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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF THE RED CROSS

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**FRENCH EDITION
OF THE REVIEW**

The French edition of this Review is issued every month under the title of *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge*. It is, in principle, identical with the English edition and may be obtained under the same conditions.

**SUPPLEMENTS
TO THE REVIEW**

SPANISH

J. Freymond : La Cruz Roja Internacional y la paz - Nueva película del CICR - Quinta Reunión Regional de las Sociedades de la Cruz Roja en Panamá - Con motivo del 8 de mayo de 1972.

GERMAN

J. Freymond : Das Internationale Rote Kreuz und der Frieden - Der Rundfunk im Dienste des Roten Kreuzes.

**INTERNATIONAL
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The International Committee of the Red Cross assumes responsibility only for material over its own signature.

The International Committee of the Red Cross within the International System ¹

by Jacques Freymond

We take pleasure in publishing the following study which was written in the spring of 1971. Some passages, as readers will observe, are no longer topical, such as the information given on the Conference of Government Experts, for our readers will know that the 1971 conference is being followed by a second session from 3 May to 3 June 1972, in Geneva.

The study appeared in L'Univers politique 1970, and we express our thanks to the Editions Richelieu, Paris, for authorizing reproduction in our Review. (Ed.)

¹ This study is largely based on the author's personal experience. It should, however, be stressed that the ICRC's publications, particularly its annual reports and the *International Review of the Red Cross*, have made it possible to reconstruct the essence of the institution's action. It should be added that the Committee has from time to time published a compendium of documents on some particularly important or controversial subject, e.g. *Documents sur l'activité du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge en faveur des civils détenus dans les camps de concentration en Allemagne (1939-1945)*, 3^e éd., Genève, 1947; *The I.C.R.C. and the Conflict in Cuba (1958-1959)*, Geneva; and *The I.C.R.C. and the Yemen Conflict*, Geneva, 1964. Reference may also be made to the *International Red Cross Handbook* (Geneva), which contains texts essential to an understanding of the structure and policy of the International Red Cross, and to the *Commentaries on the 1949 Geneva Conventions* published under the general editorship of Jean Pictet.

As a rule, the resolutions of International Conferences of the Red Cross are published in separate fascicles, as are the reports on Conferences of Experts convened to study any specific aspects of the Conventions.

It should be noted that the official records of those conferences are available. If reference is made to the many press conferences held over the past few years and to articles written by the permanent Geneva correspondents of some major Swiss and foreign newspapers, the conclusion will be reached that ICRC activities are widely known and that the so-called "revelations" are no more than side-lights on history. Several international jurists who are experts in humanitarian law, such as Jean Pictet, Denise Bindschedler, Col. G.I.A.D. Draper, Dietrich Schindler and Frédéric Siordet, should be mentioned. Lastly, it should be noted that a great many theses based on the very rich archives of the ICRC are being prepared.

The nature of war is changing. New categories of victims are coming into being, and new forms of humanitarian action are necessary.

A mere glance at potential or actual conflict, ranging from global nuclear confrontation to rural and urban guerrilla warfare, shows situations of extraordinary diversity reflecting the variety and complexity of the humanitarian problems posed. Whatever the type of conflict, it is increasingly evident that civilian populations and fighting troops share the same fate. Massive destruction is a weapon which strikes civilians and soldiers indiscriminately. Similarly, guerrilla action ignores the traditional distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Indirect strategy, whether it be an extension of, or a substitute for, direct strategy, is one form of total warfare.

Can a distinction be made between different categories of victims? Is it possible to determine who is entitled to protection and, if so, to what protection? Humanitarian action used to be based on a certain concept of warfare, on a certain type of army with large and small units operating under the command of officers who followed a pattern devised in military academies through the centuries, and which had survived all revolutions. Knowing the structure of the armies, their logistics, their front and their bases, it was to some extent possible to localize the wounded and prisoners and to distinguish soldiers from civilians. Humanitarian work was rendered possible by reference to laws of war that were more or less respected. The law of Geneva was related to the law of The Hague.

Today we face very different situations. No longer can one speak of a "law" of war including rules of behaviour common to all combatants. The myth of revolutionary war has now become so familiar as to justify recourse to any method of struggle and, hence, to a diversification of tactics that destroys any common rule. The rapid sophistication of the means of destruction has a similar effect. Thus the very foundations of humanitarian law and of the action based thereon are called in question.

The Geneva Conventions defined the status of prisoners of war, that is, their rights and duties. Yet does anyone today know the meaning of prisoner of war? For some a prisoner of war is a

soldier who, having been captured and being no longer able to defend himself, is entitled not only to life but to decent living conditions so long as he accepts the status of prisoner. Others think that, far from giving up the struggle, the prisoner must continue it by other means. Again, there are those who hold the view that only a person captured in circumstances that prove him to have been a member of the "regular" armed forces is entitled to "prisoner-of-war" status. There are others who regard guerrilla fighters as soldiers of the revolution who should be treated as prisoners of war because they are engaged in a "just" war. Thus all "partisans", "resistants" or "freedom-fighters" should be treated as regular combatants, while the "forces of order", who are the "instruments of reaction", should be regarded as "war criminals". "Criminals" too, the pilots captured following a bombing raid on North Vietnam. No doubt they belong to a regular army; no doubt they have done nothing more than carry out the orders of their commanding officers: as far as their opponents are concerned, they are none the less outlaws.

* * *

How, then, should the Geneva Conventions be applied? The International Committee of the Red Cross, which has a special responsibility towards the international community, has applied itself to this task with varying degrees of success.

During the Nigerian crisis, for example, what was the result of the action of the ICRC which was interrupted when in full swing, in mid-1969? The criticism levelled at the ICRC has been as strong as it has been profuse, and diverse to the point of being contradictory. The ICRC has been accused of pusillanimity, of legal quibbling, and of an unduly strict and restrictive interpretation of its treaty obligations, in particular of the article on blockade in the Fourth Convention. Its attitude has been contrasted with the risks taken very generously by the Churches. On the other hand, it has aroused resentment for claiming the right to deal with governments on an equal footing and for a lack of that discretion which an international organization might be expected to show in its dealings with a sovereign government, in this case the Nigerian

Government. The ICRC has been accused of faulty organization, lack of tact and errors of judgement in its choice of men. Yet the results of the operation were “positive”.² It should be borne in mind that, with the formal agreement of the two parties to the conflict, the ICRC took action at a time when the United Nations was not in a position to act. It set up a relief organization comprising international agencies, national Red Cross societies and humanitarian organizations, and co-ordinated the relief activities on either side of the front fairly well. Whatever may have been said about the ICRC, it endeavoured to establish and maintain close contact with the Nigerian Government and the secessionist leaders. Finally it transmitted to the Nigerian Government, in the most orderly fashion possible, the funds and material available, to ensure continuity of the relief action as well as it could in difficult circumstances. Again, and this was essential, in the thick of the fighting it managed to provide emergency food relief on both sides of the front, to children and to women who otherwise would not have survived.³

Barely two months before the Nigerian crisis started, the outbreak of the six-day war had compelled the ICRC to apply itself to a new field of operations in the Middle East, and it is still pursuing that action. The occupation of the territories conquered by the Israeli army posed a new problem: that of applying the Fourth Convention, drawn up and adopted by the 1949 Diplomatic Conference. First of all, there was the problem of principle: the principle of the applicability of the Convention to a situation created by the war. While the Government of Israel contested the applicability of the Fourth Convention, it nevertheless admitted ICRC delegates within its territory and allowed them a great deal of freedom in ascertaining that the provisions of that Convention were effectively implemented. Here again, the course of the ICRC's

² Cf. Jacques Freymond, “*Nigéria-Biafra : l'aide aux victimes de la guerre civile*”, *Preuves*, 1^{er} trim. 1970, pp. 70-83.

³ Cf. Pierre Mertens, “*Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et le conflit du Biafra*”, *Annuaire français de droit international*, 15, 1969, pp. 183-209. The author concluded thus: (Our translation) “It is now realized that, bearing in mind the difficulties it encountered and the obstacles which were put in its way, the ICRC has launched one of the most remarkable, and at the same time most desperate, international operations for public welfare of our times” (pp. 208-209).

activities has not been entirely smooth. The position of a delegate is a difficult one. He invariably comes with a request. Those obligations which, according to the Conventions, he must request the government to implement, are not always satisfactorily fulfilled.

The Conventions do not authorize penalties such as the destruction of houses or the expulsion of suspects. Yet the Israeli Government is not prepared to renounce such penalties despite the ICRC's appeals. Nor can it, for political and military reasons, agree to include captured Arab commandos in the "prisoner-of-war" category. Hence the extremely vigorous reaction of Arab governments and organizations, which condemn not only the non-implementation of the Fourth Convention, but also the violations that come to their notice through various channels.

The Government of Israel replies by denouncing its adversaries for their treatment of prisoners of war.

Caught as it were in the cross-fire of mutual accusations, the ICRC has quietly pursued the policy of doing what is possible and, by maintaining a permanent dialogue with the governments and their representatives, endeavoured to remind each government of its treaty obligations, and so ensure better conditions for prisoners of war, all types of detainee, and civilian populations under a regime of occupation. Indeed, the ICRC has had no alternative. It cannot, as it is so often being asked to do, protest publicly lest all doors be closed to it. And once it were gone, who would look after the victims who depend on it?

In any case, it is not being asked to get out and thereby create a vacuum. When faced with that question, even the most violent critics have answered: Stay! This amounts to a recognition that the results of three years' presence in an area of permanent tension have not been without value. Anyone who studies statistics and reports on the exchange of prisoners, the reuniting of families, the transmission of personal messages, the distribution of parcels, supplementary medical care, the assistance to families stricken by the war, and visits to detainees, will observe that there have been concrete results and that, despite the somewhat flippant remarks of the UN Commission of Inquiry and the lack of a specific mandate, the ICRC has acted as the protecting power. Owing

to the confidence which it inspired, the ICRC was able to organize direct medical care during the early part of 1970 for the populations scattered in Lebanon, and in the autumn it was asked to co-ordinate international relief activities for the victims of the civil war in Jordan.

In Indochina, the ICRC has been confronted with still more difficult problems. Besides the problems relating to the nature of the terrain, communications, the lack of its own transport, the fluidity of operations and the inexistence of a front, there has been the major problem of the very nature of this international civil war to which the provisions of the Conventions hardly apply. In the Republic of Vietnam, one should be in a position to suppress the distinction between prisoners of war and political detainees in order to gain access to all detainees, whoever they may be, and ascertain the conditions under which they are being detained. The policy of the Saigon Government has varied, as has ICRC practice. The lack of continuity has singularly reduced the effectiveness of action by the International Committee's delegates, as shown by the Con Son incident in the summer of 1970. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam promptly invoked the reservation it had made to Article 85 of the Third Convention, as a basis for rejecting the services offered by the ICRC.⁴ It has steadily maintained its position regarding that principle. The repercussions of this failure for the ICRC have been felt in South Vietnam, and considerably jeopardize future action in a conflict of this type. What is at stake is not the neutrality of the Geneva institution, but rather the content and the very spirit of the Conventions, as well as their applicability to this new form of warfare.

⁴ Article 85 reads thus: "Prisoners of war prosecuted under the laws of the Detaining Powers for acts committed prior to capture shall retain, even if convicted, the benefits of the present Convention". The reservation reads as follows: the Democratic Republic of Vietnam "does not consider itself bound by the obligation, which follows from Article 85, to extend the application of the Convention to prisoners of war who have been convicted under the law of the Detaining Power, in accordance with the principles of the Nuremberg Trial, for war crimes and crimes against humanity, it being understood that persons convicted of such crimes must be subject to the conditions obtaining in the country in question for those who undergo their punishment". Cf. Claude Pilloud, *Reservations to the 1949 Geneva Conventions*, Geneva, 1958, pp. 18-23.

