

The Red Cross Movement, Voluntary Organisations and Reconstruction in Western Europe in the 20th century



Organising committee:

Dr Romain Fathi, Flinders University / Sciences Po

Professor Melanie Oppenheimer, Flinders University

Professor Guillaume Piketty, Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po

Professor Davide Rodogno, Graduate Institute Geneva

Professor Paul-André Rosental, Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po

Project manager : Emma Papadacci Stephanopoli

Program design : Dr. Anmarie Reid

Address: Online, via **ZOOM**. A link will be sent to you ahead of the symposium.

Participants: Please submit your 3500-word (minimum) paper ahead of the symposium, by **16 May 2021** at the latest @ humanitarianreconstruction@gmail.com

Rapporteurs: Each session will be in three parts: First, the rapporteur will speak for a total of 20 minutes to the argument, salient points, strengths, and weaknesses of each paper in the session, so that the papers enter into a discussion with each other. Next, a conversation will be opened between the rapporteur and the two authors (10 minutes in total). This will provide an opportunity for authors to respond to the commentary provided by the rapporteur and to speak to other aspects of their paper. Finally, questions and answers from the larger group will be taken (15 minutes). Rapporteurs, please note that the papers you are to discuss will be sent directly to you by humanitarianreconstruction@gmail.com

SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM DAY 1 – MONDAY 14 JUNE

12:30 (PARIS TIME)

Words of welcome and opening remarks from the organisers

12:45-15:00

Panel 1

Helpers and Helpees: The Dynamics and Politics of Humanitarian Reconstruction

Rapporteur Melanie Oppenheimer (Flinders University)

The Action and Influence of the American Red Cross in Italy During and After World War One – **Daniela Rossini** (Roma Tre)

At (Red) Cross Purposes: The American Red Cross and Interwar France's Fractured American Reconstruction – **Michael McGuire** (Mount Saint Mary College)

Rapporteur Glenda Sluga (European University Institute)

Uninvited Humanitarians or Ungrateful Beneficiaries? The Failed Child Health Education Program of the Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation, 1923-1924 – **Nel de Mûelenaere** (Vrije Universiteit Brussels)

The Red Cross Movement, Voluntary Organisations and Reconstruction in Western Europe in the 20th century - The Red Cross and the Birth of the Irish State – **Lia Brazil** (European University Institute)

Rapporteur Barry Doyle (University of Huddersfield)

War charities, Red Cross and Reconstruction in First World War France (1914-1925): The Case of the 'Seine-Inférieure' – **Claire Saunier-Le Foll** (Lyon 2)

Workers International Relief Organisation in Germany During the Crisis and Famine of 1920s – **Grigoriy Tsidenkov** (Samara State University)

15:00-15:30

Short break

15:30-17:00

Panel 2

Providing Healthcare, Health Education Programs and Assistance in Reconstruction Contexts

Rapporteur Paul-André Rosental (Sciences Po)

Voluntary Organisations and the Provision of Health Services in England and France, 1917-25 – **Barry Doyle** (University of Huddersfield)

Repairing the Ravages of War Through Public Health Education: The League of Red Cross Societies, The Commonwealth Fund and the Scholarship Programme for Austrian nurses, 1924-1928 – **Melanie Oppenheimer** (Flinders University)

Rapporteur Neville Wylie (Stirling University)

Despondence, Dependence and Dignity – On the Dilemmas of Being an Object of International Charity in Western Europe: A German Case Study – **Elisabeth Piller** (University of Freiburg)

The Shōken Fund and the evolution of the Red Cross movement

Romain Fathi & Melanie Oppenheimer (Flinders University)

SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM DAY 2 – TUESDAY 15 JUNE

12:30-14:45 (PARIS TIME)

Panel 3

Methods in Reconstructing Societies' Social Fabric and Food Relief

Rapporteur Dan Stone (Royal Holloway, University of London)

Healing the Wounds: The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Establishment of Neighbourhood Centers in Post-1945 Germany – **Karl-H Fuessl** (Technical University of Berlin)

'Let man be noble, helpful and good': The Red Cross and the 'Culture of Humanitarianism' in Occupied Germany, 1946-1952 – **Ryan Heyden** (McMaster University)

Rapporteur Laure Humbert (The University of Manchester)

Atlantic Crossings in a World at War: The Rockefeller Foundation and Anglo-American Scientific Networks – **Jan Lambertz** (Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies)

Feeding Europe Under British Rationing: Relief Efforts for the Continent After the Second World War – **Kelly A. Spring** (University of South Maine)

Rapporteur Rosemary Cresswell (University of Warwick)

Reconciliation: From Mount Waltham to the British Occupation Zone, 1943 to 1948 – **Nerissa Aksamit** (St. Joseph's College)

Nongovernmental, Not Nonpolitical: Christian Democratic Influence over the West German Red Cross 1945-1955 – **Dominic Ferrara** (Boston College)

14:45-15:00

Short break

15:00-16:45

Panel 4

Protecting Vulnerable Populations: Children, Women, Exiles and Survivors

Rapporteur Kelly A. Spring (The University of South Maine)

The British Red Cross' Role in the Reconstruction of Germany after World War Two – **Rosemary Cresswell** (University of Warwick)

From a Tracing Service to an Archive: The Role of the International Committee of the Red Cross at the International Tracing Service – **Emilie Garrigou-Kempton** (Scripps College)

Rapporteur Elisabeth Piller (University of Freiburg)

Women and Child Search: A Gendered View of Post-World War II Reconstruction – **Christine Schmidt** (Wiener Holocaust Library) and **Dan Stone** (Royal Holloway, University of London)

16:45-17:00

Discussion on publication strategies

ABSTRACTS

PANEL 1

HELPERS AND HELPEES: THE DYNAMICS AND POLITICS OF HUMANITARIAN RECONSTRUCTION

Daniela Rossini:

The Action and Influence of the American Red Cross in Italy During and After World War One

During World War One, the Italian people became familiar with the American khaki uniform not by the presence of combat units, which never arrived, but mainly by American Red Cross (ARC) workers, who came to Italy just after the tragic rout of Caporetto (October/November 1917). Throughout Italy, they were the most visible representatives of mythic America, its munificence, effectiveness and concern for the common man. Relief for wounded and sick soldiers was but a small part of ARC activity, while more than two-thirds of total expenditures went to civilians. In fact, its greatest mission was putting new hearth into all components of the Italian society: the Red Cross was there to heal not only the combatants' wounds, but also to minister to the 'wounds of the spirit' of the population, in terms of demoralization, unrest and attraction for revolutionary violence. Accordingly, it spread its activity all over Italy, from the Alps to the islands. The country was divided into sixteen districts, each under a Red Cross delegate. At the end of the war, the organization numbered 949 American employees, along with approximately one thousand Italian workers. In all, 7051 cities, towns and villages were reached by Red Cross representatives. Its large donations of material aid went to soldiers, hospitals, refugees, orphans and needy families. The Italian campaign was second only to the French one in terms of budget and range. Besides emergency work, it involved long-term projects, as the construction of a village for refugees near Pisa, nursing schools and orphanages, and strategies for the prevention of tuberculosis, which were pilot experiences for the European reconstruction and in general for civilian aid in time of peace.

Daniela Rossini is Professor of American History at the University of Roma Tre (Rome, Italy), where she teaches North American History and Women's International History. She spent three years at Harvard as a Fulbright scholar in the History Department and as a fellow of the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History. Her research interests include World War I, Italian-American relations, war relief and propaganda, and women's transnational history in the first decades of the 20th century. Recently she authored two volumes: *Woodrow Wilson and the American Myth in Italy: Culture, Diplomacy and War Propaganda*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2008), and *Donne e propaganda internazionale. Percorsi femminili tra Italia e Stati Uniti nell'età della Grande Guerra* [*Women and International Propaganda. Women's Paths between Italy and the United States in the Great War Era*], (Franco Angeli, Milan 2015).

Michael McGuire:

At (Red) Cross Purposes: The American Red Cross and Interwar France's Fractured American Reconstruction

During the Great War Era (1914-1929), Allied and American officials made rehabilitating war-damaged Allied property and people a common objective. Authorised Red Cross societies and interested private charities worked with functionaries to refashion or replace bodies, chattel and communities harmed in the struggle. Intersections of public and private Great War humanitarianism particularly materialised in France, where over 500,000 European, Asian, African, and inter-American individuals and institutions helped millions of Frenchmen resume life amid the *pays dévasté*. America's official charity, the American Red Cross (ARC), assumed a paradoxically crucial yet detached role in France's reconstruction. It subsidised American non-governmental organisations' (NGOs), community centres, general stores, and visiting nurses that redressed devastated France's hospitality, housewares, and health—ventures the Third Republic eschewed. The ARC's Commission for Europe charitably provided \$14 million in assets to numerous state and non-state actors' post-war Gallic restoration projects. ARC-sponsored schemes consciously catalysed American NGOs' outreach to vulnerable resident-refugees and migrant workers helping reconstruct devastated French districts. Its' semi-official largesse helped like-minded philanthropists, French nationals, and foreign labourers restore Gallic districts years ahead of areas aided wholly by public projects. The ARC also inhibited France's post-war recovery. Like its political patrons in Washington, the American Red Cross's European commissioners ended direct Francophile humanitarian ventures in early 1919. It refused to recruit medical and social service personnel for work among post-war French refugees and reconstruction labourers. It inhumanely retained American workers in military relief posts who were both qualified for and interested in assuming post-war French recovery posts. It declined Third Republic requests for ARC assumption of reconstruction's burdens. Its beneficence came from pre-war coffers, not post-war fundraising. Finally, like other U.S. agencies, it aided America's wartime foes over America's wartime allies. The ARC's fractured approach to reconstructing France helped obscure America's significant role in restoring the *pays dévasté*.

Michael McGuire is a newly appointed (2019) Assistant Professor of History at Mount Saint Mary College. A PhD recipient from Boston University, his work explores the intersection of twentieth-century humanitarian aid, foreign relations and cultural politics. His articles on Great War-related humanitarian activity have appeared in *First World War Studies*, *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* and (soon) the *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*. His manuscript, *Hidden Transformations: The American Reconstruction of Devastated France and Franco-American Relations in the Great War Era, 1914-1933*—under review for the University of Pennsylvania Press—explores the philanthropic activity of five American NGOs assisting French civilians' and communities' recovery from their Great War devastation.

Nel de Mûelenaere:

Uninvited Humanitarians or Ungrateful Beneficiaries? The Failed Child Health Education Program of the Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation, 1923-1924

In this presentation, I explore an early American experiment of turning short-term food relief into a long-term health education program in post-war Belgium. This program was unsuccessful, disbanded and largely forgotten by 1925. This premature ending was not because of a lack of means, good intentions or impact. In 1924, the Child Health Section of the Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation (CRBEF) was teaching the basics of healthy living and eating to least 110,000 Belgian school children. The program was a part of a wider American preoccupation with children's bodies and welfare in the era of WWI. The American Red Cross, the Rockefeller Foundation and the CRBEF were in the business of constructing better developed and more robust little Europeans. Deeply rooted in the social ideals and positive eugenics of the progressive era, U.S. relief workers were convinced that the best way to improve the old world was to introduce new world childcare, food and health practices.

Not all Europeans, however, shared the belief in American solutions by international philanthropy for their national, social issues. Belgium is a case in point. Here, the child health education program was terminated because of the continuous opposition of the Belgian Oeuvre National de l'Enfance (1919). In this contribution, I recount what went wrong by the accounts of three of the episodes' protagonists: relief worker Fanneal Harrison (CRBEF), the ONE director Jérôme Maquet and Edmond Dronsart of the Belgian Red Cross. Their experiences demonstrate how and why two very different child welfare agencies that grew out of the war - one private and international, the other public and national - were unable to cooperate in peacetime Belgium.

