to leave their homes in the Eastern Zone of Germany as innocent victims of the cold war. The burden which they lay upon Germany should be shared by all European countries, and indeed by the Western world as a whole.

26. My conversations in Germany have convinced me that most of the refugees not yet integrated could still be absorbed into the German economy if sufficient capital could be made available. The 'equalisation of burdens' law will mobilise capital within the next 30 years. But this is much too long to wait, and the process should be speeded up by investing international funds in Germany.

27. The only category of refugees with extremely slight chances of integration are the farmworkers. There are now 160,000 peasant families living in camps or improvised dwellings, half of which might possibly be integrated in the Federal Republic. Emigration should be arranged for at least 60,000 agricultural families, or more, in proportion to the number of new arrivals from the Eastern Zone.

Italy

28. Italy is very poor in raw materials and two-thirds of its territory of 324,000 kms2 is of low fertility. As the population has risen from 18 millions in 1800 to over 47 millions today, there is a marked disproportion between natural resources and demographic growth.

29. The stoppage of migration since 1930 and the destruction and economic dislocation caused by the war have produced a surplus population running into millions. Italy needs to find outlets for at least 3 million persons in the next ten years.

30. Since the end of the war, the Italian Government has been trying to increase the absorption potential of the national economy. For instance, a ten-year investment plan, known as Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, has recently been introduced to finance the distribution of land in the under-developed areas of Southern Italy at

the rate of 100 thousand million lire per annum, . while the Fanfani housing plan has proved its ability to provide labour for several thousands of workers per annum. Despite these great efforts, however, the Italian Government is only managing to absorb 75,000 more persons than usual.

31. This is largely due to the shortage of capital available for this purpose, and the success of attempts to attract foreign capital has so far fallen short of expectations. In the view of the Italian Government, the system of international finance—and notably I. B. R. D.—is hampered by being modelled on the methods and requirements of countries which have already reached an advanced stage of economic development. Thus the Bank prefers to deal with countries at a stage of development promising satisfactory yields rather than with under-developed countries.

32. My attention was drawn to a particularly desperate feature of the Italian problem-— that of vocational training. The almosL total lack of workers' vocational training centres, above all in Southern Italy, not only acts as a disincentive to industry, and even agriculture, but also prevents emigration to those countries which normally demand skilled labour.

33. After my conversations, I had an opportunity of seeing for myself both the positive and negative aspects of the Italian problem : land reclamation and overcrowded cities. In the under-developed areas I visited agrarian reform districts where every peasant has received an average of 5 hectares of land. Tractors and farming equipment are provided by a State Agency and the work of the peasants is directed by State-employed technicians. I was also able to see the results of the Fanfani housing plan. At Matera, for instance, houses are being'built for 3,000 former inhabitants of the " Assi " cave dwellings, only the frontage of which is built of masonry. As these houses are completed the " Assi cave-dwellers " are progressively evacuated to the new village and their former dwellings arc sealed up with stones. The large barrage of San Giuliano, built under the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno scheme, provides irrigation for about 10,000 hectares of land. The improvement of this hitherto barren land is impressive. Hundreds of hectares of vineyards now flourish where previously there was a desert of rocks, for men have carried soil to cover up the rocks " by'sheer strength of arm ". The new towns and villages testify to a satisfactory standard of living.

34. On the other hand, there is appalling poverty in areas where nothing has yet been achieved. The district of Andria in Upper Puglia, for instance, has 67,764 inhabitants to an area of 42,732 hectares, only 29,666 of which can be cultivated. 53 % of its population are entirely dependent on agriculture, while its scanty industries employ only 8 %. In 1953, the average monthly unemployment rate was 3,068. The severe, unemployment in the agricultural sector is illustrated by the following statistics : maximum level 3,080, minimum level 856, monthly average 2,373. At Molfetta, a town of 60,000 inhabitants, 90, families are living in former schools or convents, 19 in caves, 147 in wattle huts and 853 in cellars. Five-sixths of those living in the old town are without water and lack sewage disposal facilities. There are often 7 to 10 persons to a room and only two beds, one for the males and the other for the females. Cupboard drawers have to serve as cradles for newly-born children. It is not surprising that 4 to 5 % of these people suffer from tuberculosis. At . Minervino-Murge, a town of 40,000 inhabitants, there is not a single industry, and the inhabitants depend on their flocks of sheep for a livelihood. Some are employed in agriculture but have to cover 20 to 30 kilometres a day on foot or by donkey in order to reach their work. The great distance between the home and the fields represents an unusual problem found in this district. For centuries the peasants have been accustomed to live in towns or villages instead of near their fields and to make long journeys every day to reach their work, though the resulting waste of time and energy is manifest.

35. In the short time at my disposal I was unable to visit other areas, notably Calabria and Northern Sicily, where the situation is at least as serious as in Upper Puglia.

36. I was able to verify at the employment bureaux that the vast majority of the labour force consisted of completely unskilled labour. There is scarcely a single vocational training centre in this area, so that men are unable either to find work at home or to emigrate. I was informed in Rome that the Government proposes to table shortly a Bill in Parliament whereby Government action in the field of employment and vocational training will be increased.

37. I have been convinced by my conversations and personal impressions in Italy that, despite all that is being done, the Italian Government has no prospect o f integrating its surplus manpower in the economic system. By a more complete exploitation of the resources of the country, more workers than at present could probably be absorbed, but this would require considerable capital, which Italy cannot provide unaided. There should therefore be investment of European and international capital in Italy in order to speed up this process.

38. Emigration remains the only immediate answer to this serious situation. For a period of at least ten years it is essential that Italy should send abroad as many people as possible —and at any rate 300,000 per annum. Here again, financial assistance will be necessary in order to stimulate the flow of migration.

Greece

39. Greece is a country poor in natural resources and she has been subjected to ten years of destruction, loss and wartime sacrifices, in addition to which it faces a refugee and overpopulation problem. For instance, 34,000 refugee families who fled from Asia Minor in 1922 have not yet been absorbed into the economy and are still living in squalid conditions. Moreover, since 1947, 7,000 refugees from countries behind the Iron Curtain have sought asylum in Greece. To these must be added 140,000 victims of the civil war who were driven from their homes in the combat areas and have been unable to return. Finally, the population of Greece increases by 30,000 persons every year, for whom the economy is unable to provide work owing to industrial under-equipment.

40. The limited budgetary resources of the State can only provide minimum subsistence for refugees, and assistance is only intended to cover a certain period pending their absorption into the economic system. However, many of these refugees have no professional qualifications, and the demand for labour is in any case inadequate, so that the Slate has been obliged to grant them permanent assistance, although this has meant reducing still further its meagre allocations. Il is essential to give additional assistance in the form of better food, special care for the children, old people and invalids, financial aid to enable adults to learn a trade, and, above all, the construction of permanent dwellings.

41. After my conversations I had an opportunity of seeing for myself both the positive and the negative aspects of the Greek problem : the successful integration and the unending succession' of camps. Near Athens, the State has settled refugees and war victims in small private houses built entirely with public funds or by means of a State loan. The plans for the various types of building are drawn up by the State, and the work is supervised without charge by. State architects. I was also able to see the re-afforestation and land reclamation work being carried out in Arcadia. At Tripolis, which at present possesses only two factories, the local authorities have suggested to the Government that a new fruit-canning factory and modern dairies should be established as a means of absorbing unemployed refugees. The Government has built a number of houses for refugees from Rumania. With the help of a Government loan, a mechanic has been able to open a workshop. With a similar loan and an allocation of raw materials, a tailor has been able to set himself up in hid former trade, while a third refugee has opened a greengrocer's shop.

42. On the other hand much remains to be done. Many refugees are living in appallingly insanitary conditions. In one place, 400 persons are housed in the dormitories and refectories of a former orphanage, where the rooms have been divided up by partitions made of disused cardboard boxes. As many as seven people are herded together in cubicles curtained off by strips of old sacking. One houses a family of four plus two aged invalids ; another is occupied by a refugee from Rumania and his large family, a third provides accomodation for a family with two children whose father is employed on the race-course twice a week. At Kaissariani, 250 families are housed in dwellings built of mud or old petrol cans. One of these huts comprising two small rooms and a kitchen has to suffice for three families, 9 persons; another, consisting of one room and a cellar, houses 8 persons on the ground floor and 5 in the cellar. These people are victims of bombardments during the world war and the civil war; and this is one of the quarters noted for Communism.

43. I have been convinced by my conversations and personal impressions in Greece that, at any rate in the next five to ten years, it will be necessary to send abroad about 35,000 persons per annum. Moreover, international capital should be invested in Greece, to speed up the integration of the unemployed who are unable to emigrate.

Turkey

44. Already, in 1917, at the time of the Russian Revolution, Turkey was forced to take in refugees of Turkish racial origin coming from that country. There was a second mass influx in 1950, when the Bulgarian Government expelled 250,000 Turks at three months' notice. For these immigrants reception centres were set up provisionally and they were then settled according to their trades in specially established colonies. From the beginning of 1950 to 1951, 154,393 such refugees were settled in Turkey. Since then there has been a fresh influx of refugees, this time from Eastern Turkestan.

45. The Turkish Government has so far built more than 30,000 houses for these refugees. The majority of the newcomers have been absorbed by the northern and western districts along the shores of the Black Sea, which are particularly fertile. They have been given subsidies enabling some to open workshops as master

craftsmen and others to settle on land allocated free by the State. The State has also supplied tractors, tools of all kinds and livestock. This generous gesture has the disadvantage, however, of killing any spirit of enterprise among the refugees, who are being given free what they should have won by their own efforts. I was informed that this law, which dates from 1935, will shortly be rescinded.

46. By its generous programme the Turkish Government has been able to get the upper hand of the situation, and there has been no mass unemployment. The sums which Turkey can devote to this programme are not, however, sufficient to see it through; for that foreign assistance is required.

47. After my talks I was given the opportunity of seeing both the positive side—the construction of villages and the settlement of refugees-—and the negative side—life in the camps—-of the problem in Turkey. At Eskisehir I visited a colony of 500 one-family houses built by the Government. Each of these comprised an entrance-hall, two rooms, kitchen and shower. Families which were unable to salvage any of their belongings at the time of their expulsion have set up house again with the help of Government grants. The men work as craftsmen in the town. Another similar colony, in which more than 1,000 families are settled, has been established in a suburb of Bursa.

