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ADVICE TO RELIEF WORKERS

Based on Personal Experience in the Field

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JOHN MURRAY
AND
FRIENDS RELIEF SERVICE

This work is based largely on the Appendix to Francesca Wilson's *In the Margins of Chaos*, a Book Society choice, published by John Murray, of which the *Spectator* wrote: "The reader is made to feel he understands something at second hand of the diverse cultures, problems and personalities which the author's own wide sympathies and alert mind enable her to grasp at first hand. There is humour, as well as pathos in the book and plenty of wise comment." This pamphlet completes the statement of relief problems and technique contained in the Appendix and presents a brief generalisation of Francesca Wilson's extensive relief experience.

During the last war Francesca Wilson worked for Belgian refugees in Holland, for French children in Haute Savoie and for Serb exiles in Corsica and Tunisia; after the armistice she worked first in Serbia, then in Austria, and later in Russia during the famine. She did relief in Spain during the Spanish Civil War, and later among Spanish refugees in France. In 1939 and 1940 she was working for the Poles who had escaped into Hungary and Rumania.

Friends Relief Service, which has co-operated in the production of *Advice to Relief Workers*, is the official relief organisation of the Society of Friends in this country. While not necessarily endorsing all the suggestions made herein, Friends Relief Service is grateful for this opportunity to make them available.

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INTRODUCTION

Relief work is occasionally necessary owing to an act of God, such as an earthquake, typhoon or flood, but usually owing to an act of man. The major cause is war. There are two main types of need. First, the need of a distressed area, smitten with famine, epidemic or devastation by armed forces. Instances of this are Vienna suffering from semi-starvation and nutritional diseases in 1919, Russia visited by famine and typhus in 1921, and Normandy in this war bombed from the air and wrecked by retreating and advancing armies. Second, there is the need of uprooted peoples or displaced populations, as they are called now. Though the problems are often the same in the two cases, there are some which are different and the method of work is necessarily different. For the refugees or displaced there is the additional problem of shelter—this only arises in the first case in devastated areas and then often only partially—and the greater mental anguish that comes not merely with homelessness but with being far from one's home, often in a foreign country, as were the Spanish refugees in France after the fall of Barcelona and the Poles scattered in twenty-four different countries in this war. As for method of distributing relief, in the first case there are probably administrative and social services through which it can be given, in the second they have to be created.

In both cases the relief worker, if he has any administrative function, however limited, must know something of the technique of making a survey and clear and factual reports. Information has to be obtained from local authorities or camp commandants, but it should be checked by personal observation.

The making of adequate social surveys is nowadays a highly skilled business, but the relief worker, faced with an emergency, must often turn his hand to something for which he has no specialist training, and many surveys are fairly simple. To take an example. In Hungary in 1939 and 1940 we were a team of six Britishers sent out to help the Polish refugees, of whom there were 50,000, mostly men and nearly all interned in camps; three of the team visited the camps, trying to improve conditions in them. Their first duty was to bring back a report of the camp they had inspected—numbers, general conditions, etc., and a list of the special needs. In every case there was need of clothing (kinds and quantities had to be noted), and a club-room from which all the social activities of the camp could radiate. This required equipment in the way of wireless sets, games, books—needs that were much the same for all camps. But in some camps the men were lying on cold concrete and needed wood to make themselves bunks, mattress covers and straw, stoves for heating and bathing installations. When these needs were reported to us in our central office in Budapest we tried to fill them, but a great deal depended on the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the reports. It was impossible, for instance, to order

wood for bunks unless an estimate of the quantity needed had been made, and useless unless there were Polish carpenters in the camp willing to work. Fortunately our camp visitors were experienced people. They made good reports and were quick to think out special remedies for special needs. For amateurs a questionnaire should be drawn up, and survey-making should be included in all training.¹

Before dealing with the general problems of immediate relief and rehabilitation and the specific problems of the camps of displaced populations, let us consider the co-ordination of relief organisations, the democratic approach to relief work, and the role of women.

Co-ordination of Relief Organisations

Voluntary relief work of an international kind, inspired by humanitarian, non-proselytising impulse, is a modern phenomenon. St. Francis sent his followers to tend the lepers, no matter what their nationality; Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, instituted something like a Charity Organisation in Rome; Protestants as well as Catholics dispatched medical missionaries to all parts of the world, but international relief work on a large scale and of a non-religious character, began with the Four Years' War and continued in the reconstruction period that followed it. A number of distinct organisations in a wide variety of countries raised funds for the relief of distress amongst peoples foreign to themselves and sent out their workers to administer them. This produced an embarrassing set of problems which can best be illustrated by Serbia.

Relief work for the Serbs during the war was well done on the whole and was mainly in the hands of two bodies—the Serbian Relief Fund and the Scottish Women's Hospital Unit. In Serbia itself, until the Retreat in 1915, and after that on the Salonika front, relief was mainly medical. The spheres of the various hospital units were well defined and did not overlap. In Corsica relief to the Serb refugees was well co-ordinated, owing to the wise handling of the S.R.F. administrator. In Bizerta we were fortunate in being the only foreign relief mission in the field. There was no undignified scramble for the disabled and the shell-shocked. But Serbia after the war was for a while complete chaos.

There were dozens of different organisations struggling for a foothold. The newly constituted Government, with a population that had leapt from four-and-a-half to nearly fourteen million, and a territory that had expanded enormously, had enough on its hands without having to be polite to all sorts of foreigners who importuned it for buildings, transport, personnel, priority and privilege. Ministers of Departments could not tell who was important and did not like to be rude to earnest Anglo-Saxons, who had left their own

¹ For guidance in survey-making in areas of malnutrition, see *Nutrition and Relief Work*. (COBSRA.)

countries, ostensibly at great sacrifice and with the most benevolent intentions, and who dangled before their eyes all sorts of benefits for widows and orphans, for the diseased and maimed and blind. As a rule, they promised the same building to half-a-dozen different people and gave it to none of them. Heads of missions were frantic over unimplemented promises and unanswered requests. There was no co-ordination amongst them nor enough attempt to find out what the Serbs wanted themselves. In June, 1919, General Fortescue established a child welfare society in an effort to co-ordinate foreign and national work on behalf of the child population, but it was only partially successful; it should have had wider powers and have existed from the start.

I do not want to belittle the part played by the voluntary societies in Serbia after the war. They accomplished a great deal; out of the chaos came some permanent contributions to the Yugoslav social service, such as Dr. MacPhail's Children's Hospital, Margaret McFie's Blind School, and the S.R.F. Orphanage at Nish.

Voluntary societies will have less scope this time than after the last war. This is partly because of the overwhelming scale of the needs. Even leaving China and the Far East out of the picture, the imagination has still more than it can manage with the chaos and devastation in Europe from the Atlantic to the Volga, the Arctic Ocean to the Dodecanese. Sir Frederick Leith Ross, Chairman of the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau, writes: "Conditions after this war will have had no parallel since the Thirty Years' War." But there is another reason for the restricted scope of volunteers, and that is because we have at last become planning-minded. In the interim of the two wars the idea that it is better to plan beforehand than muddle through anyhow has gained ground and we have this time an official international body in charge of relief, U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration). This is an important advance on last time when no prior survey of needs was made and nation was allowed to compete with nation for food and necessities, and moreover opens the way to the first experiment in world-wide economic co-operation. But official bodies cannot do everything; voluntary societies are already playing a part in the relief of liberated countries. They should bear in mind this problem of co-ordination, not only with one another but with all the local social services. At the same time one should not forget the other, possibly greater, danger this time, that too much centralisation and bureaucracy, too many memoranda and directives from headquarters may freeze the initiative that twenty-five years ago had so much scope and was at times so remarkably creative.

