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THE GENEVA CONVENTION OF 1864 AND THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE OF 1874¹

by Danièle Bujard

II

International Committee's fears

Yet, though Gustave Moynier recognized that the rules relative to wounded or sick troops should clearly form a part of a plan for the codification of the most important laws of war—for it was he who had suggested in 1868 to the President of the Swiss Confederation that, because of the very close connection existing between the Law of Geneva and Alexander II's project, the Geneva Conference might be linked to the Conference of Saint Petersburg, to alleviate "as much as possible the calamities of war" — he did not show much enthusiasm, even while declaring his approval of the new Russian proposals, and did not hide his attitude of reserve.

For though the Russian proposals, in substance, were not of a nature to cause any uneasiness to the International Committee, there were other reasons why it greeted the Czarist Government's move with a certain amount of disquiet.

There was no doubt in the minds of the members of the International Committee that the future of the additional articles introduced in 1868 was gravely compromised by the Brussels Conference. Those articles, which had given rise to much controversial debate, were not in force, and the Russian draft, which did not replace them, contained no allusion to them. Would there not be an attempt to take advantage of the Confer-

¹ The first part of this article appeared in our last issue.

ence to discard them altogether? On 10 June 1874, Gustave Moynier suggested to Mr. Schenk that the Swiss Government should send to all the States parties to the 1864 Convention a circular letter urging them to complete in Brussels the work begun in 1868 in Geneva; the Swiss Federal Council, without asking for a pure and simple acceptance of that instrument, might propose its revision "... prior to the examination of the new Russian proposals, or parallel to it". The circular letter was sent on 8 July by the Federal Council to all the Governments of States signatories to the 1864 Geneva Convention. In it, the Federal Council reviewed the steps it had taken to hasten the ratification of the 1868 Act and presented an account of the state of affairs at the moment when the Brussels Conference was convened by the Russian Imperial Government; it further pointed out that the latter had informed it that it did not see any objection to the problem of the ratification of the additional articles being submitted to the Brussels Conference for examination, that this question had not been originally included in the programme, and that it would let the Federal Council take the initiative of raising it. The communication ended with the following sentence: "... It (the Federal Council) considers, too, that it feels compelled, on grounds of expediency, to leave it to the Brussels Conference to decide for itself whether it is appropriate to proceed with the ratification of the additional articles of 1868 in their present form or whether it would be more advisable to include them in the draft general convention which the Conference would be called upon to discuss".

These concluding considerations on the form which the additional articles could finally take were close to the intentions of the International Committee. For although the latter wished to do its utmost in order that the 1868 instrument should not sink into oblivion, it was nevertheless concerned about the complex treaty situation resulting, on the one hand, from the ratification of the additional articles and, on the other hand, from the adoption of the new Russian proposals. The rules relative to the wounded and sick would then have been dispersed in three different instruments, a state of affairs not calculated to make it any easier for anyone to get to know them better and, consequently, to apply them. Would it not be possible to arrange for the Russian proposals concerning non-combatants and the wounded to form, together with the additional articles of 1868, a separate instrument, annexed to the 1864 Convention and complementary to it? The Brussels Conference need only refer to

the Geneva Conventions and its additional articles in respect of anything concerning the medical services and the wounded.

Though they were pursuing the same objective, the Federal Council and the International Committee arrived at opposite conclusions: the former suggested that the additional articles should be embodied in the Convention to be drawn up at Brussels, the latter wished the rules of the Russian draft on non-combatants and wounded to be added to the additional articles of 1868.

However anxious the International Committee may have been to preserve the additional articles of 1868, it had before it a subject of still graver concern. Would not the Russian proposals give the plenipotentiaries gathered at Brussels the opportunity to re-examine the question of the very existence of the 1864 Convention? There was some foundation for this fear, for at the time when the Brussels Conference was convened, the Geneva Convention had lost considerable favour and had to contend against a number of resolute adversaries. This sorry situation had its origin in the Franco-German War. The Law of Geneva did not hold the same importance for the belligerents facing each other in that conflict; the Prussian Army had been instructed in the rules of the 1864 Convention and its medical services had been perfectly organized. Unfortunately, it had been different on the French side; their army knew nothing about the Geneva Convention, the medical services were practically non-existent and the small number of persons comprising the medical personnel did not wear the distinctive sign. The inevitable consequence of this state of affairs was that the breaches committed by one of the parties led to reprisals by the other. Furthermore, it became apparent that it was difficult to apply certain provisions; for instance, in the case of Article 5 relative to the neutrality of the inhabitants who brought help and provided shelter for the wounded; as the enemy approached, makeshift hospitals were hastily improvised, sometimes holding only a single bed, and whole villages were covered with Red Cross flags. In such cases, the enemy paid scant heed to the Red Cross sign.

It was therefore not surprising that, after the end of the war, the weak points in the Geneva Convention came to the surface. Recriminations were exchanged on the subject of violations and abuses of its provisions. Army commanders opposed what they considered to be gross interference in the smooth development of military operations and attacked the Convention as an instrument detrimental to the security

of armies because it would be conducive to pillage and spying. It was considered in many quarters that the Convention had shown it could not work in practice and that it should be buried. In 1873, at the time when the Austrian Government was busy with the preparation of the Universal Exhibition in Vienna, it refused to associate the International Conference of the Red Cross with that event. "Why was this measure taken? The Central Committee in Vienna transmitted privately to Moynier the reasons for such a decision: first of all, it was feared that the Conference might have been the scene of stormy discussions which would have troubled the harmony of the essentially peaceful nature of the Universal Exhibition Festival. But that was not all. The real motives for this decision... , taken in concert with the other governments, could be found in a draft of an agreement of an exclusively official nature, the purpose of which was to put aside, or at least to modify, the Geneva Convention. It is thus that the International Committee learnt that the States were secretly considering withdrawing from the undertakings pledged in 1864."¹

But, during those critical years, Moynier had fearlessly defended the Geneva Convention; he was convinced that no harm could result from it. Untiringly, he had striven to display all its advantages and persuade its disparagers that, provided it was well applied, it could save the lives of large numbers of wounded. But, in order that it should be well applied, it was necessary for the Convention to be known and for the armed forces to be instructed in their rights and obligations. In addition, sanctions should be applied against those who violated the Convention. Breaking new ground, Gustave Moynier displayed how this could be done in a paper entitled *Note sur la Création d'une Institution judiciaire internationale propre à prévenir et à réprimer les Infractions à la Convention de Genève*.

In addition, Moynier, convinced that the codification of all the laws and customs of war was an excellent undertaking that should be furthered, was aware that it would be useful if the Geneva Convention could be revised and supplemented on a number of points; although he was pressed to do so by various persons, who considered it the only way to save the Convention, Moynier believed such a step to be premature at

¹ Pierre Boissier, *Histoire du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, de Solférino à Tsoushima*, Paris 1963, pp. 363 and 364.

the time when the Brussels Conference was being convened. Agitation was still active concerning the Geneva Convention and he feared that any discussion of it would only have resulted in its emasculation or, perhaps even, its disappearance. It was essential, at all costs, that the Brussels Conference should not deal with this question; only one solution remained: to obtain that the examination of the articles of the Russian draft concerning non-combatants and wounded be put off. Moynier consequently multiplied his efforts for an adjournment, invoked arguments and canvassed the support of the Central Committees of National Societies for Relief to the Wounded.

Early in June, he received from Mr. von Holleben, President of the Central Committee of the German Society for Relief to Wounded and Sick Soldiers, some indications of the intentions of the German Government who, according to the Secretary of State, Mr. von Bülow, had no desire to suppress the Convention. Nevertheless, von Holleben added: "... On the other hand, Mr. von Bülow and I recognized the risks that might arise, if the Convention were to be discussed under present circumstances, all the more so as it was well-known that the view was current, among people in high places in our country but whose influence was fortunately not decisive, that the outright suppression of the Convention might be advisable, and that the observance of its principles should be abandoned in favour of the practice of war..."

The matter had therefore not been settled! Moynier accordingly wrote on 15 June to General de Baumgarten, President of the Russian Central Committee of the Society for Relief to Wounded and Sick Soldiers: "... I have before me the draft convention which the Russian Government intends to submit to the Brussels Conference, and I have been able to study it at leisure. My considered opinion corresponds to yours, in the sense that the plan in question is much too vast to be worked out straight away, however desirable its accomplishment might be... It is therefore not unlikely that the Conference, feeling the need to restrict its field of work, will eliminate some sections of the programme; in anticipation of this possibility, the Red Cross Societies should make use of their influence in order to obtain that everything relating to the Geneva Convention (Arts. 38 to 44) should be set aside..."

Huber-Saladin, to whom Moynier had also written for support, shared the International Committee's apprehensions; in a letter to Moynier sent on 25 June, he speculated upon the future of the Geneva

Convention: "... And now what part will the Geneva Convention play at Brussels? In what way will those diplomatic and military conferences affect the Convention and the Relief Societies? It is hard to tell... At all events, like you, I believe the Convention is in danger. The neutralization of the wounded, with the general principles attached thereto, has been irrevocably gained; but the military men are generally hostile to the Articles, which you, as well as they, know to be vulnerable... All this augurs ill. Who will assume the defence of the Convention at Brussels? And who will be capable of undertaking it with authority and conviction?"

Huber-Saladin was prepared to do everything possible to safeguard the Convention, but all the same he had doubts regarding the effective pressure which the French Society for Relief to the Wounded could have exerted at Brussels. Besides, he would have had to overcome the opposition within his own Society, some of whose members "showed a pronounced lack of enthusiasm for anything savouring of an international flavour"; in addition, private initiatives were rather frowned upon by people in French Government circles. But why should Moynier himself not have tried his luck? "Your past record, your writings, your position as President of the International Committee—everything gives you the right to claim attention. Write something which is clear, brief and in your most accomplished and familiar style... You represent international charity...."

Huber-Saladin's advice coincided with the intentions of the International Committee, which had prepared a circular letter, dated 20 June 1874, under the heading *Le Congrès de Bruxelles et la Révision de la Convention de Genève*, that was to be sent soon to all Central Committees of National Societies for Relief to Wounded Soldiers.

