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# international review of the red cross



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**INTERNATIONAL  
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# Henry Dunant, promoter of the 1874 Brussels Conference

## Pioneer of Diplomatic Protection for Prisoners of War<sup>1</sup>

by Y. de Pourtalès and R.-H. Durand

Very few people were aware of the exact background of the Brussels Conference, and inaccurate reports appeared in a large number of European newspapers at the time.<sup>2</sup>

*That is what Henry Dunant wrote in his notebooks, most of which were never published, and we are pleased to publish a study shedding light on Dunant's role as promoter of protection for prisoners of war.*

*In Belgium's capital, ceremonies were recently held to mark the centenary of the Brussels Declaration. At the formal commemorative sitting, Mr. J. Pictet, Vice-President of the ICRC, drew attention to the parallel development of the law of Geneva and the law of The Hague, to which the Brussels Declaration gave a decisive impetus. The study is therefore well-timed. As usual, the views expressed are those of the authors alone. It may be added that the original is in French and that the English version is a translation by the ICRC. (Ed.)*

\* \* \*

The name Henry Dunant is one which automatically brings to mind the Geneva Convention of 1864. However accurate such an association

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<sup>1</sup> This article, which is essentially based on Dunant's published and unpublished writings, does not claim to afford a complete picture of the events leading to the Brussels Conference. It endeavours to show the role played by Dunant through the Universal Alliance. Only a study of Russian diplomatic documents could confirm or correct the assumptions made here.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève (BPU), Msfr 4590, p. 23 recto.*

of ideas may be, however, it should not suggest that Henry Dunant regarded that diplomatic agreement as the crowning achievement of his endeavours.

He steadfastly refused to confine himself to drawing up, signing and applying the Convention whose promoter he rightly considered himself to be. Once he made sure that “his” work rested on solid foundations and was administered by a competent jurist, he withdrew because he had more far-reaching plans for remedying the evils of war and of contemporary society. He thought of extending the Convention to victims of sea warfare. The abolition of slavery, the establishment of a national home for Jews scattered throughout the world, the emancipation of women, bettering the worker’s lot, the promotion of international arbitration and human rights, were matters to which he devoted all his energy.

Yet he appears to have given special attention to prisoners of war, and the improvement of their plight demonstrated both his concern and his working methods. That complex undertaking, with its surprising ups and downs, caused him to play an outstanding role in the genesis of the Brussels Conference of August 1874.<sup>1</sup>

For the sake of clarity, we have divided our paper into four chapters: Dunant’s realization of the prisoner-of-war problem, preparations for an international conference, the Brussels Conference itself, and Dunant’s judgement of that conference as a step towards peace.

## **I. Preliminary remarks**

### **Medical personnel and the wounded**

We must admit that we do not know when Henry Dunant began to feel concern about the condition of prisoners of war. At Solferino he denounced the absurdity of the treatment meted out to army doctors who, when captured, were regarded as prisoners of war, at a time when there was a desperate shortage of medical personnel.

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Boissier alone deduced the role played by Dunant in *Histoire du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge*, Paris, Plon 1963, Vol. I, “De Solférino à Tsoushima”, 512 pp.; see pp. 379 to 388.

As we know, Henry Dunant approached MacMahon on 28 June 1859; Napoleon III issued the following decree on 1 July:

*Austrian army doctors and surgeons taken prisoner when caring for the wounded shall at their request be unconditionally released.*<sup>1</sup>

In *Un souvenir de Solferino* (1862), Henry Dunant considered the wounded alone. Having in mind the Conference to be held in October 1863, he first of all advocated the protection of medical services. He inferred the need for “neutrality [...] of official medical personnel”, a concept which with Basting’s aid he then had accepted in the recommendations following the “Resolutions of the Geneva International Conference” of October 1863.

That concept was to prevail despite the scepticism of Moynier, Dufour, Appia and Maunoir, for Articles 1 to 4 of the Geneva Convention of 1864 defined such neutrality. Provision was thus made for a special category of prisoners of war: official medical personnel.

The Convention also laid down in Article 6 that wounded combatants who had fallen into enemy hands could be handed over to their army and thus be spared captivity. Further on, it stated: “Those who, after their recovery, are recognized as being unfit for further service, shall be repatriated”.