Democracy in Relief Work

Relief work in the field should be democratic from the start. There should be frequent staff meetings where experience can be pooled and advice taken and given. There must be a director

responsible in emergencies or in the final upshot for decisions, but he should not be autocratic. It is true that in many cases workers are widely scattered, and if, for instance, they are fighting epidemic, it may be impossible for them all to meet together, but even in the famine in Russia, where some of the workers lived in villages so remote that several days of travelling in sleighs or carts were involved, there were staff meetings every month in the centre, Buzuluk, and each outpost was represented at them. Every worker must feel that he has a stake in policy and methods and realise that his special experience may make a valuable contribution. Only in this way will initiative, resourcefulness and enthusiasm be made full use of and workers feel happy and active instead of discontented and frustrated.

But there is another aspect of the democratic approach still more important—that is towards the people who are being relieved. Their co-operation must be sought for from the first moment. Otherwise they will degenerate rapidly into helpless paupers. Sometimes it is possible to ask for a small payment either in money or in labour for the food or clothing given. This cannot be exacted from a horde of refugees fleeing from advancing armies, but people with a more stable background can often afford to pay a little, as they did in Vienna, or give some service to the community, as in the Russian famine. This is better for self-respect. They should be asked to give their opinion on this subject themselves. This means that they should elect their representatives to give advice to the Relief Committees. Otherwise they may say, as the women in Russia said to me when asked to weave cloth for orphans in return for gifts of wool: "It is as bad as in the time of the serfs." A sturdy people will not choose the easier way. They want to preserve their own pride more than we want it for them.

How the co-operation of refugees can be enlisted from the very first was shown in Catalonia in the Spanish Civil War. The sorting station for the new arrivals was the Stadium. This is a vast structure, capable of seating 80,000, with bathrooms, dressing rooms and restaurants where 4,000 can be fed. At times of Franco advances 11,000 refugees passed through the Stadium every week. Immediately on arrival these refugees were used in the organisation of the camp. Loud-speakers called first for clerks and they sat down at the turnstiles and helped the authorities with the work of registration and the writing out of the combined identity and food card that was given for use in the camp. Registration showed who were teachers, butchers, bakers, cooks, laundresses and nurses, and they were asked if they would volunteer to help in their respective domains. The refugees were only too glad to be given some function and status straight away. I have never known a transit camp where people looked so tidy, orderly and calm. Loud-speakers kept the refugees informed of the plans made for them and information bureaux answered their enquiries and found out their special needs

and desires. Amongst the new influxes there were always teachers to occupy the children while adults did the work of the camp.

The steps that should be taken to ensure democracy in camps of longer duration are considered in the section on displaced populations.

We should not have to be reminded that there are immense spiritual resources to be drawn upon among the needy peoples of Europe. The courage, initiative, readiness for sacrifice, for helping one another, and for governing themselves that have been shown by the guerilla bands fighting in France, the U.S.S.R., with Tito and elsewhere, have proved this, and these forces will be there to be drawn on in the new world to be forged by peace, if the right appeal is made. The relief worker is there to provide the means by which the people help themselves. He must stand aside watching them do it, accepting their advice in his many dilemmas, for Continental peoples are more resourceful than the average over-civilised American or Britisher.

I remember my distress watching a huddle of Macedonian refugees at a railhead bottle-neck in Serbia in 1919. They were held up for days with only dry bread to eat. I had no equipment for a canteen. I thought of all that I should need—pots and pans, spoons and plates and cups, not to speak of tables and benches. An old Turk told me that these were not necessary: several of them had huge copper pots. I gave them rice and fat—they made little fires in the open air and cooked, and the women and children sat round the pots with spoons or sticks and ate their supper contentedly. The women wanted to wash their children's clothes. There was no soap, but a Greek woman said that wood ash was as good, and they used the wood ash left from the fires.

It was amazing in Corsica and Bizerta in the last war to watch the Serbs reintegrate their national life, once they were given the material possibility of doing so. Craft guilds with masters, journeymen and apprentices sprang into being, and the age-old, traditional patterns began to freak the cloth they wove or the raffia baskets which sick men made in bed. They sang their songs, recited their ballads and invented new ones. But one thing I remember with regret. There was considerable discontent about our method of paying for work. As the men had everything provided for them and work was part of rehabilitation, this was token payment but highly valued as they had no other pocket money. We ought to have got the men to elect their representatives to discuss the matter with us, but it did not occur to us. It was not that we had a Lady Bountiful attitude to the Serbs, whom we greatly respected, but that we were deficient in democratic training.

The Lady Bountiful attitude is not, however, dead; I have found it in many relief workers. It is a hangover from the Victorian age when the rich needed the poor; by their gifts to them they could gain a high place in the world to come and added prestige down

here; but they expected gratitude all the same. Refugees are often accused of not being grateful. Why should they be? Their misfortune is none of their seeking. I found less of this Lady Bountiful approach among Americans than among the British, not only because there is less class distinction in the U.S.A., but because social work has been a profession with them longer than with us and they have a sensible, workmanlike attitude towards poverty and distress, as to something temporary like sickness, not permanent, ordained by God and largely due to the poor's own fault.

The raising of relief funds becomes a snobbish affair only too often in both countries, but this is perhaps more obvious here where titled people are often put on to committees just because of their titles, though they have no other qualification whatsoever. It is not infrequent to find as director of a relief committee someone who not only has had no experience of social work, but because of a completely sheltered life, no idea of the human aspect of poverty and distress. That "charity" has a snob value with us the Frenchwoman discovered who, on her arrival here in 1940, asked how she could make her way in London society. "Si vous voulez vous faire accepter par le meilleur monde anglais, il faut vous donner aux oeuvres," she was told. She took the advice with good success.

But it is not only the distressed people themselves that should be called on for help; foreign relief workers should always seek the closest co-operation of the authorities, heads of the social services and other nationals of the country they are helping. This sounds extremely obvious, but it is not always done. The Friends have always practised it. In Vienna we had the help of a thousand Austrian volunteers and sought the advice of the Vienna Municipality and doctors in all our plans. In Spain, Spaniards were on the Executive of the Friends, relief service and their voice counted in the most detailed discussions and plans. Moreover, representatives of all the many foreign missions in Spain met officials of the Spanish Government at monthly conferences and had the benefit of learning the sort of help they most wanted and of how they thought it should be given. The same kind of co-ordinating committee met in Budapest in 1940. The British, Hungarian and Polish societies were represented on it and the Polish Consul, a man of shrewd judgment and tact, was its chairman.