In this letter, the International Committee set forth in detail the reasons, which have just been mentioned, why the Committee considered it advisable—in the interest of the 1864 Convention—to defer the examination of the articles concerning non-combatants and wounded in the Russian draft. It pointed out that the interests of the Societies were also at issue and that those same Societies had not been given an opportunity to express their views and wishes, "... while any modification of the law established by the Geneva Convention will affect them most seriously". Then some slight embarrassment could be faintly perceived, for the International Committee requested the Central Committees to

provide assistance without having sounded their views, since Moynier had not had the time, contrary to his customary rule, to consult them: "We therefore request you, Gentlemen, to weigh the considerations we have taken the liberty of setting forth to you and, should you find them to be correct, to do everything that lies within your discretion in order that your country's delegates to the Brussels Conference may receive instructions consistent with our own conclusions, that is to say, couched in terms:

- (1) permitting an adjournment, to which we attach the utmost importance;
- (2) or, only should the proposal for adjournment be rejected, permitting an improvement to be effected by means of additional articles, but taking into account the 1868 draft and preserving intact the text of the 1864 Convention."

Moynier also sent this circular letter, to which he attached comments and suggestions, to a number of his friends who had contacts with officials in the governments concerned. On 1 July he wrote to the Prince of Hohenlohe, who, as soon as the Russian Government's intentions had become known, had regularly informed the International Committee of the prevailing attitude in the German capital: "... The International Committee has sent a circular, a copy of which I take the liberty of enclosing herewith. The views expressed therein are exactly the same as those of the German Central Committee, of Her Imperial Majesty and, I believe, too, even of the Imperial Government. I venture to hope that you will also share those views and that you will consent, in so far as that is possible, to use your great influence to have them adopted at the Brussels Conference...".

In addition, the International Committee kept the Federal Political Department regularly informed of its action and of the views of its correspondents.

Gustave Moynier spared no effort to achieve his aim and was supported by friends convinced of the rightfulness of his cause: Huber-Saladin and von Holleben were most active, and the President of the Swiss Confederation, Mr. Schenk, took his views into consideration. The Empress of Germany, Augusta, did all that was in her power to ensure that the Geneva Convention should not be discarded at the Brussels

Conference and tried very hard, though without any success, to have Red Cross representatives invited to take part in the Conference. That was the state of affairs when, on 27 July, the Conference opened at Brussels; there followed for Moynier a period of uncertainty, for, not having been asked to take part, he was unable to see for himself whether the International Committee's action would lead to some particular result.

It seems that the Swiss Government had been convinced by the reasoning put forward by the International Committee, as may be seen from the instructions it gave to its representative, Colonel Hammer: "... With special reference to the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, the Federal Council representative shall act in such a way as to ensure that its content shall remain unchanged and that it shall continue to be considered as an independent Convention. In conformity with this general principle, the Federal Council representative shall act with a view to the elimination of analogous provisions contained in the Russian draft, or secondarily with a view to their explicit designation as being supplementary provisions of the Geneva Convention. The new provisions contained in Chapter VI of the said draft should therefore be worded in such a way as to show that they extend and supplement the Geneva Convention..."

But what was the mood of the other delegations when they arrived in Brussels?

The Brussels Conference

The circular letter prepared by the International Committee having been transmitted by the Russian Imperial Government to its delegation, the latter proposed that this document be submitted to the Conference for examination. The proposal was adopted and the President of the Conference, Baron Jomini, accordingly read it out in plenary session on 5 August 1874. The Conference referred the letter to a commission. "Our wish to see the text of the 1864 Convention remain unchanged was fully realized," wrote Moynier in a report on the work of the Conference which he published in the *Bulletin International*¹ of January 1875, "and

¹ The *Bulletin international des Sociétés de secours aux militaires blessés* was published later under the title of *Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge*.

we noted with satisfaction the very clear and categorical sentiments expressed by several delegates on this point. The Russian, German, Swiss, Swedish, Belgian and Dutch representatives stressed one after the other their firm determination to preserve the Geneva Convention in its integrality and took pleasure in stating that this view was held by all participants at the Conference....". "But while the Commission bore witness to its fidelity in respect of the 1864 document—to the spirit rather than to the letter—and refused to restrict its application in any fashion, it at the same time tackled first the subject of the improvement of the Convention by means of supplementary articles".¹

After having examined several draft amendments to the Russian proposals, the Commission finally agreed that Chapter VII, concerning non-combatants and the wounded, should contain only one article stating that the wounded would be treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention, with any changes that might subsequently be deemed to be necessary. The Commission also agreed to take up the examination of the changes which past experience of wars had shown to be necessary and that the result should be incorporated in a Protocol that would be submitted to the governments with a view to a future revision of the Convention. At this stage the composition of the Commission was changed and, except for its chairman, only military representatives took part in the discussion. No doubt, this pleased General de Voigts-Rhetz, who liked to say concerning the Geneva Convention: "If, at the time it was prepared, there had been as many army men as doctors, it would certainly have been formulated differently".

The Conference adopted without discussion the Commission's proposal, which became Article 35 of the International Declaration of Brussels on the laws and customs of war: "The obligations of belligerents with respect to the service to the sick and wounded are governed by the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, save such modifications as the latter may undergo". In addition, the Conference decided to add to the three articles concerning interned belligerents and wounded cared for by neutrals a further article (Art. 56) extending the application of the Convention to sick and wounded interned in neutral territory.

* * *

¹ J. DE BREUCKER, *La Déclaration de Bruxelles de 1874 concernant les lois et coutumes de la guerre*, Institut royal des relations internationales, chronique de politique étrangère, Volume XXVII, No. I — Brussels, January 1974.

Conclusion

Thus, the Geneva Convention, after the Brussels Conference, not only emerged unchanged but its position was also strengthened. It would not be an exaggeration to say that this Conference, in giving the plenipotentiaries the opportunity to reaffirm their respect for the principles proclaimed in 1864, contributed in no small measure to pulling the Geneva Convention through the critical period through which it was passing; furthermore, interest in the Geneva instrument had been revived, for besides respecting the original text of the 1864 Convention, the Conference had recognized the need to improve it and, foreseeing that in a more or less distant future this instrument would have to be revised, it had not hesitated to examine the appropriate reforms.

Immediately after the end of the Conference, the International Committee started work on following up the conclusions and recommendations formulated at Brussels.

Full of renewed confidence, Gustave Moynier plunged into his work with enthusiasm. On 3 December 1874, he wrote to his friend Huber-Saladin: "... Here, too, we are getting ready for a probable campaign of revision. . . . In addition, we shall on Tuesday next be holding the first of a series of weekly sessions devoted to a detailed study of the improvements to be made to the Convention, drawing upon the latest documents and, most particularly, on the opinions expressed at Brussels....".

The whole period, however, covering the last few years of the nineteenth century turned out to be one of the most eventful times in the history of Europe, and the International Committee was unable to pursue straight away its work in the field of humanitarian law: the time was not yet ripe for a new Geneva Convention. Moynier drew up a new version for the Convention (*Nouvelle rédaction de la Convention de Genève*) and wrote countless comments and alternative drafts, but in 1886 he had to bow to facts and to acknowledge in an article that appeared in the *Revue de Droit international* that it was necessary to wait. In fact, it was not until 11 June 1906 that this waiting period drew to an end, when a Conference opened in Geneva in order to draw up the Geneva Convention of July 6, 1906 for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field.

Danièle BUJARD

Deputy Head of the ICRC Legal Division

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND THE PROTECTION OF POLITICAL DETAINEES

by Jacques Moreillon

Last February we devoted an article to a book by Jacques Moreillon, ICRC delegate-general, which had been published by the Henry Dunant Institute.¹ We give below an English version of one chapter (translated by us) of the book which, we would state, was submitted as a thesis to the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, under the sole responsibility of the author. (Ed.)

First ICRC visits to political detainees : Russia (1918) and Hungary (1919)

RUSSIA - 1918

The February 1917 Revolution had hit the Russian Red Cross hard, since most of its leaders were persons very close to the imperial family.² One of the first decisions of the provisional government had been to remove members of the Red Cross Society's general directorate, in March 1917, about the time of Nicholas II's abdication, followed by that of his brother Michael. A troubled period ensued for the Society when "soviets" set up by its employees sought to infiltrate the directorate. Their action undoubtedly made the Society more democratic, but also very disorganized.

¹ *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et la protection des détenus politiques*, Henry Dunant Institute, Geneva — Editions l'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1973

² THORMEYER, F. *Les effets de la Révolution russe sur la CR*. Bulletin international des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge, No 192, October 1917, pp. 458-468.

With the October Revolution, the confusion steadily worsened, and under a decree issued on 6 January 1918 by the Council of People's Commissars, all the property of the National Red Cross was confiscated by the State, its Committee dissolved, and a new Committee formed to re-organize the Society.¹

At that time, there were no ICRC delegates in Moscow or Petrograd, but several representatives of Red Cross Societies of neutral countries had been very active in both places during the previous years. The Swedish Society had acted as intermediary between Russia and Germany for the despatch of parcels to prisoners of war and to civilian internees of both countries, and its representatives had distributed, to them and to the disabled, whole train loads of relief supplies from Sweden; the Norwegians had specialized in the forwarding of mail to prisoners of war; the Danish Red Cross was equally active, organizing the repatriation—through Denmark—of wounded prisoners of war to Russia and Germany, and its delegates were sent, often accompanied by nursing nuns, to visit civilian and prisoner-of-war camps.²

Indirectly, however, the ICRC was present in Russia in the person of its Vice-President, Mr. Edouard Odier, at that time the Swiss Minister at Petrograd. In his anxiety to prevent the collapse of the Russian Red Cross, Mr. Odier not only informed Geneva of the situation arising from the January 1918 decree,³ but on his own initiative appointed Mr. Edouard Frick, a Swiss national living in Russia who had worked since 1914 with the Russian Red Cross, as an ICRC delegate on a provisional basis pending confirmation from the International Committee in Geneva.⁴ Mr. Frick's mandate, confirmed in writing by the ICRC in May 1918⁵ and deliberately couched in vague terms, authorized him to lend assistance to the National Red Cross Society and to keep in touch with other Red Cross Societies represented in Moscow and Petrograd.