Nel de Mûelenaere (1984) is Assistant Professor at the History Department of the Vrije Universiteit Brussels, where she is affiliated with the research group Social and Cultural Food Studies (FOST). In 2019, she was the Cabeaux-Jacobs BAEF Post-Doctoral fellow at Cornell University, where she conducted research on the Belgian relief work of American home economists in the 1920s. Her research interests include humanitarianism, domestic science, nutrition, social welfare policies and gender in the era of the First World War.

Lia Brazil:

The Red Cross Movement, Voluntary Organisations and Reconstruction in Western Europe in the 20th century - The Red Cross and the Birth of the Irish State

The violence of the Great War continued in Ireland until 1923, as civil war followed the war of independence. During the civil war, questions over the legal status and treatment of prisoners held by the Free State were used by republicans to challenge the authority and legitimacy of the government. In this debate over the status of republican prisoners both sides positioned the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva (ICRC) as an international arbiter in the conflict.

This paper examines this role played by the ICRC in adjudicating the conflict as an international organisation believed to be capable of restoring order and providing legal legitimacy to the situation in Ireland. It first provides an overview of the visit of representatives of the ICRC, R. A. Haccias and M. M. Schlemmer, to examine conditions in Free State prisons in Ireland in 1923. It then uses archival sources to examine the efforts of two delegations of republican women to petition members of the ICRC in Geneva in January and September 1923. It concludes by situating their efforts to solicit support from the ICRC in the wider context of voluntary relief organisations on the ground in Ireland. This contrasts the role of the ICRC, as an international organisation capable of lending international legitimacy to political factions in Ireland, with the reality of national and local aid provision by the Irish White Cross. Looking at these national and international relief organisations together provides some insights to the ways in which voluntary relief was used as a political tool during the construction of the Irish state.

Lia Brazil is a PhD student at the European University Institute, Florence. She studied for her BA in History at Trinity College Dublin and MA in European History at UCD Dublin. In Autumn 2019 she was a visiting researcher at the Europe Institute, Columbia University. Her PhD, supervised by Corinna Unger, focuses on the history of international humanitarian law in the British Empire, through case studies on the Second South African War (1899 – 1902) and the Irish Revolutionary Period (1916 – 1923).

Claire Saunier-Le Foll:

War Charities, Red Cross and Reconstruction in First World War France (1914-1925): The Case of the 'Seine-Inférieure'

Saying that a declaration of war causes a rupture between the 'before' and 'after' of a conflict is a simplistic notion that separates war from its historical context. It ignores the military preparation that precedes war; in the same way, many charities giving aid to people affected by the conflict also have an antebellum existence. The help brought to the population by the charitable societies depends on two factors. On the one hand, the pre-war existence of these charities; it is necessary to take into account three historical dimensions: their know-how, a function of their age; the ideological dimension often present in social work, a major form of feminine expression in the public space since the end of the 19th century; their territorial dimension at a time when towns and urban areas confirmed their attractive and leading role in social work.

On the other hand, due to the conflict, not only in the evolution of national laws (creation of the 'war charities' in 1916 in France) and the governmental obligations imposed on some of them, notably the Red Cross, whose committees are accredited by the ministry of the armies, but also for the staffing modifications in the charities (mobilisation of men, as well as nurses). This double reading appears in 'Seine-Inférieure' (now Seine-Maritime), an excellent example, because it has the particularity of being an important area for the reception of refugees fleeing invaded French *départements* and Belgium, and is also an entry for the allied armies by the ports of Rouen and Le Havre towards the combat areas, and therefore a point of contact with the American Red Cross and the refugee reception services of the Belgium government, which resided in Sainte-Adresse. Very rich associations' sources, preserved in the municipal, departmental archives or archives of the French Red Cross allow us to account for the staff and the activities of these societies, in both their enduring features, and the changes they went through.

Claire Saunier-Le Foll is a doctoral candidate in Contemporary History at the University of Lyon-2-Larhra, working on her PhD thesis titled 'Women, associative practices and social action in Seine-Inférieure at the test of the Great War' ('Femmes, associations et action sociale à l'épreuve de la Grande Guerre').

Grigoriy Tsidenkov:

Workers International Relief Organisation in Germany During the Crisis and Famine of 1920s

By 1923, hyperinflation in Germany reached a maximum level. Many enterprises began to lay off staff. High prices and food shortages led to famine in German cities. The largest volunteer organisation that provided aid to starving families of German workers was 'Workers International Relief' – 'Internationale Arbeiter-Hilfe (IAH)'. IAH was created in Berlin on September 12, 1921 and formed by German communist Willi Münzenberg. The organisation was created to collect and provide aid to areas affected by drought and famine in Soviet Russia. Communist and workers' organisations from all over Europe participated in IAH. The IAH opened branches in all European countries so that communist and workers' organisations could take part in this assistance. During these events, the IAH turned into a powerful organisation, collected and delivered thousands of tons of cargo to Russia, opened and maintained orphanages in Russian cities, and sent hundreds of foreign workers and engineers to Russia to restore industry.

In 1923-24, IAH supported workers in Germany. The aid was provided by the branches in Soviet Russia, Belgium, France, United Kingdom, USA and Czechoslovakia. The IAH kitchens and warehouses were opened in all major cities. There the workers' families could receive food, clothing and medicines. In total, the IAH opened 70 kitchens, where 20 thousand people received lunch daily. The governments of Thuringia and Saxony received 8,000 tons of flour for distribution to the poorest. 10 thousand starving children from Berlin, Hamburg and Freiburg were evacuated to Denmark, France, Swiss, Netherland and Czechoslovakia where IAH took care of them for several months. The IAH also provided aid to all German workers who took part in strikes all over the country.