Parallel to the commitments in these three areas of conflict, in 1970 the ICRC pursued its action on behalf of "political detainees". This action, which is carried out in every part of the world, is not laid down in any provision of the Conventions. Even the most far-reaching interpretation of Article 3 common to the four Conventions, relating as it does to armed conflicts not of an international character, would not justify an ICRC offer of services for "political detainees". And yet, if one delves into the institution's history, one finds that it concerned itself very early with the fate of political detainees and that it went so far as to act more and more systematically on their behalf. The fact is that, in a world in a state of almost permanent revolution, it is now becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish where the struggle for change in the social order has gradually shifted from the national to the international level, from internal to international conflict. The political prisoner is often a professional revolutionary engaged in a trans-national civil war. Even where he is but the innocent victim of his government's arbitrary action, he willy-nilly plays a passive part in a wider battle. This is something which the ICRC cannot ignore, if only because it realizes its moral obligation towards the "victim" and because it is virtually unable, in the confused state of the world, to adopt an objective criterion that will allow it to distinguish "its" victims from those whom others seek to succour.

In this para-treaty action for "political detainees", the ICRC has sustained a large number of defeats, the most serious and grievous of which was the defeat inflicted on it by the government of the Third Reich. It has nevertheless achieved valid results. Recently published statistics⁵ show that delegates have over the past twenty years or so been able to visit about 100,000 political prisoners in more than fifty countries. It thus appears that this action, which has been parallel to that of Amnesty International and of other international organizations of differing political shades, has answered a need, and that not all governments are resolutely opposed to it. It is too early as yet to describe the steps taken with

⁵ Jacques Moreillon, an ICRC delegate, will shortly publish a thesis entitled *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et les détenus politiques*. It contains an unusual survey of ICRC activity in a field about which little is known.

a view to gaining access to "political prisoners" held in camps and prisons on different continents. Yet it will not be inappropriate, in this survey of ICRC action in 1970, to mention that ICRC delegates intensified their activity in Latin America, visited political detainees in South Africa, gained admittance to certain places of detention in Indonesia, and, under the one-year agreement concluded with the Greek Government on 3 November 1969, carried out systematic visits to police stations, prisons and camps which held some of the regime's political opponents. The reports on those visits, which are sent to the government responsible, must be regarded as internal documents drafted for the benefit of the administration voluntarily submitting to inspection by an outside body. Past experience has shown that the confidential nature of the document does not reduce its effectiveness. If the government exercises any authority and if it is determined to use that authority in preventing abuses and putting an end to ill-treatment, the delegate's report provides it with one means for supervision and action. It may be added that the fact that a visit takes place is in itself important because it restores contact between the prisoner and the outside world.

This aspect of ICRC activity, which is unknown precisely because its effectiveness is contingent on the institution's discretion, is one which in 1970 even more than before, was pushed into the background by certain spectacular events in which the ICRC became involved. Those events were the hijacking of aircraft.

Those operations, carried out by some Palestinian groups, followed the same tactical reasoning as the kidnapping of diplomats or high officials by revolutionary movements in Latin America. Since the regimes in power are too powerful or well armed to be challenged in elections or in a direct insurrection, they can only be taken by surprise, bearing in mind the fact that they cannot permanently remain mobilized. Well prepared and skilfully organized operations will have every chance of succeeding and hence of sowing confusion in the administration and at the same time firing the people's imagination, the essential purpose being to capture the attention of national and international public opinion, to make one's cause known, and to create a political incident.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine has to some extent succeeded in doing this, through a succession of spectacular moves.

The ICRC became involved in some of these operations, not owing to circumstances alone, but for the simple reason that this form of warfare, while new and marginal, nonetheless caused victims.

In the Athens incident, a Palestinian commando took possession of an Olympic Airways plane and threatened to blow it up with all its passengers. André Rochat, ICRC Delegate-General for the Middle East, happened to be on the spot, and he acted as his conscience told him he should. Being convinced that the Palestinian commandos would carry out their threat, he offered, in fact imposed, himself as a mediator, and, by involving himself, in the heat of action involved the institution. The ICRC was in a difficult position. It could not disown its delegate and repudiate a public commitment entered into on behalf of the Red Cross vis-à-vis the Greek Government and the Palestinian commando. Yet its intervention sanctioned something regarded by others—certain governments, pilots and civil aviation authorities—as an act of piracy. It was not so much the institution's prestige as its honour and credibility that were at stake, and still more the value of the symbol [red cross] which it embodied. Bound as it was by the commitments entered into in its name, the ICRC could do nothing else than discreetly settle the awkward matter and point out that its intervention in no way set a precedent.

At Zerka, two months later, the ICRC was again in the forefront—against its will, of course—and that is where the problem lies. The operation was one in which, over the heads of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine and the Jordanian Government, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine clashed with a number of governments and, through them, with the Government of Israel. By mobilizing world opinion for the Palestinian cause, it was hoped to wrench from the Israeli Government a concession which would constitute an admission of its impotence: the release of an unspecified number of Palestinians. Although most of the governments involved had diplomatic representatives on the spot who could negotiate with the PFLP and the OLP

representatives as well as with King Hussein's government, the ICRC was called upon to act as intermediary. This may be explained, in the first place, by the general confusion prevailing and by the fact that the Swiss Government had no diplomatic representative at Amman at the time, but a further reason was the general anxiety for the aircraft passengers.

The International Committee undoubtedly had to intervene on behalf of persons seized as hostages in a war in which most of them were not in the least involved. Yet that obligation, which was virtually a treaty obligation, did not necessarily entail any commitment to act as intermediary in dangerous bargaining. For it was really dangerous for the International Committee to allow the red cross symbol to be used in negotiations of a political nature. Several times since 1967, the ICRC had negotiated the exchange of prisoners between the parties to the conflict, but it had proceeded discreetly, considering only the interests of the persons exchanged and dispelling as far as possible the political aspect of the concession made on either side. In the atmosphere of tension created by the diversion of aircraft, at a time when public opinion was on the alert, the ICRC was in danger of becoming an instrument of national policy, just one more vehicle for winning over do-gooders. If it were to continue its action in Jordan, in contact with a government increasingly averse to inroads into its sovereignty and authority, if it wished to protect the Arab population in territory occupied by Israel—which was plainly its duty—it would have to extricate itself from the mesh of those circumstances.

And that is what it did. Not without effort, not without a wrench.⁶ Once again in its history, there was a conflict between humanitarian feelings and the long-range requirements of humani-

⁶ According to a widespread version of the Zerka crisis, a conflict of personalities during the action led to internal dissension regarding the principle of ICRC commitment. What happened was that, once the ICRC was involved, through a series of events into which there is no need to enter, there was agreement on the course that should be followed. It was on the timing and the method of disengagement that views differed. The delegate-general abided by the main lines of his instructions. His departure, which the author decided upon on the spot, was one of the stages in a disengagement manoeuvre and did not imply that he was being recalled. Not one of the versions published about the last stage of the Zerka negotiations was accurate, for the simple reason that the press correspondents at Amman were unaware of those negotiations.

tarian policy. After all, the ICRC cannot respond to every appeal, nor can it shoulder every mission. It must guard against those collective emotions which are ever more numerous and well organized in this world of ours, where the manœuvring of public opinion has sometimes been a decisive instrument of political warfare.

* * *

After this survey of ICRC activities in 1970 and earlier years, it might be worth while to consider the institution's structure and operation.

The ICRC should be approached at its three levels of commitment corresponding to three levels of decision. We mention three levels rather than two, which is the usual practice of those who concentrate their critical analysis on the relations between "the field" and Geneva "headquarters". "Headquarters", in fact, comprises two distinct levels of decision-making: the administration which is run by a permanent directorate, and the International Committee, namely the plenary assembly of co-opted members responsible not for decisions of principle alone, but for the general conduct of operations which, in the sadly militarized vocabulary of contemporary political science, is known as "strategy".

In the field, the ICRC is committed by its delegates who, in accordance with the purpose of their mission and the instructions received, establish contact with governments and their representatives with National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, or with any other organization whose support they may need in carrying out their mission. This implies that the delegate has great freedom of action and is expected to use it. The delegate, who may often be isolated in some inaccessible area, must show both independence and good judgement. He is expected to conduct himself as a man of action and a diplomat. He must be able to assess the risks which he takes. Initiatives stem from him. ICRC history has eloquently shown that it is through the delegate's action that the institution has compelled recognition and, in its daily struggle, wrested those concessions which governments are at first apt to refuse. Theory has constantly been nourished by practice. Humanitarian law, which has found expression in the

Conventions, has progressed only in so far as it has been hallowed by experience.

The role of the delegate, which the organizational chart shows as nothing more than a cog in the machinery, is nevertheless as important as that of the plenary assembly. And this is the reason why a mission of this kind is exciting and singularly dangerous. The delegate is worn out by the task, even broken, in his approach, not to governments alone but to other grades of the establishment. Left to his own devices, he may go beyond the scope of his mission and exceed his competence. If he succeeds, he will be congratulated. Failure, on the other hand, may mean the end of a career. The risks that he takes are particularly great in times of crisis, in fluid situations, where he is faced by men whose attitudes are not always compatible and where no regulations can, in fact, lay down a rule of conduct. Should he insist on talking to prisoners without any witness? The practice and the very principles of the ICRC have varied through history. Should the crossing of a " front " and a line of fire be banned? That may well be, but we are aware of so many situations in which crossing the line has been the only means of solving a problem and saving human lives! It is merely a matter of circumstance, judgement and, let us admit it, luck.

The headquarters central administration finds itself between two fronts: it has to direct and support the delegate in his action, and ensure the continuity of policy by closely co-ordinating the principles of humanitarian law and of action in the field, so as to provide International Committee members with the requisite grounds for making individual action part of the general policy.

Those who undertake such executive tasks should have qualities which are seldom found in one man alone: imagination to visualize the real situation in the field: an acute sense of organization, since they must ensure not only what are known as the logistic services but the integration of theory and practice and the merging of each operation in an overall long-range manoeuvre; and, lastly, the essential diplomatic cover that is closely linked with public information.

The fact that there are ups and downs should surprise no one. The main thing is to know the tolerable degree of approximation.

Those aware of what the work of a general staff should be, and who realize the confusion which any imprecision or approximation creates at every level, will tend to be severe.

The headquarters executive cannot indulge either in undue zeal or in slackness. Its mission, which is to ensure the continuity and coherence of the operations, calls for silent sustained effort by humble and proud alike. Its contacts with the outside must remain essentially professional, because its concern about those towards whom it has a moral responsibility—in hospitals, camps and prisons—allow it no time for social events. ICRC diplomacy is not conducted by means of receptions but by an exchange of views prepared and carried out with the utmost discretion, effectiveness being the constant aim.

Lastly, there is the sovereign body responsible for devising the institution's general policy and behaviour: the plenary assembly of the "members" of the International Committee. That is a heavy responsibility, one that it is not easy to discharge in addition to other professional commitments.

There was a time when the members of the International Committee personally directed the departments or sections among which the institution's activities were divided. Since this laid an unduly heavy burden on them, there was a reorganization which instituted a permanent directorate, and the members of the International Committee, with the exception of the President, were relieved of their administrative duties. Yet they are not relieved of their personal responsibility or of a commitment as absolute as that of the institution's "officials", because they were not elected as "advisers" but "co-opted" as members of a cabinet. This means that they are not outside the organization which they control, but inside, and that at their level of decision-making and responsibility there can be no amateurism. Never can it be sufficiently stressed that this is not a Committee heading some association or society that meets from time to time to hear a secretary-general's report and give him instructions, but a cabinet responsible for the conduct of operations.

In the difficult times through which the world is living and in which the ICRC is permanently involved on every continent, an International Committee member cannot be some notability

who gives a humanitarian institution the benefit of his experience and connections. He must become a professional of humanitarian policy, and that policy is not simply worked out at meetings, but by means of permanent contact with those in charge of the institution's daily operation and a careful perusal of documents.

This brief survey of the three levels of ICRC commitment does not necessarily allow us to reconstruct the "process of decision-making", but it should put informed political scientists on the track of valid explanations.