¹ Report by Mr. Ed. Frick on his work in Russia—1.11.1918 ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

² Minutes of the first meeting of the International Conference of neutral Red Cross Societies at Petrograd on 4.6.1918. ICRC records — Mis. 1.5.

³ *Rapport général du CICR sur son activité de 1912 à 1920*, p. 186, presented by the ICRC to the Xth International Conference of the Red Cross, Geneva, 1921, 257 pp. (Hereafter, *Rapport général CICR*, 1912-1920); ICRC library—362.191/7.

⁴ Letter from the Swiss Legation in Russia (Mr. Edouard Odier) to the ICRC, dated 2.4.1918, ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

⁵ ICRC General Report, 1912-1920, p. 187; ICRC library—362. 191/7).

In fact, Mr. Frick had not waited for the ICRC confirmation to reach him before approaching the new and youthful leaders of the Russian Red Cross and inducing them to request the People's Commissars to promulgate a new decree to supplement and amend the decree of 6 January 1918. In their view, the Russian Red Cross should be "part of the international association of the Red Cross, whose activities are based on the Geneva Conventions of 1868 and 1907 (*sic*). Its prerogatives as such should be preserved and, because it must devote its efforts to the relief and repatriation of prisoners of war, all that belonged to it in the past should be returned to it pending the final settlement of the war."¹

Encouraged by the initial success which the mere presentation of such a request by the Russian Red Cross represented, Mr. Frick strongly urged the ICRC to support it and to approach the government accordingly. He believed that the Bolsheviks were beginning to fear that to cut themselves off from the Red Cross movement would be to deprive their wounded soldiers and prisoners of the protection of the emblem, and that to nationalize the National Society's property would be to run the danger of making it lawful war booty for the enemy in occupied territories.²

The ICRC followed the advice of its new delegate and, in its letter of 6 May 1918 to the Commissar for War, in Petrograd, requested that the January decree be withdrawn and the Russian Red Cross allowed to continue its activities as in the past.³

In June 1918, Mr. Frick undertook to co-ordinate in an "International Conference of representatives in Russia of Red Cross Societies of neutral countries" the work those Societies were doing for prisoners of war of all nationalities and for the numerous victims of the civil war.⁴

From the beginning of June to the end of September 1918, the Conference—which in its early stages was attended by the ICRC delegates and representatives of the Russian, Swedish, Danish and Norwegian Red Cross Societies—applied itself to a number of tasks which included

¹ Letter (undated) sent by the Collegial body for the administration of the Russian Red Cross to the ICRC, annexed to the letter dated 2.4.1918 from the Swiss Legation in Russia (Mr. Edouard Odier) to the ICRC. ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

² Letter from Mr. Frick, delegate of the ICRC, to the Swiss Legation in Russia (Mr. Odier), dated 1 or 2.4.1918 (annexed to the letter dated 2.4.1918 from the Swiss Legation in Russia to the ICRC). ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

³ *Bulletin International de la Croix-Rouge*, No. 195, July 1918, pp. 447-449.

⁴ Report by Mr. Frick (ICRC) on his work in Russia, 1.11.1918. Report by Dr. Piaget to the ICRC, 3.6.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

assistance to foreign civilians imprisoned in Moscow and Petrograd and often totally deprived of any effective diplomatic protection.¹

In the course of those visits, the prisoners sent to hospital were the object of special solicitude. In the wards, Russian political detainees were not kept separate from non-Russians, and Mr. Frick was thus the first ICRC delegate to bring direct aid to persons imprisoned in their own country for political reasons.

Of course, it would be misleading to lay too much stress on the significance of such a precedent. If we have given the history of this episode in some detail, it is because it was clearly a special situation created by the revolution in the aftermath of the war and not the deliberate initiation of a new policy. The ICRC delegate made the visits as part of a number of other relief activities. Moreover, he was not the only one to visit those detainees, for when Mr. Frick left Petrograd at the end of September 1918 in order to report to Geneva and, contrary to his plans, did not return to Russia (having been appointed by the ICRC to fulfil more important duties), the prison visits were continued by a Dutchman and a Dane, at least until the end of 1918.²

It is difficult to ascertain how many visits to political detainees were made and by whom, but it is likely that there were several dozen of them. In any case, the International Committee referred to them as if they were its own special concern, in so far as they were conducted under the aegis of the Conference of neutral Red Cross Societies, whatever may have been the nationality of the visiting delegates.³

¹ The Conference of neutral Red Cross Societies decided also to undertake the following activities:

- general provision of relief to POWs;
- aid to the civilian population of Omsk in Siberia;
- supply of wheat to hospitals and other medical establishments;
- endeavours to carry out with the White Russians exchanges of hostages and the repatriation of children from those areas in Siberia which were in the hands of the White Army;
- combating epidemics, especially in the Caucasus.

See, especially, Report by Dr. Piaget to the ICRC, 3.6.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

² Report by Dr. Piaget to the ICRC, 3.6.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

³ *Rapport général ICRC 1912-1920*, p. 192. ICRC library—362. 191/7. This is borne out by the publication in this report (see footnote 9, p. 192) of a letter, dated 12.12.1918, sent to the Conference by the Government of the Federal Soviet Republic, stating that “in reply to your report of the 10th instant, we inform you that the shortcomings pointed out in the said report, in respect of the present condition of the prison sick-bay, will be given serious consideration and that we shall take all necessary measures to remedy them” (our translation).

Nor is there anything in the ICRC archives to show whether Mr. Eugène Nussbaum, who was appointed ICRC delegate in Petrograd by Mr. Odier in October 1918, also carried out visits of this kind. It is possible but not certain.¹

On 2 June 1919, the premises of the International Conference were, like most of the Legations and Embassies in Petrograd, attacked, pillaged and sacked. Together with 80 other members of foreign diplomatic missions, the ICRC delegate was arrested. He was freed and expelled from Russia a few weeks later.¹

However, the question was not entirely dropped and it will be seen in a later chapter what steps were subsequently taken by the International Committee in respect of the political detainees in the Soviet Union.²

HUNGARY—1919

On 21 March 1919, Bela Kun set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in that part of Hungary which had not been occupied by the Rumanians, Serbs or Czechs, in other words, mainly in Budapest. Mr. Haccius, the ICRC delegate, had just arrived in Budapest to deal with the problem of providing aid to non-Hungarians and to the civilian population but, more important still, to repatriate Russian prisoners of war. His work, carried on in the midst of unforeseen revolutionary events, may be considered as the first action in which the ICRC was engaged for the sake of purely “political” detainees. (To speak of internal disturbances can hardly be justified, as the Communist coup d’état encountered only slight resistance and practically no blood was shed.)

Here it was not a matter, as in Russia, of the help intended for foreigners occasionally benefiting nationals detained with them, but of a deliberate decision to adopt new tactics in the interests of victims whose only chance of help lay with the ICRC.

¹ Report by Mr. E. Nussbaum to the ICRC, 22.6.1920. Report by Mr. E. Frick on his work in Russia, 1.11.1918. ICRC records—Mis. 1.5.

² According to an article by a member of the pre-revolution Red Cross Society, Mr. Georges Lodyginsky, which appeared in the *Revue internationale* of June 1920 (No. 18, pp. 654-670) under the heading *La Croix-Rouge et la guerre civile en Russie de 1919 à 1920*, it would seem that in 1919 the ICRC delegate in Kiev, together with members of neutral Red Cross Societies, visited and gave aid to political detainees held in Kiev prisons on a number of occasions. This action was continued despite five changes of régime in a single year, with corresponding changes in those imprisoned. No first-hand reports, however, have been found to provide details.

Who took this decision? Haccius or the International Committee? And why? If taken by the Committee, was it with or without the realization that it was unprecedented? These are questions to which an answer should be found, yet the archives often compel conjecture.¹

On 28 March 1919, because of the change in the situation, the ICRC extended the mandate it had originally granted to Haccius, telling him specifically: "You are authorized in your capacity as delegate of the ICRC to deal on its behalf with matters concerning the Red Cross and prisoners of all nationalities".² This was indeed *carte blanche*, but we do not think that the International Committee had Hungarians in mind when it spoke of "all" nationalities. However, since the records of the Committee and of the Missions Commission (*Commission des missions*) are silent on this point, we must admit that this is only supposition on our part. What induces us to think in this way is that in that period Haccius himself did not seem to think he should concern himself with prisoners of Hungarian nationality. In his letter of 29 March, referring to "a programme of work for the International Red Cross delegation in Budapest",³ no mention was made of political detainees. In fact, his chief concern seemed to be to obtain the favour of the Hungarian Red Cross and of the Hungarian Government in the interests of his mission in general.³

¹ ICRC records—Mis. 4.5.

² Letter from the ICRC to Mr. A. Haccius in Budapest, 28.3.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 4.2., box 4, doc. 58, folio 89.

³ Letter No. 1 from Mr. Haccius to the ICRC, 25.3.1919.

"I obtained yesterday an interview with "citizen" Dr. Krcyrsik, secretary to Bela Kun, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. I explained to him the humanitarian aim of the relief mission, the studies that had been made and what had been done; I also reminded him of the services rendered to Hungarian prisoners of war by the International Red Cross.

He replied that he fully recognized the great services rendered by the International Red Cross and that it was the government's desire to remain on good terms with it. I explained to him that if he would guarantee that I would not be in any way hindered in the accomplishment of my task, I would report his views to the ICRC in Geneva. My conditions were as follows:

1. a safe-conduct,
2. freedom of communication with the ICRC,
3. supervision of the Russian prisoners of war not willing to volunteer for the Hungarian army,
4. surveillance and protection of foreign missions and detachments retained in Budapest,
5. contact with Mr. Frick at Stanislau...