48. I also visited the reception centres near Istanbul which have given shelter successively to the Turco-Bulgars in 1950 and the Turks from Eastern Turkestan. Lessons in the Turkish language and vocational training courses are given regularly. In contrast to the camps which I saw in Greece and in Germany the refugees only remain for a limited period, ranging from six months to a year.

49. My talks and my own impressions have convinced me that all the refugees in Turkey can be absorbed into the national economy. Remarkable results have already been achieved by the Government's efforts. If the capital invested by the Government were.to be supplemented by European and international contributions, the process would be accelerated still further.

3.3.2. B. Summary of the position

50. At the end of my tour I can sum up as follows the position in the countries which have a refugee or over-population problem :

The Netherlands has, demographically, reached saturation-point. There is no other solution than emigration for its genuine surplus of manpower. Provision must therefore be made for the annual emigration of 50-60,000 persons.

The German Federal Republic will be able to absorb a large proportion of the refugees who have entered the country so far, provided that the flow comes to an end. But it needs capital for the purpose. Futhermore, there is no prospect of absorbing the refugee farm workers. Land must therefore be found outside the frontiers of Germany for at least 60,000 families of farmworkers, approximately 200,000 persons in all.

Italy can, by the better organisation of its resources, absorb a slightly higher proportion of its surplus of population. For this, however, the help of. foreign capital is essential. The majority of the annual manpower surplus, as well as the back-log which has accumulated since the reduction in the flow of migration— about 300,000 persons—will, for the next ten years, have to settle outside Italian territory.

Greece suffers from being under-equipped, which prevents her from absorbing into her economy her 40,000 or so refugees and her annual population surplus of 30,000. Provision must be made in the next few years for the emigration of about 35,000 Greeks each year. At the same time, the integration of the refugees into the national economy should undoubtedly be stimulated by foreign capital.

Turkey has made a magnificent effort in settling the majority of the 150,000 refugees from Bulgaria. The process of absorption could be speeded up still further if the efforts of the Turkish Government were supported by international capital.

3.3.3. C. Conclusion

51. The results of my investigations into the demographic situation in Europe concord with the excellent outline of the problem [3] produced by the European Centre of Demographic Studies at the request of the Secretariat-General of the Council of Europe in pursuance of Resolution (53) 19 of the Committee of Ministers.

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3. 1. Cf. Outline Study on the Prospects of a Belter Organisation of Migration within Europe, European Centre of Demographic Studies, January, 1954.

52. It is revealed by this outline that overpopulation signifies chronic under-employment. Manpower being subject to the law of supplyand demand, the human worker is rejected when, under given technical conditions, manpower has been exploited to a point at which any additional work is uneconomic, even at the minimum level of remuneration. The fact that this saturation- point has been reached and even far exceeded docs not mean that the ceiling cannot be raised by a better organisation of the available resources. The employment position in the over-populated countries must he judged on the basis of their potentialities and not on the present state of their economy. With regard to these potentialities, it is not the present supply of manpower which constitutes the other factor in the problem, but the probable evolution of the supply. The decisive criterion for over-population is not so much the extent of structural unemployment as its tendency to spread, as a result of the fact that the active population increases more rapidly then the number of jobs, available.

53. Applying these criteria, we find the following three distinct types of situation in Europe today :

a. Absolute over-population : The resources of the country are fully exploited by the best technical methods, and full employment can, nevertheless, not be achieved. The growth of the population, therefore, causes a genuine manpower surplus to accumulate. Only the Netherlands comes into this first category.

b. Relative over-population (or underdevelopment) : Under-equipment, particularly industrial under-equipment, is such that the active population is not properly used, so that there is chronic under-employment, particularly in the primary sector, where it is often concealed by a ludicrously low level of productivity on the land. Over-population is therefore relative to the present state of an economy which can be considerably improved. The level of employment can be raised by the expansion of industry and even to some extent-by certain improvements in agricultural methods. Among Member States, Italy, Greece and Turkey (among non-Member States, Portugal, Spain and Yugoslavia) come into this category.

c. Spurious over-population (or structural distortion) : The structure of the active population is such that the supply of manpower cannot adapt itself completely to a demand which is or could be quantitatively adequate. This is the case of the German Federal Republic, where structural unemployment is mainly due to the difficulty found in absorbing into the economy of the country the active elements of a refugee population whose vocational structure is ill-adapted to the requirements and whose mobility is limited. This is also the case of Austria where the situation is aggravated by old factors making for disequilibrium.

54. The conclusions on bow to solve this problem, reached at the end of my tour, confirm almost word for word the views expressed by the various organs of the Council of Europe which have tackled this question during the past few years. I have indeed, found ever since I assumed my functions, that wherever 1 bad what I thought was a new idea, it was already to be found in one of the reports. Thus since the adoption of the Report of the Committee of Experts on the Problem of Refugees and Over-population in 1951 the Council of Europe has considered the following measures for absorbing refugees and surplus elements of population :

reorganisation , to the maximum extent, of national resources to increase the number of jobs available;

the organisation of intra-European migration to enable workers from over-populated countries to settle in others where there are jobs available;

increas e in migration overseas through the creation of additional openings in ; those countries.

The summary given above of the respective requirements of the countries concerned shows how closely these measures still correspond to present needs.

55. The first solution, absorption in the country of residence, is the best. Man has always preferred to work on his native soil and should not be torn away from his social environment. This solution also brings appreciable economic advantages, increase in production and national income, reduction in overheads per capita, etc. It best serves the interests of the countries concerned because if is the only one which will genuinely increase their wealth. But it is more difficult to put into effect because it requires considerable capital investment and patient long-term planning. Failing the financial means, this solution is no more feasible than it is in those countries which have already reached, if they have not passed, the stage of absolute over-population.

56. To the extent that the countries affected are therefore forced to have recourse to immigration, it is in the interests of Europe as a whole that the utmost efforts be made to direct the largest proportion, of emigrants to the less populated countries of Europe, which will make possible the fullest use of the resources of Europe as a whole. European countries which have only 60 or 70 inhabitants to the square kilometre must realise that they cannot lock themselves in behind their frontiers. An underpopulated country can no more keep its economic frontiers shut than an unarmed country its military frontiers. The member countries that are not

over-populated must substitute for an immigration policy based solely on the immediate need for manpower a policy by which short-term economic considerations are surbord-inated to long-term demographic considerations. Moreover, the introduction of new elements into the population nearly always leads— as has once more been amply proved by recent examples—to an increase in the economic potential and purchasing power of the population as a whole.

57. The two solutions mentioned above (absorption of surplus elements of population in the country of residence and absorption in another European country) cannot, however, alone solve the whole problem within a reasonable period of time. Thus, emigration to other parts of the world, although the least beneficial course from the point of view of European interests, remains the only immediate answer to a situation which threatens to prolong itself indefinitely. Moreover, this is the solution desired in certain individual cases, ft has some other advantages, notably that of maintaining the links with the overseas countries which belong to our Western civilisation. On the other hand, since Europe already has an ageing population, and since overseas emigration appeals most to the younger elements in the population, it would tend to accentuate this tendency. It should therefore not be considered until the maximum effort has been made to exploit fully the resources of Europe, both metropolitan and extra-metropolitan. Europe's position vis-à-vis the receiving countries overseas will be considerably strengthened, moreover, if it succeeds in absorbing the major part of its surplus of population on its own territory and no longer appears as a suppliant in quest of outlets. The contribution which Europe can make to the overseas countries by sending out manpower which has mastery over the various trades will then be seen to its full advantage.

58. None of these solutions, however, can be realised unless the necessary funds are available. The Assembly had already reached this conclusion in 1952 when in its Recommendation 35 it said that it was necessary, in order to complete the overall programme of economic development, to take special steps of a financial nature directly affecting the surplus elements of the population. The Special Liaison Committee took the same attitude in its report on the measures which the Council of Europe should take to solve this problem [CSL (54) 8], where it stated that the absorption of the surplus elements of population in Europe could not be achieved without the help of international capital.

59. On the basis of these findings and my own impressions, I have concluded that the member countries of the Council of Europe must needs take concerted action in the political as well as in the financial field, fn the political field, the search by the member countries concerned for ways and means of absorbing their surplus of population must be co-ordinated at the European level. At the same time, in the financial field, redeemable capital must be mobilised in order to create a working capital fund to finance economic integration. The two chapters which follow are devoted each to the action recommended in one or other of the two fields mentioned above.

3.4. CHAPTER II - Action in the political field

60. The competent organisations are all agreed that only political action at the highest level can overcome the technical obstacles which have so far prevented a sustained and energetic attack on the population problem in Europe. Past experience shows that it is a delusion to suppose that the problem can be solved by small-scale measures of a technical nature. The more we evade the issue, the more serious will the problem become for Europe. The population of Western Europe will continue to increase, and by 1980 we can expect (excluding Yugoslavia, Turkey and Algeria) a growth of about 20 million. To this natural increase will be added the influx of refugees, if that continues, as would, alas, appear probable, so long as Europe is cut in two by the " Iron Curtain ". If the countries of Europe wish to assure themselves a stable economic and social future, not to speak of their security policy, they must immediately take steps to lay the foundations of a joint population policy

3.4.1. A. European solutions

61. We must distinguish the following three processes :

measure s to assist the local absorption of surplus population;

organisatio n of intra-European migration;

emigration to African territories dependent on member countries.

3.4.1.1. (a) Measures to assist the local absorption of surplus elements of population

62. The absorption of the surplus population in the areas in which they reside, which remains the best solution from the point of view of the over-populated countries themselves, is everywhere hampered by lack of capital. Action in this field can therefore bo confined to financial measures.

63. It is clear that this aspect of the problem is closely bound up with that of the economic development of the countries concerned. It might thus seem to take us beyond the limits of action to assist national refugees and surplus elements of population. This is belied, however, by the conclusions reached in the organs of the Council of Europe. In 1952 [4] the Consultative Assembly expressed the opinion that, although the absorption of the surplus of population in their countries of residence was bound up with the general development of the European economy, " this development was not taking place at such a rate as to permit the automatic assimilation of the large numbers of refugees and " surplus " population within a reasonable time ". This assimilation could not be delayed too long owing to the risk of political, economic and social disturbances; it was therefore necessary " to take special steps directly affecting certain groups of " surplus " population, in order to complete the overall programme of economic development ".