Everyone is aware of the fact that decisions are not always reached through the established procedure, particularly at a time of crisis when surprise events occur in rapid succession and the temperature rises, while the actors in those events consciously or unconsciously step out of their role and thereby cause a change in relations within the hierarchy. Anyone who, from the outside, should attempt to reconstruct the decision-making process on the basis of the established procedure would therefore very likely be wrong.

One of the characteristics of ICRC life is that it is required to intervene only in times of crisis, and that the relations of the three levels of decision-making are thus permanently affected by a climate of crisis, which particularly calls for rapid decisions based on sketchy and contradictory information and on a constantly changing picture of the situation that makes any synthesis virtually impossible. The inadequacy of means of communication hampers any co-ordination of action at different levels, with the result that the organ which should have adopted a decision of principle may be faced with a *fait accompli*; or, on the other hand, its plans may rapidly become inapplicable. Many a time, the Chairman or the Presidential Council⁷, when faced with a situation which was new or thought to be new, has had to revert to the substance of a decision reached by a meeting of the full Committee. In a crisis—when changing situations have all too strong an impact on the impressionable—it becomes very difficult to maintain a general

⁷ A delegation of the Committee which, in principle, meets once a week to follow current affairs.

line and to distinguish the tactical fluctuations of the strategic movement. Moreover, the composition of the plenary meeting—and hence its state of mind—may change from one meeting to the next owing to the absence of members, whose information is no more homogeneous than their temperament. Some will prove receptive to a given explanation of the situation. Some, again, will be inclined to caution which may be regarded as temporization or timidity. Others may favour action which colleagues more sensitive to subtleties of diplomacy may consider unduly hazardous. In short, any crisis will produce stress in the cabinet, and its repercussions on the entire institution will affect decision-making capacity at the other two levels of commitment.

A further source of complication is the need, in order to meet an emergency, to mobilize additional staff in an organization which has had no time to prepare because the event has taken it by surprise. Is anyone capable of realizing what it meant, during the Nigerian crisis, to set up an operation which, in the phase of maximum development, comprised almost 2,000 persons in the field, a fleet of 600 to 700 motor vehicles, about ten aircraft and boats, with an operational budget amounting to approximately 340 million Swiss francs for a six-month period? Is anyone aware of the organizational effort involved, following King Hussein's appeal to the ICRC during the Jordanian civil war, in mustering the relief squads assigned by the different countries and ranging from a team of volunteer doctors to a United States field hospital? Only too often does the criticism levelled at these various operations reflect a personal disappointment or a partial view of the undertaking. It would be more likely to strike home if concentrated on some serious shortcomings such as the inadequacy of permanent structures for reception centres or the weakness of some operational general staff not equipped for crises such as the ICRC has had to deal with over the past few years.

Thus going from one crisis to the next, to keep pace with the world, the ICRC is living in a climate of permanent reorganization, the repercussions of which can be lessened only by improved recruitment, by an ever-increasing integration of the three levels of decision-making based on participation, and, above all, by stricter intellectual and professional discipline.

* * *

The place of the ICRC within the political system in which its action occurs has yet to be determined.

First, there is the question of its relations with the Swiss Government. Whatever may be thought or said on this subject, the ICRC is entirely independent of the Swiss Government and has never had occasion to ward off any interference from that quarter. This Swiss association of private law, which is exclusively composed of Swiss citizens, obviously enjoys a degree of respect in the country and even some privileges. Thus, while most of the ICRC's regular budget is financed by public funds plus the appreciable proceeds of an annual collection, expenditure control by an auditor is not subject to government supervision. Again, while Swiss embassies sometimes grant the ICRC certain facilities, this is a type of service that might be expected of any government in a crisis. Swiss diplomats have always exercised the utmost discretion in their relations with ICRC members. Beyond these subsidies, donations or services, Swiss public opinion is concerned with one thing alone, and that is that good use should be made of the funds. The only criticism relates to the institution's effectiveness. Its independence is never questioned.

Moreover, the ICRC must be considered in terms of its position within the International Red Cross, that is, an international grouping whose main pillars, on the one hand, are the National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, and the League of Red Cross Societies—within which they are grouped—and, on the other hand, the International Committee of the Red Cross. The National Societies, the League and the Committee are linked by the Standing Commission, whose essential purpose, apart from maintaining contact with all Red Cross organs, is to prepare International Conferences of the Red Cross. All the member institutions of the International Red Cross have a mission of their own, and the Committee's purpose is to intervene in time of war or conflict so as to ensure the application of the Geneva Conventions and also to pursue work with regard to the development of humanitarian law. In the execution of these missions, the Committee acts independently while it endeavours at the same

time to co-ordinate its action with that of the League and the National Societies.

The International Committee's special position may be surprising. Yet there is a historical explanation. It was due to the initiative of Dunant, with a few Swiss citizens in his wake, that the International Committee was formed and that it affirmed itself and produced a wider movement that took root in most countries.

People have wondered, and are still wondering, whether the ICRC's privileged role still serves a need and whether it might not be advisable to replace it by a multi-national international Committee, or at least to internationalize it by adding independent and representative persons from different countries. So far, every attempt made in this direction has come up against the question of selection and representativeness. Who was to be chosen, and according to what criterion? And who, then, was to be excluded? It had to be admitted, too, that there were some problems of a practical nature: a Committee invested with a mission to act in a crisis would, to all intents and purposes, have to sit permanently. Hence the need to find men who would be available and who could devote themselves solely to that task. Lastly and above all, multinationality would create well-nigh unsurmountable obstacles, particularly during a period of conflict. Even if the members of a multinational organization succeeded in harmonizing their views, there was no certainty that the governments or parties to the conflict would recognize them as neutral, independent and impartial intermediaries. The League of Red Cross Societies, like the United Nations, has on several occasions encountered that obstacle.

This does not mean that the ICRC may ignore the reasons for the drive towards internationalization, or that it can neglect its specific duties towards the Red Cross movement. Obviously, it cannot and should not act alone, but while maintaining its independence, a prerequisite for action, it must not only agree to co-operate with the League and National Societies but seek that co-operation. The very nature of present-day international conflicts and the interpenetration of domestic disturbances, internal conflicts and international war, prompt it to maintain as regular a contact as possible with national societies and govern-

ments. In certain types of action, it is in its interest to be able to look to strong national societies whose governments and administrations have already learned to respect Red Cross principles. Moreover, it is obvious that the ICRC cannot undertake certain major relief operations alone in times of armed conflict such as have occurred in Nigeria and Jordan. Here it is essential to cooperate with the League, in accordance with the provisions of the agreement which the two institutions reached in the spring of 1969. If that co-operation is to be valid, it must be based on mutual recognition of the special nature of each other's contribution. The ICRC is responsible for ensuring the "neutralization" of the operation, which must therefore be set in the framework of a long-range "humanitarian policy", as well as for defining the principles and methods of "humanitarian diplomacy". The League and National Societies are responsible for missions of a more technical nature, calling for the use of major resources which the ICRC alone would be unable to mobilize.

It may be felt that this division favours the ICRC by vesting it with outright political preponderance. But that is a task which it has always assumed and which it cannot share with others, precisely because in time of war its mission is to "neutralize" and "depoliticize". The "neutralization" and "depoliticization" of commitment is possible only in so far as the institution which undertakes it has compelled recognition by its regular behaviour, based on a strict application of criteria understandable to others. The ICRC cannot, unless it is to jeopardize its future action, give way to generous impulse. To take a classical example, it cannot deviate from the criteria adopted for the official recognition of a National Red Cross or Red Crescent Society. It cannot sponsor relief action for the benefit of a "resistance" group or freedom-fighters, where the price it would have to pay would be the prohibition to visit and bring relief to those same "resistants" who had fallen into the hands of their enemies. It cannot publish certain information in its possession to relieve its conscience and give satisfaction to one of the parties to the conflict. In other words, a "humanitarian policy" cannot be carried out on a momentary impulse but only in terms of the future. Responsibility for ensuring the continuity of overall commitment can be conferred only on an

institution whose very status shields it from waves of opinion and from national pressures.

The other members of the International Red Cross are known to be making a careful study of the position and role of Red Cross Societies and of the Red Cross movements in present-day society. In this brief analysis, we have dealt merely with the organization and operation of the movement at the international level. National societies, which have to bear in mind the socio-political environment in which they develop their action, may sometimes feel isolated and reproach the "international" Red Cross for not making a strong enough effort to understand them. Yet, if the Red Cross expresses a feeling of fraternity which transcends frontiers, that does not make it an "International". It cannot form a political pressure group because it would then immediately forfeit that moral force which is the prerequisite of its independence and influence, and would become the instrument of those who hold power or of those who seek it. National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies therefore have their rightful place in modern society only in so far as their independence, impartiality and neutrality are respected and recognized, in accordance with the principles upheld by the Red Cross as a whole.

As a matter of fact, it would be wrong to attempt to standardize the International Red Cross as a single organization. Only if each continues to perform its own specific mission, as it has evolved in the course of history, can the unity of the International Red Cross be ensured and its influence extended. Again, National Society leaders should be encouraged in their Red Cross mission by those who realize that impartiality and independence do not preclude loyalty to the government. The Red Cross must organize and act in accordance with its responsibilities. The disquiet which at present afflicts the International Red Cross will be dispelled only when each of the constituent parties defines its role and secures the means of playing that role. In short, it is a matter for men.

But one must look beyond the Red Cross movement and give some thought to the prospects and conditions of humanitarian action in our present-day international system. In a world of chaos, one is immediately struck by the large number of humani-

tarian organizations, whether they are sponsored by the Churches, whether they are formed by chance owing to circumstances and feelings when men of goodwill come together, or whether they are committed to a political purpose. The multiplicity of such activities, whether they be interested or disinterested, is an expression of disquiet and sometimes even of guilt. Being unable to prevent war and ensure social peace, one would at least like to save some lives. That impulse cannot and should not be checked. There is so much to be done that no institution, however well established, can lay claim to a monopoly.

And yet it should be possible to ensure co-ordination and to channel bulk relief rapidly in the event of some natural disaster, to assemble the willing and determine priorities according to the emergency, particularly when faced with an armed conflict. The more complex warfare becomes, the greater the need for improved techniques of assistance. And finally, in a world of high feelings and violence where individuals, age groups and ethnic groups no longer hesitate to take up arms to assert their originality, where violence can no longer be distinguished from counter-violence, human rights must be protected.

The United Nations is applying itself to that purpose. It is now planning an international relief scheme in case of man-made and other disasters. It also proposes to install a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, who should be able to act in the event of internal disturbance and to ensure the protection of political detainees.

These tasks have been more or less adequately shouldered by the International Red Cross and more particularly by the ICRC. Should it be assumed that the United Nations proposes to take the place of the existing humanitarian organizations? Some favour this idea because they consider that the humanitarian institutions have been overtaken by events. Only a powerful intergovernmental organization would be able to intervene commensurately in certain disasters and international conflicts.

This reasoning is no doubt valid. It should be pointed out, however, that the United Nations could already have intervened on several occasions. It could have come to the aid of the tribes of royalist Yemen. It could have settled the complex and singularly

critical problem of the mercenaries in the Congo. It might have succeeded in co-ordinating relief activities in Nigeria and elsewhere. It could offer its services to some African populations in revolt against their government. If the Secretary-General of the United Nations did not intervene in those cases and in a good many more, it was not that he did not want to do so or because of the lack of material resources. It was simply because the institution's multinational character proved to be an insurmountable obstacle.

It must be agreed, therefore, that in our present-day world there is no other method than that of the division of labour. Everyone does what he can, in the sector in which he is able to act. The General Assembly adopted that point of view at its twenty-sixth session, when it examined the Secretary-General's report on human rights in armed conflicts.⁸ Being aware of the work undertaken by the ICRC to ensure a revision or readjustment of the Geneva Conventions, it decided to await the findings of the Commission of Experts convened by the ICRC for the spring of 1971 before taking any decision.⁹ Co-operation was established which showed the potential role of an institution whose principal mission was the development of humanitarian law in theory and in practice.