Women's Part in Post-war Relief

Women have a great part to play in foreign relief. This may be admitted but it does not receive full official recognition. The teams the Friends made up for the Middle East, North Africa and Sicily in 1943 were 75 per cent. men and only 25 per cent. women, because this was the proportion considered proper by the authorities both here and in the U.S.A. It should have been the other way about. There is nothing derogatory to men in this and many affirm

it themselves. Most relief is for the helpless and is more a woman's job than a man's. Even when it comes to managing foreign camp commandants or mayors, women can often succeed where men will fail. Moreover, woman's whole experience throughout the ages has made her more adaptable than men—more ready for the thousand and one interruptions, make-do-and-mends and improvisations which emergency work involves but which exasperates a capable man. It is true that men have had more large-scale administrative and business experience than women and are more suitable as heads of vast enterprises such as famine-fighting and camp organisation and there is tough transport and warehouse work for which they are wanted in the first instance (later on nationals will be found who can do this themselves), but there is greater need of women and more that they can accomplish. There were several men amongst the relief workers in Serbia during the last war—some of them former Anglo-Indian or Foreign Office officials and many of them doctors—but they never created a legend as the Anglo-Saxon "sister" did. She could go everywhere unattended, even in the most disturbed times, and could achieve far more than men. This "sister" of the legend—not always of reality—was an inscrutable being: calm, poised, kind, capable, warm yet unassailable, she had mystery and a sort of aura round her that made simple peasant people fear her a little but trust and obey her too.

Yet in this there is a snag: women are more quickly intoxicated by power than men. The unaccustomed authority which the control of goods in short supply gives them, often turns their heads. I have seen women who have begun well, turn over-night into dictators. In a trice they are surrounded by sycophants. They appear in the Press as Mothers of Starving Millions. Their tours become royal processions. No flattery is too gross for them. Soon they start steam-rolling out of action their rivals in good works. First they take away their reputation and then—their funds. Their colleagues can no longer work with them, unless they become courtiers and stooges. Obscure women in their own home towns, they exact obedience from their subjects, once they are Queens of Distressed Ruritania. The danger is great. Anonymity should be the ideal of the relief worker—her reward not only a good task performed, but all the experiences and adventures she has in its performance.

PROBLEMS OF IMMEDIATE RELIEF

Food

This is the most universal relief need. Spectacular famine, where millions die, such as the famine of 1921 and '22 in Russia, may conceivably be avoided in Europe after this war as plans for feeding it have been made by the United Nations, and the German food system, though disastrous in countries unimportant to their economy like Greece, has not been inefficient. But malnutrition with its attendant diseases will be widespread as there has, under the German regime, been great shortage of fats and animal proteins. It is said that at least ten million cattle have been slaughtered. This was in some degree inevitable, as our blockade stopped the import of cattle fodder, but it means a disastrous reduction of the milk supply and also a deterioration of the soil through lack of manure. Fortunately we know a great deal more about food than we did in the last war and are able to make scientific estimates as to what diet should be. Indeed the advance in knowledge about food is one of the most extraordinary in our catastrophic yet admirable age. We realise now that quite apart from wars, more than half the population of the world is undernourished and that this is the main cause of ill-health, and we also know that this is unnecessary—that supplies are not lacking, but only their right distribution. But to return to relief in Europe. Food pools have been made and it is said that supplies of cereals should be adequate. It is reckoned that an average of 2,000 calories per day per person can be maintained (the normal amount for an adult in England is 2,900). Fats and milk are a more desperate problem. Food relief in the past has often had to concentrate largely on milk, because without this babies and small children cannot survive, and all relief workers should study the technique of milk distribution.

The experience in Spain during the Civil War is particularly useful in this connection. The dairy lands of Spain were in Franco territory and the Republic suffered from a desperate shortage of milk. The Friends Relief Mission in Barcelona concentrated mainly in the first year and a half of its existence on the setting up of milk kitchens and canteens. A controversy arose as to whether condensed or dried milk were the better. Although for emergency situations tins of milk were essential because of the greater ease of their distribution, dried milk was preferred because it was much more economical in shipping space and price. Dried whole milk was given to babies from 0 to 2, but dried skimmed milk was given as a second-best to the over-tuos because it is a good source of animal protein and calcium and was in good supply, and its cheapness meant that more children could be fed. The lack of fat content was made up by cod liver oil, which the Spanish children

liked because they are used to oil and to strong-tasting fish. As dried skimmed milk is all that is likely to be available in large quantities after the war (mainly from the U.S.A.), it is satisfactory to know that the nutrition experts consider it valuable.

When hunger in Spain grew greater, the International Commission for Child Refugees, to which twenty-four different nations contributed funds, planned to give one hot meal to every child in need. The setting up of these canteens, all over Republican Spain, often in isolated villages, was a feat of organisation. The meals were planned scientifically to give the necessary calories and vitamins. The relief workers, who set up and supervised these canteens, had definite instructions given them, but much was left to their resource in carrying them out. They had first to call on the Mayor and ask him to find a locality and equipment for the meal, and to select the most needy children (often a whole school or age group was covered). Next they had to go to the local Women's Service to recruit cooks and voluntary helpers. The cook and 'responsible' or head were the only ones paid. It was important to have a locked warehouse as pilfering is always a menace in a scarcity area. The relief worker had to help the 'responsible' to check her stores at least once a month. These checks are very important if relief is not to degenerate into an inefficient muddle and foster the Black Marketers and thieves that lurk in the background of every unstable society, exploiting its need for their own greed, at the expense of its weakest members.

The Black Market and food hoarding are, incidentally, the greatest aggravators of famine, and it is difficult to see how they can be combatted efficiently, except by force and appeals to patriotism (both inadequate) unless a certain quantity of consumer's goods are made available to the peasant population. It is obviously hard for them to sell at low fixed prices, when the money they receive will buy them nothing which they need. This difficulty will probably be met with all over Europe when the war is over, as it has been already in France and other liberated countries.

In food distribution, it is important that planning should be central and administration local, as in these canteens. Relief workers should demonstrate the preparation of unaccustomed foods. I remember in 1919 finding the warehouses in Belgrade weighed down with cocoa—a food which would have been useful in the half-starved mountain areas of Yugoslavia, but there were no welfare workers to show how it should be prepared. Moreover, to a primitive people, unaccustomed foods are often taboo, and they must be educated in their use.

The main problem to decide with regard to food distribution is whether it should be in the form of a cooked meal or of rations. After the last war Hoover insisted on "seeing the food down the children's throats" in Germany and Austria, and relief was given in the form of school dinners. This had many advantages. A

balanced diet was assured to the most precious part of the population (incidentally the part of it that hadn't been among Hoover's enemies for he had no enemies under fourteen). He was willing to feed toddlers too, but Dr. Hilda Clark and Edith Pye discovered in Vienna, that many children under six were too weak to go to canteens. It is, in any case, difficult, without setting up elaborate nursery schools (and this civilising movement was in its infancy in those days) to induce small children to eat in crowds. Hilda Clark believed that most mothers could be trusted to give their children food and she decided to distribute it to them in the form of dry rations. The children were selected by the doctors at the Infant Welfare Centres. This, incidentally, gave a great impetus to this social service, the centres increased in number from thirty-four to seventy, to the delight of the Vienna City Fathers who were very progressive and who soon, under Dr. Julius Tandler, had the best thought-out and organised single system for child welfare in the world. Each borough had its food depot where the women who had received cards for their children came once a fortnight to buy, at a small cost, or be given (if they were too poor to pay) the allotted rations. These fortnightly food parcels consisted of four tins of milk (two sweetened), 1 lb. flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. fats, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. soap, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. cocoa (and 1 lb. rice, if there were three or more children under fourteen). The rations were weighed out and packed by hundreds of Vienna school children in the Friends' Central Warehouse and were distributed by members of the Frauenverein (a sort of W.V.S.) to every borough. Each of the twenty-one depots of Vienna was supervised by a member of the Friends' Relief Mission. To check black marketing of milk the women were required to bring back their empty tins. (Empty tins are, incidentally, very useful in a country where equipment is in short supply. In Spain the tinsmiths made them into mugs for cocoa breakfasts—the discarded tops were made into discs, stamped with name and number and hung round the children's necks, so that the supervisors could see at a glance that only those entitled to the meal were present.)

