Western Aid and the Global Economy

Series One: The Save the Children Fund Archive, London

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Western Aid and the Global Economy

Series One: The Save the Children Fund Archive, London

Cumulative Guide Reels 1-101

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Dr Hugo Slim, Dr Patricia Sellick, Editors

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PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

Primary Source Microfilm is proud to present Western Aid and the Global Economy. This project offers a unique opportunity for scholars to study the archives of various aid agencies. It will enable the scholar to chart the agencies' importance, in terms of political impact and provision of aid. Both fundraising and field campaigns will be open to scrutiny. Series One of the collection contains the Save the Children Fund archives, including the complete run of the Fund journal *The World's Children*, a variety of other Fund publications and the Eglantyne Jebb Papers. This material has been selected to aid interpretation of changes in emphasis and presentation of the Fund itself and of its campaigns over the decades since its inception in 1919.

The microfilm collection is accompanied by a printed guide that offers a quick reference Contents of Reels list, providing detailed information of the material on each reel. On completion of the final unit of the series, guide information will be fielded and incorporated into Primary Source Microfilm's searchable online guide available at www.gale.com/psm.

A special thank you is due to Susan Sneddon and Jeanette Bergin, archivists at the Save the Children Fund whose comprehensive knowledge and generous advice have contributed to the preparation of the collection for publication.

Justine Williams Senior Editor Primary Source Microfilm Reading, UK

TECHNICAL NOTE

Primary Source Microfilm has set itself the highest standards in the field of archivally-permanent library microfilming. Our microfilm publications conform to the recommendations of the guides to good microforming and micropublishing practice and meet the standards established by the Association for Information and Image Management (AIIM) and the American National Standards Institute (ANSI).

Attention should be drawn to the nature of the printed material within the collection. This sometimes consists of articles printed or written with a variety of inks and on paper that has become severely discoloured or stained rendering the original document difficult to read. Occasionally volumes have been tightly bound and this leads to text loss. Such inherent characteristics present difficulties of image and contrast that stringent tests and camera alterations cannot entirely overcome. Every effort has been made to minimise these difficulties though there are occasional pages that have proved impossible to reproduce satisfactorily. Conscious of this we have chosen to include these pages in order to make available the complete volume.

INTRODUCTION TO WESTERN AID AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Extraordinary things have often come from a few people sitting round a table determined 'to do something' about poverty, injustice or the horrors of war. Time and time again in history, groups of committed, energetic and resourceful people have seized the moment and mobilised a generation. A good idea has frequently combined with timing, contacts, personality and resolve to bring forth an amazing array of voluntary organisations over the last two centuries.

The term used for such organisations in Article 71 of the United Nations (UN) Charter, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), has now become the term of choice for these organisations — the number and influence of which have increased significantly in recent years. More commonly known as charities, aid agencies or human rights groups, they have a long and important history.

The 19th century produced the generation of philanthropists who founded the anti-slavery movement, the campaign against child labour and the Red Cross among others. The 20th century produced an equally impressive collection of activists. The Save the Children Fund was founded in 1919 by a small but influential group resolved to affirm the innocence of children in war in the recently defeated countries of Germany and Austria. From this began an international movement for children's rights that culminated 70 years later in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. In 1942 Oxfam was started in a room above the University Church in Oxford High Street by a group of academics, clerics and businessmen appalled at the extent of civilian suffering in Nazi-occupied and Allied-blockaded Europe. Oxfam expanded its mission after the war to focus on poverty worldwide and so became the epitome of the new post-colonial development agency. In the USA in the 1930s, Albert Einstein and others formed the International Rescue Committee seeking to help refugees fleeing from Nazism in Europe. The New York of the 1940s saw the emergence of CARE bringing relief to liberated Europe. During 1950 World Vision was born from one man's experience of seeing the tragic conditions of orphans in the Korean War.

In 1961, a group of lawyers had the idea of building a movement to fight for the rights of political prisoners and so Amnesty International was born. A group of French doctors disillusioned with the conventional Red Cross in the Nigerian civil war formed Médecins sans Frontières in 1971. In the same year, as the environment rose rapidly up the social and political agenda, Greenpeace was founded in the USA. Parallel to such secular organisations, international Christian organisations, like Christian Aid, Catholic Relief Services, Lutheran World Federation and Tear Fund have always taken up the challenge of the social issues of the day. So too have Jewish agencies like the Joint Distribution Committee in the USA. And, in 1984 as a response to the Ethiopian famine, a group of Moslem medical students at Birmingham University set up Islamic Relief – now Europe's biggest Islamic aid agency. Alongside all of these, Quakers, Mennonites and Buddhist groups have continued to work for peace.