Grigoriy Tsidenkov is Russian scholar, with a PhD in Sociology. He is an Assistant Professor in Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education. The main topic of his research is the foreign aid to starving Russia and Ukraine during the Famine of 1921-23. In 2015-2016, he worked in the National Archive of Sweden and organised several exhibitions in Sweden and Russia about the Swedish Red Cross expedition to Soviet Russia in 1921-23.

PANEL 2

PROVIDING HEALTHCARE, HEALTH EDUCATION PROGRAMS AND ASSISTANCE IN RECONSTRUCTION CONTEXTS

Barry Doyle:

Voluntary Organisations and the Provision of Health Services in England and France, 1917-25

As the First World War came to an end, governments in the UK and France began the process of planning for reconstruction. In both cases health services emerged as key features of the post-war settlement with ambitious new Ministries of Health proposed to coordinate and deliver essential services. Public health infrastructure was at the heart of these plans, with the physical and social conditions that caused disease to be the focus of state activity. But there was also a need to take on key causes of mortality – infant mortality and tuberculosis – to provide more and better institutional treatment for all and to address the growing challenge of road traffic accidents as motor vehicles spread in the aftermath of the conflict. Legislation and enquiries followed, for example the 1918 Maternity and Child Welfare Act in Britain, yet neither the funding nor political will existed to overhaul service provision in these areas. As a result, in both countries it was necessary for voluntary organisations to fill many of the gaps in provision expected or promised by the new state commitment to health care.

To meet these tests a number of interested parties – Rockefeller, Red Cross, Croix Rouge and associated organisations, St John, voluntary hospitals and local charities – extended their work. They underpinned an extensive mixed economy of provision that ensured the reconstruction of health services in a way that met at least some of the promises of government. Building on the research conducted for the AHRC funded project, 'Crossing Boundaries: First Aid in Britain and France', this paper will focus on three key areas of voluntary involvement in health in post-war Britain and France - maternity and child welfare services, hospital services, especially tuberculosis provision and accident response, in particular ambulance services. It will suggest that while governments focused on improving health through environmental transformations, the voluntary sector stepped in to extend personal services aimed to save individual lives, cure those suffering from specific diseases and prevent deaths by better education and care.

Barry Doyle is Professor of Health History and Director of the Centre for Health Histories at the University of Huddersfield, UK. His research focuses on the role of voluntary providers of health services, especially in urban environments. He has published extensively on the English hospital system, including comparisons with early twentieth century France, has a growing body of work on interwar health in Central Europe and is currently involved in a project led by Dr Rosemary Cresswell of the University of Warwick exploring the provision and experience of first aid in Britain and France during the twentieth century.

Melanie Oppenheimer:

Repairing the Ravages of War Through Public Health Education: The League of Red Cross Societies, The Commonwealth Fund and the Scholarship Programme for Austrian Nurses, 1924-1928

One of the main foci of voluntary organisations in the aftermath of World War I was to work with governments in the reconstruction of Europe after the destruction and deprivation of the four-year war. This is a case study of two voluntary organisations, the League of Red Cross Societies and the Commonwealth Fund, and how they worked to provide humanitarian assistance during the reconstruction of Austria in the 1920s. Organisations such as the League of Red Cross Societies, established in May 1919, sought new and innovative ways to develop and protect public health initiatives through assisting national health movements as well as national Red Cross societies with tuberculosis, child welfare and venereal diseases. With the establishment of an International Public Health Nursing programme in 1920 in London, the League sought to fulfill its broad mission to improve health, prevent disease and alleviate suffering. The Commonwealth Fund, an American organisation established in 1918, offered training assistance to Austrian doctors, nurses and *fürsorgerinnen*. It was a supporter of the League's nursing programme and provided 26 scholarships for Austrian nurses and *fürsorgerinnen* to attend the one-year course as part of its five-year Austrian relief programme for child health. The paper examines the role of the Commonwealth Fund in Austria and focuses on the women who attended the League course and how this training helped them to become leaders in public health initiatives in their communities across urban and rural Austria on their return.

Melanie Oppenheimer is Professor and Chair of History within the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, Flinders University, Australia. She is the lead Chief Investigator on the Australian Research Council funded project, "Resilient Humanitarianism: A history of the League of Red Cross Societies, 1919-1991". She has published widely on volunteerism, gender and war. Her books include the centenary history of Australian Red Cross, *The Power of Humanity. 100 Years of Australian Red Cross* (Harper Collins, 2014) and the edited book (with Neville Wylie and James Crossland), *The Red Cross Movement: Myths, Practices and Turning Points* (Manchester University Press, 2020).

Elisabeth Piller:

Despondence, Dependence and Dignity – On the Dilemmas of Being an Object of International Charity in Western Europe: A German Case Study

The history of international humanitarianism is usually told from the perspective of donors and aid providers. Throughout the 20th century, large-scale humanitarian organisations like the ICRC, Red Cross societies, the American Relief Administration and an array of UN organisations have been major conduits for international aid and, as a consequence, a major focus of historical interest. By contrast we know little about the feelings and thoughts of aid 'recipients', who are frequently (not least for a lack of sources) portrayed as innocent, passive, and grateful.

My paper challenges this portrayal, using post-World War I Germany as a case study. By focusing on the post-war German debate on international aid, it shows how difficult many Germans found it to accept 'alms' from the international community, not least from their former enemies. As a defeated and humiliated nation, accepting foreign charity could feel deeply dishonourable and embarrassing: a reminder of defeat, destitution and *déclassement*. Based on archival and print sources, the paper demonstrates that German officials, in particular, took wide-ranging steps to curtail German fundraising abroad (what they called 'begging') and sought to permit only such international aid (for example from neutral countries) that was deemed compatible with German honour and great-power status. In the emotional setting of the post-war years, being the object of international charity raised for Germany much larger questions about international dependence and national dignity. Germany – presumably like a large number of Western European beneficiaries over the 20th century – was very far from just a passive recipient.