64. I t is true that, although the absorption of surplus manpower forms part of any development plan, that section of the population is always the last to benefit. Concentrated in districts far removed from centres of activity, redundant workers have not the financial means to integrate themselves into the economic life of the country by their own efforts. National capital, which is available in limited quantities, looks first for investments that give a better return than is offered by the development of an under-developed area.

65. Foreign aid is therefore essential to finance the absorption of redundant population locally. To make an accurate estimate of the amount required it Avould first be necessary to establish how many persons each of the countries affected thinks it can absorb in its own economy. The technical data at present at my disposal do not allow me to fix precisely the point at which a country attains absolute over-population. I think that it would be for the countries in question to inform the Council of Europe what this figure is and what is the maximum financial assistance they require from abroad.

66. Once the figures have been established, the first task to be carried out is one of co-ordination. Numerous European and world organisations such as O. E. E. C, the American Point IV Administration, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, ECOSOC and the Economic Commission for Europe, arc already dealing with this question. Their activities in financing the integration of surplus elements of population should be coordinated both among themselves and with those of the national administrative authorities, in order to get the fullest benefit possible from any sums invested.

67. The European authority responsible for this task of co-ordination should also frame measures to promote a stronger flow of capital toward the countries in question (financial advantages, guarantees, etc.). It would also be its task to seek capital to stimulate the process of integration. To this end it would assist the other organisations and national administrative authorities in drawing up specific schemes for absorbing " surplus " population into the economic process, schemes which would be likely to attract international capital.

68. This idea corresponds with that put forward by the Assembly in its Recommendation 35 (1952), where it invites Governments and the Committee on Population and Refugees to draw up specific limited projects for the assimilation of refugees and " surplus " population. In resjDonse to this appeal, two schemes have been submitted, the plan put forward by the German Member of Parliament, M. Gerstenmaier, for the construction of temporary houses in the German Federal Republic and the plan of the International Society for Christian Reconstruction (Internationale Gesellschaft fur Christlichen Auf-bau, Ziegelhausen ilber Heidelberg) to establish refugee settlements. These two projects could serve as models to all countries where the problem of the assimilation of surplus manpower arises. They have been referred to me, for inclusion in my overall plan, the first by the Committee of Ministers, the second by the Committee on Population and Refugees of the Consultative Assembly. The two schemes, in my opinion, are typical examples of what might be done by the European co-ordinating authority in this field; a body of this kind should assist in drawing up such schemes, find the capital to put them into effect and provide information on the experience acquired in one country for the use of others which have the same problems.

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4. 1. cf. Recommendation 35 (1952) and the Report of the Committee on Population and Refusées (4th Session 1952, Doc. 81).

3.4.1.2. (b) Organisation of Intra-European Migration

69. Since it is to Europe's advantage to absorb within its own metropolitan or overseas territories the greater part of the emigrants from its over-populated countries (such emigration being rendered necessary owing to lack of capital or because the surplus of population exceeds the capacity of absorption), the question arises which European countries are likely to be able to receive immigrants. The European Centre for Demographic Studies, Paris, gives the following answer to this question [5].

" If only those countries were to be considered as under-populated which continuously avail themselves of immigrants to meet their chronic shortage of manpower, we should find that in Europe only France falls into this category, but that, since the number of such immigrants is nowadays very small, the difference between the present level and the optimum level of employment would be insignificant. This view derives from the Malthusian notion that the population of a country cannot without causing harmful effects rise above the level at which the supply of and demand for manpower automatically balance, which is its optimum level. It is not difficult to show that this view is based on a complete fallacy. A country can only derive benefit from an increase, if not of its general working population, at least of the number of its direct producers (primary and secondary sectors), providing that such increase does not result in a lower average rate of the productivity of labour. It may therefore be said that a country is under-populated, if its resources are not fully enough exploited for such an increase to be of advantage. This wider definition enables us to include in this category : France, in spite of the comparative over-population of some of its rural areas; Sweden and Norway, whose population is also considerably below its optimum level; and perhaps even Belgium and Switzerland, which are short of manpower in some professions. "

It should be noted that it would be necessary for France to work out an integration scheme for its surplus Algerian population.

70. In the course of my fact-findingjourneys f was able to gain some idea of the extent to which the countries concerned must avail themselves of emigration to reduce the demographic pressure to which they are at present subjected (sec Chapter I, paragraph 50). The figures which I have given above arc, of course, liable to fluctuation, and could be reduced if local integration were to be stimulated by the investment of foreign capital (this docs not apply to the Netherlands, where saturation-point has been reached, nor to landless refugee agricultural workers in Germany).

71. The demand from other European countries is, however, at present very small compared with this available supply of manpower. Figures published by O. E. E. C. show that the number of intra-European migrants was 316,538 in 1949,- 203,157 in 1950, 293,128 in 1951 and 310,029 in 1952. In an analysis [6] of the reasons for this state of affairs, the European Centre for Demographic studies came to the following two conclusions :

(i) The pressure exerted by European countries on the less populated countries is not general. In present economic and political circumstances the former offer to the less populated countries only two categories of prospective immigrants, namely :

farmer s from Germany and Austria (in most cases refugees without capital of any kind), the Netherlands and Italy (marginal producers with little capital) ;

unskille d or semi-skilled wage-earners, likely to come from Greece and Italy (as well as, although this is less likely, from Spain and Portugal).

Although the pressure exerted by over-populated countries is, for various reasons, not as great as might be expected, this can hardly be held to account for the present small number of intra-European migrants. Nor can some over-populated countries be blamed for not making systematic efforts to encourage emigration to other European countries or for not giving it financial support, since the funds at their disposal may be used for more useful and less problematical purposes. It is the attitude of the less populated countries which must be blamed.

(ii) The public authorities of the less populated countries view emigration with some disfavour. The Governments of these under-populated countries do not, on the whole, appear to be convinced of the desirability of fostering immigration beyond the point where the need for it becomes apparent in the natural course of events. Indeed, the conviction prevails that full employment is permanently threatened by technical

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5. 1. Outline Study on the Prospects of a Belter Organisation of Migration within Europe, European Centra of Demographic Studies, January 1954, p. 7.
6. 1. Op. cit., p. 11.

progress and that it is, consequently, the bounden duty of public authorities to ensure that immigration is restricted to the minimum. Governments, therefore, not only fail to encourage immigration or make funds available for it, but they place restrictions upon it. The attitude of Governments is, in truth, dictated by political considerations; they have to bear in mind the misgivings of professional organisations, which see in immigration a direct threat of competition in a given sector of production, overlooking the fact that it necessarily provides outlets for others.

There arc thus many reasons for which Governments do not support immigration or afford it financial support. However, legislation and administrative practices being only restrictive and not prohibitive, they are only partly responsible for the low level of migratory movement. The basic reason lies elsewhere, namely in the disproportion between theoretical manpower needs and those which actually exist.

The real needs are very much smaller than the theoretical needs. Everything seems to indicate that the less populated countries are afraid lest their present balance of consumption and production be upset, even though it be to their advantage; especially do they apprehend progress in the development of industrial processes which, as a matter of fact, by raising the level of employment instead of lowering it, affects simultaneously both consumption and production and is therefore less likely to bring about a crisis of over-production.

The absence of organic links between the various branches of economy, which should jointly seek ways and means of increasing both production and consumption, induces each of them to prefer stagnation to the risk of finding itself isolated in the vanguard of production. Progress made therefore tends less to raise production than to obtain the same results by better productivity of labour, that is to say, by freeing maniDower. The efforts made in this direction are all the more beneficial, the higher the wages paid and the greater the social and taxation burdens which have to be borne by business undertakings in relation to the number of workers they employ. As a result, it is not possible for the volume of employment, to increase to any appreciable extent or for any large-scale immigration to take place. Present saturation of the employment market in the less populated countries appears to lend support to the theories held by the Mathusians. In reality it bears out their reasoning only because such saturation is to a large extent the outcome of deliberate Malthusianism. There is, however, no gainsaying the facts : namely that the European countries able to take in immigrants either do not wish to do so or wish to take only the smallest possible number.

72. The inadequate volume of migration within Eurojoe is therefore clue not so much to any lack of organisation as to a lack of confidence of the less populated countries in their economic future, ft is herethattheinformation campaign for the enlightenment of public opinion proposed by the Consultative Assembly and the Special Liaison Committee (the Committee of Ministers has deferred its study of the recommendations until my full general plan has been submitted), finds its most important field of application. The purpose of this campaign would be to influence public opinion, and more especially professional organisations, in favour of the idea that moderate and suitably directed immigration cannot cause unemployment or over-production and that national economy cannot but benefit from such immigration. In this connection there is a good case for following up the proposal already put , forward that a conference of professional organisations— and especially of the trade unions—be convened. This would be one of the most important tasks of the European co-ordinating authority, which has already been referred to and is essential for successful action in the political field.

73. Until such time as the publie information campaign bore fruit, efforts should be continued towards making the present organisation of intra-European migratory movements more flexible. 0. E. E. C. has already made considerable progress in this field in drawing up its Manpower Code. The two Interim Agreements on Social Security and the Convention on Social and Medical Assistance drawn up by the Council of Europe, as well as the Convention on the Reciprocal Treatment of Nationals now being prepared, also foster an expansion of migration. The progress likely to be achieved in this way will, however, be small. If relaxation of controls is not accompanied by special efforts to invest cajntal the number of foreign workers likely to benefit thereby will still be limited, since most prospective emigrants from over-populated countries, such as the permanently unemployed in Southern Italy, are without means and therefore unable to proceed abroad in search of work or to face the insecurity of the settling down period. The problem of establishing a single manpower market is, moreover, organically contingent upon that of the economic integration of Europe; vocational restrictions upon immigration can, as a result, be lifted only as and when such integration makes further progress.

74. Future experience of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel community in implementing Article 69 of the Treaty [7] will be significant in this connection. Although the common manpower market envisaged is limited to six countries and to employment in the mining and steel industries, it may have beneficial effects upon over-population, especially in Italy.

75. There remains then only one means of directing emigrants from over-populated countries to the less populated countries of Europe, namely planned migration within the framework of current legislation. Such migration falls into three categories [8] :

(i) Wage-earners.