Every year, sudden crises and the emergence of new issues of concern bring forth the creation of new organisations. Some stay relatively small but resilient, others grow to become market leaders and opinion-formers while others simply fade away. The distinctive thing about these voluntary agencies is that they are 'self-mandated' and independent. As private citizens, they decide what they want to do, write their own mission and charter accordingly and raise money from the public, from business, from trade unions and from governments as and where they can. Following the lead set by Oxfam, many also trade in secondhand goods, greetings cards and crafts.

Many of these organisations now have a considerable history of engagement in a very wide range of countries worldwide. As large organisations dependent on many billions of dollars from the general public and their governments each year, they also have a responsibility to report on what they do. It is the need for a better understanding of NGO political history and the rising contemporary demands for increased NGO accountability that makes the publication of Western Aid and the Global Economy so important and so timely.

The history of international humanitarian, development and human rights NGOs merits close attention for its political content. In the last hundred years, NGOs have occupied rather intriguing political space behind the lines, on the borders or in the open wounds of great power politics. With their domestic publics they have often achieved significant and disproportionate leverage as the main spokespeople on key social issues like famine, war, global warming, third world debt, child poverty and human rights. Abroad, their humanitarian mission and impartiality have often given them extraordinary access to the heat of war and disaster, the suffering of millions displaced and dispossessed by them, and the daily grind of poverty and injustice lived through (or not) by the poor of the world. But along with this access have come the timeless dilemmas involved in helping other people and trying to be an honest third party in war. Politically and culturally, NGO archives are thus a valuable window on liberal and radical readings of the politics of war and poverty in Europe and the subsequent post-colonial western encounter with what came to be known as 'the third world'.

The challenges posed by such proximity to suffering have resulted in NGOs being at the forefront of many practical technical innovations in disaster relief and development work. The determination to do something has led them to experiment, impose and consult in the search for practical solutions. Some of these innovations have been predominantly technical in areas of water supply, nutrition, public health, agriculture, literacy, shelter and micro-credit. Others have been more in the nature of social innovation through the development of theory and practice around gender analysis, participation, capacity building, empowerment, solidarity, campaigning and the development of international social movements. Their archives tell the tale of this innovation – one that is as much a history of failure as of success.

In addition to their interesting political and technical histories, international NGOs also provide a valuable source of organisational history. Culturally, these organisations can be studied by examining the sort of people who led, joined and supported them. Equally, they can be analysed for how they functioned neo-colonially in the last century as respectable or radical successors to their colonial ancestors. Their exponential organisational growth and development is also of interest: how they grew; how they were managed; how they balanced charisma and bureaucracy, moral passion and business acumen; how they functioned transnationally; how they formed alliances, and how they often fell into schism.

But if the history in these archives is compelling, so too is the increasing awareness that these organisations need to be more accountable for what they do. The history of NGOs has always been accompanied by a history of criticism. In recent years, NGOs have been called to account more than ever before. The traditional question of "does the money ever really get there?" is now asked alongside others like "what is the basis of their expertise?", "how can they show that they truly make a difference?" or "what legitimacy do they have to talk on behalf of the poor?" and "who do they really represent?". Making their archives available to wider public scrutiny is a very positive move by NGOs towards greater public accountability. It takes courage and must always be done with some caution. Reputations — both organisational and personal — are at stake. Lives might even be at risk in war-torn countries where people have long memories and deep wounds.

The publication of these archives is, therefore, to be warmly welcomed. This series offers real insight into a type of organisation that embodies a perpetual human determination to reach out and change the lives of distant others for the better. In so doing, it shows a history of European

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and North American agencies trying, succeeding, failing or not even trying, in equal measure, to step out of the shadow of colonialism and power to shape a new relationship between rich and poor, north and south.

NGOs have come to occupy an increasingly strategic space in contemporary politics, the publication of their archives will enable closer scrutiny of their past operations that will help people to understand who they are and how they work. Hopefully, such improved understanding will contribute to a more informed debate about NGOs and more appropriate demands of what we have a right to expect from them.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND ARCHIVE

In 1919 two sisters, Dorothy Buxton and Eglantyne Jebb, founded Save the Children Fund (SCF). Their correspondence and published papers demonstrate their association with a wider community engaged in the reappraisal of attitudes to social reform, war and peace, and relations between state and civil society.