Elisabeth Piller is Assistant Professor of Transatlantic and North American History, University of Freiburg. Previously, she was a Government of Ireland Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Centre for War Studies at University College Dublin. Her post-doctoral project, titled "'Poor Little Belgium' and the 'Greater War'. The Commission for Relief in Belgium and the Humanitarian Mobilization of the World" writes a global history of the operations of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and locates this extraordinary organisation in the emergence of modern humanitarianism. Her PhD thesis on US-German relations in the interwar period (2018) has won a number of prizes, including the prestigious Steiner Prize by the German Historical Institute in Washington DC, awarded biannually for the best book manuscript in American or transatlantic history. Her work has appeared in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Immigrants & Minorities*, *Diplomatic History* and several edited collections. Her first monograph on the foreign policy of the Weimar Republic is forthcoming in early 2020.

Romain Fathi & Melanie Oppenheimer:

The Shōken Fund and the evolution of the Red Cross movement

This paper documents the creation of the Shōken Fund and its impact on the evolution of the Red Cross movement globally, with a focus on the first quarter of the twentieth century in Europe. The Shōken Fund was initiated by the Japanese Red Cross Society in 1912 to support peacetime Red Cross activities. It came into effect in 1920 and awarded the first grants in 1921. The Shōken Fund still exists today, with annual grants awarded to national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies. The paper builds on the early work of Irène Herrmann and Melanie Oppenheimer, and argues that the Shōken Fund contributed to the diversification of the mission of the Red Cross movement across the globe, assisting the ICRC, the LRCS (from 1935), and national societies in developing their peacetime work. Today, the Red Cross movement is acknowledged for both its wartime and peacetime work with a wide diversity of programs, including medical aid, disaster relief and child welfare.

Shifting the mission of Red Cross and Red Crescent societies towards peacetime work was a slow, uneven and at times challenging process for the Red Cross movement. The shift began in earnest in 1919 with the founding of the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) with its focus on the "improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering". It is from this point onwards that the ICRC becomes involved in peacetime work. All this is reasonably well known. What is absent from this narrative, however, is the role played by the Shōken Fund and the Japanese Red Cross in providing vital financial support to the ICRC to enable it to pivot towards peacetime work and reconstruction. An analysis of the Shōken Fund in the 1920s and its contribution to European post-WWI reconstruction, therefore, provides us with a lens with which to study this shift.

Romain Fathi is a Senior Lecturer in History at the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Flinders University in Adelaide and an Affiliated Researcher at the Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po in Paris. His research interests are concerned with war commemorations, the First World War, and Australian war memorialisation in Northern France. Dr. Fathi publishes in French and in English and has taught at several universities, including Sciences Po in France, Yale in the United States, and the University of Queensland in Australia. His latest book, *Our Corner of the Somme. Australia at Villers-Bretonneux* was published with Cambridge University Press in March 2019.

PANEL 3

METHODS IN RECONSTRUCTING SOCIETIES' SOCIAL FABRIC AND FOOD RELIEF

Karl-H. Fuessl:

Healing the Wounds: The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Establishment of Neighbourhood Centers in Post-1945 Germany

It is well-known that the Germans received large amounts of American humanitarian relief following the defeat of Hitler and National Socialism in 1945. Various private American welfare agencies initiated efforts to help ameliorate the misery that gripped the country. At least fifteen American welfare agencies worked in Germany after the war. One of the smallest participating groups was the Quakers. Although a minuscule group when compared to those much larger organisations which provided the bulk of humanitarian relief, the Quakers seem to be remembered by Germans more vividly than any other humanitarian aid organisation. *Quakerspeisung* became a kind of generic term for all child-feeding programs after the first and second world wars.

Overall, American policy for Germany was by no means clear after 1945. When, in 1947, American efforts toward the democratisation goal finally emerged as one of the primary post-war targets, the AFSC was already in charge to further the training of social welfare personnel through the development of settlement house projects. My proposed study investigates how far the AFSC policy (1) became an integral part of American politics toward Germany; (2) served a useful purpose in the resettlement of refugees, displaced persons, and expellees from the east; (3) served as a laboratory in which people unused to independence could learn to take communal responsibility; and (4) relied on the involvement and impact of German emigrants to the US. The study finally examines (5) whether the high demands of common humanity were of more importance than political, racial or religious origins. The study draws on the relevant technical literature as well as archival sources (AFSC-Archives, Philadelphia, PA).

Karl-H. Fuessl (Dr. Phil. Habil.) is a retired Professor from the Technical University of Berlin, Germany. His research interests include: Contemporary and Comparative History; Social Change, Cross-Cultural and International Education; History of Science, Scholarship and Professionalization; Academic Emigration after 1933. Among the numerous publications are the monographs *Die Umerziehung der Deutschen 1945-1955* (Re-education of the Germans), (Paderborn: Schoeningh-Verlag, Third Printing, 1996), *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Kulturaustausch im 20. Jahrhundert* (German-

American Cultural Exchange in the 20th Century), (Frankfurt/M.: Campus, Second Printing 2005), and *The Birth of Pedagogy from the Spirit of Exile and Emigration (1933-1970)* forthcoming 2020. He served as a Research Fellow 1994/95 (German-Historical Institute and American Institute for German-American Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.), and as a Visiting Professor 2000/01 (University of Wisconsin-Madison) and 2001/02 (University of Maryland-College Park).