Immigration of this category of workers is contingent upon industrial and commercial needs. Employers in less populated countries should therefore be kept informed of facilities available to them for the recruitment of manpower abroad. The establishement of industrial undertakings (or of branches of foreign industrial undertakings), accompanied by the immigration of wage-earners, should be considered. The enterprises selected should, of course, be of such a kind as to contribute to the economy of the receiving country. They should be established by means of loans granted from the European Fund for which provision is made in Chapter III on financial action. Special agreements relating to these enterprises might be concluded among the Governments concerned. The preparation of the agreements would be entrusted to the European co-ordinating authority.

Lastly, it might be interesting to work out a scheme for "major European public works " (international roads, canals, etc.) with the help of European capital and manpower from over-populated countries. Suitable proposals might be worked out by the European co-ordinating authority in consultation with the other organisations concerned.

(ii) Farmers

In France and the Scandinavian countries there are lands lying fallow and abandoned farms which could be cultivated or restored to production. There are also farms whose holders are elderly, are unable adequately to cultivate their land or have no heirs likely to succeed them. Inadequate agricultural exploitation of this kind appears to offer a number of possibilities, to immigrant farmers, provided there are no suitable applicants within the country itself. In that event rural settlement might be envisaged for the exploitation of abandoned or uncultivated land, or possibly the sharing, transfer, leasing or sub-leasing of farms in the case of land inadequately exploited by farmers who are too old for the job. These possibilities are at present being studied by a joint Sub-committee on Agriculture, Over-population and Refugees of the Consultative Assembly and should be given most careful examination, particularly under the heading of profitable exploitation of the land in question. In each case the problem is that of deciding what capital should be invested in the purchase of such farms (land and buildings) or their restoration to enable them to meet competition and at the same time to enable the farmer to make sufficient profit to maintain his family and gradually to refund the capital made available to him. Where the balance of future expenditure and receipts appeared to be favourable, loans might be granted from the European Fund mentioned in Chapter Iff. It would be the business of the European co-ordinating authority to explore existing possibilities, work out specific schemes in co-operation with the respective national administrative authorities and the competent international organisations and take steps to conclude agreements with the Governments concerned.

(iii) Craftsmen

In several countries there exists a shortage of manpower in certain crafts. This fact offers possibilities which are to a large extent unsuspected and might be exploited insofar as there is a surplus of craftsmen in over-populated countries. The settlement abroad of craftsmen from over-populated countries might be carried out by means of loans from the European fund referred to in Chapter III. The European co-ordinating authority would be entrusted with the task of making the necessary inquiries, working out concrete proposals and preparing agreements between the Governments concerned in co-operation with the national administrative authorities and competent international organisations.

3.4.1.3. (c) Emigration to African territories

76. To the investigation and exploitation of practical possibilities at present offered by less populated countries might be added the study of possibilities existing in a number of African territories under the sovereignty of those countries or having constitutional links with them.

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7. 1. " The Member States bind themselves to renounce any restriction based on nationality against the employment in the coal and steel industries of workers of proven qualifications for such industries who possess the nationality of one of the Member Stales; this commitment, shall be subject to the limitations imposed by the fundamental needs of health and publie unlet."

8. 2. Op. cit., p. 16.

77. This plan of African integration might well bo of vital importance for the future, ft appears possible to launch at very short notice a scheme for the immigration on a mudest but increasing scale of persons essentially craftsmen and supervising staff (foremen, specialists, etc.); it will also be necessary to launch a few pilot schemes for agricultural development which, if successful, will pave the way to more ambitious schemes. The I. C. E, M. is particularly interested in this problem. The European co-ordinating authority could do useful work by preparing, in co-operation with the I. C. E. M. and the national administrative authorities concerned, schemes which might be financed from the European Fund mentioned in Chapter III.

78. Before tackling the problem of emi- ; gration to Africa, however, it would be expo-client to take a political decision. Only the establishment of a common policy by the Governments concerned regarding European immigration into African territories would dispel the misgivings and overcome the obstacles which now paralyse in the political sphere any attempt to exploit African resources. The common policy could be given suitable effect, in this sphere, by the Committee of Ministers empowering the European co-ordinating authority, to utilise and develop, by personal and direct contact with the parties concerned and the responsible authorities in Africa, the possibilities of absorption existing within that Continent.

3.4.2. B. Solutions outside Europe

79. Emigration to other parts of the world constitutes an indispensable safety-valve enabling the European solutions to be carried out. The goal appears to be clear, namely to achieve, in addition to unassisted or spontaneous emigration, the emigration of approximately 250,000 persons a year for a period of 5 to 10 years (in this connection a distinction must be made between the number of emigrant workers, that is to say, heads of families or unmarried persons seeking employment, and the aggregate number of emigrant persons, including heads of families and their dependants, usually four persons).

80. In addition to unassisted emigration, which is not, financially or otherwise, sponsored by Governments, and assisted emigration at Government expense, there exists the curious form of emigration sponsored by private organisations, which cannot be looked upon as either assisted or unassisted emigration. The organisations in question sometimes assist needy emigrants and sometimes Government-sponsored emigrants. This intermediary function is due to the fact that the organisations concerned have not yet been able clearly to define their rôle at a time when assisted emigration is on the increase. Since Governments have found themselves obliged to concern themselves to an increasing extent with assisted emigration, it would appear that, to avoid any duplication, the organisations in question should confine themselves solely to sponsoring unassisted emigration.

81. The number of persons availing themselves each year of facilities under the overseas assisted emigration scheme, i.e. the field with which the I. C. E. M. is particularly concerned, is 120,000. This figure is far below that reached before the first World War (when emigration was unassisted), or at certain inter-war periods, as is shown by the following statistics :

Annual average for the period 1905 / 1914 - 1,387,604 persons

Annual average for the period 1920/1929 - 543,405 persons

82. European emigrants to overseas countries should be carefully chosen in the light of the real needs of Europe, as well as of their suitability for the countries receiving them; in this connection it is necessary to strike a balance between nationality, sex, age-group and vocation. By way of comparison, in 1954 the I. C. E. M. will sponsor the emigration of 120,000 persons, of whom 35,000 will come from Germany, 49,000 from Italy, 11,200 from Greece and 15,000 from the Netherlands. It should also be noted that the percentage of workers in relation to dependants remains comparatively small (approximately 30 per cent, workers and 70 per cent, dependants), and that the percentage of both national and international or stateless refugees is comparatively high (approximately 40 per cent, for the year 1953).

83. How, then, can the present number of emigrants be increased? It is the view of all the authorities concerned, and primarily that of the I. C. E. M. that effective co-ordination of the policy pursued by European countries towards overseas immigration countries might prove to be very useful. It is nowadays generally agreed that the traditional method of individual and direct negotiation by emigration countries with receiving countries entails serious dispersal of effort and considerably weakens the bargaining position of emigration countries. This method, which was in vogue in the last century, seems indeed to be no longer appropriate at a time when, in pursuance of Article 1 of its Statute, Member States of the Council of Europe have undertaken to achieve a greater unity among themselves by means of common action.

84. A completely integrated policy under which Europe would act as a single unit in negotiations with immigration countries could not, and, of course, should not, be sought here and now. It appears wiser to proceed by stages, for the following reasons :

in the first place it is difficult for Europe to act as a single unit toward overseas countries so long as intra-European difficulties in the sphere of migration have not been overcome ;

the diversity of European emigration, which comprises not only " directed and assisted " emigration, but also " spontaneous " emigration which is difficult to control, must be borne in mind; furthermore, the bilateral agreements governing the status of immigrants, their rights and duties, are both varied and complex and could not be immediately standardised, etc. ;

lastly , it is desirable to take account of the reactions of the immigration countries, which. might result in action being adapted to the least favoured; it may be difficult to request some European countries to surrender some of their advantages without being sure that other Europeans will benefit therefrom.

85. In these circumstances the initial aim must be co-ordination of the policies of the European Governments, which have hitherto been diverse, while carefully bearing in mind the wishes of individual European countries and those of the overseas receiving countries. The European co-ordinating authority already mentioned might be entrusted with this task and assisted in its fulfilment by the other competent organisations, particularly the I. C. E. M.

86. The various stages through which the co-ordination of European national emigration policies might pass are as follows;

First stage : The overseas receiving countries might inform I. C. E. M. and, through it, the European co-ordinating authority of their immigration requirements, even where those countries continued, as heretofore, to send selection boards directly to the Various countries. European emigration countries, too, might keep both I. C. E. M. and the European co-ordinating authority informed of the progress of their negotiations with overseas countries.

Second stage : European emigration countries might undertake to conclude bilateral agreements embodying increasingly identical conditions until ultimately a standard form of agreement is reached. The texts of the agreements concluded might be deposited accordingly with the European co-ordinating authority to enable the other countries to be guided by the same principles.

Third stage : European emigration countries might undertake to bring their respective attitudes in international organisations into line, to give one another mutual support in bilateral negotiations and to set up a system for the exchange of information and for permanent liaison among themselves under the aegis of the European co-ordinating authority (for example, by means of periodical meetings of emigration authorities from each country).

Fourth stage : Requests from overseas immigration countries might be co-ordinated within the European co-ordinating authority. Such applications might either specify the nationality and qualifications of the workers requested with due reference to bilateral agreements, or leave it to the European co-ordinating authority to recruit such workers in this or that country.

Fifth stage : The bilateral agreements would be limited to a specific quota laid down between the emigration country concerned and the co-ordinating authority. Over and above that quota the co-ordinating authority would be quite free to meet requests sent to it from overseas.

Sixth stage : The European countries concerned would delegate to the European co-ordinating authority certain powers to work out agreements between emigration and immigration countries.

87. The last stage might also include the joint execution of schemes for overseas economic development likely to provide new outlets. This task raises the question of the financing of assisted emigration.

88. A further condition of increased emigration is the allocation of additional funds. Two objectives might be envisaged. On the one hand, it might be of interest to pool the funds already being spent by Governments on emigration, for example, by making a single European contribution to the I. C. E. M. On the other hand, the European Fund mentioned in Chapter III on action in the financial field might be used to grant loans to cover part of the expenses incurred by emigrants in settling overseas. If and when the research at present being carried out by the I. C. E. M. with a view to creating a fund (to which both European and overseas countries would contribute) to finance agricultural development schemes in overseas countries, achieves results, the contribution of European countries could be represented by the European Fund mentioned in Chapter III.