By the time this article appears, the Conference of Government Experts convened in Geneva by the ICRC will have concluded its work. It is not certain that its conclusions will be sufficiently "positive" to allow the convening of a diplomatic conference. That decision rests mainly with governments, but there is no

⁸ Cf. "Respect for Human Rights in Armed Conflicts", Report of the Secretary-General, United Nations, General Assembly, twenty-fifth session, Doc. A/8052.

⁹ Two Conferences of Experts were convened early in 1971 on the general subject of the reaffirmation and development of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts. The first of these conferences, which assembled experts appointed by National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, was held at The Hague from 1 to 6 March. The second conference, a gathering of experts appointed by governments, was held in Geneva from 24 May to 12 June. Besides considering measures designed to strengthen the application of the existing law, the experts will particularly study the protection of the civilian population against dangers of hostilities, rules relative to behaviour of combatants, the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts, and rules applicable in guerrilla warfare.

indication as yet as to whether they are prepared to make concessions which would impair their sovereignty as little as it would threaten their security. In the existing atmosphere of tension, however, some small concession in the matter of principle might be regarded by those called upon to make it as an unduly heavy sacrifice.

The only course which would then remain open to the International Committee of the Red Cross would be to pursue its action in the field, patiently and discreetly, knowing that no legal constraint can convince States that they must make concessions which they may, on the other hand, be quite prepared to make to men whose integrity they respect and whose efficiency they admire. Here again, it is the quality of committed men that will determine the decision.

Jacques FREYMOND
Member of the International
Committee of the Red Cross

TWENTY-THIRD AWARD OF THE FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE MEDAL

Nurses from twenty-five countries have been selected to receive the Florence Nightingale Medal this year. It is an honour which the ICRC, on the recommendation of National Societies, bestows every other year on women who, by a resolve to serve that is sometimes nothing short of heroic, have followed the example of the "Lady with the Lamp" and proved themselves worthy in the humanitarian sphere. They have responded to an appeal to which they are determined to remain true.

On learning of the high distinction they were about to receive, some wrote to the ICRC. Here is an extract from a letter received from Miss Semmelmann, a Norwegian nurse, about the active solidarity that surrounds the daily and sometimes thankless task of relieving physical and moral suffering:

No task can be fulfilled by one person only. If I have accomplished anything in nursing it is in co-operation and by the help of colleagues and other persons. I have loved my work and I have never felt it as a sacrifice or a burden, but as a privilege.

* * *

We are publishing an account of the ceremonies for the presentation of the Florence Nightingale Medal. It is not complete because some countries have not yet sent in reports. These we may publish as and when we receive them.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At a meeting of the Presidency of the Czechoslovak Red Cross held in Prague on 1 July 1971, *Mrs. Marie Hájková* received the medal and the diploma from Dr. F. Valíček, President of the National Society.¹ The ceremony was attended by other officials of the Czechoslovak Red Cross including Dr. M. Brož, Secretary-General.

Mrs. Hájková was intensely active during the Second World War, in refuge camps and helping the families of deportees or internees with food and clothing. She was arrested and interned at Theresienstadt, where she tended and encouraged her co-detainees. She returned to Prague seriously ill, but was still able to summon up strength to bring relief to the insurrection victims, to save children's lives during air raids and to transport, in the midst of the fighting, wounded persons whom she nursed back to life. At the end of the war, she participated in receiving French deportees from the Oranienburg camp and was put in charge of an important service in a rural hospital.

GREAT BRITAIN

Miss Gwyneth Ceris Jones was presented with the medal by the Duke of Edinburgh, Chairman of the Council of the British Red Cross, at the General Assembly of that National Society, in London.¹

Her activities were both practical and theoretical. In 1939, she was mobilized and assigned to the British Expeditionary Force in France. Later she was successively appointed Matron of Westminster Hospital and London Hospital. She was also Chief Nursing Officer of the British Red Cross, responsible for advising and assisting the Society in all nursing matters, the publication of textbooks on nursing, and the introduction of new teaching methods.

¹ *Plate.*

GREECE

In the festival hall at Hellenic Red Cross headquarters, *Mrs. Aristeia Papadatou* and *Mrs. Olinga Fikiori* received the medal from Mr. C. Georgacopoulos, President of the Society.¹ The ceremony was attended by the members of the Administrative Council of the Red Cross, benefactor members, relatives and a great many guests. The two nurses had fulfilled their task with the utmost devotion for almost fifty years, in time of war as in time of peace.

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Mrs. Oak Soon Hong and *Miss Shin Young Hong* were presented with the medal at the celebration of the twenty-second anniversary of the National Red Cross Society, on 27 October 1971.¹

Mrs. Park Chung Hee, First Lady, pinned the medal on their uniforms in the presence of thousands. The ceremony was attended by the authorities, foreign diplomats and representatives of various social organizations. Gifts and flowers were offered to the two nurses, who had particularly distinguished themselves—one of them during and following the 1950 war, and the other through her unflagging efforts to improve nursing.

NORWAY

In the absence of the President of the Norwegian Red Cross, it was Mr. P. Røisland, Acting President, who presented the medal to *Miss Helga Dagsland* and *Miss Elsa Caroline Semmelmann*, at a ceremony held at Trondheim, on 16 June 1971, during the Convention of the Norwegian Nurses' Association.¹ The ceremony was attended by nurses from every part of the country, guests from abroad and representatives of the authorities. Mr. Røisland stressed the exceptional qualifications of the two nurses.

Miss Dagsland had worked in various army lazarets from 1940 to 1944, and had subsequently done a remarkable job in

¹ *Plate.*

the Norwegian Nurses' Association and the Red Cross. Among other posts held, she had been Assistant Director of the School of Advanced Nursing Education. Miss Semmelmann had distinguished herself at Tromsö during the difficult post-war period. Her great achievement was the founding of a school for nurses at Hammerfest. Like Florence Nightingale when she founded the first school in London, she had to struggle before she was able to carry out her plan, but she achieved her purpose through tenacity and wisdom. The school was inaugurated in 1964, and Miss Semmelmann carried out many different tasks there for some time after.

PHILIPPINES

The formal presentation of the medal to *Miss Teodorica A. Rabina* and *Miss Annie Sand* took place on 5 December 1971 at the Plaza, Makati, Rizal, on the occasion of the National Assembly of the Philippine National Red Cross. Dr. Manuel Lim, Chairman of the Society's International Affairs Committee, pinned the medal on them in the presence of Mr. Paul Calderara, ICRC honorary delegate.¹

Miss Rabina started as a nurse in rural areas and organized a great many relief operations when there were floods, typhoons or volcanic eruptions. During the Second World War, she nursed wounded soldiers and civilians, often at the risk of her life. She was assigned to the evacuation of the Cavite and Bataan population, in 1940, and later sent to the front, at the time of the Japanese landing at Iba. At the end of the war, she founded and organized sections of the Nurses' Association in several provinces.

Miss Sand's nursing career began in 1928. At Cebu she was Chief Nurse at the Southern Islands Hospital and at the same time Principal of its School of Nursing. She was subsequently appointed Chief Nurse at a Manila hospital for communicable diseases then being used for sick and wounded prisoners. It was a time of constant bombing, when there was hardly any water or electricity. Under heavy gunfire, she used to crawl to the wounded

¹ *Plate.*

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE MEDAL



TWENTY-THIRD AWARD



SOUTH AFRICA :

Miss Doreen Henrietta Radloff

KOREA (REPUBLIC) :
Mrs. Oak Soon Hong and
Miss Shin Young Hong



GREAT BRITAIN :

Miss Gwyneth Ceris Jones

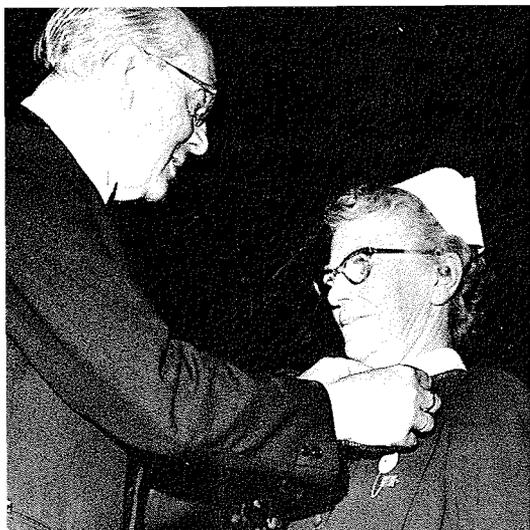
GREECE:
M^{me} Olinga Fikiori...



... and M^{me} Aristeia Papadatou

NORWAY:
Miss Helga Dagsland





NORWAY:

Miss Elsa Caroline Semmelmann

PHILIPPINES:
Miss Annie Sand...



... and Miss Teodorica A. Rabina

CZECHOSLOVAKIA :

M^{me} Marie Hájková



U.S.S.R. :

M^{me} Maria
Zakharovna Chtcherbatchenko...



... and M^{me} Zinaida Ivanovna Smirnova



U.S.S.R.:

M^{me} Matliuba Ichankhojaeva

YUGOSLAVIA:

Mrs. Razija Ajanovic thanks the ICRC, on behalf of the medallists and of the families of the four nurses who gave their lives on active service.



and give them comfort and reassurance. During the fighting in Manila, emergency care was given to friend and enemy alike. After the war, Miss Sand was designated to organize the nursing services of the National Orthopedic Hospital. Finally she was appointed Nursing Consultant of the Department of Health.

SOUTH AFRICA

The medal was presented to *Miss Doreen Henrietta Radloff*, of the South African Nursing Association, by Mr. J. J. Fouche, President of the Republic, at an official ceremony held in Pretoria on 16 November 1971.¹

From 1941 to 1946, Miss Radloff worked in military hospitals in South Africa, Egypt and Italy, nursing wounded soldiers of both allied and axis forces. As Organizing Secretary of the South African Nursing Association for twenty-five years, she has played an outstanding part in the development of nursing care in South Africa and in neighbouring countries.

USSR

The medal was presented to *Mrs. Maria Zakharovna Chitchenko* at a formal ceremony held in Kiev, on 25 September 1971, at which Mr. Ossolski congratulated her on behalf of the delegates of all the Republics participating in a Red Cross seminar.¹ She was awarded the distinction for bravery in the Second World War, when she tended the wounded and the sick at the risk of her own life. In the bitter fighting which took place in 1943, she managed to save more than a hundred wounded soldiers. She is now working in the ex-servicemen's section and is a member of the Kiev Committee of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Mrs. Zinaida Ivanovna Smirnova was presented with the medal on 20 September 1971, in the Togliatti House of Culture, by Mrs. Khlopova, Vice-President of the Red Cross in that town.¹

¹ *Plate.*

At the outbreak of war, Mrs. Smirnova volunteered as a nurse for the wounded and the sick. She was on several fronts, and a great many soldiers owe their lives to her. At Belgarode, under enemy fire, she saved more than sixty whom she herself dragged off the field. She was wounded six times and each time returned to her task as soon as she had recovered from her injuries.

Mrs. Matliuba Ichankhojaeva received the medal from Mr. Ibadov, President of the Uzbekistan Red Cross, in the Tashkent House of Culture on 25 February 1972.¹ For thirty-eight years she was a nurse in one of Tashkent's paediatric polyclinics, gave devoted care to thousands of children, and trained other nurses in child care. At the time of the Tashkent earthquake, she spared no effort in nursing the victims who were sheltered in camps, and in organizing epidemic control.

YUGOSLAVIA

The formal ceremony for the presentation of the Florence Nightingale Medal took place in Belgrade, on 24 December 1971, in the presence of members of the Yugoslav Red Cross Committee, representatives of the Health Service and Army Health Services, nursing associations, and a number of nurses who had previously been awarded the medal. Dr. D. Mesterović, President of the National Society, delivered an address in which he dwelt on the significance of the distinction and paid tribute to those whose exemplary merit had caused them to be distinguished by the ICRC. He particularly evoked the memory of the four nurses who had died and whose relatives were present. The ceremony was an occasion for pride and for sadness, and it ended with an address by one of the recipients, Mrs. Ajanović, who thanked the ICRC and sent out a message of peace to nurses throughout the world.¹

Here is a record of the services of the four nurses who are no longer living:

† *Miss Dobrila Petronijević* distinguished herself through her activity as a nurse with the resistance forces. As there was a great

¹ *Plate.*

shortage of nurses, she ran rapid courses for nursing aides. During the evacuation of the wounded, she was caught in the enemy advance and detained. She was tortured. She took poison in order not to reveal the names of the wounded and died rather than betray those she had nursed.

