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Notes

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each in the field of child health began and ended. However, commonsense, professional interest in the substance of each problem and, above all, recognition that both institutions existed to help children and mothers in need, steadily led to an effective partnership that has brought benefit to all concerned.

During this period, the General Assembly confirmed (in 1953) Unicef's existence indefinitely, at the same time recognizing that its primary focus should be the children who suffered not from the temporary calamity of war, but the permanent disaster of poverty and underdevelopment. The words 'international' and 'emergency' were dropped from Unicef's title, but the acronym was retained because it had by now become so well-known. The need for Unicef's existence has never again been challenged, and it is now most improbable that it ever will be.

Maggie Black very appropriately selects for the third part of her record the first Development Decade, 1960 to 1970. This was a time of great political and economic activity, with the Third World literally exploding into existence as country after country in Africa attained its independence. The effect of this political revolution on the UN itself, and on the UN system, was profound; the entire character of the system was changed as new voices were heard, and appeals were made to consolidate political independence by economic and social development. In one sense, the 'balance of power' in the UN was changed for all time. When the UNRRA Agreement was signed on 9 November 1943, there were forty-four member States; today there are 159. The governments of the older, industrialized nations, now outnumbered, were compelled to listen to the claims of the new, and adjust their policies accordingly.

All these developments naturally had a very direct effect on Unicef, and its Executive Board and senior officials sought to define new policies. After much debate, it was agreed (rightly) that children should be regarded as a resource—and, indeed, the most precious resource of all—and as a vital element in national development. Quite apart from the essential needs of the child in Asia and in Latin America and in some parts of Europe, the needs in Africa had a special significance. In large parts of that continent food production has always been hazardous as a result of climatic conditions. The fragility of the family food supply as well as shortages of nourishing proteins and vitamins have resulted in widespread malnutrition. These conditions placed great numbers of children at risk, and Unicef soon found itself forging new partnerships with the FAO and the World Food Programme.

During this period, there were at least three other important events in Unicef's life. First, the UN itself and all relevant institutions within the UN system, became actively concerned with population growth, Once more, Unicef found itself involved with a global problem, particularly from the point of view of the negative impact of the large families, poorly spaced, on

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the health and well-being of the individual child. Second, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Unicef (in 1965)—an honour which was well-earned, and one which served to consolidate the organization's role and reputation still further. The only sadness was that Maurice Pate, whose contribution to Unicef is unsurpassed, died shortly before the award was announced.

The third event was the tragedy of the Nigerian civil war and here Unicef played the key role in providing humanitarian relief. That it was able to do this during a civil war within a member State was made possible by what might be described as 'a fluke of history'. When the resolution that brought Unicef into existence was being drafted for the General Assembly, much of the work was undertaken by UNRRA's legal staff. During one meeting, a senior UNRRA official, exasperated and frustrated by the politics that were bringing the organization's operations to an end, exclaimed: 'For God's sake, keep governments out of this as much as you can. Make it possible for the new show to give help to mothers and children direct'. While the basic resolution on Unicef requires that governments agree to Unicef operations, in some delicate political situations successive Executive Directors have been able to interpret this provision flexibly. The art is *not* to persuade governments to agree that Unicef should undertake activities, but to ensure that the government does not say no and then, in the absence of a prohibition, to get on with the job as quickly and discreetly as possible. That flexibility was of great value in making it possible to provide assistance for mothers and children in rebel-held territory during the Nigerian civil war. Some years later it would prove to be the key that enabled Unicef to open the political door, and so take the lead in alleviating the effects of what some regard as the greatest individual tragedy in history: that in Kampuchea in 1979–81.

The next decade (until 1980) represents the fourth part of the story, and is described by the author as 'The Era of Alternatives', a period when still further dimensions were added to Unicef's increasing range of activities. Particular attention was paid to the availability of clean drinking water, and great progress was made in rural areas. In 1974, the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly reflected with dramatic clarity the great change in the composition of member States, and what the new nations felt should be their place in the world. This led to the definition of a new international economic order which gave great impetus to alternative approaches to development. Unicef articulated its own version, 'the basic services strategy', in 1976. Hitherto, the transfer of knowledge and experience had been almost entirely from the older, industrialized countries to the new nations. Now the knowledge and the expertise that had always reposed in the Third World was recognized. Another expression of the search for alternatives could be seen in a major change in the philosophy of what was meant by 'health care for all'. At a meeting of ministers of health in Alma Ata, USSR, in 1978, a new 'Primary Health Care' model was designed, based on

pioneering work in rural communities. The concept of Primary Health Care, whose most important implications were for the health of mothers and children, was one which Unicef helped WHO to develop.