3.4.3. C. Complementary action

89. Whatever decision is taken regarding the proposals put forward above, two kinds of action complementary to that advocated in the political and financial spheres respectively should in any event be taken to stimulate the integration of national refugees and surplus elements of population, whether locally, in Europe or in overseas countries. In the first place, complementary action should be taken to set up an organisation for the vocational training of surplus manpower; and, secondly, action should be taken to inform public opinion and gain its support for the measures taken.

3.4.3.1. (a) Vocational training

90. The success of any action to integrate surplus population is closely bound up with the problem of professional skill, ft is easier to employ skilled workers. A high percentage of the surplus population of Europe is, however, unskilled.

91. The question has already been considered by the Consultative Assembly [9], the Special Liaison Committee [10] and the Committee of Ministers. The Special Liaison Committee has given special consideration to the question of the vocational training of young refugees and unemployed persons [11]. On 3rd June, 1954, the Committee resolved, with a view to better co-ordination, to defer its study of the question until I had worked out my general plan.

92. Enquiries already carried out have shown that some over-populated countries are unable to assure the vocational training of all their nationals. The European co-ordinating authority could do useful work in seeking, in co-operation with O. E. E. C, I. L. 0. and f. C. E. M., ways and means acceptable to the Governments of Member States of remedying this situation.

93. In this connection the experience already acquired by I. C. E. M., O. E. E. C. and, more particularly, I. L. O. would prove of value to the European co-ordinating authority.

3.4.3.2. (b) Information action

94. fn its Resolution (53) 35 the Committee of Ministers instructed me among other things " to take steps to arouse public interest in this matter ". I have not yet tackled this task for several reasons : in the first place, there seemed to me to be little point in addressing myself to public opinion so long as I was unable to provide specific examples of the way in which it might support the measures taken by Governments. Any steps taken to enlighten public opinion will remain ineffective so long as they arc based solely on general ideas. It would, moreover, have proved difficult for me to appeal to the public to support measures which Member Governments had not yet approved. I might, indeed, have found myself supporting, in a given country, a policy which ran counter to that of the Government. Lastly, I did not consider that Î was in a position to request a further effort from overseas countries in the matter of immigration so long as I ran the risk of being referred by public opinion and the Governments of those countries to the possibilities of solving the problem within Europe itself. It will not be possible, legitimately, to seek new overseas outlets until such time as Europe has given proof of its determination to exhaust its own powers of absorption.

95. Once the obstacles mentioned above have been removed the European co-ordinating authority, called upon to put into effect the proposals embodied in my plan, will be able to conduct a publicity campaign in three directions, namely :

in order to stimulate local integration, private international capital should be attracted towards development areas of over-populated countries;

in order to intensify migration within Europe, public opinion and influential circles in the less populated countries shotild be made aware of the benefit which the receiving countries would derive from immigration;

96. The European co-ordinating authority might well make use of the most interesting inventory [12] already drawn up by the Special Liaison Committee of the methods which should be employed in conducting the publicity campaign. Its task in this sphere would be facilitated by the offer of co-operation made to the Council of Europe by I. L. 0., the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 0. E. E. C. and I. C. E. M. Their assistance would be of considerable value in preparing the information campaign.

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9. 1. See paragraph 1 (i) (iii) of Recommendation 13 (1951) of the Assembly.
10. 2. See Docs. CSL (53) 1, CSL 1 (53) PV 1, CSL (54) 9.
11. 2. See Docs. CSL (53) 1, CSL 1 (53) PV 1, CSL (54) 9.

3.4.4. D. Conclusion

97. Having regard to the proposals made in Sections A, B and C of Chapter II, the question ultimately arises as to who should put them into effect. In this Report mention has often been made of a " European co-ordinating authority an expression chosen by me at random, since no specialised body at present exists to carry out the task I have outlined. I wish to emphasise the fact that they are, above all, tasks of co-ordination and of political impetus. The inquiries carried out by me as Special Representative of the Council of Europe have convinced me of the great value of getting a political authority to take action at a high level in connection with the problem of national refugees and over-population. Extremely useful work has been carried out in the past by the various technical bodies concerned. They have, however, succeeded in achieving only partial solutions, which have been continually open to question. Permanent progress can be achieved only if a political driving force exists to stimulate and co-ordinate the work of the technical bodies.

98. This future co-ordinating authority might be an existing committee, a specifically appointed single official or, if the experience acquired as a result of appointing the Special Representative appears to warrant it, a prominent European politician. What is meant exactly by the title " Special Representative of the Council of Europe"? It is an unprecedented but, nevertheless, ingenious title. I am in a position to say so since I did not invent it. The holder of this title " represents " all the Member States in a specific field. He expresses the European point of view on the problem involved, as opposed to the initially national point of view of the countries concerned. This enables him to act as a kind of " catalyser " in the restricted field of his activity on behalf of the Member States of Europe as a whole.

99. In no circumstances should the future co-ordinating authority set up new bureaucratic machinery. It should, on the contrary, avail itself of the technical and most effective assistance offered by existing international organisations. This would preclude the need for additional expenditure on the part of Member States.

100. The tasks incumbent upon the authority may be gathered from the foregoing paragraphs. They consist in co-ordinating efforts for local integration, working out settlement schemes in connection with intra-European migration, seeking new overseas outlets, ensuring better organisation of vocational training and promoting action in the field of publicity.

101. I shall no doubt be asked why these tasks cannot be entrusted to an existing body such as I. C. E. M. The answer is that this is a technical body responsible for the transportation of emigrants. I warmly support any extension of the activities of the I. C. E. M. to the selection and pre-selection of emigrants and their reception overseas. The fact remains, however, that Article 1 (2) of the foundation charter stipulates that the Committee shall carry out its functions " within the framework of the policy adopted by the emigration and immigration countries concerned ". It therefore has no political power. What is at present lacking is indeed co-ordination of the policies of European emigration countries, which must be a condition of any agreement with oversea emigration countries on a common migration policy. How, then, would it be possible to entrust this task of an essentially European and political character to I. C. E. M., whose Members include both European and overseas countries ?

102. In other words, general agreement would have to be reached among the European Members of I. C. E. M. in order that they might adopt the same attitude at meetings of that Organisation; and it would also have to prevail among those emigration countries of Europe which were not Members of I. C. E. M. To ensure that the co-ordinating authority responsible for bringing about this agreement had the support of as many of the countries concerned as possible, it might be advisable to make the authority dependent upon Members of the Council of Europe, as well as upon the European countries concerned which were Members of I. C. E. M.

103. It would be desirable for the European co-ordinating authority to have, in carrying out its tasks, the support and advice of a committee composed of senior officials of the countries in question specialising in the problem of refugees and over-population; this committee would meet at regular intervals, and its members should include the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, representing, with the full rights enjoyed by the other countries, the .interests of the refugees falling within his authority in Europe. The international organisations concerned should, of course, take part in the work of the committee.

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12. 1. See Doe. CSL (53) 2 and CSL Recs. Nos. 11 and 12.

3.5. CHAPTER III - Financial action

104. It will have been realised that the measures proposed in the foregoing paragraphs would necessitate redeemable long-term loans to cover the cost of settling emigrants. This could be done by setting up a fund based on redeemable Government contributions.

105. This is no new idea, and ample justification will be found for it in the many studies already undertaken by the Council of Europe. As early as 1951, the Consultative Assembly recommended the creation of a European Investment Bank as a step towards solving the unemployment problem of the under-developed member countries, its purpose being to promote the economic development of such countries, to increase openings for employment and so to secure a more equitable distribution of Western European prosperity. The same possibility was also considered in a number of reports on the refugee problem.

106. It is significant that, when problems like that now under review have arisen in the past, a similar solution has always been found: that of joint financial action. I need only, for instance, quote the instances of the re-settlement of refugees in Greece and the work of various political, economic and financial bodies such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNRWAPRNE, — which deals with Arab refugees from Palestine—the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the Bank for International Settlements at Basle, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Export-Import Bank.

3.5.1. A. Antecedents

3.5.1.1. (a) Typical example : Work of the League of Nations

107. As earlier examples of the international financing of reconstruction programmes, it is worth mentioning the reconstruction loans granted to the Austrian and Hungarian Governments under the auspices of the League of Nations. In 1923, Austria [13] secured a long-term loan to the value of 260 million dollars in various currencies, a quarter of which was floated at a 10 % discount on the New York, London, Paris, Amsterdam and Rome markets. This amount was guaranteed as follows : United Kingdom, France and Czechoslovakia, 24.5 % each; Italy, 20.5 %; Belgium and Sweden 2 % each; Denmark and the Netherlands, 1 % each. It was redeemable within twenty years (by June, 1943) and bore interest at the rate of 6 %.

108. Similarly, a loan of 50,690,000 dollars was granted to Hungary [14] in 1924 in order to meet financial deficits over a two-and-a-half year period, ending on 30th June, 1926. Security was given in the form of certain revenues of the Hungarian State, such as customs receipts and the proceeds of the tobacco and salt monopolies and the consumption tax on sugar.

109. The Greek situation in 1922 [15] provides a classical instance of how a problem akin to the one now under review can be solved. As a direct consequence of the catastrophe in Asia Minor, the Greek Government had to shoulder the immense task of providing for the immediate need of some 1,200,000 refugees. In due course, the Council of the League of Nations adopted a Recommendation of its Financial Committee calling for a loan to Greece of 3 to 6 million pounds sterling. By a Protocol, the Greek Government was finally authorised to issue a loan of 10 million pounds sterling, and undertook to service it from receipts from the monopolies of New Greece, the customs offices of Canea, Samos, Candia, Chios, Mitilini and Siros, the tobacco tax and stamp duties in New Greece and the alcohol tax throughout Greece. The total proceeds of these charges were paid to an autonomous agency [16] or " Refugee Settlement Commission ".

110. This agency was a self-governing body possessed of full legal powers. Its task was to provide productive employment, agricultural or otherwise, for the refugees by administering donations from the Greek Government and the other funds placed at its disposal. It gave an account of its stewardship by means of quarterly reports transmitted to the Greek Government and the League of Nations Council. It was composed of four members, two appointed by the Greek Government in agreement with the League of Nations Council and two by the Council itself, including the Chairman, who was a United States citizen.