Not all peoples take as readily to communal feeding as Anglo-Saxons. It is often necessary to let them take away their cooked food to eat in a corner undisturbed. If the supplies are large enough and the people living at home, it is natural for them to want to make the meal themselves. In the Russian Famine, distribution was, to begin with, in the form of soup kitchens. This was because stores were inadequate. The authorities had to decide who were to be kept alive and relief workers had to feed them and them only—otherwise food would have been spread too thin and all would have died. At first they chose the children and found that they were rearing a generation of orphans. Then they included some mothers, but most important of all were the transport workers whose duty was to bring the food, and the men who could plough and sow and assure a new harvest. In famine areas strict priorities

must be made and adhered to, and this is one of the most harrowing duties of the relief worker. When supplies were adequate to feed all the starving of our district we distributed them in the form of dry rations. These were brought by the peasants in their carts or sleighs from the central warehouse at Buzuluk and weighed out and distributed once a month in all the villages by their own elected committees.

Breakdown in transport is a large contributory cause of famine. In Russia in 1921, relief stocks were held up for months because the 1914 war, the Civil War, and the intervention, had caused a breakdown of the railways, which, in any case, had been poorly developed by the Tsarist regime. Many of the hundreds of thousands who fled from the famine area died in railway stations while waiting for the infrequent trains, or were suffocated in overcrowded trucks. If post-war Europe escapes major famine there will still be pockets of famine, owing to transport difficulties. The first people whom I saw dying of starvation were not living in a hunger zone. They were Bulgar prisoners in the heart of Serbia. Rations were sparse but the local population did not go short of bread. The prison camps were in isolated places, bridges were destroyed, roads full of craters, telephone wires down, and in 1919 there was as yet no wireless. Prisoners were forgotten, hundreds died of hunger and of typhus a few miles from their own borders. It should be possible to avoid this, this time. Modern armies have far greater skill in restoring communications (the Serbs used the Bulgars to mend their bridges and found out how inefficient slave labour is, for they took months, where days should have been enough). Moreover, the aeroplane will be invaluable, where the numbers of the starving are limited; it can do little where millions are involved, as the famines in China and Bengal have shown in this war. The great advance in the methods of dehydrating foods is important in this connection. A good meal for a hungry man of meat, potatoes, carrots, and greens, treated so that they retain their vitamins and protective qualities, is now the size of a crown piece. Our desert army found these provisions on captured Italians and Germans as long ago as 1941, but they have now been produced in the Cambridge Laboratory of Nutritional Experiment. Moreover, vitamins in the form of pills are useful where they are not available in the local food. One of the Lister Institute workers who had been testing Sir Edward Mellanby's new vitamin theories on Vienna children after the last war said to me the other day: "What child's play it will be this time! We were groping in the dark then. Now we know what vitamins are needed for every type of malnutrition. A bomber load of vitamins will be enough to cure a whole population. Provided," she added, "that there is enough ordinary food to give the needed calories."

The disastrous deterioration in the food situation in Europe, since liberation, illustrates this.

Medical Stores

The immense advance in medical knowledge makes the combating of epidemic much easier this time than last. The new insecticide D.D.T. reduces the hideous menace of typhus to combatable dimensions. Millions died of typhus last time in Serbia and in Russia; three million was the estimate for the Russian famine. It must never be forgotten that a famine of food involves a famine of everything else. The typhus-carrying body louse flourishes in famine areas because where there is no food there is also no soap and often a scarcity of fuel for heating water. Moreover, starving people tend to crowd together. The methods of combating the louse used to be very cumbersome, involving ovens for baking clothes, disinfectants and baths. D.D.T. stopped the 1944 typhus outbreak in Naples in a very short while.

Malaria in post-war Europe is much dreaded by medical men. It usually attacks people in warm weather when the adult population is desperately needed for agricultural work. Unregulated movements of populations often bring malaria into districts where it was unknown before. I saw this happen in Russia. The province of Samara, the 1921 famine area, had always had mosquitoes, but they were innocuous until hordes of starving people fled to Tashkent in Asia seeking bread, caught malaria there and infected them on their return. There has been malaria there ever since. Returning soldiers brought malaria to many districts in Rumania and the Balkans. The loss of quinine in the Dutch East Indies seemed a major disaster until a good ersatz was discovered in atabrin. D.D.T. will also be a help in fighting the mosquito, but many millions will already be infected. Dr. Melville Mackenzie thinks that some relief workers should be trained in the examination of blood tests so that those suffering from this disease can be detected at once and drugs not wasted. Blood tests are important also for detecting V.D. and typhoid—two other scourges of war-time. U.N.R.R.A.'s plans for the checking of unregulated movements of populations is essential to the prevention of the spread of epidemics.

Medical stores are often misdirected. I have sometimes found quantities of surgical dressings in fever hospitals. Moreover, useful drugs are often wasted because the labels carry only the proprietary name used in the country of origin and unknown to the recipients. All drugs should carry the chemical formula and dosage in the language and system of the country in which they are to be dispensed.

Clothing

Serbs were badly in need of clothing after the last war, but the discarded wardrobes of England and America were little use to a peasant population, still for the most part wearing peasant costume. Mrs. Carrington Wilde persuaded the school-children of England

to make dresses in the national style. This was fun for our children and a delight to the Serbian girls who received them. Wherever there are work parties, sewing for the Balkans or Poland—and there are many in the U.S.A.—they should bear this in mind. Patterns are easily obtainable. Made-up clothing of a Western type should be reserved for the towns, if destined for the Balkans, or still better for institutions. As they are not standardised and as there are never enough for needs, they are not suitable for widespread distribution. More anguish of heart is caused by the injustice of clothing distributions, where every item is different from every other, than by any other form of relief.

The cloth, calico, etc., sent to Serbia was useful and easy to distribute on an equitable basis. Yet even here there was intense bitterness, because the mayors who made lists of the needy were accused of favouring their friends and political partisans. Relief workers left a trail of broken heads wherever they passed and few mayors remained in office after a clothing distribution. Relief should, as far as possible, go through the normal channels of rationed commodities, otherwise the danger of its use as political blackmail is always great.