† *Miss Darinka Nestorović* interrupted her medical studies, early in the war, to join the partisans as a voluntary nurse. She was always in the front-line, tending and comforting the wounded. As there was no doctor, she herself treated soldiers and civilians. In a mountain attack, the wounded were carried into underground caves, and there she remained with them for twelve days and twelve nights, while the enemy were searching for them. To avoid capture, she preferred to die among the wounded for whom she had cared.

† *Mrs. Jovena Ivanka Karadžozova* supplied the partisans with medicaments and materials from the very start of the hostilities. Her professional qualities and her resolute character were well known in the army hospital installed in a mountain area, where she devotedly nursed the wounded and the sick. As there was no doctor, she frequently carried out minor operations herself. Later she organized the training of nurses. But the medal is a tribute to her bravery.

† *Miss Milesa Stanojlović* joined the partisans at the age of eighteen. Day and night she tended the wounded. As the enemy advanced, the hospital of which she was in charge was constantly being transferred from one place to another. She showed great organizational skill and managed to find food and medicaments for the people for whom she was responsible and whom she never left. But one day she fell into enemy hands. She saved the lives of “her” wounded, but died as the victim of self-sacrifice.

* * *

During the Second World War, *Mrs. Razija Ajanović* devoted herself to war orphans and supplied the partisans with medicaments and medical materials. Since that time, she has been very successful

in the Red Cross school in training nurses who specialize in child care. All the trainees are war orphans.

Miss Slavijanka Vlahčeva also supplied the partisans with medicaments and medical materials. She tended the wounded and was herself wounded. When peace came, she devoted herself to tubercular cases, instituted a home nursing service, and organized vaccination and health education for families. After holding the post of director of a nursing school, she was appointed Head of the Department of Medical Education in the Ministry of Health, and had the task of organizing a network of schools for nurses throughout the country. Later she established TB hospitals in several towns.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

CONFERENCE OF RED CROSS EXPERTS

A summary report on the proceedings of the second session

Our previous issue mentioned the Conference of Red Cross Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts. The second session was held in Vienna in March, and we now give a summary report of the proceedings, in the course of which experts underlined the progress which has been made in this field. In general, they approved the ICRC's decision, with a view to simplification, to forgo drawing up several additional protocols in favour of dealing with the whole subject in two additional protocols, one relating to international, and the other to non-international, armed conflicts.

Protection of wounded, sick and shipwrecked persons

Many experts held the view that the definition of civilian medical personnel was too restrictive and should be extended to cover temporary medical personnel. It was also suggested that that category of protected persons should include civilian medical personnel responsible for sickness prevention, first aid and social welfare, as well as the medical personnel of civil defence organizations. For that purpose, it was suggested that a new provision should be drafted for the better protection of medical personnel as a whole.

The other regulations proposed called forth many remarks. Requests were made, in particular, for the protection of temporary medical units for first aid to the wounded and the sick; for better

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protection for civilian medical personnel by stipulating that the protection should be extended to include commuting between home and work; and for the development of Article 20, "Role of the population".

In connection with the provisions relating to the wounded, the sick and the shipwrecked, in the Draft Protocol additional to Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions, the experts' remarks concerned mainly the matching of the two Draft Protocols.

The protection of National Red Cross Societies by the introduction of a clause in the Protocols, proposals for which had been put forward at the 1971 Conference of Government Experts, was brought up again. The sponsors of these proposals considered that what the ICRC had included on the subject in the Protocols was not sufficient. Some asked that the League of Red Cross Societies be specifically named. Finally the following clause was adopted:

"The Parties in conflict shall grant National Red Cross, Red Crescent, and Red Lion and Sun Societies, and the international bodies of the Red Cross, the assistance and protection necessary for the discharge of all their humanitarian activities for the benefit of conflict victims, and in the context of the Geneva Conventions and of the present Protocol."

Protection of the civilian population against dangers resulting from hostilities

The definition of civilian population as proposed in Article 41, and of objects of a civilian character as contained in Article 42 met with no objection in principle. However, it was suggested that the list of objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population should be completed. The provisions of Article 48 (1) prohibiting attacks by way of reprisals against "objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population", prompted a number of remarks. It was pointed out that International Red Cross Conferences had always condemned reprisals of any sort whatsoever, a standpoint which should resolutely be maintained; that the only reprisals of any practical importance were those perpetrated against the civilian population—the absolute prohibition of which was stipulated in the drafts; that reprisals against

civilian objects played no great part in military operations; and that, consequently, it was quite possible to envisage the complete prohibition of reprisals so far as all objects of a civilian character were concerned. The great majority of delegates were in favour of extending the prohibition of reprisals as suggested. The principle of proportionality, covered by Article 50, was questioned and one delegation asked for it to be deleted. However, most of the delegates were in favour of retaining it.

Of all the provisions relating to relief in international armed conflicts, Article 64 (Humanitarian assistance) prompted the most comment. The Chairman therefore proposed that a working committee be formed. This was done and the working committee suggested the rewording of Article 64(2) as follows:

“Relief for the benefit of civilian population is to be provided without discrimination. The offer of such relief by an impartial international humanitarian body such as the Red Cross shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act.”

The amendments suggested for Article 64(1) and (3) merely involved a slight rewording.

Combatants

Concerning Article 30—Means of combat—the Swiss Red Cross delegation put forward a proposal that the first paragraph be changed to “The right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited”, which is the wording of The Hague Regulations and of broader humanitarian scope than the ICRC’s proposal. There was a clear majority in favour of the Hague wording.

The Red Cross delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany proposed that Article 30(2) be changed to read: “It is forbidden to use weapons, projectiles or substances causing unnecessary suffering, or particularly cruel methods and means which permit of no distinction between a military objective and the civilian population”. This proposal, consistent with resolutions adopted by International Conferences of the Red Cross, and supplementing Article 45 (Respect for the civilian population) was supported by many experts.

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Article 38 (Guerrilla fighters) also was the subject of much comment. Some experts favoured deleting the conditions concluding Article 38(1); others considered the principle was one they could accept. However, some modifications were proposed and the question was raised whether it was necessary to retain condition (b), as even regular armies, in their operations, no longer wore a distinctive sign or displayed their weapons openly.

Plan for National Red Cross Societies

A plan of action for the dissemination and development of international humanitarian law in armed conflicts had been submitted to the experts. Many Societies expressed their views on the subject. It was stressed that the question should be dealt with methodically by each National Society in liaison with the ICRC. In that respect, seminars were recommended. In addition, in order for work to be effective, the suggestion was made that a special committee be set up in each country with a view to promoting dissemination which could be undertaken at two levels, to reach both the public in general, and specialized circles. Stress was laid on the fact that the purpose was to reinforce peace, stability and international co-operation.

Measures intended to Reinforce the Implementation of the Existing Law

When considering Parts I, V and VI of Draft Protocol I, the Conference concentrated mainly on Articles 6-10 relating to assistance in, and supervision of, the application of the law; Article 74 (Prohibition of reprisals and exceptional cases); Article 75 (Orders and instructions); and Article 82 (Reservations). Several proposals were made for the rewording of Article 6 (Appointment of Protecting Powers and of their substitute). Some experts thought Article 74, relating to reprisals, should not be included in the Protocol on the grounds that other articles prohibited reprisals, and that limitations on resort to reprisals in the conduct of hostilities had no place in a humanitarian protocol.

Non-international armed conflict

The Draft Protocol additional to common Article 3 of the four Conventions was examined chapter by chapter.

As a preliminary, one of the experts stated that the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a State should be included in the preamble. In contrast, another pointed out that non-international armed conflicts could no longer be exclusively within the purview of the governments involved; they were the concern of the whole international community.

Opinions varied concerning the definition of non-international armed conflict. Some held the view that it was too restrictive; others that it was difficult to elaborate a definition and that Article 3—which relates to non-international armed conflict—should not be changed. The majority, however, like the government experts, considered a sound definition to be essential, and the ICRC proposal as a sufficient basis for discussion.

It was suggested that the treatment afforded prisoners of war, in accordance with Article 25 of the Draft Protocol, should be extended to certain categories of combatants who did not comply with all the conditions laid down in Article 4(A)(2) of the Third Convention. On the subject of prohibiting the death penalty, it was suggested that the ban be extended for the benefit of civilians deprived of their freedom for acts committed in connection with an armed conflict. With regard to the article concerning co-operation in the observance of the Protocol, several experts proposed that the ICRC be quoted as an example of a body offering every guarantee of impartiality and efficacy in co-operating in the observation of the Protocol. This proposal was approved.

This second session of the Conference of Red Cross Experts was a great encouragement to the ICRC in its work for the reaffirmation and development of international humanitarian law. On the whole, the Draft Additional Protocols were well received and gave rise to an interesting exchange of views. No insuperable criticism was levelled at the Protocols, but many suggestions for the wording of some articles were put forward.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE INDO-PAKISTAN CONFLICT VICTIMS

In India and Pakistan

A further operation for the repatriation of wounded prisoners of war was conducted between India and Pakistan on 10 April 1972. The ICRC's DC-6 aircraft brought thirty-five Pakistani prisoners of war from New Delhi to Rawalpindi and, conversely, repatriated one Indian prisoner of war.

On that occasion, the ICRC aircraft carried 3,000 parcels prepared by the Pakistan Red Cross for Pakistani prisoners of war in India. Usually, parcels for Indian and Pakistani prisoners of war are sent direct to the Indo-Pakistani frontier station of Wagah.

The ICRC delegates in India and Pakistan are continuing their regular round of visits to prisoner-of-war camps. In Pakistan, the 635 Indian prisoners officially announced by the government are mainly in two camps, at Lyallpur and Rawalpindi,¹ which ICRC delegates have already been able to visit several times. In India, Pakistani prisoners of war, of whom there are more than 90,000 according to Indian sources, are interned in some forty camps installed in the basin of the Ganges. By the end of April, the ICRC delegates had visited more than 60,000 Pakistani prisoners in India, the families of Pakistani servicemen, other Pakistani civilians and the crews of a number of ships of the Pakistani merchant navy interned in India.

The ICRC forwards a great deal of correspondence between detainees and their relatives. Lastly, the Central Tracing Agency is continuing to carry out its specific tasks: the exchange of lists of prisoners of war and capture cards, the transmission of prisoners'

¹ *Plate.*

mail, the "treatment" of numerous requests for information or individual enquiries, and so forth. The receipt and forwarding of relief parcels (several thousand have already been distributed) to prisoners of war are part of the activities of ICRC delegates.

As regards the application of the Geneva Conventions, the ICRC is making a sustained effort to ensure that the parties concerned carry out a general repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian detainees. The repatriation of seriously wounded prisoners of war has made some headway, as all seriously wounded Indian prisoners held in Pakistan, and several dozen seriously wounded Pakistani prisoners held in India have been repatriated. Further operations are planned, so that all may return to their own country in the near future.

In Bangladesh

Hand-over of relief operations to Bangladesh Red Cross

In our recent issues we published articles describing the relief operations in Bangladesh for the benefit of the civilian population. Those operations were undertaken, following the hostilities in Bangladesh in December 1971, by the ICRC with the backing of the League and of several National Societies. The operations were planned for a period of three months. In order to put that plan into effect, two agreements were signed in January 1972, one with the Government of Bangladesh and the other with the newly formed National Society in order to associate the latter in the relief operations.

It was agreed that, at the end of the three months, arrangements would be examined for the hand-over of the operations to the Bangladesh Red Cross. On 8 March, the Government of Bangladesh asked the ICRC, in the interest of the people and to promote the development of the National Society, to hand over to the Bangladesh Red Cross, without the transfer in any way affecting the duties incumbent on the ICRC under the Geneva Conventions.