In early 1915 Dorothy Buxton had begun translating extracts from foreign newspapers and publishing them under the title 'Notes from the Foreign Press', first in the *Cambridge Magazine* and then in the *Manchester Guardian*. She included articles from allied, neutral and enemy countries, and presented the injustices of war in a way that implicated all their governments. Among reports on the effects of the war on social conditions were descriptions of starvation among children of Vienna, sent in by Dr Frédéric Ferrière, Vice President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). 'Notes from the Foreign Press' was regularly read by members of government, and Dorothy Buxton and the rest of the editorial team had strong personal connections with people in power.

After the conclusion of the Armistice, Dorothy Buxton, Eglantyne Jebb and their influential associates, were concerned that the war, while no longer being fought by military means, was still being waged by economic means. They determined to continue their information campaign but this time through the channel of the Fight the Famine Council. The Council was to become the parent organization of SCF.

SCF was formed on 19 April 1919 to raise funds to be passed on to agencies already working in the famine-stricken areas. The first appeal was made at a public meeting of the Fight the Famine Council in the Royal Albert Hall in London, timed to coincide with the Peace Conference in Paris. Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, moved a resolution:

This meeting urges the necessity of pressing forward every measure of effective relief to meet the appalling conditions of the famine districts, and especially to stay the mortality among the children.¹

Some of the people associated with the early days of SCF channelled their major efforts into inter-governmental organizations such as the League of Nations, or non-governmental organizations such as the League of Nations Union and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. However, Eglantyne Jebb was single-minded in her determination to put children first. Her definition of SCF as a single-issue organization was a strategic choice. In her view children were worth saving on two counts: in themselves and as the key to the future. In common with many of her contemporaries in the social reform movement, she was convinced her generation had, for the first time in the history of humanity, the power to save them. From the outset, SCF would base its work on scientific research, which remains of interest to researchers exploring the social and cultural construction of children and childhood.

In the year that the Versailles Peace Treaty was signed, SCF made grants to nine different European countries. The following year it made its first grant to refugees in Constantinople and to famine relief in China. In 1921 as civil war wreaked havoc with the Russian economy, it launched its appeal for Russian famine relief, and committed itself to feed 250,000 children. The correspondence, records and committee papers from this period reveal not only the formation and consolidation of a fast-growing international organization, but also provide social commentary on events in the countries of operation.

¹ K. Freeman. If Any Man Build: The History of Save the Children Fund, London: Hodder and Stoughton (1965) 21.

Much of this action was contentious in that it fundamentally challenged the government policy of the day. However, SCF made direct and repeated appeals to people in power, ranging from Lord Robert Cecil, the minister responsible for the blockade of the defeated countries of Europe, to the Pope, in order to win acceptance at the highest level for their claims. At the same time, its promotional literature tapped the emotional energy of people disturbed by the suffering of children and offered them a way of converting a passive response into action. Most notably, SCF made unprecedented use of the media, as well as distributing its own films.²

By 1923 SCF had published a draft Declaration of the Rights of the Child. In 1924 delegates of the newly formed Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants (UISE) [International Union of Save the Children] successfully persuaded individual heads of state, as well as the Assembly of the League of Nations, to adopt it. The Declaration was intended to safeguard all children "beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality or creed". This universalism was reflected in the importance attached by SCF's founders to the organization's secular approach and its evolution into an international union.

[There are] certain fundamental duties which we owe to mankind, and which, when they appear to clash (it is always in appearance only) with our duties to our national states, should, nevertheless, take precedence.⁴

Before her death in 1928, Eglantyne Jebb laid plans for the extension of the work of SCF to Africa. While a conference was held in 1931,⁵ practical work in Africa would not take off until the era of decolonisation in the 1960s when SCF's income again reached levels comparable with the extraordinary response it drew on at the time of the Russian famine in 1921.

During the economic recession of the 1930s, SCF's supporters in Britain were keen that charity should begin at home amongst economically deprived children in Britain. At the outbreak of civil war in Spain, the divisions on the left and the right of domestic politics governed the delivery of humanitarian assistance. While both these efforts were driven by sympathy for the needs of particular children, neither of these aid efforts reflected the universalist vision of SCF's founders.

During 1939-45, when Britain was again at war with Germany, with the exception of the Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany, where SCF was represented by Dorothy Buxton and worked in partnership with the Quakers, SCF was patriotic, rather than international, in its orientation. The original vision of its founders of young people as a radical lever to transform the world, was reduced to a vision of youth related to "the purposive life of the nation". During this period SCF became a respectable part of the British war effort. In 1942 it was the more radical founder members of Oxfam who challenged Winston Churchill's policy of total war and comprehensive sanctions upon the civilian populations of German-controlled Europe.