The Geneva Convention thus covered two categories of army men so far subject to the same conditions as any other prisoners of war: medical personnel and the wounded. As we have noted, in those two matters Henry Dunant played a decisive role, yet no general solution was found, as the overwhelming majority of those captured were able-bodied prisoners of war who enjoyed no international protection. Dunant had for some time been giving a good deal of thought to the condition of such prisoners of war. In *Le Congrès de Genève, août 1864*,<sup>2</sup> he stated that when writing *Un souvenir de Solferino* he had had in mind *the dissemination among European populations and armies, by national committees, of ideas of humanity and charity towards the enemy who is vanquished, wounded or a prisoner.*

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Dunant’s *Mémoires* published by Professor Bernard Gagnebin, [Genève et] Lausanne, Institut Henry-Dunant et l’Age d’Homme, 1971, 366 pp.; see p. 37 (which reproduces p. 12 of manuscript Msfr 2072 kept by BPU).

<sup>2</sup> [Geneva], n.d., probably the end of July or early in August 1864, 59 pp.; see p. 23. We have italicized “towards the vanquished enemy” and “prisoner”.

## Paris Conferences, 1867

It was as a private individual that Dunant made his first statement on prisoners of war to the International Conferences, in Paris in 1867. In *Histoire du Comité international*, Pierre Boissier tells how the International Committee had, on the eve of the Paris Conferences, already held aloof from Henry Dunant even though he was still the Committee's secretary. On 12 June 1867, Gustave Moynier wrote to the Federal Commissioner at the Universal Exhibition:

*I must warn you, very confidentially, against any possible intervention by Mr. Henry Dunant, who has been secretary of the International Committee up to the present. We have serious reasons not to want him to represent us in future. If, then, he proposes to act on our behalf, I should be obliged if you would refuse [...].*<sup>1</sup>

On 10 August, Gustave Moynier informed Théodore Vernes that he did not mind Mr. Henry Dunant's being invited to attend the International Conferences as a private individual, but that he would never consent to sit beside him as vice-president.<sup>2</sup>

The Conference opened on 26 August:

*Three or four private individuals, who had no mandate, came on their own initiative. They were not entitled to vote, but the Conference made an exception in the case of Henry Dunant, "promoter of the international project".*<sup>3</sup>

It is important to recall this episode in order fully to realize that Dunant's thinking, writings and activities were henceforth entirely distinct from the role and position of the International Committee in Geneva.

So he pursued the struggle alone and wrote *Les Prisonniers de Guerre, Rapport présenté aux Conférences internationales des Sociétés*

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Boissier, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 and 274.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Boissier, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Boissier, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

*de secours aux Blessés militaires des Armées de Terre et de Mer*,<sup>1</sup> in which he set out the following ideas:

- (a) governments must supply prisoners of war with necessities;
- (b) each National Committee must, among other things, take the necessary steps to ensure “regular correspondence between prisoners and their families” (*op. cit.*, p. 12);
- (c) National Committees must consider every prisoner of war as “a neutral person to whom they owe protection” (*op. cit.*, p. 13).

Two facts emerge from the report. In the first place, Dunant was not proposing any diplomatic convention binding on governments. Secondly, he would place responsibility for enemy prisoners of war on National Committees rather than on a neutral institution such as the International Committee in Geneva.

The records of the Paris Conference, in which Dunant’s statement figures prominently, affirmed that “the report, so worthy of its author, was accepted”.<sup>2</sup> Yet it was not followed up. As a private individual but within the Red Cross, Henry Dunant observed that he had no chance of seeing his ideas applied in that institution. Thus the Conferences of Geneva, in 1868 and Berlin, in 1869, did not broach the problem.<sup>3</sup>

### **Franco-German war**

At Solferino Dunant witnessed a battle, but the scene which the 1870 war offered was that of an invaded country, Paris besieged and the

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<sup>1</sup> Paris, Paul Dupont, 1867, 15 pp. This report, which was forgotten for almost fifty years, was republished in 1915 by Dunant’s nephew, in 1953 by the ICRC, and in 1969 by the Henry Dunant Institute.