I believe it is desirable not to underestimate the influence of the International Red Cross with the new Government and the extent of the humanitarian work it could do for Russian prisoners of war and allied missions" (our translation). ICRC records—Mis. 4.5, vol. 1., folios 95-96.

Faced with a government whose policies had the rigid doctrinaire character of theories being put into practice for the first time, the main concern of the ICRC delegate was to convince the men with whom he had to deal that the Red Cross ideal—whether at national or international level—was not incompatible with international Communism. It seems that Haccius succeeded in doing so, for on 10 April 1919, through the Hungarian Red Cross, he was informed by Agoston, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that an ordinance guaranteeing the neutrality of the Red Cross had just been issued by the government. The ordinance contained the following official comment: “The Government of the Republic of Councils of Hungary, in ensuring, by this ordinance, a privileged position for the International Red Cross on the territory of the Republic, is fully aware that the Red Cross of Geneva is not an alliance of governments but of peoples”.¹

This favourable attitude probably encouraged Haccius to go further. At all events, in a letter sent in May 1919 to the ICRC,² he wrote that, in agreement with Major Freeman, the British Commissioner for the Danube, and despite the reluctance of the “lower orders”, he had decided to concern himself “at all costs... with political hostages and detainees”. He added that “it was intolerable that demands be constantly made on

¹ The full text of the “Ordinance of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, No. 2086, concerning the legal position of the International Red Cross in Geneva in the Republic of Councils of Hungary” is as follows (our translation): “The International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva and all its institutions and representatives shall enjoy the protection afforded to neutrals: it shall be placed, where its operations on the territory of the Republic of Councils of Hungary are concerned, under the protection of the Republic’s authorities. In the accomplishment of their humanitarian tasks, the Red Cross of Geneva and the Hungarian Red Cross must not be subject to any improper influence, whether political or otherwise. All possible measures should be taken to enable the International Red Cross to carry out freely, on the territory of the Republic of Councils of Hungary, its humanitarian tasks, for only in this way can it bring help to the wounded, the sick and prisoners of war.

I command all civil and military authorities to treat the International Red Cross bodies with all possible consideration and to take steps to protect its institutions and emblems against any violence or misuse whatsoever. The Hungarian Red Cross is represented at the International Red Cross, with the latter’s consent, by permanent delegates.

The Government of the Republic of Councils of Hungary, in ensuring, by this ordinance, a privileged position to the International Red Cross on the territory of the Republic, is fully aware that the Red Cross of Geneva is not an alliance of governments but of peoples.” ICRC records—Mis. 4.5/67, vol. 2, folio 187.

² Letter No. 31, from Mr. Haccius to the ICRC, 3.5.1919. Report on his visit to the Gyűjtőfogház prison on 28.4.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 4.5/68 and 4.5/70, vol. 2, folios 188/192.

the ICRC to intervene on behalf of the 750,000 Hungarians held prisoner outside Hungary while Hungarians in prison in their own capital were being ill-treated". He asked the ICRC to forgive him for having taken the decision on his own authority: "It was risky and outside my terms of reference... but... I could no longer defer taking action until authorization arrived from Geneva".

These lines show plainly that the delegate acted on his own initiative without instructions from the ICRC. Moreover, when the letter was written, authorization to visit the prisons had already been requested by Haccius, since he had written on 26 April to the ICRC: "I tried to make clear to the Ministry, through an intermediary, that it would be much better if I were granted the authorization to visit the prisons before applying for it on the orders of the International Committee".¹

The authorization must have been received shortly afterwards, because, on 28 April 1919, in Gyüjtőfogház prison, the ICRC, for the first time in its history, visited political detainees exclusively (48 political detainees and 131 hostages), with the express authorization of the government of the State to which they belonged.²

The delegate's efforts did not cease there; he went much further. After visiting other political prisoners, he asked for the release of all hostages over sixty years of age, and obtained the release of about 280 of them "after a careful re-examination of the reasons for their arrest".³

The rather curious way in which Haccius defended his theoretical position under Bela Kun's régime may be related here. It would seem that the reasoning which finally convinced the Hungarian Communists, and which was originally propounded by Haccius, was as follows: since Marxism abolished the concept of fatherland, substituting the struggle between classes for the struggle between nations, the new enemy (the bourgeois) had to be put under the protection of the international Conventions which until then had protected the former enemy (the foreigner). In other words, in a world now split horizontally, international law had to abandon its antiquated vertical position and adapt to the new conditions.

¹ Note No. 26 from Mr. Haccius to the ICRC, 26.4.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 4.5/79, vol. 3, folio 209.

² Letter No. 31, from Mr. Haccius to the ICRC, 3.5.1919. Report on his visit to the Gyüjtőfogház prison on 28.4.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 4.5/68 and 4.5/70, vol. 2, folios 188/192.

³ "Summary of the action by the ICRC Mission at Budapest", undated, received in Geneva on 19.8.1919. ICRC records— Mis. 4.5/216, vol. 6. p. 556.

“Those who were considered as enemies of the proletariat should enjoy the rights and guarantees extended to belligerents by the Geneva and Hague Conventions.”¹

The allusion to the Red Cross of Geneva as “an alliance of peoples and not of governments”, made by the Foreign Minister, Agoston, seems to indicate that this argument had had its effect on the men in power. The Republic of Councils’ express recognition of the neutrality not only of the ICRC but also of the Hungarian Red Cross is all the more interesting in those circumstances. Was it because the National Society was considered as the “Hungarian branch of the International Committee of Geneva”?² Possibly.

But, whatever the motives, the Government’s attitude implied a profound understanding of the fundamental characteristics of the Red Cross, even though the reasoning behind that appraisal was not quite the same as that of the men in Geneva in 1919.

On 1 August 1919, Bela Kun’s régime was overthrown: the Rumanians occupied the country for a few weeks until Horthy’s government came into power, when the “white terror”, as it was called by some, was unleashed. That its excesses soon diminished was no doubt partly due to the numerous and vigorous representations made by the delegates of the ICRC (Mr. Haccius at first and then Mr. Burnier) who continued to carry out, under the reactionary government, the activities they had begun under the Communist régime, but not, of course, for the same victims !

¹ *Rapport général CICR 1912-1920*, pp. 201-206. ICRC library—362.191/7.

² Ordinance No. 62 of 9.7.1919 issued by the People’s Commissariat for Public Welfare and Health stated: “The Commissariat for Public Welfare and Health orders the following in order to safeguard the neutrality of the Hungarian Red Cross Society, recognized in conformity with rescript No. 20.086/pol. 1919 of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

1. On the territory of the Republic of Councils, the Hungarian Red Cross Society, as the Hungarian branch of the International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva, is placed under the special international protection of the Republic of Councils.
2. All persons, and especially the military and political authorities, shall treat the Hungarian Red Cross Society and all its institutions, bodies and personnel in accordance with its neutral character, shall ensure the efficient protection proper to its neutrality, and shall support its work.
3. Those authorities which have seized or requisitioned any property whatsoever, whether movable or fixed, belonging to the Hungarian Red Cross... must... restore all such property...» (our translation).

In the letter in which the President of the Hungarian Red Cross informed Mr. Haccius of the text of the ordinance, he stated that this decree confirmed “with entire certainty the neutrality of our Society on a plane above all politics”. ICRC records—Mis. 4.5/134, vol. 4, folios 359/360.

The delegates, who protested strongly, denounced the brutality of which they saw signs, demanded explanations from the government and, an exceedingly rare occurrence in the history of the ICRC, even the punishment of the guilty parties. They conducted themselves as men quite sure of their rights, and the authorities treated them as such. These efforts bore fruit, for Mr. Burnier, on 1 April 1920, in a summarized account of his work in the prisons, declared that he had not found anyone in the prisons who complained of having been brutalized or beaten after 28 August.¹

The success of this first action in support of political detainees led its authors to draw from it, for the first time, general conclusions as to the future of the Red Cross; Mr. Haccius, in a letter dated 22 October 1919, referring to an article dealing with ICRC activities under Bela Kun, wrote: "The idea I had in mind was to bring out clearly that the work of the Red Cross must now be extended to a wider field of action than in the past".²

As for Mr. Burnier, he had imagined "setting up, under the patronage of the ICRC, a Commission, a sort of impartial International Committee of people who were not Hungarians and who had no personal interests in Hungary, to enquire into all acts contrary to humanitarian principles".³ It is not known what made him give up this idea.

The ICRC was alive to the fact that a further step forward had been taken. In its publications—and particularly in its *Rapport général d'activité, 1912-1920*—a prominent part was given to the account of its delegates' activities for political detainees, and it took full responsibility for the way in which they had tackled both the problem and the authorities. The ICRC was all the more appreciative of the results which its delegates' activities had produced as it fully realized their very special nature and, above all, their lack of a legal foundation. "The application of the Geneva and of the Hague Conventions—concluded for the case of conflicts between peoples—to a conflict between nationals of a single country was a moot point... And by what right did a foreigner, whose func-

¹ Letter No. 1713 from Mr. Burnier, ICRC delegate in Budapest, to the ICRC, 1.4.1920. ICRC records—Mis. 4.5./624, vol. 11, folio 1217.

² Letter No. 932 from Mr. Haccius, ICRC delegate in Budapest, 22.10.1919. ICRC records—Mis. 4.5/358, vol. 8, folio 752.

³ Report No. IV from Mr. Burnier, ICRC delegate in Budapest, to the ICRC, 21.4.1920. ICRC records—Mis. 4.5/645, vol. 12, folio 1261.

tion as an instrument of international relations rested precisely on his extraterritorial status, interfere in what was legally a purely internal political matter ?”¹

So, as after Solferino, a spontaneous action gave birth to a general principle, and developed from the desire to ensure that such action could be repeated in the future with even greater effect.

¹ *Rapport général CICR, 1912-1920*, p. 201, ICRC library—362.191/7.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF THE RED CROSS

**Recognition of The Gambia
Red Cross Society**

Geneva, 24 October 1974

Circular No. 496

*to the Central Committees of the National Red Cross, Red Crescent
and Red Lion and Sun Societies*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have the honour to inform you that the International Committee of the Red Cross, on 10 October 1974, officially recognized The Gambia Red Cross Society.