Ryan Heyden:

'Let man be noble, helpful and good': The Red Cross and the 'Culture of Humanitarianism' in Occupied Germany, 1946-1952

After the end of World War Two, Germans faced an existential crisis. The defeat of the Nazi regime discredited the racist and genocidal policies that had re-shaped notions of charity and morality in Germany over the 12 years of Adolf Hitler's rule. With humanitarian crises worsening in the short term after defeat, humanitarian action and philanthropy became a part of Germans' everyday interactions, often governing exchanges with their occupiers and those liberated from concentration camps. The Red Cross, both regional German chapters and international societies, were vital to the identification of distress and the administration of aid to alleviate suffering. In playing such a role, German Red Cross members fostered a 'culture of humanitarianism', one that offered a struggling organisation—having been deemed a Nazi organisation in May 1945—an argument for its reconstitution under Allied occupation law. Further, their work became a template for how Germans could 'shed' the 'Nazi conscience' engrained over the previous 12 years. This paper argues that throughout the occupation period, local chapters of the Red Cross tried to redefine their role in German society, imagining and testing the place of humanitarianism in a post-fascist Germany. It interrogates the discourses originating from the Red Cross about the role humanitarianism could play in the creation and maintenance of civil society in Germany. Drawing on German Red Cross magazines and publications distributed in the Western occupation zones, as well US occupation files, it argues that in these early-post-war years, the Red Cross promoted a 'culture of humanitarianism' that connected the notion of apolitical, neutral, and independent philanthropic action with notions of democratic governance and Christian morality. In doing so, the Red Cross averred its usefulness to an emerging West Germany under political, economic, and cultural reconstruction. In their eyes, Red Cross work, and humanitarianism broadly, offered a break from the past—a way to shake off the 'racial arrogance' of the Nazi era and reconnect Germans with traditional Christian values.

Ryan Heyden is a PhD Candidate in the Department of History at McMaster University in Hamilton, Canada. His research focuses on the reconstitution and subsequent operations of the German Red Cross societies of East and West Germany after 1945. In his dissertation, Ryan examines the role humanitarianism played, through the work of the Red Cross, in the political, social and cultural reconstruction of divided Germany, while also examining how the legacies of National Socialism influenced how Germans understood and practised humanitarianism in the post-war period. Ryan's research is generously supported by McMaster University, the Ontario Graduate Scholarship, in addition to funding from the Central European History Society and the German Historical Institute, Washington D.C. Ryan was awarded a doctoral fellowship with the Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin for the 2019/20 academic year.

Jan Lambertz:

Atlantic Crossings in a World at War: The Rockefeller Foundation and Anglo-American Scientific Networks

By the time World War II broke out, the Rockefeller Foundation had a long track record of financing public health initiatives of all kinds throughout Europe. It had provided fellowships and training for an elite international group of scientists, many rising leaders in their fields before the war, and bankrolled a significant portion of the League of Nations' health organisation. The German war machine abruptly curtailed many of these investments. A small group of Americans affiliated with the Foundation's International Health Division nonetheless crossed the Atlantic and spent the war cultivating close ties with nutritional scientists and policy makers in Britain. They helped carry out some of the major studies of the effects of wartime rationing on civilian health, and they joined efforts to refine methods for measuring malnutrition and deficiency diseases. This network, partly built through Rockefeller funding, offers a glimpse of Anglo-American scientific cooperation during the war years. More importantly, these men and women became part of British government and military discussions about preparations for victory on the continent. They weighed in on how to address the short-term problem of caring for liberated Allied POWs and famine victims. And they contributed to discussions about how best to address the food needs of large civilian populations across post-war Europe in the longer term. Despite the extensive investment in scientific nutrition research in Britain during the war years, knowledge about the physiological requirements of diverse human populations remained partial and imperfect. Many assumptions that had been made about shortages in continental Europe from across the Channel also proved faulty. Setting up a rational and efficient system for dealing with hunger in liberated territories proved an elusive goal, even when state planners and private experts joined forces. Aid and reconstruction efforts in continental Europe after 1945 cannot be fully understood without examining the networks, field-work, and misapprehensions of wartime Allied planners.

Jan Lambertz is a historian and applied researcher at the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. She is currently co-editing a volume on wartime aid for Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. She previously served as contributing editor for the book series *Documenting Life and Destruction*, published by the Mandel Center in association with AltaMira Press. She was also a researcher for US archives for the Independent Historians Commission on the Role of the German Foreign Office during National Socialism and after 1945, which culminated in the report, *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit. Die deutschen Diplomaten im dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik* (Munich, 2010).

Kelly A. Spring:

Feeding Europe under British Rationing: Relief Efforts for the Continent after the Second World War

In August 1940, Winston Churchill laid out the war situation in the House of Commons. In this statement, he outlined the Allied blockage of food to Nazi-occupied Europe, and looked to the day when goods could again flow freely to Continent: “We shall do our best to encourage the building up of reserves of food all over the world, so that there will always be held up before the eyes of the peoples of Europe, including—I say it deliberately—the German and Austrian peoples, the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom and peace”.

With this speech, Churchill essentially promised British food relief to Europe at the end of the war. But Britain's ability to provide food to the Continent, particularly through its voluntary societies, was contingent on its domestic and international concerns, which to a large extent were bound up in the complex and shifting Anglo-American relationship of the period.

In this paper, I will explore the activities of the Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad (COBSRA) from 1945 to 1947, which acted as an umbrella organisation that coordinated all British societies' food relief to Europe in the post-war period. This study will reveal COBSRA's crucial role in facilitating British food aid on the Continent, specifically to displaced persons in Germany and 'special needs' groups e.g. women, children, the elderly and the infirmed. It will also trace how COBSRA's relief program was shaped and often constrained by the changing Anglo-American relationship, furnishing a new way in which to view trans-Atlantic connections through the lens of British food relief.