In the Russian famine shiploads of raw wool were sent from Australia and we also received raw flax. We distributed this to all the women of the villages, requesting in return a certain amount of woven cloth for orphans. Had this been sent to Serbia, it not only could have been rationed and gradually made available for all, but would have given the women something to do after long idleness. Dyes are made out of plants in the Balkans, and the national taste for bright colours and traditional designs would not have been perverted. There are parts of the Balkans where this would still be the best form of clothing relief. For districts where spinning and weaving have gone out, standardised clothing, lengths of material and spun wool, should be given, along with needles, cottons and other haberdashery. In Spain the refugees were eager to learn to make clothes for the community and dressmaker instructors were always found amongst them. Beside the psychological value of providing employment, there was the advantage that suitable styles were used. The staff of hospitals, convalescent homes and orphanages have no time to make clothes during the first emergency period, and made-up clothing should be sent to them.

A word of warning about babies. In most countries where I have worked there has been a disproportionate amount of small children's clothes and layettes. In Serbia, because of the removal of the male population in 1915, there were very few children under four in 1919. In Russia, few babies survived the famine. Moreover, famine decreases fertility. In Hungary scarcely any babies were brought over by the fleeing Poles. Yet to all these countries a vast amount of exquisite baby clothing was sent. (In Hungary the quantities were so large that, with the consent of authorities,

I asked the head of the Hungarian Red Cross to make a distribution to their own destitute babies, but she was too scrupulous to do so). Perhaps this time the infant population will be properly assessed, but if there is any doubt, it is better to send materials which can be made up as they are needed.

There should be much greater care in sorting, packing and labelling used clothing. All clothing should be mended and cleaned or washed before sending. The Swiss are admirable in this. They never dispatch dirty or torn garments. Much valuable shipping space has been wasted in the past by unsuitable clothing. Filthy garments have attracted moth and spread it to more respectable neighbours in the same bale, fur coats have travelled thousands of miles to hot countries, thin muslins to cold, and high-heeled, narrow shoes to a peasant population used to sandals or clogs. Bales should never weigh more than 1 cwt. (people in stricken areas are not strong enough for huge weights), should be scientifically packed, and be properly labelled with a list of their contents. Woollen clothes should be sprinkled with anti-moth powder (paradichlorobenzene is the best). Bales are easier to handle than wooden cases and should be made of good hessian and lined with tarred paper as a protection from damp.

Purchasers of clothing for relief should be very wide awake, for the most shocking profiteering goes on and merchants in the past have often taken the opportunity of getting rid of unsaleable stocks. The Poles in Hungary were desperately in need of footwear, but our warehouse was full of shoes for dwarfs and giants, new but quite unuseable. A crate of golden evening slippers appeared in Spain. I have known bales of flannelette, so sub-standard that when made into shirts it tore at the first washing. There have already been complaints by operatives in this country that the shoes which they are making for Europe are valueless.

Rehabilitation

This should go hand in hand with relief. U.N.R.R.A.'s object, Mr. Lehmann says, is not to pauperise Europe, but to help it to help itself. When hostilities cease there will be millions of people wanting employment.

(a) *Agriculture.* As food is our basic need, the reconstruction of agriculture is the most urgent task. Friends have always borne this in mind in their relief work. They brought 2,000 horses from Siberia into the Russian famine area and distributed them to the peasants, along with seed, so that they could grow their own food. In Poland they bought more than 1,000 horses from the Government and sent out columns of them with Polish drivers under the supervision of the Mission workers. 24,000 acres were ploughed by this method. Great quantities of seeds and tools were also distributed. Into Vienna they brought 1,500 cows and bulls, mostly

from Switzerland and Holland, and 3,000 tons of cattle fodder. The impoverished Austrian farmers paid in fresh milk, distributed through infant welfare centres to the under two's. It is reckoned that the system introduced by the Germans will have to be maintained for the first year or two if Europe, as American experts hope, is to supply three-quarters of its own needs,¹ but great quantities of fertilisers should be sent to improve exhausted soils, seeds suitable to the climate, tools and tractors. Tractors will be less of a problem than other agricultural equipment as light tanks can be readily converted, but men to train peasants in their use in backward areas will be wanted. Great efforts to restore the animal population must be made. Artificial insemination will be useful, the prohibition of slaughtering female calves, and the growing of animal fodder. As the hundred and ten million people living in the Eastern Marchlands of Europe were notoriously underfed and under-employed before the war, because of lack of capital, primitive methods and either landlessness as in Hungary, or dwarf holdings as in Rumania, rehabilitation and a proper long-term policy based on science is necessary quite apart from the sufferings caused by war.²

(b) *Industry.* Relief workers are often helpful in agricultural schemes. Large industrial projects are outside their sphere, but they may often be useful in helping to promote small industries, especially handicrafts. This matter is dealt with under the heading Displaced Populations.

(c) *Education.* The Nazi policy in much of occupied Europe, especially Russia, Poland and the Balkans, has been to exterminate the thinking class and reduce the people to an ignorant helot race, fit only for unskilled toil. In Poland all secondary schools were closed, in Czechoslovakia all universities. Moreover, they have looted technical institutes, museums and libraries. Thousands of schools were occupied by the military, and their equipment burnt as firewood. Prefabricated schools will be useful, printing presses for new text books, paper and pencils. Teachers cannot, unfortunately, be prefabricated, and it will take years to restore education in Europe. The speed with which the U.S.S.R., ruined and exhausted as it was, liquidated illiteracy and produced what is probably one of the best educated armies in the world, is, however, encouraging.

The American Institute for Educational Reconstruction at New York University has held conferences from which useful suggestions have come. A conference held in April, 1943, formulated as basic principles that, (1) Educational reconstruction should not be imposed from outside, but effort directed towards the rehabilitation and further training of cultural leaders in the countries affected.

¹ See *Food for Europe after Victory*. National Planning Association, Washington, U.S.A., 25c.

² See *Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean*. Royal Institute of International Affairs, 3/-.

(2) No discrimination should be made between large and small countries in the planning of educational reconstruction.

Significant recommendations of the Institute include : (a) establishing an International Education Organisation on the lines of the International Labour Organisation¹; (b) the adoption of European universities by American universities after the war, and the planning of specific projects of student and faculty exchange; (c) a million-dollar scholarship fund for the further training of European intellectuals in American universities; (d) recreation centres to be established in neutral European countries at the end of hostilities where intellectual leaders from the occupied countries could regain their physical and nervous health.

Help to the faculties and students of universities involves the careful, individual work which is the proper sphere of voluntary societies. The idea of Holiday Homes for intellectual leaders who have been undergoing the martyrdom of concentration camp will also have a strong appeal to democrats and people of goodwill over here.

The British proposals run on similar lines. Amongst a large number of practical suggestions, they emphasise strongly the need for an International Education Organisation, and propose special arrangements for Youth Organisations to make exchange visits and invitations to foreign students and children to come over here to recuperate when war is over. Schools might be making plans for inviting undernourished children, say, from nearby countries like Belgium, France and Holland. They might make a Holiday Home for these children, a special project of their school, helping in it at week-ends or invite the children into their own homes as the Instituto Escuela in Barcelona did. The Swiss have already been doing this during this war. Schools over here might "adopt" schools in devastated areas—send them gifts and write to the children. This would be helpful and make an interesting link.