The founders of SCF were remarkable for their engagement in and with the world. The historical records of the organization reflect the evolution of critical debates. For example, the

 $^{^{2}}$ The Russian Famine (1922); Tragedy of the Near East (1923).

 $^{^3}$ From the preamble of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the International Union of Save the Children in Geneva, 17 May 1923.

⁴ E. Jebb, 'The World Policy of the Save the Children Fund', in E. Fuller, *The International Handbook of Child Care and Protection*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd and the Weardale Press (1928) 564.

⁵ E. Sharp, The African Child: An Account of the International Conference on African Children Geneva, London: Longmans Green (1931).
⁶ 'Warphans'. The World's Children, Vol. 22 No. 3 (Autumn 1942) 61.

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growing use of sanctions in the 1990s, particularly against Iraq, prompted SCF to revisit the arguments of 1919 and 1942. It concluded that sanctions were a "blunt instrument" imposing suffering on the poorest and most vulnerable.⁷ At the same time as chronicling the development of SCF, the archives give an insight into the development of the extended powers of the state over welfare at home and relief abroad.⁸

After the First World War, non-governmental organisations took the initiative and raised the funds to provide relief in the defeated countries of Europe. By contrast, after the Second World War SCF drew up plans in cooperation with government and implemented them alongside the military. The pattern that was set in Europe was then imitated in Korea and Vietnam. In each case SCF workers were present in the zone of influence of the US and its allies only, and had to follow in the wake of the military and set up programmes under military authority.

The practical work of a new generation of fieldworkers shines through from the records. For 14 years from 1948-62 Bridget Stevenson sent monthly reports of SCF's work with refugee children in Germany. Mary Hawkins had her first appointment with SCF in 1950 providing health care services for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, went on to spend ten years in Korea, and left her-last post for SCF in Dubai in 1972. These SCF workers were inspired by the universalism of SCF's founding generation and chafed at the categorisation of children and their entitlements according to whether they were refugees, displaced or indigenous. However, they could not renegotiate the rules set by the UN or the military.

In addition to the detailed accounts of the daily management of projects sent in by SCF staff, the Council of SCF was also benefiting from a revitalised debate about child welfare. The International Union of Save the Children merged in 1946 with a Belgian organisation to form the International Union for Child Welfare (IUCW). A number of IUCW policies generated during this period remained important within SCF's view of child welfare for the rest of the century. First was an insistence on the importance of family life, and the disadvantages of institutional care. This idea arose not only from the British experience of evacuation, ¹⁰ but also from research conducted by the IUCW into the experience of other war affected populations. Second was the identification of the important social and economic role of children and the need to adapt educational provision for working children. *The World's Children* reported that both issues were raised at a conference in 1947 held in Shanghai. ¹¹

The greatest diplomatic success of the IUCW was the adoption of a revised Declaration of the Rights of the Child by the UN Assembly in 1959. It succeeded in reinstating Eglantyne Jebb's original vision, despite the opposition from governments that argued that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 made any separate Declaration on behalf of children superfluous. Children's rights had provided an issue on which most UN members, from both East and West, could agree.

Nevertheless, in a world dominated by the Cold War and the threat of nuclear conflict, SCF was

⁷ SCF's Evidence to the House of Commons International Development Committee's Enquiry on the Future of Sanctions, April 1999.

⁸ P. Sellick, Responding to Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A case study of Save the Children Fund (1919-1999), PhD Dept. of Peace Studies, Bradford University, 2001.

 $^{^{9}}$ SC/BS/1-4; 'A Really Remarkable Person', The World's Children, Vol. 58 No. 3 (1977) 6-9.

¹⁰ See for example, Streatefield, N. 'Unsettled Children', The World's Children, Vol. 27 No. 6 (June 1947) 102-04.

^{&#}x27;Child Welfare Work in China' by Lu Kuang-Mien, Special Advisor on Far Eastern Affairs to the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations at Geneva and delegate to the General Council of the IUCW at Stockholm, *The World's Children*, Vol. 28 No. 12 (December 1948) 400.

restricted to work on one side of the Iron Curtain only. It withdrew from Yugoslavia and Hungary after 30 years of continuous work and handed its projects over to national welfare authorities. However, SCF was to embark on work that would last as long, if not longer, in response to the displacement of Palestinians from Palestine, and the flight of refugees from China to Hong Kong and from Hungary to Austria.