The new Society was constituted on 1 October 1966 and formally applied for recognition by the International Committee on 18 April 1974. Its request was supported by various documents including its Statutes, the Act of the Republic of the Gambia recognizing The Gambia Red Cross as a National Society auxiliary to the public authorities, and a report on the Society's activities.

These documents, which were examined jointly by the International Committee and the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies, showed that the ten qualifying conditions for recognition of a new National Society had been fulfilled.

This recognition, which the International Committee is pleased to announce, brings to 122 the total number of member Societies of the International Red Cross.

The Gambia Red Cross, which was visited on many occasions by representatives of the International Committee and of the

League of Red Cross Societies, is active throughout the territory. It is concerned with the training of first-aiders, the care of mothers and infants and blood transfusion. It goes to the aid of victims of natural disasters and persons suffering from mental disorders.

The Government of the Republic of the Gambia confirmed on 20 October 1966 that the Republic considered itself a party to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, by a declaration of continuity with effect from 18 February 1965.

The President of the Society is Mrs Louise A. N'Jie, M.B.E. The Chairman of its Executive Committee is Mrs R. Palmer, M.R.G. The Society's headquarters is at Banjul*.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has pleasure in welcoming The Gambia Red Cross to membership of the International Red Cross, in accrediting it and commending it, by this circular, to all other National Societies, and in expressing sincere good wishes for its future and for the success of its humanitarian work.

For the International Committee
of the Red Cross

Eric MARTIN

President

* The new Society's address is: The Gambia Red Cross Society, P. O. Box 472, Banjul, Gambia.

CONFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT EXPERTS ON WEAPONS

The Conference of Government Experts on Weapons that may Cause Unnecessary Suffering or have Indiscriminate Effects, meeting in Lucerne under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross since 24 September 1974, closed on 18 October. It was attended by about 150 experts from some fifty countries, representatives of national liberation movements and of organizations such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization (WHO), National Red Cross Societies, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the International Confederation of Former Prisoners of War (ICFPW), and the NGO Special Committee on Disarmament.

The purpose of the conference, the first of its kind to be held at inter-governmental level since World War Two, was to prepare a report for governments on the technical, operational and legal possibilities of limiting the use of certain weapons.

The experts drew up a list of incendiary weapons (including napalm and white phosphorus), small-calibre and high-velocity projectiles, blast and fragmentation weapons, delayed action weapons and other weapons, some of them still in the experimental stage.

Discussion of each type of weapon focussed on a description of its military use (and the danger it represents for civilians and combatants alike) and, in the medical sphere, of its effects on the human body (particularly the nature of the wounds inflicted and the degree of suffering caused).

The Conference documents and the views exchanged should enable governments to pronounce on the advisability of prohibiting or limiting the use of these weapons.

The ICRC will send a report on the Conference to governments and to the United Nations. The majority of the experts expressed a wish that a further conference on weapons be held next year.

ICRC Action in Cyprus

In its issues of August, September and October 1974, the International Review published some information regarding the ICRC's humanitarian tasks accomplished in Cyprus. The various aspects of this action and its development are described in the following article.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has developed since 22 July 1974 its humanitarian activities on behalf of victims of the conflict, particularly in three spheres: assistance to civilian victims of the events; protection for civilian and military prisoners, whether wounded or able-bodied; tracing the missing, and transmitting news between families who have been separated.

To carry out these tasks, devolving upon it by virtue of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, an extensive system was instituted.

In Cyprus, forty-eight delegates, including eleven members of six medical teams supplied by the Finnish and Danish Red Cross Societies, and that of the Federal Republic of Germany, were assigned to the Greek area and to territory controlled by the Turkish armed forces; three delegates were sent to Turkey to concern themselves more particularly with prisoners.

On its arrival in Cyprus and Turkey, the ICRC received the full support and effective co-operation of the respective authorities.

The ICRC took part in talks between President Glafkos Clerides and Vice-President Rauf Denktash, representing the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, held in Ledra Palace Hotel, Nicosia, in the presence of representatives of the United Nations. The

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ICRC put forward practical proposals regarding the release and repatriation of prisoners. It also made proposals regarding assistance to Greek civilians who had remained in the northern area.

The active part played by the ICRC in negotiations on matters purely of a humanitarian nature allowed rapid headway to be made in the talks and even led to an agreement between the two Parties.

As from July, there was excellent co-operation between the ICRC and the United Nations, in the field and in Geneva, in rendering assistance to civilians who had been cut off, in the transport of the sick and the wounded, and in the transmission of family messages.

That co-operation was increased when, with the resumption of hostilities, arrangements had to be made to cope with the problem of more than 200,000 displaced persons, including the majority of the Greek Cypriots who had fled south, the remainder being Turkish Cypriots who had left their villages.

In co-operation with an ad hoc governmental committee and with the aid of the Cyprus Red Cross in the days immediately following the fighting, the ICRC launched an emergency operation for the refugees until such time as other bodies might take over.

Working meetings were subsequently held in Cyprus by representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and ICRC delegates. Regular contacts allowed a survey and the planning of early or long-term aid to displaced persons.

The ICRC, which was able to act in the emergency owing to the fact that it was present at the time of the events, is now contemplating a gradual reduction of those activities and focussing its efforts on Greek and Turkish communities who are cut off.

To obtain the material and financial resources required for its operations, towards the end of August the ICRC made a further appeal for funds to Governments and National Societies.

* * *

Civilian population

The aid rendered as from 22 July to civilian victims of the conflict, whether Greek Cypriots who remained in the northern area or who fled to the south, or Turkish Cypriots isolated in their

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE IN CYPRUS



Relief supplies arriving in Cyprus.



The Tracing Agency office in Nicosia.

Photos Vaterlaus / ICRC

villages, was considerably extended owing to the new situation created by the resumption of hostilities.

Displaced persons

The main effort concentrated on displaced persons who, fleeing before the advance of the Turkish army, surged southward in their thousands. An immediate census taken of those refugees showed that about 200,000 Greek Cypriots left the area now under the control of the Turkish armed forces. The ICRC co-operated very closely in the emergency relief action organized by the ad hoc governmental committee, in co-operation with the Cyprus Red Cross and Civil Defence. The aid rendered by the ICRC was essentially in the form of tents, camp-beds and blankets, food and medicines.

It would appear that by the end of September about half the displaced persons had found provisional shelter with relatives or friends, or else in houses under construction or in tents. As the emergency phase has now ended and the ad hoc governmental committee supported by the United Nations is meeting needs out of the island's resources and relief supplies imported, the ICRC is considering gradually ending its relief action for this category. It will nevertheless continue, through government channels, to send donations announced or en route, and certain quantities of food having a high protein content.

Turkish minority

Since the beginning of the conflict, the ICRC has made regular visits to Turkish communities in the districts of Limassol and Paphos, in the southern part of Cyprus, which are cut off from the outside. ICRC assistance has been mainly in the form of medical care and additional food supplies. In this respect, there has been close co-operation with the United Nations, whose patrols have carried out the distributions in the more inaccessible villages.

The ICRC has also sent relief supplies to Turkish Cypriot refugees in the Episkopi and Parameli camps, in the territory of the British base at Akrotiri.

Area under Turkish army control

The ICRC was faced with an emergency situation in Greek villages abandoned by all save some small groups, most of them aged, who were in great distress. They were gradually taken to camps, particularly at Voni, Vithsada, Gypsos and Morphou. Immediate arrangements were made for medical emergency action and food distribution. The ICRC also prepared a plan for provisioning some 400 civilians interned in the Dome Hotel, Kyrenia, and the Greek population of Karpas Peninsula (about 9,000), and it reminded the Turkish authorities of their responsibility under Article 55 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

Medical situation

Six medical teams, provided for the ICRC by the Danish and Finnish Red Cross Societies, and by that of the Federal Republic of Germany, composed of a doctor and a nurse each, have been at work in Cyprus since 24 August 1974.

The teams were first assigned to the Limassol, Larnaca and Paphos districts. Three of them were later sent north, where medical needs were more pressing. While in the south, their work consisted in a thorough survey of the health conditions prevailing in the Turkish communities isolated since the events and totally lacking any medical service. In close co-operation with the United Nations doctors, the teams treated a number of special cases, evacuated the sick and the wounded, attended to about a hundred persons a day, and distributed medicines.

When transferred to the area under the control of the Turkish armed forces, the medical teams applied themselves to ensuring the survival of the Greek Cypriot population (about two thousand, including many old people), who, for days and even weeks, had been left without care or any means of subsistence.

In view of the gravity of the situation, a small hospital was opened at Gypsos, and some eighty out-patients were treated daily, with the help of locally recruited auxiliary medical personnel.

The three doctor-delegates sent out from Switzerland have continued their rounds of the island's hospitals to ensure that the medical situation there is under control. They have also concerned them-

selves with the living conditions of displaced persons in the south.

However greatly population movements have hampered any survey in depth, the doctor-delegates have nevertheless noted that the situation has on the whole become more normal, thanks to the work being done by a number of Greek Cypriot medical teams.

Prisoners

As from July 1974, ICRC delegates in Cyprus and Turkey have made regular visits to soldiers and civilians who have been granted prisoner-of-war status by the authorities on either side. On the eve of resumed hostilities, they were distributed as follows : 3,268 Turkish Cypriots interned in eight camps in Cyprus ; 63 Greek Cypriots in Saray prison, in the Turkish part of Nicosia, and 385 Greek Cypriots in a camp in Turkey.

Under the tripartite declaration of 30 July, several repatriation operations involving small groups of prisoners were carried out under the auspices of the ICRC.

As fighting in August resulted in further captures, the ICRC requested permission to visit existing and new prisoners on either side. Visits were made to several thousand Turkish Cypriot prisoners in four camps in the south. Greek Cypriot prisoners were first visited in transit camps in Cyprus, and then in three camps in Turkey.