In the course of a transitional period, therefore, the ICRC gradually handed over the relief operations to the Bangladesh Red Cross and, by an agreement signed on 18 April, officially

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

transferred responsibility. This agreement provides, *inter alia*, that the Bangladesh Red Cross will carry on the distribution to needy sections of the population, consistent with the principles of the Red Cross, of the relief supplies provided by the ICRC.

In accordance with the wish expressed by donors, therefore, the ICRC has ceded to the National Society food, blankets, clothing, tents, a large stock of medicaments, lorries, ambulances, other vehicles, prefabricated houses and various other equipment, to a value of 9 million taka, or about 4.8 million Swiss francs. In addition, the Bangladesh Red Cross may use, when available, two DC-6 aircraft provided by the Swiss Government. It can also have facilities on the ICRC radio network.

For the discharge of its treaty obligations, the ICRC may obtain food relief by mutual agreement with the Bangladesh Red Cross. It may also obtain such relief direct from other sources.

As already mentioned, the ICRC continues carrying out its traditional activities, including the securing of acceptable living conditions and safety for certain sections of the population. These multiple activities involve a constant and considerable task for the ICRC and its delegates in Bangladesh, of whom there were still some twenty at the end of April 1972.

PAKISTAN

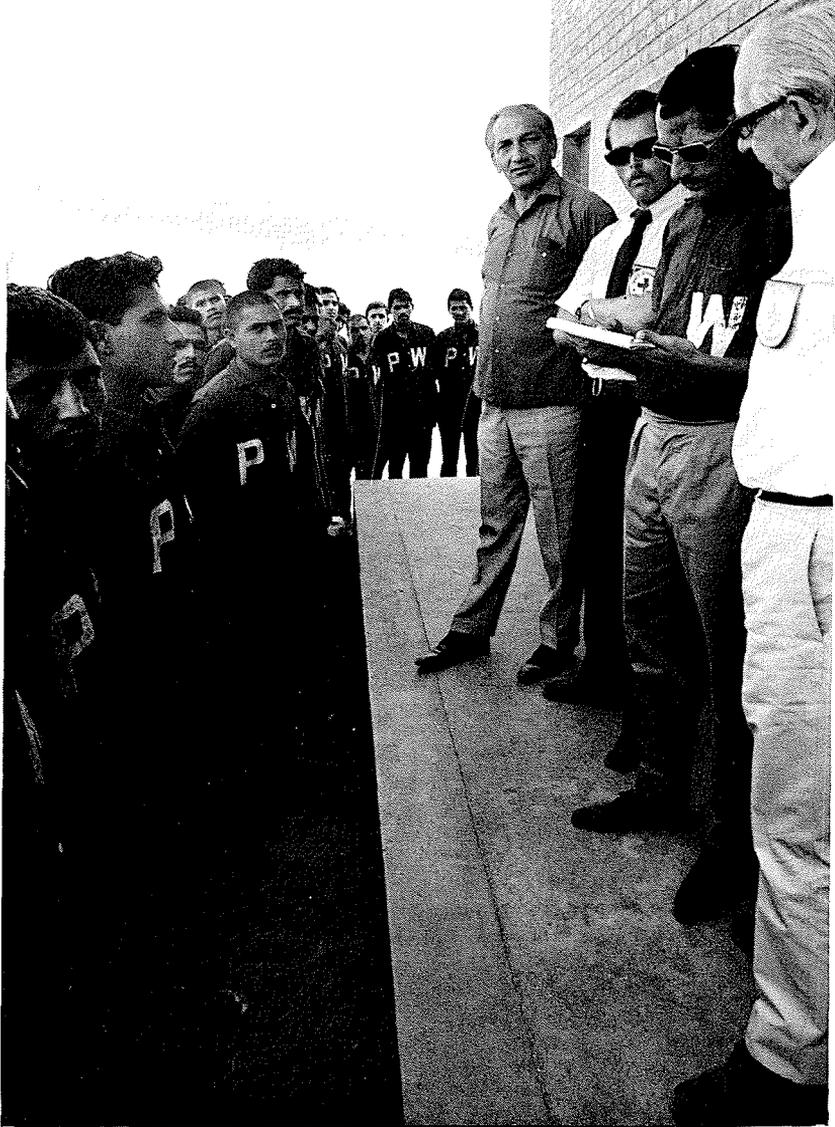


Photo J. J. Kurz/CICR

Two ICRC delegates talk with Indian prisoners of war in the Lyallpur camp, in the presence of their spokesman and of a representative of the Pakistan Red Cross.



An ICRC delegate talks with an Indian prisoner of war, in a military hospital at Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

Two ICRC delegates visit sick Indian prisoners of war in the Lyallpur camp.

Photos J. J. Kurz/CICR



*EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES***Mission to Asia**

From 4 March to 9 April 1972, Mr. Jean Ott, ICRC Delegate-General for Asia and Oceania, made a trip which took him to *Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Laos, the Republic of Vietnam, the Khmer Republic, Hong Kong and Japan*. In all the countries he visited, Mr. Ott was received by Red Cross leaders, and in six of them by government authorities.

In Djakarta, the ICRC Delegate-General was received by Mr. Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other members of the government. Among other matters, they discussed the second session of the Conference of Government Experts in which Indonesia is participating, the possible installation of an ICRC regional delegation in Djakarta, and the continuance of visits to persons detained for political reasons. The ICRC has already visited camps on the island of Buru.

Mr. Ott discussed with Singapore authorities the question of the ratification of the 1949 Geneva Conventions by that State. A decision is expected in the near future.

The ICRC Delegate-General then proceeded to Malaysia. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, talks were held regarding the country's participation in the Conference of Experts and the possibility of regular ICRC visits to detainees. A general authorization was granted to visit places of detention throughout Malaysia (including Sabah and Sarawak), and it was agreed that the ICRC mission was to take place early in April.

Mr. Ott presented the commander-in-chief of the Malaysian royal armed forces with the "Soldier's Manual", published by the ICRC, with a view to having it translated into Malay. The Ministry of Defence declared its readiness to co-operate with the ICRC in the matter.

In Vientiane, the ICRC Delegate-General was received by H.H. Prince Souvanna Phouma. He had talks in various ministries before proceeding to the Paksane area to visit refugee reception and resettlement centres.

On the next lap of his trip, Mr. Ott visited the Republic of Vietnam, where he conferred with Saigon authorities (Ministry of Defence), US advisers and the Red Cross about the condition of prisoners of war and ICRC activities with regard to them. Mr. Ott later visited the Pleiku camp.

In the Khmer Republic, the ICRC Delegate-General was received by Marshal Lon Nol, who confirmed his government's resolve to respect the Geneva Conventions. In this context, he will henceforth grant prisoner-of-war status to combatants captured by the Khmer armed forces and to Vietnamese sentenced to death and reprieved. Mr. Ott was also received by the Prime Minister, by the Ministers of Defence, the Interior, Justice and Health, and by the Director of Municipal Health in Phnom-Penh. He subsequently visited detainees in the Phnom-Penh prison.

From the Khmer Republic the Delegate-General went to Hong Kong, to look into the possibility of having relief supplies sent to South East Asia. Mr. Ott then left for Japan, where he called on Mr. Shigeo Tanabe, Executive Vice-President of the Japanese Red Cross, and Mrs. Sachiko Hashimoto, a recipient of one of the three Henry Dunant medals recently awarded by the Standing Commission of the Red Cross.

Khmer Republic

During March, at the invitation of the Minister of State for Social Affairs, the ICRC delegate went to the province of Oddar Meanchey. At Samrong, he spoke to 67 persons, including a serviceman recently released from an enemy prison camp. They have now been housed at Samrong and provided with essential relief items. The ICRC delegate saw a wounded soldier in the hospital in that town. Lastly, he visited a refugee camp sheltering about thirty families. A few days later, he accompanied a member of the Khmer Red Cross to the province of Koh Kong, near the Thai border. There a relief distribution of mats, blankets and textiles was carried

out, and the delegate visited the provincial hospital of Koh Kong and the infirmary at Koh Kapik.

In February, the ICRC doctor-delegate in the Khmer Republic examined more than 5,600 persons in the course of his visits to Phnom-Penh refugee camps.

Republic of Vietnam

From 1 to 3 March 1972, the ICRC delegates and doctor-delegates visited the Danang prisoner-of-war camp and the 95th Evacuation Hospital of the US armed forces.

Near East

Visits to prisoners of war were made by ICRC delegates in Israel and in the Arab countries. As is customary, talks were held with the prisoners without any witness. The ICRC reports are sent to the detaining powers and to the prisoners' own governments.

In Israel, the 105 Arab prisoners of war (62 Egyptians, 42 Syrians and one Jordanian) were visited on 26 March and 10 April 1972, in the Sarafand military prison camp.

In the Arab Republic of Egypt, on 18 and 29 March 1972, ICRC delegates visited the ten Israeli prisoners of war interned in the Abassieh military prison. During the last visit, a religious service was held for the prisoners on the occasion of the Jewish Passover, and a small celebration was organized for them.

In Syria, the three Israeli prisoners of war were visited by the ICRC delegate on 23 March 1972.

In Jordan, the four Israelis whom the Amman authorities had granted prisoner-of-war status also had an ICRC visit on 23 March.

Israel and the occupied territories

From 25 January to 29 February 1972, ICRC delegates in Israel and the occupied territories made their twentieth round of visits to prisons. They visited thirteen places of detention and saw more than 3,000 Arab civilian detainees. As usual, they enquired into conditions of detention and talked to detainees without wit-

nesses, except for those whose questioning had not yet ended. The ICRC reports are sent to the detaining authorities.

Jordan

On 29 February, the ICRC delegate in Jordan visited at the Mahatta prison in Amman, fourteen persons who had been evicted from the territory occupied by Israel.

Malawi

On 11 April 1972, in Blantyre, a repatriation operation took place under ICRC auspices: three Portuguese nationals from Tete (Mozambique) whose aircraft made a forced landing in Zambia were released by the authorities in Lusaka and were able to return to Tete. At the same time, two Zambians, detained for having illegally entered Mozambique last year, were also repatriated.

El Salvador

In continuation of his mission in Central America, the ICRC Regional Delegate went to El Salvador at the end of March. Being on the spot at the time of the attempted *coup d'état*, he applied for and obtained permission to visit persons arrested, over fifty of whom he saw during two visits to the national police headquarters. He took advantage of his stay in San Salvador to have discussions with the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning the forthcoming Conference of Government Experts; with the Vice-Minister of Defence and the Director of the military academy concerning the propagation of the Geneva Conventions; and with the Vice-Rector of the University with a view to the introduction of a course on international humanitarian law in the Law Faculty programme. He then went to Guatemala.

Venezuela

In March the Regional Delegate for South America visited three further places of detention in Venezuela. He saw about fifty persons detained for political reasons.

*IN GENEVA***Staff changes in the Operations Department**

On 27 December 1971, Mr. Raymond Courvoisier requested the International Committee of the Red Cross to relieve him of his responsibilities as Director of Operations in order to resume his functions as Special Assistant to the President, for which he had been engaged.

The ICRC, at its meeting on 13 January 1972, agreed to this request, but asked Mr. Courvoisier to continue as Director of Operations for several months.

As from 1 May 1972, the position of Director of Operations will be assumed ad interim by Mr. Jean-Pierre Maunoir, Assistant Director.

The International Committee expresses its gratitude to Mr. Courvoisier for his administration of the Operations Department over the last three years, under conditions which were sometimes very difficult, with unremitting dedication and unsparing in his efforts. It is pleased to be able to count on Mr. Courvoisier's valuable collaboration as Special Assistant to the President.

A New ICRC Film

"The First Steps" is the title of a new 16 mm colour film which the Press and Information Division of the ICRC has just produced on the work it has been carrying out for several months in Bangladesh with the co-operation of several National Societies. Filmed last January in Dacca, Chittagong, Mirzapur, Comilla and other places, it lasts for 28 minutes, and English, French, German, Spanish and Italian versions may be ordered from the ICRC.