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13. 1. Official Journal of the League of Nations. Special Supplement No. 13, Records of the Fourth Assembly. Geneva, 1923, pp. 239-240.
14. 1. Official Journal of the League of Naiiotis. Special Supplement No. 23, Records of the Fifth Assembly. Geneva, 1924, p. 298.
15. 2. Official Journal of the League of Nations. Special Supplement No. 23, Records of the Fifth Assembly. Geneva, 1924, pp. 433-436.
16. 3. This agency was established in pursuance of the Protocol of 29th September, 1923. See Official Journal of the League of Nations. Special Supplement No. 23, op. cit., p. 433.

111. In 1927, there was a further loan of 9,000,000 pounds sterling [17], for the financial stabilisation plan, which was also negotiated by the Greek Government, with the approval of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations Council. This loan was redeemable within 20 years and bore interest at the rate of 4 %, whereas the previous loan had been a 6 % issue redeemable in 40 years.

112. Another matter closely connected with the Greek refugee problem was that of the resettlement of Bulgarian emigrants and refugees from Greece and other countries in Bulgaria [18]. This was referred to the League of Nations by the Bulgarian Government in 1926, and authorisation was given for a loan of 2,250,000 pounds sterling (redeemable by 1967) for the resettlement of 31,271 families (125,000 persons). By issuing this 7 % loan the Bulgarian Government was able to carry out work on behalf of the refugees including land reclamation (surveying, ploughing, clearing), distribution of grain and agricultural equipment, erection of houses, drainage, provision of means of communication, health measures, construction and lay-out of villages, etc.

3.5.1.2. (b) A further example from the inter- War period

113. The study undertaken by the Bank for International Settlements at Basle (B. I. S.) deserves particular mention. During my conversations at The Hague in March, 1954, M. J.W. Bey en, Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed approval of my idea of setting up a Finance Institute and referred to certain steps taken by the B. I. S. in 1930-1931—the first two years of its existence—when it considered the question of setting up an International Institute for the granting of medium-term loans. This study was begun in December, 1930 and was referred in April, 1931 to a second Committee (consisting of MM. Francqui, Beneduce, Farmer, Kindersley and Melchior) which published a report. The problem was again considered at Brussels, in June, 1931 when it was suggested that a special body (International Credit Bank) should be established to grant long and medium-term loans. Finally,' on 8th June, 1931, the Council decided to take note of the Report of the Committee and to instruct the Director of the Bank to consider the best means of financing these operations without, for the time being, immobilising funds available to the B. I. S. This matter remained in abeyance owing to the world economic crisis, which occurred at that period.

3.5.1.3. (c) Action taken after the second World War

114. Since the second World War several steps have been taken to co-ordinate the reconstruction and economic development of the under-developed countries. Thus, in 1945 there was established the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the purpose of which is to cater for the individual needs of each borrowing country. However, except in exceptional circumstances, loans granted by the Bank are confined to meeting foreign exchange requirements in connection with approved projects. Generally speaking, such loans only cover the direct cost of importing equipment or services for the implementation of a specific plan. The Bank may consider another type of transaction, namely where there is indirect foreign currency expenditure resulting from the fact that local expenditure on labour or domestically produced equipment will usually give rise to an increased demand for imported consumer goods or raw materials. This is only permissible, however, if the following conditions are satisfied :

the project to be financed is of such economic urgency that the country's ability to undertake foreign borrowing—which is more or less limited in all cases—is better utilised in financing this project than in financing the direct foreign exchange costs of alternative projects;

if the local currency costs of the project cannot reasonably be met out of available domestic resources; and

if it is apparent that, unless foreign exchange is made available to the borrowing country, to be employed for the import of either consumer goods or raw materials, the local currency expenditures involved in the project will lead to inflationary pressures [19].

115. In other words, it is not the policy of the Bank to finance the whole cost of a given undertaking. It believes that the borrowers' best interests are served if they have a tangible financial stake in the preparation and execution of their investment projects. The Bank acts therefore not as an initiator but as a stand-by. Its financial assistance serves to supplement the efforts of the countries themselves.

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17. 1. Official Journal of the League of Nations. Special Supplement No. 64, Records of the 9 th Ordinary Session of the Assembly. Geneva, 1928, pp. 448-449.
18. 2. Official Journal of the League of Nations. Special Supplement No. 64, Records of the 9lh Ordinary Session of the Assembly. Geneva, 1928, pp. 453-454.
19. 1. B. I. R. D., Fifth Annual Report, 1949-1950, p. 11.

116. Consequently, the special measures which I have advocated in this Report as a solution to the problems of European over-population may serve as a basis for the sort of action to which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development could be asked to lend its support,

117. Of the various loans granted by the I. B. R. D., I wish to mention only those-nego-tiated with Australia and Italy. A notable feature of the loan of 100 million dollars granted to Australia in 1950 was that the general application of the Australian Government stressed the immigration aspect of the country's economic development programme. In particular, the loan in question enabled funds to be released to meet immediate expenditure on migration-—-notably transport and housing costs which could not be paid out of the sums made available by the Bank [20].

118. In the case of Italy, the I. B. R. D. granted a loan of 10 million dollars on 6th October, 1953 [21] as a further [contribution to the economic development of Southern Italy. The borrower was the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, a governmental organ in charge of the economic and social development programme for Southern Italy. This was the second loan of 10 million dollars granted to the Cassa since that of October, 1951. The new loan, redeemable within 25 years, bears interest at the rate of 5 %, including a commission of 1 % which is allocated to a special reserve, in accordance with the Articles of Agreement of the Bank, and amortization payments will begin on 1st November, 1958. The loan should help Italy to finance additional dollar impprts attendant upon the economic growth and improved conditions of employment which should result from the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno project, one of the aims of which is to reduce whole and part-time unemployment and raise the low standard of living which has long been the lot of Southern Italy.

119. Turning to action by the United Nations, I would refer to the work of the " United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East " (UNRWAPRNE) established on 1st May, 1950 [22]. This Agency is responsible for helping to solve the problem of 880,000 refugees scattered over a territory of over 250,000 sq. km. [23] In an attempt to do this, it has drawn up a three-year programme to provide work and shelter for the refugees, the main features of which are as follows :

a. assistance to refugees in their search for employment;

b. vocational training of refugees;

c. loans to refugees wishing to establish economically sound businesses;

d. building of houses in towns and villages or in the proximity of industries;

e. building of new villages in cultivable areas ;

f. opening up of agricultural land by means of bridge building, irrigation projects and road building.

120. On 26th January, 1952 [24], the General Assembly approved the establishment of a fund of 250 million dollars for the implementation of this three-year programme. 200 million dollars are earmarked exclusively for implementation of the resettlement programme, while the remaining 50 million dollars are designed to cover further assistance to Palestinian refugees during the three-year period, at the end of which, according to the calculations of the planners, the refugees should have been resettled.

121. I have quoted this example because it is interesting to note that the resettlement programme for Palestinian refugees, as drawn up by the United Nations, is based on the same ideas and considerations as have inspired the work of the Council of Europe in the field of refugees and over-population [25].

122. Another interesting move was made in 1954 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who succeeded, with the authorisation of the United Nations General Assembly [26], in raising, 1,294,086 dollars for a United Nations Refugee Relief Fund. However, expenditure on the relief of European refugees in

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20. 2. E/2019, Methods of International Financing of European Emigration. United Nations Economic and Social Council, 18th June, 1951.
21. 1. Loan No. 88IT. Loan Agreement between International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and Cassa per opere straordinarie di Pubblico Interesse nell Italia Meridionale (Cassa per il Mezzogiorno) (Second Cassa Project), dated 6th October, 1953, Washington.
22. 2. Res. 302 (IV) of the United Nations General Assembly, 8th December, 1949. See Supplement No.13 (A/2171). United Nations General Assembly. New-York, 1952.
23. 3. Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, General Assembly, 7th Session. Supplement No. 13 (A/2171), New-York, 1952.
24. 1. Res. 512 (VI) of the United Nations General Assembly, 1952.
25. 2. Committee of Experts on Refugees and Surplus Elements of Population, Strasbourg, October, 1951.
26. 3. Res. 538 (VI) of the United Nations General Assembly, 2nd February, 1952.

China (758,789 dollars), on emergency aid and the finding of work for difficult cases (325,441 dollars) and on administration (26,043 dollars) left a credit balance of only 183,815 dollars on 31st March, 1954—sufficient to go forward with arrangements until the end of August, 1954.

123. In spite of this effort, the objectives for which the United'Nations General Assembly set up the Fund have not yet been achieved, and the High Commissioner has therefore referred the matter to his Advisory Committee and has once more appealed to the Governments for financial aid. The Advisory Committee stated that the matter was sufficiently urgent to justify a request to the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council to make an immediate pronouncement on the whole question of assistance to refugees. It suggested in fact that the High Commissioner consider the possibility of approaching the Committee for the negotiation of extra-budgetary funds, with a view to securing credits earmarked for the United Nations Refugee Relief Fund.

124. Moreover, the High Commissioner is actively engaged in seeking permanent solutions to problems concerning international refugees. Experience gained with the Ford Foundation grant has convinced him that international capital would greatly facilitate this task : he maintains that, if properly managed, such funds could undoubtedly attract twice the amount from other sources, assuming that solutions are proposed which will strengthen the economies of the countries concerned. If during the next five years there was a reasonable certainty of a fund of about 12 million dollars being made available, a programme capable of promoting a permanent solution of the refugee problem could be implemented [27].

125. Basing itself on these ideas, the Netherlands Government submitted a draft Resolution to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 3rd July, 1954, inviting it, among other things, to recommend that the Member Governments of the Council of Europe should :

> *" (i) jointly pay a sum equivalent to $ 5 million into the Emergency Fund of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. This sum should be earmarked for the needs of international refugees in Europe. Each Government would contribute a sum proportionate to its share in the Budget of the Council of Europe, due account being taken of such contributions as it may already have made ;*
>
> *(ii) give their joint support to the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner to set up the S 12 million fund designed to secure the permanent re-integration of refugees under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner. "*

126. The Committee of Ministers deferred examination of this question, pending the decision of the United Nations General Assembly. On 21st October, 1954, the latter adopted a Resolution inviting Governments to place additional resources at the disposal of the High Commissioner.