End of prisoner release and repatriation operations in Cyprus

On 28 October 1974, the last prisoner-of-war release and repatriation operation took place in Cyprus, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, enabling 261 Turkish Cypriots and 279 Greek Cypriots to join their families.

With this operation, a total of 5,980 persons including 9 Greek citizens and 18 Turkish citizens have been repatriated by the ICRC, by virtue of the mandate entrusted to it under the agreements of 13 and 20 September 1974, signed by President Glafkos Clerides and Vice-President Rauf Denktash.

In the initial phase 1,222 Turkish Cypriots and 884 Greek Cypriots were repatriated in five operations carried out between 16 September and 3 October. Those repatriated were priority cases such as wounded and sick.

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A further agreement, signed on 20 September, provided for the release of all prisoners. Repatriation could not start immediately, however, owing to technical difficulties connected with the organizing of convoys to bring Greek Cypriot prisoners back from Turkey to Cyprus. Arrangements having been finalized, release operations were resumed on 18 October with a first batch of prisoners on either side. Operations continued until 28 October. The nine operations allowed 2,111 Turkish Cypriots and 1,745 Greek Cypriots to return home.

All repatriation operations took place in the presence of the relevant authorities and with the technical assistance of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

Tracing operations

When hostilities again broke out on 14 August, the ICRC opened two new tracing bureaux—at Limassol and Larnaca—in addition to those already operating in the Greek and Turkish sectors in Nicosia. Bureaux were also set up in the south-east, which has the largest concentration of displaced persons.

Seven ICRC delegates who are Tracing Agency experts are at work there, with about 120 local employees and volunteers to help them.

By 21 October, 140,000 messages had been exchanged between separated families (including prisoners); 35,000 requests to trace missing persons had been registered, 15,000 of which received a positive reply.

Relief

From the beginning of hostilities until 22 October, the ICRC sent out more than 36 tons of medicaments and medical supplies, more than 1,250 tons of equipment (tents, blankets, and so forth), and around 320 tons of food amounting in all to 14,8 million Swiss francs.

Donations

On 22 October 1974, the donations received were 16,509,200 Swiss francs, in kind and in cash, from the following Governments: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Ger-

many, Greece, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States of America.

Donations from Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies amounted to 3,270,000 Swiss francs, in kind and in cash, from the following countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, India, Lebanon, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Mauritania, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Romania, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, USSR and Yugoslavia.

Donations in kind and in cash amounting to approximately 1,397,450 Swiss francs were also received by the ICRC from the League of Red Cross Societies, Magen David Adom, "Palestinian Red Crescent", UNICEF, UNRWA, the European Economic Community (EEC), the Council of Europe, the Pontifical Mission and the Greek Cypriot Community in Beirut, and, lastly, Nestlé Liban.¹

¹ The figures for donations in kind are approximate.

*EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES***Africa****Mozambique**

Following the unrest in Lourenço Marques (Mozambique), and at the request of the Portuguese Red Cross, the ICRC regional delegate for Southern Africa, based on Rhodesia, took part in an emergency relief action which consisted in the despatch from Salisbury to Lourenço Marques, on 12 September 1974, of 700 kg of medicines and blood plasma, valued at 50,000 Swiss francs, for the principal hospital in that town. On the same day, he attended the first meeting between the Portuguese Red Cross, the Portuguese authorities and FRELIMO, with a view to organizing food supplies for the town and its suburbs.

On his return to Salisbury, the ICRC regional delegate, with the aid of the Rhodesia Red Cross, despatched relief in the form of additional food supplies donated by that Society.

Ethiopia

From 19 August to 10 September 1974, two ICRC teams, each composed of two delegates and one doctor, visited nineteen places of detention in Ethiopia, and saw some 17,000 prisoners of all categories. The delegates were able to talk with prisoners of their choice without witnesses, except in the fort of Akaki prison, near Addis Ababa, which is to be visited at a later date.

The following places were visited : Addis Ababa (Akaki prison), Asela, Asmara (Sembel prison, Tsetserat prison and a women's prison), Arba Minch, Awasa, Debre Behran, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Gondar, Harrar, Jimma, Makale, Metu, Nazareth, Nekempt and Robi.

Latin America

Chile

In September and October, the ICRC delegation at Santiago pursued its visits to places of detention and continued its work in assisting detainees and those of their families in need of aid.

With the aim of expanding its assistance, the ICRC has enlarged its Chile delegation, whose staff has been increased from 14 to 18 delegates. The total amount spent on relief during those same two months exceeded 100,000 Swiss francs.

Asia

Mission of delegate-general

From 10 August to 29 September 1974, Mr. J. Ott, ICRC delegate-general for Asia and Oceania, carried out a mission which took him to Indonesia, the Republic of Vietnam, Laos and the Khmer Republic. In each country he conferred with Red Cross leaders and government authorities.

Mr. Ott also made a stay in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, where he met H. E. Nguyen Van Luu, Director of the Department of International Organizations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On his way back, he stopped over in Sri Lanka and contacted the National Society.

Indonesia

Three ICRC teams, consisting of one delegate and one doctor each, visited 19,656 political detainees in thirty-six places of detention in Indonesia (including Buru Island) between 22 August and 24 September.

The delegates had private interviews with the detainees chosen by them in all places of detention.

The ICRC reports will, as usual, be sent to the detaining authorities.

Europe

Romania

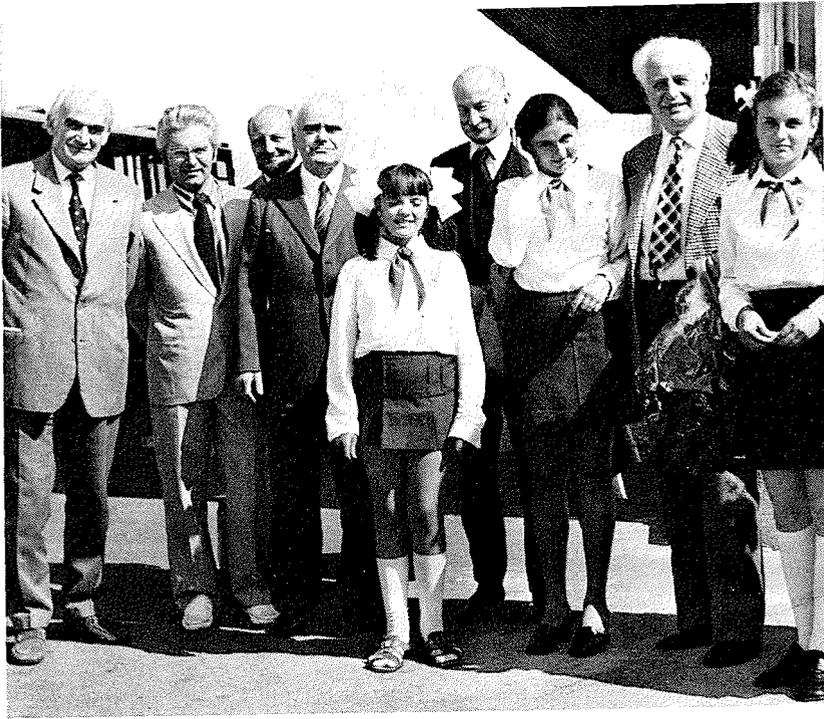
Mr. P. Gaillard, ICRC Deputy Director, was in Romania from 21 to 25 September 1974.

In Bucarest, he was received by General M. Burca, President, and leading members of the National Society, with whom he conferred on matters of mutual interest. He also visited a school and a hospital where Red Cross teams were at work.

Middle East

Student travel. — As it had done in previous years, the ICRC arranged for Gaza students attending university courses in Cairo and Damascus to go home for the summer holidays. In the course of thirteen operations carried out on the El Qantara road in July and August, 3,145 students returned from Cairo to their families in Gaza. About a hundred students returned to occupied territory from Damascus. From the end of August until the beginning of October, similar operations in reverse enabled the students to return to their studies.

Family reuniting. — Several family reuniting operations have taken place on the El Qantara road, between occupied Gaza-Sinai territory and the Arab Republic of Egypt. Three operations enabled 529 persons to proceed to occupied territory, and 269 to reach the Nile Valley. Furthermore, in the course of three new operations, 526 persons crossed over into occupied territory, and 74 to Cairo.



Sofia: The President of the ICRC, Dr. Eric Martin, being welcomed by the President of the Bulgarian Red Cross, Dr. K. Ignatov, and other senior members of the National Society and by members of the Junior Red Cross.

Photo F. Bory / ICRC

Lucerne: A meeting of the Conference of Government Experts on weapons.





إتفاقيات جنيف

حماية الأهلالي المدنيين في أوقات الحروب



One of the colour posters published by the ICRC on the application of the Geneva Conventions.

Photo V. Grönkvist

Release of civilians of Druse origin. — On 3 October 1974, the ICRC arranged for three civilians to return to their families in the occupied territory of the Golan Heights. The men had been captured on the Israelo-Lebanese frontier on 6 August.

Release of Lebanese civilians. — In southern Lebanon, Israel armed forces captured eight Lebanese civilians. The prisoners, who during their detention were visited by the ICRC, were released on 6 October 1974.

Release of a prisoner. — On 2 October, the ICRC repatriated a Syrian prisoner of war who had been captured by Israel armed forces in the occupied territory of the Golan Heights on 16 August. During detention, he was visited by the ICRC several times.

Japan

Mr. Harry C. Angst is returning to Switzerland after acting as ICRC honorary delegate in Japan for more than thirty years. The Red Cross is deeply grateful to him for the great services he has rendered.

In token of the appreciation felt there, the Japanese Red Cross has conferred on Mr. Angst the Golden Order of Merit, and the Japanese Government has awarded him the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Second Class, "in recognition of his contribution in promoting world peace and welfare which are the ideals of Red Cross principles".