The film shows the unremitting work undertaken under the sign of the Red Cross in a country which has suffered the horror of war and in which hardship still prevails and must be remedied. ICRC delegates and the members of National Society socio-medical teams are seen providing relief and assistance to Bengalis who have returned to their homeland after being refugees in camps in India, and also to other sections of the civilian population. Other representatives of the ICRC are shown visiting prisoners of war and destitute civilians, ensuring the fullest possible application of the Geneva Conventions. The full significance of the Red Cross emerges from the work of those who visit, assist and comfort, as shown in this moving documentary.

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

STANDING COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

An ordinary session of the Standing Commission was held in Geneva on 11 April 1972.

It was chaired by Angela, Countess of Limerick (United Kingdom) and included the two representatives of the ICRC, Mr. Marcel A. Naville and Mr. Jean Pictet, the two representatives of the League, Mr. José Barroso and Mr. Eustasio Villanueva Vadillo, General James F. Collins (USA), Dr. Djebli-Elaydouni (Morocco), Sir Geoffrey Newman-Morris (Australia), and Mrs. Troyan, President of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR who was deputizing for Professor G. Miterev. Mr. T. W. Sloper also attended as a consultant. Others in attendance were the representatives of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, Mr. H. Khatibi, Director General, Mrs. P. Shahidy, liaison officer to international Red Cross organizations, and Mr. M. Khosrovshahi.

At the invitation of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, the Commission decided that the XXIInd International Conference of the Red Cross would take place at Tehran from 6 to 14 October 1973. The dates are subject to change if required by the agenda which has still to be drawn up. As usual, the Conference will be preceded from 26 September by various Red Cross meetings.

*

As mentioned previously¹, the Standing Commission awarded the Henry Dunant Medal, the highest Red Cross distinction, which

¹ See *International Review*, December 1971.

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

was founded by the XXth International Conference, to *Mr. André François-Poncet*, former president of the French Red Cross and of the Standing Commission, *Mrs. Sachiko Hashimoto*, president of the Japanese Junior Red Cross, and *Miss Katalyn Durgo*, a nurse of the Hungarian Red Cross. Mrs. Hashimoto, who was present at the meeting, was presented with the medal by the Countess of Limerick. As the other two medalists were unable to come to Geneva, the distinction conferred on them will be presented at some other occasion.

FOR 8 MAY 1972

International Review has already defined the significance of World Red Cross Day and has announced the theme of the event for 1972, namely The Red Cross—Humanity's Bridge. The World Day will be celebrated in many countries and will later be described in our pages.

Mr. J. Barroso, Chairman of the League Board of Governors, delivered the following message for the occasion :

The choice of theme for the 1972 World Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Day was not haphazard.

The "bridge" represents a link between peoples, the gift of self for a common cause, the solidarity of mankind. In a world taking stock, that is said to be on the decline, in a world where any sentiment often remains impassive, where fine words are spoken but never translated into concrete action, it is really heartening to find that there still are people of goodwill, wishing to help not only their relations, their friends, their neighbours, but also human beings entirely unknown to them, brought close by misfortune and suffering.

Answering the call of the Red Cross, an ever growing number of volunteers are giving the best of themselves to mitigate the

misery of others. For the Red Cross has only one aim: to help the victims of any misfortune whatever the cause—conflicts, disturbances, natural disasters, epidemics, difficult social conditions, etc.

The League of Red Cross Societies co-ordinates the action to this end of its member Societies as well as those which will be becoming members, some 130, comprising tens of millions of members and volunteers spread across the world. All, young or adult, have a single objective: to help.

It is readily said these days that youth is apathetic, dissatisfied with everything and above all with the world shaped by the older generation. I contend that this is false and that the Red Cross in particular can offer them, anywhere and at any time, the opportunity to serve. To support this contention, I can give as an example—and there are countless others—the assistance now being abundantly provided in Viet Nam for the thousands of refugees. Who immediately came to their assistance, provided the essentials for their survival? The Vietnamese youth, the youth of the Red Cross helped by members of other organizations. What served as the bridge between all these young people? The Red Cross.

Let us no longer say that solidarity is an empty word. Let us be convinced that there are opportunities under the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun emblems to serve as a bridge between men and nations, regardless of race, ideologies, creed and also generations, between those who have and those who have not.

EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTES OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

(AGREED AND AMENDED ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1952)

ART. 1. — The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), founded in Geneva in 1863 and formally recognized in the Geneva Conventions and by International Conferences of the Red Cross, shall be an independent organization having its own Statutes.

It shall be a constituent part of the International Red Cross.¹

ART. 2. — As an association governed by Articles 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code, the ICRC shall have legal personality.

ART. 3. — The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva.

Its emblem shall be a red cross on a white ground. Its motto shall be “*Inter arma caritas*”.

ART. 4. — The special role of the ICRC shall be:

- (a) to maintain the fundamental and permanent principles of the Red Cross, namely: impartiality, action independent of any racial, political, religious or economic considerations, the universality of the Red Cross and the equality of the National Red Cross Societies;
- (b) to recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Red Cross Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition in force, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition;

¹ The International Red Cross comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The term “*National Red Cross Societies*” includes the Red Crescent Societies and the Red Lion and Sun Society.

- (c) to undertake the tasks incumbent on it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of these Conventions and to take cognizance of any complaints regarding alleged breaches of the humanitarian Conventions;
- (d) to take action in its capacity as a neutral institution, especially in case of war, civil war or internal strife; to endeavour to ensure at all times that the military and civilian victims of such conflicts and of their direct results receive protection and assistance, and to serve, in humanitarian matters, as an intermediary between the parties;
- (e) to contribute, in view of such conflicts, to the preparation and development of medical personnel and medical equipment, in co-operation with the Red Cross organizations, the medical services of the armed forces, and other competent authorities;
- (f) to work for the continual improvement of humanitarian international law and for the better understanding and diffusion of the Geneva Conventions and to prepare for their possible extension;
- (g) to accept the mandates entrusted to it by the International Conferences of the Red Cross.

The ICRC may also take any humanitarian initiative which comes within its role as a specifically neutral and independent institution and consider any questions requiring examination by such an institution.

ART. 6 (first paragraph). — The ICRC shall co-opt its members from among Swiss citizens. The number of members may not exceed twenty-five.

THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF AUGUST 12, 1949¹

Some publications

	Sw. fr.
The Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949. 2nd Ed. 1950. 245 pp.	10.—
Commentary published under the general editorship of Mr. J. Pictet, member of ICRC:	
— Vol. 1: Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field — 466 pp.	
bound	40.—
paper-back	30.—
— Vol. 2: Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea — 320 pp.	
bound	35.—
paper-back	25.—
— Vol. 3: Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War — 764 pp.	
bound	50.—
paper-back	40.—
— Vol. 4: Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War — 660 pp.	
bound	45.—
paper-back	35.—
Brief Summary for Members of Armed Forces and the General Public, 13 pp.	1.50
Course of Five Lessons, 102 pp.	7.—
Essential Provisions, 4 pp.	0.30
Soldier's Manual, 24 pp.	0.50
Rights and Duties of Nurses under the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949 — 45 p. (for orders exceeding 100 copies Sw. Fr. 1.—)	1.50

*

International Red Cross Handbook.² Conventions—Statutes and Regulations—Resolutions of the International Conference of the Red Cross and of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies, 11th ed. 1971; 8vo, 607 p. 40.—

¹ These publications and the full list of ICRC publications may be obtained from the ICRC Documentation Department, 7 avenue de la Paix, CH-1211 Geneva 1.

² This joint publication can be obtained at the above address or from the League of Red Cross Societies, Case postale 2099, CH-1211 Geneva 19.

SOME PUBLICATIONS ON THE RED CROSS ¹

Jean Pictet

Sw. Fr.

- Red Cross Principles, 155 pp. 10.—
- The Principles of International Humanitarian Law, 61 pp. 8.—
- The Doctrine of the Red Cross, 19 pp. 2.—
- The Laws of War, 11 pp. 2.—

Henri Coursier

- The International Red Cross, 131 pp. 3.50

Jean-Georges Lossier

- Fellowship—The Moral Significance of the Red Cross, 106 pp. 4.—
- The Red Cross and Peace, 31 pp. 3.—

Bernard Gagnebin and Marc Gazay

- Encounter with Henry Dunant. Geneva, Ed. Georg, 130 pp. 9.50

*

- The Red Cross. Lausanne, Ed. Rencontre, 32 pp. 1.—

¹ Obtainable from the ICRC Documentation Department, 7 avenue de la Paix, CH-1211 Geneva 1.

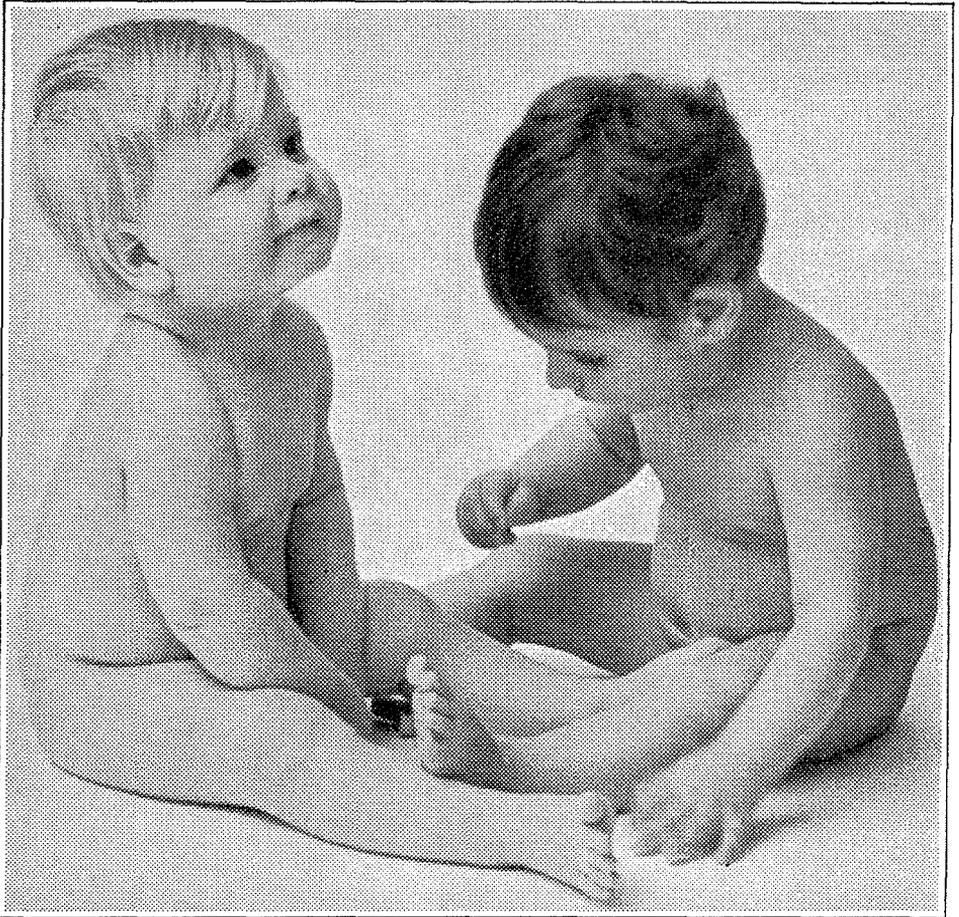


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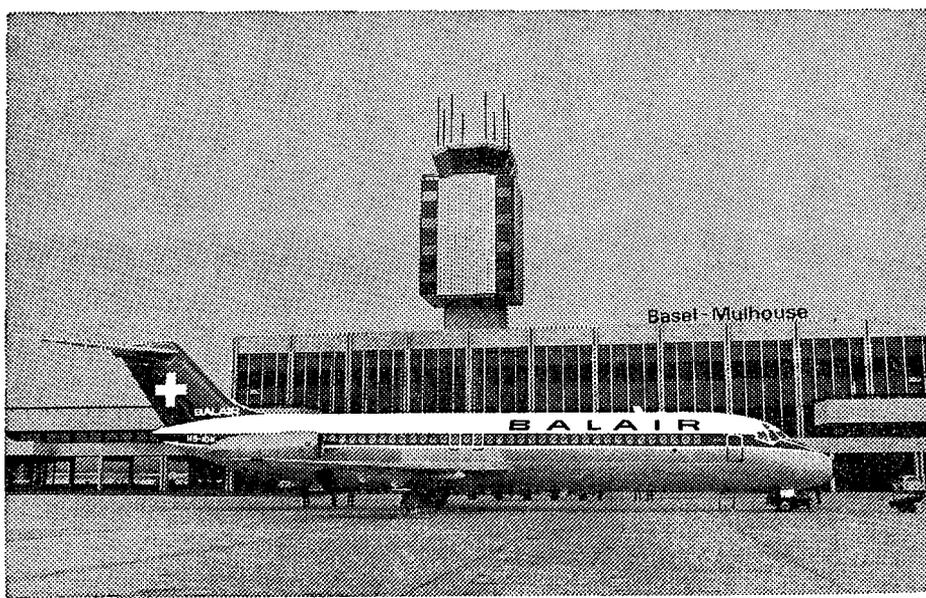