127. To complete this account, I should like to draw attention to the study on the Special United Nations Fund for Financing Economic Development undertaken by the United Nations. In 1952, by its Resolution 416 A (XIV), endorsed by the General Assembly in its Resolution 622A (VII), the United Nations Economic and Social Council had already put forward the idea of " establishing a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest long-term loans to under-developed countries for the purpose of helping them, at their request, to accelerate their economic development and to finance non-self-liquidation projects which are basic to their economic development ".

128. A Committee of Nine was set up to prepare a detailed plan. After due consideration, it drew up a Report containing recommendations on the purpose, resources, use, management and methods of operation of the Special Fund, the following being the basic principles underlying the scheme :

> *the initial Fund would be built up from the contributions of the States over a period of two years; thereafter its resources would be made good by annual contributions;*
>
> *the contributions of the States to the currrent budget of the Fund should be voluntary;*
>
> *the Fund should not become officially established until a minimum of thirty participating States have undertaken to contribute the equivalent of at least 250 million dollars to enable it to start operations [28] ;*
>
> *to qualify for assistance, from the Fund, a country must be a Member and must work out co-ordinated economic development programmes ;*

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27. 1. A/AC. 36/32 The promotion of permanent solutions for the problems of refugees who are within the competence of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, High Commissioner's Advisory Committee for Refugees (Fourth Session), 29th January, 1954, p. 14.

28. 1. The initial minimum sum recommended by the Committee of Nine is purely arbitrary and bears no relation to estimates of the work which might be entrusted to the Fund.

The Fund should grant loans on more favourable terms to the borrower than the most favourable terms generally offered by commercial interests or the International Bank. It would normally fix reduced rates of interest, in order to emphasise the non-profit-making nature of its transactions;

in the first phase of its work, the Fund would allocate available resources among the States in the light of : (a) the intrinsic value of each application submitted; (b) the need to grant priority to projects fulfilling the aims of the United Nations; (c) the need to select projects likely to achieve speedy results.

129. The member countries of the United Nations were invited to give their views on the recommendation of the Committee of Nine. Several countries have already replied that they favour the establishment of the Special Fund and are prepared to contribute, while some Governments propose that subscriptions should be calculated on the basis of each country's contribution to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

130. At the time of writing, I have no information as to the progress of United Nations negotiations for the establishment of this Fund. Hitherto, all my examples have related to the major organisations, but before concluding my Report I should like to mention action taken by one of the parties concerned. 1 refer to research undertaken by the Permanent Mutual Assistance Board in Germany (Standiger Ausschuss fiir Selbsthilfe).

131. This Board, which was set up in 1949 to facilitate the " productive " integration of refugees in countries prepared to accept them, suggested the creation of a " Revolving Fund ". In its opinion, the necessary capital could be raised as follows :

by donations;

by bonds issued in small units by the competent financial- institutions.

These bonds would be placed on the market with the collaboration of private social organisations, co-operatives, trade unions, trust associations and other enterprises.

132. The resulting funds would be productively invested, according to pre-arranged plans, in countries agreeing to receive refugees with a view to their integration. The public finance institutes of each receiving country would be responsible for investing these funds only in projects offering sound guarantees of economic production.

133. The difficulties of transferring funds would not be insuperable. There would be no problem so far as donations are concerned, but, having received credits, certain receiving countries might have difficulty in transferring the funds needed to meet interest and amortization payments on the bonds. In such cases, counterpart accounts might be opened with the issuing Bank of the country concerned, whose holding might be offset by a sort of " clearing arrangement ", against foreign exchange from the donations set aside for other countries. Transfers of foreign currency could take place at a later date, when the general economic situation of such countries had improved.

134. The examples given should not be looked upon as " portemanteau " solutions capable of being applied regardless of the place and the circumstances. However, in examining these precedents I have found proof that something tangible can be achieved. In this belief, I have the honour to submit herewith the broad outlines of an immediate financial scheme, the basic elements of which have been furnished by the technical departments of O. E. E. C.

3.5.2. B. European Financing Fund

135. The Fund would consist of repayable contributions from all Members of the Council of Europe, up to, for example, an equivalent currency total of 10 million dollars. Once the Fund had been set up, contributions might be solicited from non-member countries interested in the European demographic problem. The public issue of bonds might then be envisaged in member and non-member countries of the Council of Europe, with the co-operation of national banking institutions. The help of international credit institutions might also be obtained.

136. It does not appear to me to be essential for the initial capital made available by Member Governments to be fully paid up as soon as the Fund is created, but it should be possible to call upon Members to complete their contributions without delay or formality up to the full amount to meet the needs of the fund. Payments towards the initial capital would therefore take the form of irrevocable undertakings by member countries to contribute' to the fund. The amounts actually paid would not be eligible for reimbursement before liquidation of the fund.

137. Since the amounts involved would be small compared with the financial undertakings given by the individual participants, it might prove to be preferable, for the sake of economy in the management and administration of the Fund, for Members to agree to make their full contribution to the initial capital at the outset in, a single payment.

138. The form of the initial contributions would not preclude the possibility of the Governments concerned making further loans to the Fund for periods similar to those of loans granted from the Fund itself.

3.5.2.1. (a) Initial contributions

139. With the establishment of the Fund each country would be called upon to make an initial contribution to it in accordance with a fixed scale. There are several ways in which' the amount of individual contributions might be determined. À scale of contributions might be drawn up based, first, on the financial possibilities of the participating countries, as shown by national income, taxable income per head of population, etc. and, secondly, on the extent to which the individual countries were interested in the creation of the Fund. In this connection, it would no doubt be necessary to take into account available employment and unemployments statistics, population increase, overpopulation and, perhaps, the estimated respective foreign manpower needs of the immigration countries contributing to the fund. Work undertaken by experts of several international organisations, such as the United Nations, O. E. E. C, etc., in drawing up contribution scales based on comparative national statistics, has shown the extremely complex nature of the problems raised by such comparisons, even where they are limited to a particular sector, such as national income. It is doubtful whether comparison of employment and population statistics can be used as a reliable basis of calculation. The formula ultimately adopted would have to take account of the relative importance to be attributed to each of the criteria used.

140. It therefore appears to be preferable, at least in the initial stage, to adopt a scale already being used by all Member States. Examples of scales used are given below :

SCALES OF CONTRIBITIONS TO EXPENDITURE - (in percentages)

Member States	Council of Europe [29]	O.E.E.C. [30]	E.M.I.C.O. [31]
Austria	—	1.70	1.3
Belgium	3.3	4.41	10.7
Denmark	1.8	2.29	—
France	18.4	20.35	23.4
German Federal Republic	18.4	16.04	—
Greece	3.3	1.01	1.3
Iceland	0.2	0.79	—
Ireland	1.2	0.10	1.3
Italy	18.4	9.47	23.4
Luxemburg	0.2	0.17	0.6
Netherlands	4.0	3.63	1.3
Norway	1.4	1.66	1.3
Portugal	—	1.08	1.3
Saar	0.4	—	—
Sweden	2.8	4.51	—
Switzerland	—	3.60	3.60
Trieste	—	0.10	—
Turkey	7.8	2.39	—
United Kingdom	18.4	26.70	23.4
TOTAL	100	100	100

29. 1. Based on actual population figures taken to the nearest half million upwards in groups of half a million or a million.
30. 2. For 1954-1955, on the basis of 12 directives of a group of exports, taking into account mainly the gross national and tho " taxable income " per head of population.
31. 3. A body set up by the Economic Co-operation Commission, which no longer exists; tho scale had been accepted by the participating countries on the basis of their respective interests in the free international movement of manpower.

3.5.2.2. (b) Currencies used for contributions and loans

141. Contributions should be determined in a single currency, thereby safeguarding the Fund against fluctuations of * individual currencies of Member States. They might, however, he payable in national currencies subject to the amounts :

being freely transferable in any given currency of the Member States (this should not present any difficulty within the framework of E. P. U.) ;

being convertible in a given proportion (for example, 20 % to 50 %) into convertible currencies, if, after exhausting the convertible currencies at its disposal, the Fund is obliged to acquire such currencies for the payment of loans in the currency of a non-member country- This limit would at most constitute a risk for countries with non-convertible cur-rencies; it would not apply to countries with fully convertible currencies.

142. Loans from the Fund to migrants would be granted in the currency of the new country of residence, since they are made to enable the recipient to meet the expenses incurred by him in settling down in that country.

3.5.2.3. (c) Administration of the Fund

143. It is clear that the working of the Fund Avould have to be supervised by all the countries contributing to it. Administration of the Fund must, in the last analysis, therefore be the concern of an international body on which those countries are represented. The European co-ordinating authority, which it is proposed should be appointed to take action in the political field, might also be empowered to decide IIOAV the Fund should be used. It should have its proposals accepted under individual heads by a qualified committee of Government representatives, as in the case of the Committee of Senior Officials mentioned above, responsible for supervising the European co-ordinating authority's action in the political field.

144. Finance operations as such (centralisation, of. contributions, conversion into Usable currencies, payment of loans, investment of assets, etc.), and the keeping of accounts might be entrusted to an existing banking institution of international standing, such as the Bank for International Settlements, Basle, which would act on instructions from the European co-ordinating authority.

3.5.2.4. (d) Allocation of loans

145. It is obvious that the European coordinating authority, while responsible to the Governments for the proper administration of the Fund, would not be empowered to deal with individual applications for loans, but would leave this task to the national administrative authorities.

146. immediately upon the establishment of the Fund it could be agreed that loans would be granted only to the nationals of named or clearly defined countries. The question arises whether an a priori allocation of the available funds or part of them might also bo envisaged, it being understood that in this event the Governments of emigration countries would draw upon the funds thus placed at their disposal only insofar as they themselves remitted the amounts drawn to the recipients, ft appears desirable for the European co-ordinating authority, with the approval of the Committee of Senior Officials, to announce at each stage the amounts placed at the disposal of each country assisted, stating the categories of recipients (loans for integration within Europe or for settlement overseas) and the amount per family assisted (which Avould vary according to the country in which integration took place, the nature of the employment and the number of persons comprising the family). In that event the procedure might be simplified and overheads reduced, since national administrative authorities could be empowered to instruct the finance agent of the Fund to effect the payment of a given amount in a given currency within the limits open to them.

147. in order to simplify matters connected with the transfer of loans, arrangements might be made, under the procedure outlined above for the granting of loans, for migrant beneficiaries to be given nothing more than a certificate by the Government of their country of origin, entitling them to receive the loan, which would be payable in local currency in the country of destination.