Twice in the 1970s, Unicef found itself heavily involved in major disaster operations co-ordinated by the UN. Bangladesh became independent at the end of 1971 and during the next three years the UN carried out the largest relief and rehabilitation operation ever undertaken for a single country since the days of UNRRA. Throughout that operation Unicef provided invaluable assistance, and on its completion on 31 March 1974 Unicef reverted to its normal work. Towards the end of the UN operation, it became apparent that a substantial sum of money would be available for transfer to other UN agencies to continue parts of the rehabilitation programme. Naturally each of them did all they could to secure these funds, but bearing in mind the precedent by which UNRRA provided Unicef with the financial support that brought it to life, no prizes would be offered for guessing which agency became the beneficiary!

By the middle of 1979, Unicef became involved with what could be regarded as one of the most notable operations in its remarkable record. In early January 1979, Pol Pot and his forces were driven out of what is now known as Kampuchea, and a new regime was established in Phnom Penh. During the next few months, some of the obscene atrocities practised by Pol Pot gradually became known to the outside world. For nearly four years, from 1975 onwards, the people of Kampuchea had been subjected to one of the most ruthless revolutions ever known; in some respects it was even more bestial than the horrors of the concentration camps. This had been preceded by the effective collapse of the political, economic and administrative structure of the country by its involuntary entanglement in the Vietnam war. The US Air Force, which commenced bombing secretly in March 1969, dropped on Kampuchea bombs whose destructive power was equivalent to 120 times that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. All this created death and destruction on an almost unbelievable scale. Yet, for some extraordinary reason, it is a tragedy that is now forgotten by most of the world, but certainly not by the Kampuchean people.

About the middle of 1979, in conditions of great political difficulty, Unicef and the International Committee of the Red Cross managed to make contact with the new authorities, and about the same time FAO and voluntary agencies such as Oxfam also succeeded in visiting Phnom Penh. After many weeks of delicate, and often frustrating, negotiations Unicef and ICRC were able to initiate a relief programme, and Oxfam also began to provide assistance. The expansion of Unicef's programme within Kampuchea in 1980 and 1981—which was of critical importance in preserving life—and its equally valuable work with ICRC and the World Food Programme in looking after the great number of Khmers who had taken refuge on the border between Thailand and Kampuchea, is recounted

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operation—education, public information, fund-raising, cultivating a common constituency—the idea of programme partnership in countries receiving Unicef assistance was articulated more forcefully than it had been for several years.

Out in the field, partnerships with local nongovernmental organizations—the women's clubs in Brazil, *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* in Kenya, its equivalent in Uganda, and their equivalents in India—were becoming a regular feature of programmes designed to reach into the nooks and crannies of rural society. The importance to Unicef of relationships with this kind of NGO was becoming more apparent to programme staff. The success of the partnership with the milk producers' co-operative at Anand in India was a classic illustration of what could be done by a nongovernmental organization whose initiative remained untrammelled by government bureaucracy. This kind of grass-roots identification with small farmers was rarely achieved by low-level government officials carrying out instructions devised by policy makers in the capital city.

Charles Egger, travelling through Africa in the 1950s, had been similarly surprised by the quality of programmes run by many missionary societies. Some were the unique source of health, education, and social services in the communities they served. They might fear the intrusion of officialdom and be resistant to ideas that they dovetail their programmes with those run by the national health authorities, but they were a major avenue for Unicef assistance to mothers and children—sometimes the only one.

Certain projects directly in line with Unicef's objectives were run by the national branches of NGOs affiliated to Unicef at the international level: the YWCA, for example, was very active in the countries which had once been part of British East Africa. In some cases, where the parent body tried to create a new branch in a new country in the image of originals elsewhere, the voluntary support they drew upon came from the urban elite and projects they ran did not reflect any real concern with the problems of poverty. But this was not always the case. In Uganda, a nutrition education project run through eleven women's clubs was able to benefit from Unicef support in the form of transport and training provided through the Ministry of Community Development. This was a typical example of the welding of a partnership between a local NGO doing useful, if small-scale, work and the relevant government ministry, in which Unicef served as the go-between. There were, too, local groups and associations—the women's groups in parts of Africa and Asia, for example; the Gandhian inspired networks in the Indian subcontinent—which were far more concerned with local or national recognition and had little idea of international connections.