*IN GENEVA***Geneva Conventions**

By an Act dated 20 February 1974, Australia notified the Swiss Government, depositary of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, of the withdrawal of the reservation formulated by the Australian Government at the time of its ratification, on 14 October 1958, of the Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

The reservation had been made in respect of Article 68 (2), of the said Convention with the object of safeguarding the Australian Government's right to apply the death penalty, whether or not the offences mentioned in that article were punishable by death under the law of the occupied territory in force before the occupation began, but subject to the other conditions of the article.

Guests of the ICRC

On 30 September, twenty-five Belgian army judges and officers, accompanied by Mr. R. Vermeulen, General Administrator of the Belgian Red Cross, visited the ICRC to acquaint themselves with the work done in Geneva to ensure the dissemination of the principles of international humanitarian law. They were received by Mr. Eric Martin, President of the International Committee. They saw several films and heard statements. Finally they visited the Central Tracing Agency, and were thus afforded a quick survey of the ICRC's various present activities.

* * *

In the course of a tour of Europe devoted to the subject of human rights, the grand Ulemas of Saudi Arabia, Muslim theologians versed in the interpretation of the Muslim legal system, visited in Geneva the International Committee, the League of Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, and the Henry Dunant Institute.

The Saudi religious leaders, accompanied by a number of French notables, were received at the ICRC headquarters by Dr. Eric Martin, President, and Mr. Roger Gallopin, President of the Executive Board, together with other ICRC officials. At the League of Red Cross Societies, they were welcomed by Mr. Henrik Beer, Secretary General, and Mr. Bertil Petterson, Deputy Secretary General, with representatives of different League departments.

The visits underlined the relationship between the teachings of the Koran and the fundamental principles of the Red Cross — and the unity of thought and action characterizing the Red Cross movement under the diversity of its three different emblems.

Publications on the Geneva Conventions

The ICRC has just published four new colour posters. One illustrates the evacuation of serious battle casualties, one the repatriation of prisoners of war, and two the protection of the civilian population. They are available with captions in Arabic, English, French, German or Spanish, or without any caption at all.

The complete set may be obtained from the Documentation and Dissemination Division of the ICRC at the price of Swiss francs 20.—.

In addition, the ICRC will soon have available a calendar evoking the Geneva Conventions in seven coloured illustrations. Two three-language versions will be available, one in English, German and Spanish, the other in Arabic, French and Russian. The cost of each will be Swiss francs 5.—.

The ICRC hopes that all National Societies will be interested in these publications.

THE BRUSSELS INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION OF 1874 CONCERNING THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF WAR

Mr. Jean De Breucker, adviser to the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has written a masterly study on the Brussels International Declaration, the centenary of which is being commemorated this year.¹ Mr. De Breucker, who has always taken a lively interest in the work of the ICRC, represented his country at the Conference of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts. As rapporteur of Commission II, he drew up two notable reports on the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts. He led the Belgian delegation at the first session of the Diplomatic Conference which met in Geneva earlier this year.

* * *

Although not endowed with force of law since it was not ratified by the Powers, the Brussels Declaration, which Mr. De Breucker describes as a necessary if discarded stage between customary practices and the codification of those practices in the Hague texts, was an outstanding contribution to the gradual development of treaty law applicable in armed conflicts. Indeed, as Mr. De

¹ J. De Breucker, *La Déclaration de Bruxelles de 1874 concernant les lois et coutumes de la guerre*, Chronique de politique étrangère, volume XXVII, Institut royal des relations internationales, Brussels, January 1974.

Breucker shows in a minute analysis of the provisions of the Declaration, the Geneva Conventions of 1899 and 1907 restated the principles laid down in 1874 and sometimes went so far as to repeat, word for word, the rules drafted in Brussels.

It was in Brussels, too, that the historic distinction was made "between those two well known branches of the law of war: the one which determines the rights and duties of belligerents in the conduct of operations and which limits the choice of the means of inflicting injury, and the one which ensures respect, protection and humane treatment for those who are *hors de combat* and for those not directly taking part in hostilities". This distinction between the "Hague law" and the "Geneva law" dates back to 1868. In the month of October of that year, in Geneva, articles were drafted additional to the 1864 Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field, while in Saint Petersburg, in December 1868, "the first chapter of what was subsequently to be known as the law of the Hague was embodied in a Declaration¹ signed by seventeen States, prohibiting the use of any projectile weighing less than 400 g that was explosive or contained fulminating or inflammable matter".

Following an introduction which outlined the historic context in which the Brussels Conference had been held, Mr. De Breucker applied himself to restoring the scene and the atmosphere of the Conference, with the kindly and humorous assistance of Baron Lambermont, Belgium's first delegate to the Conference, from whose private correspondence there are a great many quotations: a description of the principal delegates, references to the procedural problems with which the Conference had to deal, and some reflections on "Conference gossip". Thus the reader was plunged into the discussions of 1874.

The Conference produced a draft Declaration of fifty-six articles governing the main problems of the law of war. Mr. De Breucker has made a choice among the subjects covered and focussed on six basic questions:

¹ Saint Petersburg Declaration concerning the prohibition of explosive projectiles in time of war, 29 November-11 December 1868.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Military authority over the territory of the enemy State.
- Who should be recognized as a belligerent party: combatants and non-combatants.
- Means of injuring the enemy.
- Siege and bombardment.
- Prisoners of war.
- The sick and the wounded.

To this he has added an item not covered by the Conference: reprisals.

Mr. De Breucker's analysis shows very clearly that in 1874 all discussion was governed by two "concepts diametrically contrary to one another, although both were tinged with the virulent nationalism characteristic of that period, along with humanitarian considerations". As they were by no means inclined to play into the hands of the Big Powers and to work in their interest, the smaller States tried to avoid any undue limitation of their means of defence and evinced no wish to be drawn into a narrow system of rights and duties that might lend the acts of some future more powerful adversary a legal complexion. That attitude was contested by the Big Powers, who put forward the view that "without rules war would spell ruin for the countries invaded, since a people who wanted to defend itself should have the pluck to organize in peace time".

As Mr. De Breucker pointed out, those contrasting views clashed sharply on two occasions: when studying problems connected with occupation and determining temporary rights and obligations arising out of that situation, and when defining rightful combatants who, if captured, should be granted prisoner-of-war status and entitled to special treatment.

Occupation posed the problem of the delicate balance which should be maintained between the rights of the occupant and the interests of the occupied. The two aspects of that problem — the rights and duties of belligerent parties towards one another, and the rights and duties of belligerent parties towards private persons — hinged on a basic question: the definition of occupation. While Germany favoured a definition which would be as broad as possible,

the smaller Powers, who were aware of "the dialectical relationship between the definition of occupation and the population's right to resist the invader", did not agree that occupation could be presumed but demanded that it be visible and real. Those contradictory tendencies led to a definition of occupation which was embodied in the Hague Conventions and which holds good to this day.

The penetrating light which Mr. De Breucker has shed on the Conference discussions regarding the definition of a belligerent shows that the delegates were here again sharply divided. While the representatives of the Big Powers maintained that war was something within the province of the military alone, that a sharp distinction must therefore be drawn between combatants and civilians, and that the latter must enjoy absolute protection, the smaller Powers contended that the entire population should be armed in its open struggle against the invader or occupant. Hence it is not surprising that the Conference did not achieve a complete definition of belligerents.

Admittedly, as Mr. De Breucker points out, the Brussels Conference proceedings had important results. It was in Brussels that the four conditions which were to be fulfilled by militia and volunteer corps, in order that their members might have the benefit of prisoner-of-war status, were laid down. Those conditions were repeated in Article 1 of the 1907 Hague Regulations. It was in Brussels, too, that a people who spontaneously took up arms on the enemy's approach was recognized as belligerent. Lastly, it was in Brussels that the principle was laid down that the armed forces could be composed of combatants and non-combatants. A question remained open, however, and that is the condition of combatants in occupied territory, who remained subject to the rules of the unwritten law of nations. Yet the plenipotentiaries in Brussels, like those in The Hague later, did not propose to leave such people without any protection. This is indicated in the preamble to the Hague Convention No. IV of 1907, the so-called Martens clause which should be referred to for an interpretation of Articles 1 to 3 of the Regulations appended to that Convention.

A century elapsed between the Brussels Conference and the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of

MISCELLANEOUS

International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, which was convened by the Swiss Federal Council and which held its first session in Geneva from 20 February to 29 March 1974. Mr. Jean De Breucker's excellent study comes at the right time, on the eve of the second session of the Diplomatic Conference, to remind us that despite the difficulties which were encountered, the Brussels plenipotentiaries lent the codification of the law of armed conflicts a considerable impetus, filled as they were with a true spirit of humanity in the performance of their task. It is hoped that, as happened then, the plenipotentiaries who will meet in Geneva early next year will serve mankind's higher needs by limiting the ruthless harshness of armed conflict. Even though international humanitarian law has steadily developed since 1874, that is still a necessary and urgent duty, for, as Mr. De Breucker wisely concludes, "we consider it a characteristic of conventional and codified humanitarian law that it always falls short of the profound demands of human conscience which have been its constant source and spur".

D. B.

ROUND TABLE ON PRESENT PROBLEMS OF HUMANITARIAN LAW

A Round Table on Present Problems of Humanitarian Law, skilfully organized by the International Institute of Humanitarian Law which has its seat at San Remo, Italy, was held in that town from 6 to 9 September 1974.

The purpose of the informal meeting was to provide an opportunity for an exchange of views on the results of the first session of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts (Geneva, 20 February to 29 March 1974) and to study some of the problems to be considered at the second session of the Conference (Geneva, 3 February to 18 April 1975).

The Round Table gave its attention to the following items :

New category of prisoners of war (Article 42 of draft Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts) ;

Reinforcement of measures of application (system of Protecting Powers and their substitutes, role of international organizations and role of the International Committee of the Red Cross) ;

Basic questions concerning the draft Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, relating to the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts ;

Accession to international humanitarian instruments by belligerent non-State entities.

About fifty experts from different parts of the world took part in the proceedings in their personal capacity. The ICRC was represented by Mr. J. Pictet, Vice-President ; Mr. C. Pilloud, Director, and Mr. A. Martin and Mrs. D. Bujard, Deputy Heads of the Legal Division.