148. Periodical reports on the loans granted by them should be submitted by the Governments concerned to the authority responsible for the management of the Fund and to the European co-ordinating authority in order to enable them to supervise the working of the Fund.

3.5.2.5. (e) Repayment of loans

149. The duration of the loans, the rate of interest on them and methods of repayment would be laid down in accordance with the general directives of the Fund; methods of repayment would probably be limited in number in order to simplify control of the amounts repaid. The form of guarantee to repay might vary according to circumstances. If, for example, the beneficiary settled in a country contributing to the Fund, the responsibility of controlling repayment might be left to the Government of that country, to which the beneficiary would give an undertaking to repay as and when the amounts fell due.

150. If, on the other hand, the beneficiary settled in a non-participating country, the Government of that country woirid not be responsible for ensuring repayment; in that event, payment of the loan and supervision of its repayment could,presumably be carried out only by the authorities of the beneficiary's country of origin.

151. Where, as assumed above, loans were granted in the currency of the country in which the loan was used, repayment should normally be made in the same currency. There would, however, be a risk of fluctuation of the rate of exchange of that currency. In view of the specific purpose of the Fund, it would appear to be unreasonable to expect the recipients of the loans to bear this risk, which should therefore presumably be borne by the Fund or shared by it with member countries.

152. Lastly, steps would have to be taken to safeguard the Fund against tho risk of nontransferability of the amounts received in repayment of loans granted. Arrangements might therefore be envisaged whereby the beneficiary's country of origin would undertake to accept the non-transferable credits belonging to the Fund in exchange for an equivalent amount in its own currency, convertible under the same conditions as the contribution made by that country.

Appendix 1 APPENDIX I

RESOLUTION (53) 35 - adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 12th December, 1953

The Committee of Ministers,

Having regard to the importance and urgency of the problem of national refugees and the problem of over-population in Europe;

Having regard to certain gaps in the present system of international co-operation in these matters;

Having regard to Recommandation .1.3 (1951) of the Consultative Assembly and its own Resolution (51) 57, and also to the final Report of the Committee of Governmental Experts (CM (51) 69), and to Resolutions (52) 11, (53) 19, 20 and 22 of the Committee of Ministers;

Being resolved to take early and effective action, without prejudice to the functions and activities of other international organisations, in particular the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees,

Resolves :

1. to entrust M. Pierre Schncitcr for a period of one year beginning the 1st February, 1954, with the task of studying the problem of national refugees and the problem of over-population in Europe ;
2. to accord him the title of " Special Representative of the Council of Europe for national refugees and over-population";
3. to request him :
   - *a.* to take steps to arouse public interest in this matter;
   - *b.* to study these problems, in order to avoid overlapping, in consultation with the Governments and international organisations concerned;
   - *c.* to put forward to the Committee of Ministers proposals for their solution within the framework of Resolutions CM (52) 11 and CM (53) 19 and 20.

Appendix 2 APPENDIX II

RESOLUTION (54) 10 - adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 21st May, 1954

The Committee of Ministers,

Having heard the views of Ihe Special Representative of the Council of Europe for National Refugees and Over-population in Europe ;

Reaffirming its opinion previously expressed in Resolution (51) 57, that the existence of the refugee and over-population problem " may be regarded as impeding the realisation of the aims set out in Article 1 of the Statute of the Council of Europe " and that, consequently, there is a need for " the adoption by the members of the European Community of a common attitude and due co-ordination in regard to these pressing questions " which are of vital consequence to the security of Europe and to its economic and political stability,

Duly notes the following principles suggested by M. Pierre Schneiter as the basis of concerted action in the political and financial fields :

1. POLITICAL

(a) Integration outside Europe

The establishment of a common emigration policy designed to relieve Europe of surplus elements of population which cannot at present he absorbed.

This common policy shall he drawn up by successive stages in co-operation with the competent organisations in this field, and shall aim to co-ordinate the decisions and action taken by member countries in the matter of emigration.

(b) Integration within Europe

(i) In European countries other than the country of residence : The encouragement of intra-European population movements with a view to improved utilisation of European resources in the territory of member countries, until such time as complete liberation of intra-European migration has been achieved.

(ii) In countries of residence : Concerted efforts to encourage the thorough going development of resources in countries where the cause of overpopulation is related to inadequate technical and particularly industrial equipment, or to a structural distortion of the labour market.

2. FINANCIAL

The establishment of a Credit Institute which will grant loans enabling applicants to settle in a country overseas, or in another European country, or the country of residence.

Requests the Special Representative to draw up a detailed plan based on these principles, and

Instructs the Ministers' Deputies to examine the implementation of this detailed plan on the basis of the fundamental principles set out above.

Appendix 3 APPENDIX III

LIST OF PERSONS whom M. Pierre Schneiter met during his visits to Geneva, the Hague, Bonn, Rome, Athens, Ankara and Istanbul

GENEVA

1. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

M. van Heuven-Goedhart, High Commissioner

2. Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration

Mr. GIBSON, Director

M. FALCHI, Director of the Office of Plans and Liaison

M. ROCHEFORT, Diplomatic Adviser

3. International Labour Office

Mr. MOUSE, Director

M. BLANCHARD, Head of the Emigration Department

M. OBLATH, Head of the Manpower Department

4. World Council of Churches

Mr. REES, Director of the Refugees Department

5. International Catholic Migration Commission

M. SCHAUFF, Member of the Commission

6. International Committee of the Red Cross

M. RUEGGER, President

M. OLGIATI, Member of the Committee

THE HAGUE

M. BEYEN, Minister for Foreign Affairs

M. SUURHOFF, Minister for Social Affairs and Public Health

M. LUNS, Minister without Portfolio

M. S. J. van TUYL van SEKOOSKERKEN, Secretary- General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. KLATTE, Secretary-General, Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health

M. C. L. PATYN, Director of International Organi-. sations Department

M. T. H. BOT, Director of Western Co-operation Department ;

M. PELLINKHOF, Head of the International Organisations Department

M. van GREVESTEIN, Head of the Emigration Department of the Emigration Commission

M. van DIERENDONK, Head of the Social Affairs Department

M. IDENBUBG, President of the European Centre of Demographic Studies

M. NEHER, Chairman of the Refugee Aid Committee

M. VERKADE, Chairman of the Committee for the Study of the European Problem of Refugees

M. EMMEN, Chairman of the Refugees Service Committee

M. van CAMPEN, Representative of the Catholic Centre for Emigration

BONN

M. ADENAUER, Federal Chancellor

M. OBERLANDER, Federal Minister for Expellees

M. LUBKE, Federal Minister of Agriculture

M. STORCH, Federal Minister of Labour

M. PREUSKER, Federal Minister of Housing

M. von BRENTANO, Head of the C. D. U. Group of the Federal Parliament

M. GEHSTENMAIER, C. D. U. Deputy

M. KOPF, C. D. U. Deputy

M. SCHÛTZ, C. D. U./C. S. U. Deputy, former refugee

Count von SPRETI, C. D. U./C S. U. Deputy

M. PAUL, S. P. D. Deputy, former refugee

Countess FINCKENSTEIN, B. H. E. Deputy (Union of Expellees and Expropriated Persons), former refugee

M. KATHER, C. D. U. Deputy, President of the Central Association for Expellees, former refugee

M. HALLSTEIN, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

M. NAHM, Secretary of State, Ministry of Expellees

M. BLEEK, Secretary of State, Federal Ministry of the Interior

M. BLANKENHORN, Director of the Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. von TRÜTZSCHLER, Head of the Refugee Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. OPHÜLS, Head of the European Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. MIDDELMANN, Departmental Head, Ministry for Expellees

M. von Schmoller, Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. RÖRHOLT, Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the Federal Government

M. AAROE, Representative of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration to the Federal Government.

ROME

M. VIGORELLI, Minister of Labour

M. MEDICI, Minister of Agriculture

M. CAMPILLI, Minister, President of the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno

Mgr MONTINI, Under-Secretary of State to His Holiness Pius XII

M. DOMINEDO, Under-Secretary of State for Emigration

M. GIUSTI DEL GIARDINO, Director-General for Emigration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. BOUNOUS, Deputy Director-General for Emigration

M. SMOQUINA, Member of the Directorate-General for Emigration

M. SMOQUINA, Member of the Directorate-General for Emigration

M. AILLAUD, Member of the Directorate-General for Emigration

M. SAN FELICE, Member of the Directorate-General for Emigration.

M. SAN MARZANO, Member of the Directorate-General for Emigration

M. GEZZI, Member of the Directorate-General for Emigration

M. BEVILACQUA, Member of the Directorate-General for Emigration

M. CASU, Member of the Ministry of Labour

M. CASTELLANI, Member of the Ministry of Labour

M. FRATTALI, Member of the Ministry of Labour

M. RONCHI, President of the Credit Institute for Workers Abroad

M. PINI, Director of the Colonization Service for Agrarian Reform in Bari

ATHENS

Marshal PAPAGOS, President of the Council

M. RODOPOULOS, President of the Chamber of Deputies

M. STEPHANOPOULOS, Minister for Foreign Affairs M. SOLOMONIDES, Minister for Social Welfare

M. KYROU, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. PSARAS, Director-General, Ministry of Social Welfare

M. TSITIDIS, Director of the Refugee Settlement Service

M. MERCOURIS, Deputy, former Minister

ANKARA-ISTANBUL

M. KORALTAN, President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly

M. KÖPRÜLÜ, Minister for Foreign Affairs

M. KAPANI, Minister of State

M. ETE, Deputy, Democratic Party

M. MANDALINCI, Deputy, Democratic Party

M. NADI, Independent Deputy

M. TURGAY, Director-General of the Refugee Department, Ministry of State

M. NAFI, Acting Governor and Mayor of Istanbul

M. F. L. KARAOSMANOGLU, President of the Red Crescent Organisation

M. GÖKNER, Vice-President of the Red Crescent Organisation

M. AKURGAL, Director-General of the Red Crescent Organisation

M. EKEN, Director of the Refugee Department, Istanbul

M. NOYON, Technical Director for Refugee Questions, Ministry of State

M. SAKIR, Director of the Council of Europe Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

M. ABUT, Director of the Works and Supplies Department of the Red Crescent

M. TUNCER, Director of the Reception Camp, Sirkeçi