Kelly A. Spring is a food historian, who focuses on the impact of war and conflict on the social and political structures of society. She received her PhD from the University of Manchester in 2016 and now works as part-time lecturer in the Food Studies Program at the University of Southern Maine. Her current project, “Transatlantic Food Networks in the Second World War and Post-War Period”, traces the interconnectivity of the US-UK relationship through the spectrum of food networks between governments, voluntary societies and individuals, 1941-1947. She also has a forthcoming chapter, entitled “Contradictions and Conformity in a Wartime Boarding House: Gender Roles and British Food Rationing in the Second World War”, in the edited volume, *Women's Experiences of War: Exile, Survival and Everyday Life*.

Nerissa Aksamit:

Reconciliation: From Mount Waltham to the British Occupation Zone, 1943 to 1948

This paper emphasises organisations and key elements missing in histories on the humanitarian relief efforts during and after the Second World War. The scholarship on the preparation for post-war relief tend to address larger international relief organisations and neglect the smaller national organisations. This paper examines the ways in which the Friends Relief Service (FRS) trained volunteers in war relief to provide spiritual rehabilitation and reconciliation, and the implementation of that training in the British Occupation Zone beginning in 1945.

The 1943 training programme created by the FRS centred on Quaker pacifist tradition and conviction, drew on instances of relief work during and after the First World War, and integrated the experience and expertise of relief workers in the field. Unlike the international organisations and Allied governments who defined 'rehabilitation' as economic and political reconstruction, the FRS considered the rehabilitation of the community and spirit of displaced and refugee populations as essential to the process of structural rebuilding in post-war Europe.

The FRS prepared volunteers for post-war reconciliation work by offering lectures in Quakerism, contemporary European history, and establishing courses in European languages with the aim of equipping volunteers with the knowledge and skills to provide impartial relief and foster social reconciliation. For example, the FRS run refugee camps featured three interconnected components: first, foster democratic relief by encouraging the population receiving aid to be an active agent in their rehabilitation; second, provide the space and support for the displaced populations to build community; and third, encourage spiritual and social rehabilitation through vocational training, education, and work. Once in the British Occupation Zone, volunteers utilised their training, but often found that the conditions and attitudes of suffering populations—displaced persons, refugees, internees, expellees, and local German communities—had vastly different experiences that required different approaches. This paper explores the opportunities and limitations of the FRS's relief work and conceptualisation of rehabilitation in the British Zone.

Nerissa Aksamit is an Assistant Teaching Professor at St. Joseph's College, Patchogue, NY. She is a social and cultural historian of modern European history with a specialization in twentieth-century war and society. Her primary research interests are the transnational dimensions and impacts of the Second World War on societies and institutions in Britain and Germany. Aksamit is currently working on a manuscript based on her doctoral dissertation, "Training Friends and Overseas Relief: The Friends Ambulance Unit and the Friends Relief Service, 1939 to 1948." This project is a transnational study of two British Quaker voluntary organizations and their humanitarian work in Germany among refugees, displaced persons, and ethnic Germans during and after the Second World War.

Dominic Ferrara:

Nongovernmental, Not Nonpolitical: Christian Democratic Influence Over the West German Red Cross 1945-1955

When the German Red Cross (*Deutsches Rotes Kreuz*, DRK) was re-established in 1952, after being subjected to denazification, its leading members immediately committed the body to resolving one of West Germany's most prominent humanitarian issues: the release of the thousands of remaining German prisoners of war who were still held in communist Eastern Europe. As a major issue in West German media and politics, its resolution carried great meaning for West German society, which saw it as one of the final reminders of their nation's dark past, and thus an obstacle to full reconstruction. Scholarly attention has already been given to this episode, focusing primarily on the ways the DRK attempted to resolve this crisis through cooperation with the Russian Red Cross/Red Crescent, and the ways that the Adenauer government obstructed the initiative, and ultimately resolved the crisis on its own terms during the Chancellor's 1955 visit to the Soviet Union.

While this narrative depicts fairly clear dynamics between the DRK and the state, exploring the relevant political and special interest work done by the DRK and its leaders within West Germany reveals a more nuanced version of this relationship. These connections appear most notably in the relationship between DRK President Heinrich Weitz and Konrad Adenauer, who had conversed as both political allies and personal friends since before 1945.

This essay will argue that these connections served as a double-edged sword for the DRK. When it seemed beneficial to CDU politicians' campaign rhetoric surrounding West German reconstruction, the organisation received the patronage of the CDU, accelerating its reestablishment and full approval to participate in the League of Red Cross Societies. However, these same connections gave the state a great deal of leverage over the DRK, making it easier to marginalise the organisation when its goals conflicted with West German Cold War politics.

Dominic Ferrara is currently a doctoral student in modern German and European history at Boston College in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. He received his B.Sc. in finance and history in 2017. His research interests include the 20th century German economy, racial discourse in post-World War II Germany, and the relationship between the German Red Cross and the West German state.

PANEL 4

PROTECTING VULNERABLE POPULATIONS: CHILDREN, WOMEN, EXILES AND SURVIVORS

Rosemary Cresswell

The British Red Cross' Role in the Reconstruction of Germany after World War Two

When Angela, Countess of Limerick, visited Germany, she found the cities and infrastructure devastated by Allied bombing. Angela Limerick served as Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Red Cross (BRC) and St John War Organisation and was soon to be the Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the BRC. In the weeks following Victory in Europe she visited the camp at Belsen and hospitals in nearby Celle, and during 1945 she visited cities including Dortmund, Cologne, and Berlin, and other women working with the BRC, including the Duchess of Marlborough, joined her on some of these travels. She signed an agreement with Sir Raphael Cilento, an Australian doctor who was the head of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the British Zone in Germany, agreeing to co-operation. The work which the BRC undertook in the immediate years after the war shows the continuing complexity of neutrality with the combination of its national role, and the international humanitarian sphere of reconstruction.