Camps of Displaced Populations

Voluntary societies are already working in refugee camps of Greeks, Yugoslavs, Poles and Jews in Africa and the Middle East. When the war ends these camps will be multiplied a hundredfold. Before considering what schemes are needed, let us consider the general problem.

Never in the history of the world has there been such a *Voelkerwanderung* or so many millions of displaced peoples. The I.L.O. puts the figure for Europe at thirty millions (see *Times*, October 25th, 1943), but this includes prisoners-of-war and evacuees. Mr. Lehmann said on November 12th, 1943, that apart from prisoners-of-war, U.N.R.R.A. would have to repatriate or resettle twenty

¹ In this connection, attention is called to the excellent work of the International Bureau of Education (Geneva), which is still operating.

million uprooted people. Bertha Bracey writes on this subject : " You have first the refugees from racial, political and religious persecution. Then you have vast deportations ; refugees from civil wars ; the recall of nationals to their own countries ; transfers of population ; flight before oncoming armies and the enormous movements created by German labour demands.

" What I believe is essential is that these large and complicated problems of the movement of populations should be taken to the very heart of the plans now being formulated for dealing with relief and reconstruction in Europe as and when the conflict now raging narrows down and finally ceases. It is clear that vast and chaotic movements of people, in response to that strong homing instinct on which we must reckon, would throw an intolerable burden upon feeding, clothing and transport and would add immeasurably to the problem of preventing epidemics. Handled in an orderly way, these groups of displaced persons will present not impossible demands, whether they are foreign workers, refugees, deportees, a Jewish ghetto, a concentration camp or even a German organised brothel. If panic, chaos and raging epidemics are to be prevented, there must be orderly movement and the essence of orderly movement is that some people should stand still."

Most of the camps created by this stand-still order will be of a temporary nature. There are twelve millions, so it is said, in the labour gangs of the Reich. The majority of these are able-bodied men and women who, like the demobilised soldiers and prisoners-of-war, have homes to return to. They will need feeding temporarily—munition workers, for instance, will become idle at once—but will not present a problem of long duration, except those who have lost homes and kindred, or who were, like the Spanish Republicans and many Jews, refugees already. Here we touch an essential point. There are two problems to be faced : the first and simplest, the repatriation of nationals, the second the problem of the refugee proper, *i.e.* the person who by law, or in fact, has no protecting government. We have never arrived at a solution to statelessness and will be faced with it after the war again, when there are a thousand and other problems to solve.

Flight before armies causes thousands of fugitives. There were said to be ten million refugees in France at the time of the German Blitzkrieg, and half-a-million homeless in Normandy soon after D Day. Dr. Audrey Russell-Ellis, who worked in the refugee camps in France—first for the Spanish Republicans and later for the evacuees from Alsace and Lorraine, and in 1940, for Belgians—gives some valuable hints about the preliminary stages of organising camps for people in flight. Though this is usually in the hands of the military, it is well to know the ideals to be aimed at. Dr. Russell-Ellis writes : " The first steps are the most important—they are the foundations on which all subsequent relief or reconstruction are based. Initial organisation can make a

refugee either into a helpless recipient of food and clothing (a true 'victim' of relief) or into a self-reliant, disciplined member of a naturally resurgent community. Refugees are not helpless sheep; it is a great mistake to enforce discipline without revealing plans. Refugees will co-operate if asked—many are women actuated by instinct to protect the family and not amenable to discipline. Administrators must gain their confidence. They should break the camp into small units, each with elected representatives on a governing committee working under the administration, and should use loud speakers to explain plans, give information, call up labour, prevent rumours. The French camps of from 60,000 to 120,000 Spaniards were quite unworkable; there was no organisation and in consequence apathy, disease and revolt. Camps should not have more than 5,000 occupants and should be divided into self-governing sections of 1,000 each, administered by an elected committee of ten, one to every hundred refugees, to deal with the internal problems of the camp. Each unit should have an elected representative on the central administrative committee. When the preliminary organisation, the registration of the refugees and the utilisation of the available labour are completed, women's and children's services, schools and workshops, should be set up, and an information bureau opened."

These recommendations are excellent. Local committees should be set up, not only in camps, but wherever there are needy populations so that they may become partners in the distribution of relief and not mere recipients, and if the military, inexperienced in social work, are not able to cope with the women's and children's services, they should welcome civilian workers to help them.

Fortunately, repatriation will be a fairly quick process in most cases, but good organisation of even emergency camps is essential, if panic and unnecessary suffering are to be prevented. Moreover, thousands of refugees will have lost their homes. After the last war the Poles trekked back from the Volga to the places where their villages had once stood and lived in holes in the ground till their houses were built. But a great many of them died; a repetition of this should be avoided this time. Probably the wisest plan would be to make camps for people on their native soil, as near as can be to their future homes.

There is the problem of intruded and extruded populations, illustrated by Poland. Hundreds of thousands of Poles were expelled from the districts of West Poland incorporated in the Reich. In their homes Hitler settled hundreds of thousands of people of German origin recalled from the Baltic States, East Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria, in order to Germanise them, uproot Polish traditions and gather his scattered nationals into one solid block. When the Poles return, these people will be ejected. This will be a question not only for the Germans; the occupying armies will be responsible for preventing famine, looting and disorder in the

conquered population. It is an illustration of the gigantic problems that have been created in Europe by this war, by deliberate Reich policy.

The longest-lived of the camps will be composed of the least mobile parts of the population, mothers with children, the old and disabled, and the sick. The sick will have to be taken into emergency hospitals, but the question arises as to whether delicate children should be moved into Preventoria. The experience of Spain shows that refugee mothers cling to their children with despairing passion. Their confidence must be won before inducing them to give them up. Moreover, though there must be Colonies for orphans and abandoned children, convalescent homes for the undernourished are not advisable in the first emergency period, not only because of the shattering psychological effect of separation, but also because at a time when thousands are in need they make too great demands on available resources of staff, housing and equipment, for the benefit of the few. An alternative to the Preventorium is the Day Colony or Solarium. There were many of these in Republican Spain during the Civil War, some of them on the flat roofs of houses or the parks or waste places of the towns. Part of the cure is sun and fresh air and huts or even tents provide enough shelter in countries where the climate is good. The International Brigade ran one for refugee children in the Botanical Gardens of Murcia. In Barcelona they were carefully graded. The most undernourished children had four hours compulsory rest, special diet and entertainment, like reading or music, but no lessons—the less debilitated had schooling and exercise, but all were under strict medical supervision. The Escuela del Mar was one of the Barcelona Solaria—here there was sea bathing as well as sun, air and good food.

But in deprecating Preventoria for the emergency period, it must not be forgotten that there will be many cases of psychological disturbance amongst children who have been subjected not only to starvation, but to Nazi terror. We know from tales that come from occupied territory that many children have been tampered with and many little girls induced to sell themselves for bread. In thousands of others, puberty will have been delayed through undernourishment and anxiety. When the first period of relief is over, special homes ought to be set up for the rehabilitation of these children.