The Round Table meeting, which was presided over by Professor H. Sultan, a member of the *Institut d'Egypte*, afforded a welcome opportunity for constructive thought and an exchange of views on the eve of important discussions.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

For the past five years, in co-operation with the Henry Dunant Institute, the International Institute for Human Rights founded by Mr. René Cassin, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and now under the direction of Mr. Karel Vasak, has organized a four-week summer course at Strasbourg on human rights, including one week devoted to the subject of humanitarian law.

In July 1974, the courses in humanitarian law, consisting of five hours teaching and two hours of seminars, were given by :

Mr. G. Bolla, of UNESCO, "The Protection of Cultural Property During Armed Conflicts" ;

Mr. G.I.A.D. Draper, University of Sussex, "Human Rights and the Law of Armed Conflicts : General Principles and Implementation" ;

Mr. M. Veuthey, legal adviser to the ICRC, "Non-international Armed Conflicts and Humanitarian Law".

Mr. Jiri Toman, research director of the Henry Dunant Institute, organized various seminars on humanitarian law and arranged for diploma examinations for candidates.

Nearly 170 students, mainly from Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Middle East, attended the courses.

In addition, 37 members of the teaching profession, including deans, professors and instructors, attended an "International Training and Review Centre for Teachers of Human Rights".

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

ADOPTED 21 JUNE 1973

ART. 1. — *International Committee of the Red Cross*

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.

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

ART. 2. — *Legal Status*

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

ART. 3. — *Headquarters and Emblem*

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. — *Role*

1. The special role of the ICRC shall be :

- (a) to maintain the fundamental principles of the Red Cross as proclaimed by the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross ;
- (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 ;
- (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 ;

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.

- (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 ensure the operation of the Central Information Agencies provided for in the Geneva Conventions ;
- (f) 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 ;
- (g) 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 ;
- (h) to accept the mandates entrusted to it by the International Conferences of the Red Cross.

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

ART. 6 (first paragraph). — *Membership of the ICRC*

The ICRC shall co-opt its members from among Swiss citizens. It shall comprise fifteen to twenty-five members.

THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF AUGUST 12, 1949 ¹

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	45.—
paper-back	35.—
— Vol. 2: Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea — 320 pp.	
bound	40.—
paper-back	30.—
— Vol. 3: Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War — 764 pp.	
bound	60.—
paper-back	50.—
— Vol. 4: Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War — 660 pp.	
bound	55.—
paper-back	45.—
Summary for Members of Armed Forces and the General Public , 13 pp.	2.—
Course of Five Lessons , 102 pp.	8.—
Essential Provisions , 4 pp.	0.30
Soldier's Manual , 24 pp.	1.—
Rights and Duties of Nurses under the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949 — 45 pp.	2.—
(for orders exceeding 100 copies, Sw.Fr. 1.— per copy)	
*	
International Red Cross Handbook. ² Conventions—Statutes and Regulations—Resolutions of the International Confer- ence of the Red Cross and of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies, 11th ed. 1971 ; 8vo, 607 pp. .	40.—

¹ These publications and the full list of ICRC publications may be obtained from the ICRC Documentation Department, 17 avenue de la Paix, CH-1211 Geneva.

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.

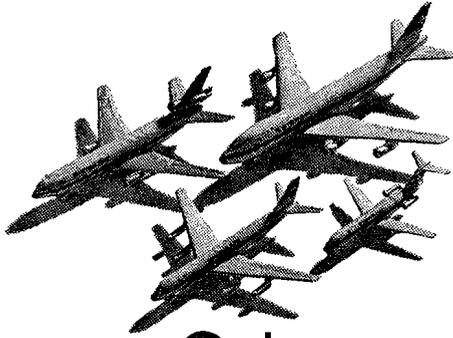


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ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- AFGHANISTAN — Afghan Red Crescent, Puli Artan, *Kabul*.
- ALBANIA — Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga e Barrikadavet, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA — Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis, Boulevard Mohamed V, *Algiers*.
- ARGENTINA — Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrigoyen 2068, *Buenos Aires*.
- AUSTRALIA — Australian Red Cross, 122-128 Flinders Street, *Melbourne 3000*.
- AUSTRIA — Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, *Vienna 4*.
- BAHRAIN — Bahrain Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 882, *Manama*.
- BANGLADESH — Bangladesh Red Cross Society, Amin Court Building, Motijheel Commercial Area, *Dacca 2*.
- BELGIUM — Belgian Red Cross, 98 Chaussée de Vleurgat, *1050 Brussels*.
- BOLIVIA — Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simón Bolívar, 1515, *La Paz*.
- BOTSWANA — Botswana Red Cross Society, Independence Avenue, P.O. Box 485, *Gaborone*.
- BRAZIL — Brazilian Red Cross, Praça Cruz Vermelha 10-12, *Rio de Janeiro*.
- BULGARIA — Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. Biruzov, *Sofia 27*.
- BURMA (Socialist Republic of the Union of) — 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 — Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, *Yaoundé*.
- CANADA — Canadian Red Cross, 95 Wellesley Street East, *Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 1H6*.
- CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC — Central African Red Cross, B.P. 1428, *Bangui*.
- 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*.
- DAHOMY — Dahomean Red Cross P.O. Box 1, *Porto Novo*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade 17, DK-1471 *Copenhagen K*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, 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*.
- FIJI — Fiji Red Cross Society, 193 Rodwell Road, P.O. Box 569, *Suva*.
- FINLAND — Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu 1 A, Box 168, *00141 Helsinki 14*.
- FRANCE — French Red Cross, 17, rue Quentin Bauchart, F-75384 *Paris*, CEDEX 08.
- THE GAMBIA — The Gambia Red Cross Society P.O. Box 472, *Banjul*
- GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — German Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic, Kaitzerstrasse 2, DDR 801 *Dresden I*.
- GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF — 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*.
- GREECE — Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou 1, *Athens 135*.
- GUATEMALA — Guatemalan Red Cross, 3ª Calle 8-40, Zona 1, *Ciudad de 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, 1ª Avenida entre 3a y 4a Calles, N° 313, *Comayagüela, D.C*.
- HUNGARY — Hungarian Red Cross, V. Arany János utca 31, *Budapest V*. Mail Add.: *1367 Budapest 5*, Pf. 249.
- ICELAND — Icelandic Red Cross, Øldugøtu 4, Post Box 872, *Reykjavik*.
- INDIA — Indian Red Cross, 1 Red Cross Road, *New Delhi 110001*.
- INDONESIA — Indonesian Red Cross, Djalan Abdul Muis 66, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN — Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Av. Villa, Carrefour Takhté Djamchid, *Teheran*.
- 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. John's 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 OF — Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Pyongyang*.
- KOREA, REPUBLIC OF — The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3Ka Nam San-Dong, *Seoul*.
- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1359, *Kuwait*.
- 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, P.O. Box 541, *Benghazi*.
- LIECHTENSTEIN — Liechtenstein Red Cross, *Vaduz*.
- LUXEMBOURG — Luxembourg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 1806, *Luxembourg*.
- MALAGASY REPUBLIC — Red Cross Society of the Malagasy Republic, rue Clémenceau, P.O. Box 1168, *Tananarive*.
- MALAWI — Malawi Red Cross, Hall Road, *Blantyre* (P.O. Box 30080, Chichiri, *Blantyre* 3).
- MALAYSIA — Malaysian Red Cross Society, 519 Jalan Belfield, *Kuala Lumpur*.
- MALI — Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, route de Koulikora, *Bamako*.
- MAURITANIA — Mauritanian Red Crescent Society, B.P. 344, Avenue Gamal Abdel Nasser, *Nouakchott*.
- MEXICO — Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejército 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, B.P. 189, Takaddoum, *Rabat*.
- NEPAL — Nepal Red Cross Society, Tahachal, 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, *Managua, D.N.*
- NIGER — Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, *Niamey*.
- NIGERIA — Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Aketa Close, off St. Gregory Rd., P.O. Box 764, *Lagos*.
- NORWAY — Norwegian Red Cross, Parkveien 33b, *Oslo*. Mail Add.: *Postboks 7034 H-Oslo 3*.
- PAKISTAN — Pakistan Red Crescent Society, Dr Daudpota Road, *Karachi 4*.
- PANAMA — Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado Postal 668, Zona 1, *Panamá*.
- PARAGUAY — Paraguayan Red Cross, Brasil 216, *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, 6A, Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, *Freetown*.
- SINGAPORE — Singapore Red Cross Society, 15, Penang Lane, *Singapore 9*.
- 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*.
- SRI LANKA — Sri Lanka Red Cross Society, 106 Dharmapala Mawatha, *Colombo 7*.
- SUDAN — Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, *Khartoum*.
- SWEDEN — Swedish Red Cross, Fack, 104 40 *Stockholm 14*.
- SWITZERLAND — Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, *3001 Berne*.
- SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC — Syrian Red Crescent, 13, Abi Ala, Almaari Street, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA — Tanzania Red Cross Society, Upanga Road, P.O.B. 1133, *Dar es Salaam*.
- THAILAND — Thai Red Cross Society, Paribatra Building, 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, Wrightson Road West, P.O. Box 357, *Port of Spain*, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 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*.
- UNITED KINGDOM — British Red Cross, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, *London, SW1X 7EJ*.
- 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, D.C. 20006*.
- U.S.S.R. — Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Tcheremushki, I. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, *Moscow B-36*.
- VENEZUELA — Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, *Caracas*.
- VIET NAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF — Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, 68 rue Bà-Triệu, *Hanoi*.
- VIET NAM, REPUBLIC OF — Red Cross of the Republic of Viet Nam, 201 duong Hồng-Thập-Tu, No. 201, *Saigon*.
- YUGOSLAVIA — Red Cross of Yugoslavia, Simina ulica broj 19, *Belgrade*.
- ZAIRE (Republic of) — Red Cross of the Republic of Zaire, 41 av. de la Justice, B.P. 1712, *Kinshasa*.
- ZAMBIA — Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R.W.1, 2838 Brentwood Drive, *Lusaka*.