In June 1945, the BRC's continental office relocated from Brussels to Vlotho, a village in North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany, where Evelyn Bark was stationed for four years, and where members of 23 national Red Cross societies came to visit. Bark had experienced work in Belsen, tracing missing people. In occupied Germany, she worked closely with Dr Verhoeff, the representative of Germany to the League of Red Cross Societies. Work included 'resuscitat[ing]' the German Red Cross. Bark worked with displaced people and her main focus was on tracing and welfare inquiries. The BRC also created camps, help was provided for the wounded, and relatives arriving to visit the seriously ill were provided with care. Despite being based at Vlotho, Bark traversed the British Zone during the first year after the war. In Bad Pyrmont the Kurhaus was requisitioned for use as a hospital for 2000 patients, with rehabilitation and fitting of artificial limbs. German doctors, nurses, drill instructors and physiotherapists were invited to learn British methods of occupational therapy, and in Britain, German nurses were trained for the understaffed health services in occupied Germany. Despite the work of the Red Cross in Germany, there is little use of these women's accounts and experiences in historians' discussions of the initial reconstruction work within occupied Germany. This paper reveals the leadership roles of these British women in the aftermath of war.

Rosemary Cresswell (formerly Wall) is currently writing the history of the British Red Cross and is working on a variety of related projects on the history of war, health and humanitarianism. Rosemary studied Economic and Social History as an undergraduate and History of Science, Technology and Medicine at postgraduate level. She held postdoctoral research roles at the University of Oxford and at King's College London, before undertaking a temporary lectureship at Imperial College London, joining the University of Hull in September 2012 and working at the University of Warwick since November 2020.

Emilie Garrigou-Kempton:

From a Tracing Service to an Archive: The Role of the International Committee of the Red Cross at the International Tracing Service

Located in Bad Arolsen, Germany, The International Tracing Service (ITS), renamed the Arolsen Archives – International Center on Nazi Persecution in May 2019, is one of the largest Holocaust archives in the world. Created in 1943 through the British Red Cross Bureau for International Affairs, the ITS is overseen by an International Commission composed of member states, while the management of the institution was officially handed over to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1955. If this decision makes sense in light of the ICRC's expertise in restoring family links, the ICRC's culture of discretion and confidentiality also greatly contributed to the development of tensions surrounding the institution. Indeed, the ICRC's reluctance to open up the ITS to the public in spite of Holocaust survivors' repeated requests, lead to a untenable situation where the ITS's 17.5 million name cards, its 50 million documents, and its 16 linear miles of shelves were searchable only by its staff and essentially kept out of the reach of both survivors and scholars. Those restrictions became unconscionable as Holocaust survivors were entering old age without having ever been able to consult the documents pertaining to their own personal history. Paul Shapiro, director of the Jack, Joseph, and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, saw the opening of the archive as a moral imperative, yet this imperative appeared at odds with the ICRC's culture, ultimately leading to the ICRC's withdrawal on January 1, 2013. In this communication, I propose to explore the role played by the ICRC at the ITS through several angles. I will first consider to what extent did the guiding principles and the institutional culture of the Red Cross movement influence the ITS as an institution? What were the diplomatic forces at play in both appointing, and recusing, the ICRC, and what role, if any did the ITS play as an element of soft diplomacy? In other words, what does the role of the ICRC at the ITS tells us about the reconstruction of Western Europe after World War II and the political tensions that agitated both the continent and its international institutions?

Emilie Garrigou-Kempton (Scripps College) obtained a DESS in “Métiers de l'Humanitaire” from University Louis-Lumière Lyon II and worked for several humanitarian organisations, including the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) in Geneva, Switzerland before obtaining a PhD in French Studies from the University of Southern California. There, working within the organisation's now defunct Principles and Values department, she conducted research on the role played by the seven guiding principles at all levels of the organisation. It is only recently, as her own research started focusing on Holocaust archives, that she revisited her past work at the IFRC and started exploring the role of the Red Cross Movement in leading the International Tracing Service from 1956 to 2007.

Christine Schmidt & Dan Stone:

Women and Child Search: A Gendered View of Post-World War II Reconstruction

Within UNRRA, one of the most crucial sections was the Child Search Branch (CSB) Headquartered in Esslingen. The CSB faced the mammoth, emotionally and ethically complex task of assisting 'unaccompanied children', who were discovered in far larger numbers after 1945 than anyone had expected; repatriating those children or resettling them where no relatives could be found; and helping often distraught parents or other relatives search for missing children. These field activities soon confronted and often clashed with geopolitical and national interests, as governments set out on the task of nation building and reconstruction. UNRRA recruited large numbers of employees at very short notice at the end of the war; most were men, especially at senior levels. By contrast, in the CSB many of them were women. Based on personnel files as well as personal document collections and writings, this paper will consider the role and influence of the women who effectively ran the CSB in navigating the world of post-war reconstruction. We examine the extent to which women who worked for the CSB yielded influence beyond their immediate operational work, for example in making decisions over the fraught removal of children from foster families. Further, we consider the extent to which the persistence of gendered assumptions about the 'caring' professions have contributed to interpretations of the role of women in the post-war period. Our argument is that gender was not something that the women in the CSB consciously reflected on but that their self-styling as 'carers' not only kept women confined to certain roles, as some historians have observed. It also meant that in those roles – many of which were ones of leadership – these women became experts in their fields and made numerous crucial decisions that changed the fortunes of many thousands of children.

Christine Schmidt is Deputy Director and Head of Research at the Wiener Library, London, where she oversees academic programming and outreach. Her work has focused on the International Tracing Service, the concentration camp system in Nazi Germany and comparative studies of collaboration and resistance in France and Hungary.

Dan Stone is Professor of Modern History and Director of the Holocaust Research Institute at Royal Holloway, University of London. He is the author or editor of sixteen books and some eighty scholarly articles and is currently completing a book on the International Tracing Service.

Paris, 14 & 15 June 2021 (online only)

SYMPOSIUM ORGANISED BY

College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, Flinders University

Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po

Graduate Institute Geneva

CONTACT: humanitarianreconstruction@gmail.com