The kind of welfare work that can be undertaken for temporary communities has been described in several chapters of *In the Margins of Chaos*. In Holland in 1915, workers lived in the camps. This was made possible by the building programme. The Friends provided materials and taught the Belgians to make collapsible huts, first for use in the camps, and, after the war, in Belgium. As a rule, overcrowded conditions or military regulations make it impossible for workers to live in the camps, but relations with the

refugees are much more intimate when this can be done. In Corsica, the workers lived with the Serb refugees in the prisons into which they were stuffed, and later transferred them in family groups to villages. The work in Corsica was a model of its kind. Every effort was made to reconstitute the cultural life of the Serbs—churches, schools and weaving workshops were set up; agricultural and other peasant activities encouraged, and medical services provided. The English workers lived in the villages with them to mother the community.

In the camps of women and children in Spain and France, Infant Welfare Centres and Milk Kitchens proved essential. After this war, the setting up of creches and nursery schools will be important, not only because of their educative value, but because the adult labour of camps should be set free for food production. Women who can help in organising these services will be invaluable, but the staff to run them must be found amongst the refugees themselves; not only because there will not be enough foreigners available, but because the main object (this cannot be too much emphasised) is to build up the egos of the refugees. They must, wherever possible, be given responsibility and status and, if there is time, training.

Occupations of all kinds need organising for refugees. This is not as simple as it sounds. Sometimes tools and equipment are hard to obtain and one has to depend on what can be got locally. It is to be hoped that an adequate reserve of such things as cobblers' outfits, carpentry tools, sewing machines and haberdashery, is being made. Apart from agriculture, these represent the most urgent needs of every camp. It is usually easy to find amongst the refugees shoemakers, joiners and dressmakers, but more difficult, those willing to teach their craft to others. A good deal of propaganda has to be made, not only to induce them to do this, but to persuade the refugees to learn. Amongst Serbs this was easy, as our experience with the disabled in Bizerta in 1917 showed. Serbs were all actual or potential craftsmen and used to the apprenticeship idea. The Spanish girls were eager to learn sewing and their dressmakers were good teachers. In Hungary, on the other hand, we set up workshops in all the camps and found skilled men to run them, but it was difficult to persuade the unskilled Poles to take part. They were too unsettled to turn their minds to serious learning. In Rumania relief workers had greater success in getting activities going, partly because the Poles were concentrated into two large camps, but mainly because the Polish Y.M.C.A. produced a gifted leader. This man lived in the camps himself and persuaded the men to spend their time profitably. Practical training in mechanics was given. Workshops of a mechanical type always excite interest in the modern world, and there will be plenty of abandoned lorries after this war to pick to pieces. Welding is another successful activity.

One hears it said that workshops should only produce useful goods. This is, generally speaking, sound. Camp needs in the way of simple furniture and equipment are great, and the requirements of the refugees themselves in clothing and footwear almost infinite. But two things must not be forgotten. Materials are often scarce and the workshops have therapeutic and educative intention. In Spain I encouraged the girls to embroider, and in Bizerta disabled Serbs to spend hours over polished olivewood cigarette cases, raffia baskets and toys, for both these reasons. As for toys, they should play an important part in the workshops of the long-term type: they are very important for nursery school equipment, they use comparatively little material, and they are a pleasure to make. Care should be taken to make things of educational value and strong enough to resist the violence of toddlers.¹

The cultural and recreational activities of camps are more important than any other. Refugees need to be cheered, and many such activities need little equipment: dancing, many games (but the importance of balls must not be forgotten), singing, dramatics and so forth.

The wireless, with loud speakers attached, was the most appreciated gift made to the Polish camps in Hungary. Schools and libraries should be got going at once. Sometimes it is impossible to find many books in the language spoken by the refugees. In Bizerta the Serb printing press was invaluable; in Hungary a Polish printing press proved too expensive, but girls were employed to type out and roneo language courses, news sheets, and even long novels for circulation in the camps. Musical instruments are a great help so that an orchestra may be formed and an accordion is an asset—even mouth organs. There is usually artistic as well as musical talent, and paper and paints are in demand.

Where there are numbers of young people, Scout and Guide troops have great success. The scouting idea is known as it is an international movement, and the stress laid on improvisation and community spirit make it very suitable for camp life. Walloons and Flemings co-operated for the first time in the Scout troops of the Belgian refugee camps of the last war.

Adolescent boys cause great difficulties among refugees; there is usually no one to occupy them and the adventures they have already been through often make them wild and unmanageable. This will be especially noticeable after this war as many have fought with horrifying courage in guerrilla bands or helped in underground movements. Thieving, lying and destruction have been their highest duties—disloyalty and cowardice the only crimes. Men skilled in handling boys will be badly needed. It is often better to make special colonies for boys between thirteen and sixteen where they continue their schooling and do land work and carpentry

¹ See *Making Nursery Toys* by N. Catford (Muller, 3/-).

as well. (Farm colonies of this sort are described in the chapters on Serbia, Spain and Hungary in *In the Margins of Chaos*.)

Foreign relief workers will be useful in all these activities, for refugees are an international problem and offer a suitable outlet for their benevolence, and the reproach that they are trying to run a country which prefers to run itself cannot be made in this case. But it may well be that their greatest contribution will be the friendship that they bring and the assurance to the refugee that he is not forgotten by the outside world.

Need of a Charter for Refugees

Where there are refugees in large numbers, their lot is often harder than the lot of slaves or of prisoners-of-war. Slaves are useful to their masters and are cared for as well as their horses or cattle; the Geneva Convention and fear of reprisals do much to ensure a decent minimum for prisoners-of-war. But refugees and stateless persons have no rights because they have no government authority to uphold or enforce them, and the element of reciprocity is lacking. Simpson writes:—

“The League of Nations has only concerned itself with refugees under pressure of great emergencies and with some reluctance. The reasons are obvious. It is an association of States aiming at universality, and in undertaking the protection of people driven by persecution of one kind or another from a given State, it is bound to incur a certain amount of hostility from that State, which is an actual or potential State member.”

The first Convention for refugees was that of 1933, applicable to Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees and some persons of Syrian or Kurdish origin.

A proposal for the adoption of a General Charter for refugees and stateless persons was laid before a committee of the League of Nations by the Norwegian delegate in 1935, but received little support. Earlier suggestions for a permanent refugee service also received no encouragement.

In 1938, a Refugee Convention was drawn up for refugees coming from Germany. Though this convention was deemed to apply later to Austrian and Czechoslovakian refugees, it is obvious that both Conventions are strictly limited in scope and do not approach to a general charter.

When the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees was formed at the Evian Conference in 1938, its mandate was wider than that of the Conventions for it “extends to all persons, wherever they may be, who, as a result of events in Europe, have had to leave or *may have to leave*, their countries of residence because of the danger to their lives or liberties on account of their race, religion or political beliefs.”

Whereas the 1933 Convention had nine State signatories and the 1938 Convention only seven, the Intergovernmental Committee had 38 States members in June, 1944.

A broad and not unhopeful pathway does seem to be opening up towards a charter for refugees and displaced persons, who are found to be or should become stateless. There would then still be the stateless person wherever he may be to be included in the charter of rights, so that in all respects much remains to be done.