Many would not even have known that they belonged generically to an organizational type called NGO. They had been formed at the grass roots to solve specific local problems and, either by choice or by ignorance, their

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horizons did not extend to officialdom in their capital city, let alone to consultative status with an organization such as Unicef. But from Unicef's point of view, they were a valuable means of reaching the children of the rural poor. Among some field staff, the term NGO began to take on a different set of connotations from the ones they privately associated with good works and excellent intentions.

The 1964 Board session in Bangkok helped establish a renewed sense of NGOs as important Unicef partners. For three days prior to the Board meeting a seminar for NGOs was convened, jointly sponsored by Unicef and the International Council of Women, whose Vice-Chairman, Mrs Zena Harman, was also the senior delegate of Israel to the Unicef Executive Board and Chairman of its Programme Committee. The agenda of the seminar was to familiarize certain organizations with the kind of projects Unicef was favourably disposed towards, by visiting examples near Bangkok; and to try to convince those with a parochial focus that the task of upgrading the lives of children and youth required them to dovetail their efforts with government services and departments. This might also require them to upgrade their own competence, in order to command the respect of officialdom and play a role in national development planning. The notion of the 'whole' child as an object and subject of development, rather than that of charitable action on behalf of the specifically distressed—the handicapped or the refugee, for example—was introduced in some depth for the first time to many of those attending. The presence of many key national committee people in their governments' delegations—Hans Conzett, Nils Thedin, Boguslaw Kozusznik, Zena Harman, among others—helped to foster enthusiasm for modifying certain Unicef policies to make it easier for national committees and NGOs to harmonize their relationships with each other and with Unicef proper. In the era of development, Unicef's valuable, if occasionally vexed and vexing, partners in the non-governmental community had been accorded a new legitimacy and respect.

The year 1964 was a boom one for Unicef. It was the year in which the Executive Board for the first time met in a developing country; it was the year of the Bellagio Conference on Children and Youth in National Development; it was a year in which contributions rose, partnerships flourished, and a record number of greeting cards—thirty-five million—were sold. Unicef seemed to be on the threshold of a much larger future as a fully-fledged member of the international development community.

During 1964, at the instigation of Hans Conzett, a proposition was sent to Oslo from the Swiss parliament that Unicef should be nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Four years earlier, the Norwegian Committee for Unicef had wanted to nominate Maurice Pate, but he had let it be known

that he would not accept the award on his own behalf, only on behalf of Unicef. The Swiss proposal bore fruit. But Pate did not live to know it.

On the evening of 19 January 1965, while taking a quiet walk on the streets of Manhattan, Pate collapsed. He was seventy years old. For some months the state of his heart had been uncertain and he had been taking things easy; when it came, the heart attack was massive. He was rushed to hospital, where he never recovered consciousness. The entire staff of Unicef, particularly his senior colleagues, were deeply stricken, for his passing represented so much more than an administrative hiatus. This was the end of an era, and it had descended with great suddenness. The whole organization was temporarily consumed with grief at the loss of a figure they had held in so much affection and respect.

Messages poured into Unicef headquarters from all over the world. The *New York Times* said in an editorial that relatively few people had heard of Maurice Pate but that 'scores of millions of children in well over 100 countries have been fed and clothed because he lived . . . No monument could be more imposing than Unicef'. The Executive Board met to pay him their last respects. The memorial service was thronged with ambassadors and UN dignitaries of many nationalities. Special tributes to his leadership of Unicef were paid by the President of the 19th UN General Assembly, Alex Quaison-Sackey; by UN Secretary-General U Thant; by Zena Harman, now Chairman of the Board; and by Dick Heyward. Among the many qualities they cited, one stood out: an innate, spiritual power, manifest in gentle humility, to bind people together in the common cause of humanity. He had made Unicef a family in a sense rarely found in large organizations. His very presence was a harmonizer. 'The passions that breed dissension, intolerance and distrust', said Zena Harman, 'were silenced in his presence, rendered impotent by the strength of his unquenchable faith in man's ultimate goodness, in the power of love and friendship. He believed that all people everywhere sought peace in a better world through the well-being of their children'.

On 25 October 1965, nine months after Pate's death and on almost the exact day that people all over the world were celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the UN, great news arrived from Oslo. Unicef had been awarded the 1965 Nobel Peace Prize. The ultimate honour had been conferred on the organization that Maurice Pate had built and cherished.

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His career and his personal attributes indicated that he was a man of integrity and compassion.