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ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- AFGHANISTAN — Afghan Red Crescent, *Kabul*.
- ALBANIA — Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga e Barrikadavet, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA — Central Committee of the Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis, Boulevard Mohamed V, *Algiers*.
- ARGENTINA — Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrioyen 2068, *Buenos Aires*.
- AUSTRALIA — Australian Red Cross, 122-128 Flinders Street, *Melbourne, C. 1*.
- AUSTRIA — Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, *Vienna IV*.
- BELGIUM — Belgian Red Cross, 98 Chaussée de Vleurgat, *Brussels 5*.
- BOLIVIA — Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simón Bolívar, 1515 (Casilla 741), *La Paz*.
- BOTSWANA — Botswana Red Cross Society, Independence Avenue, P.O. Box 485, *Gaberones*.
- BRAZIL — Brazilian Red Cross, Praça Cruz Vermelha 10-12, *Rio de Janeiro*.
- BULGARIA — Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. S. S. Biruzov, *Sofia*.
- BURMA — Burma Red Cross, 42 Strand Road, Red Cross Building, *Rangoon*.
- BURUNDI — Red Cross Society of Burundi, rue du Marché 3, P.O. Box 324, *Bujumbura*.
- CAMEROON — Central Committee of the Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, *Yaoundé*.
- CANADA — Canadian Red Cross, 95 Wellesley Street, East, *Toronto 284 (Ontario)*.
- CEYLON — Ceylon Red Cross, 106 Dharmapala Mawatha, *Colombo VII*.
- CHILE — Chilean Red Cross, Avenida Santa María 0150, Correo 21, Casilla 246V., *Santiago de Chile*.
- CHINA — Red Cross Society of China, 22 Kanmien Hutung, *Peking, E*.
- COLOMBIA — Colombian Red Cross, Carrera 7a, 34-65, Apartado nacional 1110, *Bogotá D.E.*
- COSTA RICA — Costa Rican Red Cross, Calle 5a, Apartado 1025, *San José*.
- CUBA — Cuban Red Cross, Calle 23 201 esq. N. Vedado, *Havana*.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, *Prague I*.
- DAHOMEY — Red Cross Society of Dahomey, P.O. Box 1, *Porto Novo*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade 17, *Copenhagen K*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, Calle Juan Enrique Dunant, Ensanche Miraflores, Apartado Postal 1293, *Santo Domingo*.
- ECUADOR — Ecuadorian Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia 118, *Quito*.
- EGYPT (Arab Republic of) — Egyptian Red Crescent Society, 34 rue Ramses, *Cairo*.
- EL SALVADOR — El Salvador Red Cross, 3a Avenida Norte y 3a Calle Poniente 21, *San Salvador*.
- ETHIOPIA — Ethiopian Red Cross, Red Cross Road No. 1, P.O. Box 195, *Addis Ababa*.
- FINLAND — Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu 1 A, Box 14168, *Helsinki 14*.
- FRANCE — French Red Cross, 17 rue Quentin Bauchart, *Paris (8^e)*.
- GERMANY (Dem. Republic) — German Red Cross in the German Democratic Republic, Kaitzerstrasse 2, Dx 801 *Dresden 1*.
- GERMANY (Federal Republic) — German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 71, 5300, *Bonn 1*, Postfach (D.B.R.).
- GHANA — Ghana Red Cross, National Headquarters, Ministries Annex A3, P.O. Box 835, *Accra*.
- GREAT BRITAIN — British Red Cross, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, *London, S.W.1 X 7 E.J.*
- GREECE — Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou 1, *Athens 135*.
- GUATEMALA — Guatemalan Red Cross, 3^a Calle 8-40, Zona 1, *Ciudad Guatemala*.
- GUYANA — Guyana Red Cross, P.O. Box 351, Eve Leary, *Georgetown*.
- HAITI — Haiti Red Cross, Place des Nations Unies, B.P. 1337, *Port-au-Prince*.
- HONDURAS — Honduran Red Cross, Calle Henry Dunant 516, *Tegucigalpa*.
- HUNGARY — Hungarian Red Cross, Arany Janos utca 31, *Budapest V*.
- ICELAND — Icelandic Red Cross, Øldugötu 4, Post Box 872, *Reykjavik*.
- INDIA — Indian Red Cross, 1 Red Cross Road, *New Delhi 1*.
- INDONESIA — Indonesian Red Cross, Djalan Abdulmuhs 66, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN — Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Avenue Ark, *Tehran*.
- IRAQ — Iraqi Red Crescent, Al-Mansour, *Baghdad*.
- IRELAND — Irish Red Cross, 16 Merrion Square, *Dublin 2*.
- ITALY — Italian Red Cross, 12 via Toscana, *Rome*.
- IVORY COAST — Ivory Coast Red Cross Society, B.P. 1244, *Abidjan*.
- JAMAICA — Jamaica Red Cross Society, 76 Arnold Road, *Kingston 5*.
- JAPAN — Japanese Red Cross, 1-1-5 Shiba Daimon, Minato-Ku, *Tokyo 105*.
- JORDAN — Jordan National Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 10 001, *Amman*.
- KENYA — Kenya Red Cross Society, St Johns Gate, P.O. Box 40712, *Nairobi*.
- KHMER REPUBLIC — Khmer Red Cross, 17 Vithei Croix-Rouge khmère, P.O.B. 94, *Phnom-Penh*.
- KOREA (Democratic People's Republic) — Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Pyeongyang*.
- KOREA (Republic) — The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3 Ka Nam San-Donk, *Seoul*.
- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1359, *Kuwait*.

ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- LAOS — Lao Red Cross, P.B. 650, *Vientiane*.
- LEBANON — Lebanese Red Cross, rue Général Spears, *Beirut*.
- LESOTHO — Lesotho Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 366, *Maseru*.
- LIBERIA — Liberian National Red Cross, National Headquarters, 107 Lynch Street, P.O. Box 226, *Monrovia*.
- LIBYAN ARAB REPUBLIC — Libyan Red Crescent, Berka Omar Mukhtar Street, P.O. Box 541, *Benghazi*.
- LIECHTENSTEIN — Liechtenstein Red Cross, FL-9490 *Vaduz*.
- LUXEMBOURG — Luxembourg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 1806, *Luxembourg*.
- MADAGASCAR — Red Cross Society of Madagascar, rue Clémenceau, P.O. Box 1168, *Tananarive*.
- MALAWI — Malawi Red Cross, Hall Road, Box 247, *Blantyre*.
- MALAYSIA — Malaysian Red Cross Society, 519 Jalan Belfield, *Kuala Lumpur*.
- MALI — Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, route de Koulikora, *Bamako*.
- MEXICO — Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejercito Nacional n° 1032, *México 10, D.F.*
- MONACO — Red Cross of Monaco, 27 boul. de Suisse, *Monte Carlo*.
- MONGOLIA — Red Cross Society of the Mongolian People's Republic, Central Post Office, Post Box 537, *Ulan Bator*.
- MOROCCO — Moroccan Red Crescent, rue Benzakour, B.P. 189, *Rabat*.
- NEPAL — Nepal Red Cross Society, Tripureshwar, P.B. 217, *Kathmandu*.
- NETHERLANDS — Netherlands Red Cross, 27 Prinsessegracht, *The Hague*.
- NEW ZEALAND — New Zealand Red Cross, Red Cross House, 14, Hill Street, *Wellington 1*. (P.O. Box 12-140, *Wellington North*).
- NICARAGUA — Nicaraguan Red Cross, 12 Avenida Noroeste 305, *Managua, D.N.*
- NIGER — Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, *Niamey*.
- NIGERIA — Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Akete Close, off St. Gregory Rd., Onikan, P.O. Box 764, *Lagos*.
- NORWAY — Norwegian Red Cross, Parkveien 33b, *Oslo*.
- PAKISTAN — Pakistan Red Cross, Dr Dawood - Pota Road, *Karachi 4*.
- PANAMA — Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado 668, Zona 1, *Panamá*.
- PARAGUAY — Paraguayan Red Cross, calle André Barbero y Artigas 33, *Asunción*.
- PERU — Peruvian Red Cross, Jirón Chancay 881, *Lima*.
- PHILIPPINES — Philippine National Red Cross, 860 United Nations Avenue, P.O.B. 280, *Manila D-406*.
- POLAND — Polish Red Cross, Mokotowska 14, *Warsaw*.
- PORTUGAL — Portuguese Red Cross, Jardim 9 de Abril, 1 a 5, *Lisbon 3*.
- ROMANIA — Red Cross of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Strada Biserica Amzei 29, *Bucarest*.
- SAN MARINO — San Marino Red Cross, Palais gouvernemental, *San Marino*.
- SAUDI ARABIA — Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, *Riyadh*.
- SENEGAL — Senegalese Red Cross Society, Bld. Franklin-Roosevelt, P.O.B. 299, *Dakar*.
- SIERRA LEONE — Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 6 Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, *Freetown*.
- SOMALI REPUBLIC — Somali Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 937, *Mogadishu*.
- SOUTH AFRICA — South African Red Cross, Cor. Kruis & Market Streets, P.O.B. 8726, *Johannesburg*.
- SPAIN — Spanish Red Cross, Eduardo Dato 16, *Madrid 10*.
- SUDAN — Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, *Khartoum*.
- SWEDEN — Swedish Red Cross, Artillerigatan 6, 10440, *Stockholm 14*.
- SWITZERLAND — Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, *3001 Berne*.
- SYRIA — Syrian Red Crescent, Bd Mahdi Ben Barake, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA — Tanganyika Red Cross Society, Upanga Road, P.O.B. 1133, *Dar es Salaam*.
- THAILAND — Thai Red Cross Society, King Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, *Bangkok*.
- TOGO — Togolese Red Cross Society, 51, rue Boko Soga, P.O. Box 655, *Lomé*
- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO — Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross Society, 105, Woodford Street, P.O. Box 357, *Port of Spain*.
- TUNISIA — Tunisian Red Crescent, 19 rue d'Angleterre, *Tunis*.
- TURKEY — Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, *Ankara*.
- UGANDA — Uganda Red Cross, Nabunya Road, P.O. Box 494, *Kampala*.
- UPPER VOLTA — Upper Volta Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, *Ouagadougou*.
- URUGUAY — Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre 2990, *Montevideo*.
- U.S.A. — American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, N.W., *Washington 6, D.C.*
- U.S.S.R. — Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Tcheremushki, J. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, *Moscow W-36*.
- VENEZUELA — Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, *Caracas*.
- VIET NAM (Democratic Republic) — Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, 68 rue Bà-Triệu, *Hanoi*.
- VIET NAM (Republic) — Red Cross of the Republic of Viet Nam, 201 đường Hồng-Thập-Tu, No. 201, *Saigon*.
- YUGOSLAVIA — Yugoslav Red Cross, Simina ulica broj 19, *Belgrade*.
- ZAIRE (Republic of) — Red Cross of the Republic of Zaire, 41 av. Valcke, P.O. Box 1712, *Kinshasa*.
- ZAMBIA — Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R.W.1, Ridgeway, *Lusaka*.