Training for Relief Workers

Many of those who hope to do relief work abroad are at present in full-time employment and unable to get release for training, but they can do something to prepare themselves by language study and by reading books (or possibly by attending evening classes) on European countries which have been occupied. It is undoubtedly hard to start learning Serbo-Croat, Greek or Polish when one is uncertain which, if any, of these languages will prove useful, but German will certainly be valuable, at any rate in Central Europe and the Balkans. This is an unpleasant thought to some people, but German is the language of Goethe and Heine and was spoken by Mozart and Beethoven before Hitler and the Nazis distorted it for their propaganda.

Many organisations—U.N.R.R.A., the Red Cross and others—have short one or two week courses on administration and general principles of relief for workers chosen, because they are already experts in some line or other.

The British Council organises six-month full-time courses for Allied Nationals intending to do relief work in their own country when they return. They attend lectures on nutrition, maternity and child welfare, information services, camp administration and sanitation, the fighting of epidemics, etc. In addition they make a special study of English social services and usually spend a month or two helping in the branch which especially interests them or in which they are already expert—for instance, in nursery schools, communal feeding, the Girls' Borstal.

The Friends Relief Service, Euston Road, N.W.1, have a full-time three months' course for Britishers at its Hampstead Training Centre. They study the same subjects as the British Council students, but in addition have intensive language courses (French, German, Serbo-Croat and Greek), lectures on European countries, usually by their own nationals, and a good deal of practical work. They sometimes, for instance, are told to prepare a transit camp for refugees. They cook a meal on an Aldershot oven, make incinerators and latrines, prepare sick bay and registration cards. At length the “refugees” arrive hugging stuffed babies and muttering some foreign speech. These staged incidents give valuable experience. They are somewhat like army manoeuvres—except that there is no loss of life.

The Friends write about this training as follows: "Each course is intended to give those who have already specialised in one or more branches of relief a working knowledge of the other branches, so that specialists in one type may be able to give intelligent assistance in any other and so that, if a specialist in any one subject should find himself isolated and faced with an unexpected emergency, he may be able to do something to help."

Trainees are often given in addition some weeks experience of hospital or maternity work, nursery schools, lorry driving and mechanics.

Some one week courses are also run at Hampstead in vacation time for those who are not able to get release for a longer period.

Qualifications of Relief Workers.

No hard and fast rules can be laid down about these. Famine fighters will be needed, and a knowledge of nutritional diseases is essential for them. There will be great need of doctors, nurses and V.A.D's to fight epidemics in parts of Europe, such as the Balkans and Poland. Doctors and nurses will have to have interpreters—knowledge of languages cannot be insisted on in their case—but hospital orderlies should be chosen for linguistic ability. Welfare workers will be needed for these countries, as their own social systems have broken down in many cases, owing to the massacre and imprisonment of the educated. They should be linguists and have some knowledge of nursing—should be able to do something more than First Aid, *i.e.* dressings, intra-muscular injections, etc. Hospitals ought to be willing to give a three months' special training to prospective relief workers. Workers, if they are going to countries with advanced health and social services, like Czechoslovakia, may never need this medical knowledge (I never felt the lack of it in Austria, France or Hungary), but the nationals of these countries will probably do their own relief work and foreigners may be needed only as liaison officers.

Agricultural experts, as we have seen, will be needed, and mechanics and engineers. Otherwise experience in social work is the most useful, especially in the kind of work done during this war: canteen management, communal feeding, running of shelters and information centres for the homeless. Ability to make reports is valuable. Experts in dietetics are needed, but they must be prepared to throw their best systems overboard. It is an error to think that the hungry will eat any kind of food. Untutored people will die rather than take something which, because it is unknown, seems to them unclean. Famine-fighters may find cod liver oil on the list of the taboos and have to give vitamin D in some other form. All experts must be prepared to make compromises and also to do the job on hand even if it is "beneath them" or outside

their sphere of special knowledge. It is particularly difficult for Americans to make these compromises. Their standard of living is the highest in the world and this makes them impatient with the backwardness they find in Europe. Moreover, having everything "laid on" in their own country, many of them (like many of us in contrast to Australians and New Zealanders) have lost the gift of improvisation, which in their pioneering days they had in such rich measure.

Teachers make good relief workers if they have not become rigid. There are many linguists among them, interested in the cultural lives of other people. Moreover, relief work often concentrates on youth, where their experience is invaluable.

It is not necessary to send women out to do domestic work. To bring more foreigners than necessary into famine areas deprives the starving of bread. It is better to use local cooks, because they know how to make the most of local produce. Wherever relief work is needed there are thousands of capable hands wanting employment. If the Women's Services are used in post-war reconstruction—and there is much to be said for taking volunteers from amongst them—I hope that they will not do hack work, but be used as experts, supervisors and organisers. It is true that every woman ought to know how to cook, so that she can judge if people are being properly fed, and the best use is made of the food stores, but that is like saying that she ought to know how to darn her stockings.

It is difficult to choose the right people for relief work abroad. Upheavals attract the unbalanced as well as those with constructive powers. People who have made a mess of their lives in their own country are eager to leave it, and they may get excellent testimonials from friends who think they will make good somewhere else—and prefer to see them there. Drug addicts, alcoholics, criminals fleeing from the law, worm their way into relief work, especially if they have good paper qualifications. Those in charge of choosing staff have a great responsibility. Many adventurous people, both here and in the U.S.A., are trying to climb on to the bandwagon of relief. They are suffering from a kind of claustrophobia from being shut up in their own country for more than four years and feel an intense nostalgia for foreign lands—easily camouflaged as a desire to do good. But a spirit of adventure is not a bad thing provided there is something else. Specialist qualifications, organising powers, gift of improvisation, linguistic talent, all these things are necessities, but not enough. Those who go out to relieve the sufferings of the starving, the diseased and the uprooted, and to bring healing to sick minds, must have a gift for service and something that one can only call charity—not in its debased sense, but in its original and dynamic meaning.

A Bibliography

The following list is not exhaustive and has not attempted to cover the growing volume of technical works on relief topics. Books mentioned here are of an introductory character and are essentially cheap to buy and interesting to read.

- Relief and Reconstruction in Europe—The First Steps.* Chatham House. 1/6d.
Medical Relief in Europe. Mackenzie. Chatham House. 2/-
Nutrition and Relief Work. Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad. 5/-
A Quaker Adventure. A. Ruth Fry. Friends Service Council. 1/-
Famine. Michael Asquith. Oxford University Press. 2/-
Malnutrition. Curtis and Gilbey. Oxford University Press. 2/-
Food and Farming in Post-War Europe. Yates and Warriner. Oxford University Press. 3/6d.
Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean. Chatham House. 3/-
Children in Bondage. Save the Children Fund. Longman Green & Co. 3/6d.
Education and the United Nations. London International Assembly and Council for Education in World Citizenship. 1/-
The Displacement of Population in Europe. Kulischer. International Labour Office. 4/-
Helping People to Help Themselves. U.N.R.R.A. H.M. Stationery Office. 4d.

Americans have done valuable research on relief problems. The following are some of the more informative books and pamphlets.

- Food for Europe after Victory.* National Planning Association.
Clothing and Shelter for European Relief. National Planning Association.
Europe's Uprooted People. National Planning Association.
Relief for Europe. National Planning Association.
The Russell Sage Foundation pamphlets on former relief work.
Relief in Action. Herta Krauss.