This period also coincided with the expansion of the role of the state, not only in welfare work at home, but also in international relief. The UN was founded in 1945, and the specialist agency of UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) in 1946. Paradoxically, during a period when state activity was increasing, SCF was joined by a range of voluntary agencies: Oxfam, Christian Aid, War on Want and Voluntary Service Overseas.

Between 1960 and 1975, SCF began work with children affected by a succession of wars in Vietnam, Tibet, Congo, Nigeria, Yemen, Jordan, East Pakistan and Kurdistan. But it was the children of the newly independent states of Africa who became the focus of SCF work. By 1961 SCF was, for the first time, spending more money in Africa than in the UK; by 1965, expenditure on Africa exceeded that in Europe; and finally, in 1970, Africa became the leading area for SCF expenditure. This expenditure was mainly concentrated on famine relief.

Fifty years after the foundation of SCF, the organisation had outlived all of its founders, its income was rising to levels comparable with the heyday of 1922 as it benefited from the increased affluence of the 1960s, and new people joined its ranks. By the late 1970s, there was a very large proportion of ex-military staff in the overseas division of SCF. They had a reserve of logistical experience that was useful in meeting the immediate material needs following natural and human disasters. However, it could be said that SCF's capacity to mount a relief operation, conducted with near-military precision, delayed recognition of the need for a political response. This is most clearly illustrated by the gap that SCF had allowed to open between its relief and development work. During the period of decolonisation SCF adopted distinct peacetime and wartime approaches. In countries where the transition to independence was not accompanied by armed conflict, it encouraged the development of local organisations. In countries where the transition to independence was marked by armed conflict, SCF responded with rapid relief.

In the absence of an institutional memory reaching further back into the past, the Nigerian Civil War became a reference point for a whole generation of people involved with relief and development. SCF's long-term travelling companions, the ICRC, the Quakers and Oxfam were present, but so too were the future founders of Médecins sans Frontières and journalists from the print and television media. Many of the people coming to the apex of their careers in relief and development at the end of the twentieth century were first confronted by the implications of armed conflict during the Nigerian Civil War.

The war in Nigeria forced agencies, such as SCF, which had insisted upon the apolitical nature of their work, to recognize their political roles as providers of relief. The description of relief as "a coveted weapon" of politicians by Eglantyne Jebb within the context of the Russian Famine in 1923 had a particular resonance.

But now when it attracts millions of pounds and affects millions of people, it is harder for it to escape from the friendship of politicians – a friendship which is often more dangerous than their enmity. For relief has become to them a coveted weapon. The promise of relief may extort political

 $^{^{12}}$ 'Chinks in the Curtain', The World's Children, Vol. 30 No. 12 (December 1950) 443.

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concessions, the threat of its withdrawal prevent actions distasteful to the wealthier power. 13

Dr Patricia Sellick Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies

¹³ The Record, Vol. 3, No. 4 (July 1923) 158.

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EJ 273	Call of the International Committee of the Red Cross leaflet, cutting from The Times on prosecution of Eglantyne Jebb for publishing unauthorized leaflets, and notes for delegates to Geneva meeting, February 1920
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EJ 291	Message to Children, 1925: Drafts, correspondence and notes	
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Baltic States: International Commissioners' reports Estonia: General reports and correspondence, 1921-22 Austria II/3a: Monsieur Reymond, letters and reports, 1921 Czechoslovakia: Red Cross and Salvation Army, correspondence

Miscellaneous items including essay entitled Save the Child! by Eglantyne Jebb

Estonia: International Commissioners' reports and correspondence Yugoslavia: Children in Serbia, reports and newspaper cuttings, 1920-23

Baltic States: Dr Armstrong Smith's correspondence, 1921

Baltic States: Estonia: Madame Berg, 1920-23

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EC: The E.T. Clively Papers

SC/EC/1 Travel and authorisation documents for Russia and Greece 1921-1923 SC/EC/2 Various documents and photographs

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MH: The Margaret Hill Papers

SC/MH/1 Various papers including letters from Eglantyne Jebb, postcards, photographs and journals, 1906-51

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Fairfield House Residential School, Broadstairs, Kent:

Log Book, October 1926-December 1972

Open-Air School Sub-Committee minutes, 1926-28

Open-Air Residential School Sub-Committee minutes, 1928-32

Warren Wood Children's Home:

Miscellaneous, 1963-72

Reports to Committees, 1971-72

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