Labouisse had one other admirable asset. His second wife—his first wife had died tragically in 1945—was Eve Curie, daughter of the world-famous discoverers of radium. Eve Curie-Labouisse was a dynamic woman who had given up her own writing career to devote herself to her husband's. Maurice Pate had lived alone for most of the years he headed Unicef. But after his Polish first wife died in Warsaw in 1961, he had married Martha Lucas, ex-President of Sweetbriar College, Virginia. She had been a forceful support in his final years, and the attribute of a first-class woman at his side no doubt seemed to him a great advantage for the Executive Director of Unicef.

In December 1964, Labouisse visited New York to discuss the possibility of his directorship with Pate and Heyward, Zena Harman, the current Chairman of Unicef's Executive Board, and U Thant. He also sounded out Paul Hoffman, Managing Director of the UN Special Fund, as well as Dean Rusk and other friends and contacts in Washington. In January 1965, Labouisse informed U Thant and Pate that he would accept the appointment if it was approved by the Executive Board, but that he would not be ready to take over until September. After the death of Pate later that month, Zena Harman visited Labouisse in Athens to express in person the Board's enthusiasm for his candidature, and try to persuade him to take up his appointment at an earlier date. He agreed to take over in June 1965, at the time of the annual session of the Executive Board.

The session was conducted essentially by Heyward. In the wake of Pate's death, still less than six months before, it was a sober and mostly uneventful session. Issues which might arouse controversy were handled *sotto voce* or put on hold, out of deference to Pate's memory, to Labouisse's début, and to Heyward's interim position as Acting Executive Director. On 14 June 1965, Labouisse addressed the Board delegates for the first time, explaining that he was 'somewhat out of breath' as a result of the speed with which events had unfolded. He had literally relinquished his ambassadorship only a few days previously. He also knew how hard it would be to follow in the footsteps of Maurice Pate, whose leadership over so many years had accomplished 'a sort of miracle, reflected by the outstanding record of Unicef and by its reputation in the world'.

Labouisse was not more than a few months into the process of taking over full control of his new responsibilities when that 'outstanding record' was recognized by the Nobel Committee in Oslo. On a dark, snow-bound December day Harry Labouisse led a strong Unicef contingent to collect the 1965 Nobel Peace Prize. With him were Zena Harman, Chairman of the Executive Board; Professor Robert Debré, delegate of France; Adelaide Sinclair, Deputy Executive Director for Programmes; Georges Sicault, Director of Unicef in Europe; Hans Conzett, Chairman of the Swiss Com-

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mitee for Unicef and delegate of Switzerland to the Executive Board; Helenka Pantaleoni, Chairman of the US Committee. Danny Kaye, Mr Unicef himself also attended while there for a Norwegian artists' gala for Unicef. On 10 December, in the Aula Hall at Oslo University in the presence of King Haakon, Labouisse stepped forward to receive the Nobel Peace Medal and Diploma from Gunnar Jahn, Chairman of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament. The following day, coincidentally the nineteenth anniversary of Unicef's founding by the General Assembly, Zena Harman delivered the Nobel lecture at the Nobel Institute.

In Labouisse's speech of acceptance, he paid tribute to Maurice Pate as Unicef's architect and builder and as a great practical idealist, adding: 'We miss him poignantly in Oslo today'. The moment synthesized the record of everything Pate had stood for and everything Unicef had become. Labouisse spoke with eloquent sincerity: 'To me, the most important meaning of this Nobel award is the solemn recognition that the welfare of today's children is inseparably linked with the peace of tomorrow's world. Their sufferings and privations do not ennoble: they frustrate and embitter. The longer the world tolerates the slow war of attrition which poverty and ignorance now wage against 800 million children in the developing countries, the more likely it becomes that our hope for lasting peace will be the ultimate casualty . . .

'We accept the Nobel Prize for Peace with humility, knowing how little we are able to do and how immense are the needs . . .

'To all of us the prize will be a wonderful incentive to greater efforts, in the name of peace. You have given us new strength. You have reinforced our profound belief that, each time Unicef contributes, however modestly, to giving today's children a chance to grow into useful and happier citizens, it contributes to removing some of the seeds of world tension and future conflict.'

These words came to symbolize the most significant features of Labouisse's tenure at the head of Unicef in the political and economic turmoils of the first and second development decades.

During the mid-1960s, a new menace began to blight the prospects of social and economic development in the Third World. From this time, the analysis of population trends began to take on the character of an international *cause célèbre*, etching in the public mind images of overpopulation which pervaded contemporary thinking.

During the years following the second World War, dramatic declines in the death rates in many developing countries, unaccompanied by declines in their birth rates, played havoc with the traditional rules of demography. The lack of population data from such countries meant that the economic and scientific community took some time to absorb the full dimensions of