<sup>2</sup> *Conférences internationales à Paris. Sociétés de secours aux blessés militaires des armées de terre et de mer, 1867*, Paris, Commission générale des délégués, 1867, 2 volumes; see Volume 1, Section 3, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the 1870-1871 war and at least until 1874, the International Committee renounced the idea of concerning itself with prisoners of war: it had not been established for that purpose and it feared that its budding project might thereby be jeopardized. See *Bulletin international*, October 1870, p. 90: “they [our Societies] had to leave the care [...] of prisoners of war to others”.

Similarly, the International Conference of the Red Cross dealt with the question of prisoners of war only after the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 [...] and especially at Washington in 1912”. See *Bulletin international*, September 1943, E[tienne] C[louzot], “La Croix-Rouge et les prisonniers de guerre”, pp. 743 to 751; see p. 748.

Commune crushed by Versailles government forces. No longer were the victims soldiers alone, but the civilian population too.

Admittedly, thanks to the Geneva Convention, the wounded were provided with care, relief was organized, and medical services were protected by the emblem of the Red Cross. Yet there were reprisals, hostages were taken, civilian prisoners were executed, and there was no effective means of intervening. Nor were things any better when Dunant tried to mediate between the government of the Commune and that of Versailles. His attempts to visit prisoners of war were rejected by the responsible authorities. General Le Flô, Minister of War, wrote him on 14 December 1870:

*The Minister for Foreign Affairs has conveyed to me the letter which you addressed to him on behalf of the French Central Committee, with a view to obtaining permission to visit German prisoners of war now interned in Paris.*

*In the present circumstances, it is absolutely impossible to grant you such permission, and I wish to express my regret.<sup>1</sup>*

After all, Dunant learnt a twofold lesson from that new experience. The civilian victims of a conflict, particularly those who took up arms to defend their country although not members of a regular army, could be protected only if the concept of belligerent (and hence of prisoner of war) were clearly defined. Once the concept of prisoner of war were defined, it must be accepted and respected, and only a diplomatic conference could bring that about.

Dunant knew by what means he could achieve his purpose: first he would have to set up an ad hoc society, then “do some agitating”, and call an international conference to prepare a draft convention that might serve as the basis for a diplomatic treaty.

## **II. Preparation of an international conference**

### **Universal Alliance for Order and Civilization**

After the war, Henry Dunant and other philanthropists also concerned about the future of Europe founded the Universal Alliance

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<sup>1</sup> BPU, Msfr 2110, p. 33.

for Order and Civilization, whose first public function was to convene a Congress in Paris, from 3 to 8 June 1872. Fourteen countries were represented at the Congress, which was sponsored by eminent jurists, a number of State ministers, scholars, and others. The Congress pursued a twofold aim: to improve social conditions for the underprivileged classes and ensure harmonious international relations.

The first two sittings were devoted to international arbitration and prisoners of war. On the latter question, the Congress adopted the "conclusions" signed by Henry Dunant<sup>1</sup> and formed a *Permanent International Committee* "designed to draw up a diplomatic convention standardizing conditions for prisoners of war in civilized countries". The Committee was to prepare a draft convention and then convene official delegates *ad audiendum et referendum* to an international conference. Lastly, it was to call upon the Belgian government, as a neutral State, to take the initiative of officially convening a diplomatic conference qualified to sign a Convention on prisoners of war.

One of the speakers was Frédéric Passy. On behalf of the Societies for Peace, he raised the question of "arbitration in international conflicts". Although not on the agenda of the Brussels Conference, the item roused interest. It was striking indeed to find Passy beside Dunant, engaged in a common struggle in 1872, for history was to link their names together when, twenty-nine years later, they were jointly awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize. Dunant saw a close connection between arbitration and prisoners of war. Although he gave the latter priority, he saw a guarantee for future international relations in arbitration.

### **Permanent International Committee**

At the close of the Congress, the *Permanent International Committee for the settlement of the condition of prisoners of war in civilized nations* set to work. To explain its aims, it sent out an initial circular letter on 1 July 1872, one of whose signatories was Henry Dunant, who had been appointed president of the Committee.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Congrès de l'Alliance universelle de l'ordre et de la civilisation*, Paris, A. Pougin, 1872, XII-216 pp.; see p. 45. The BPU copy bears Dunant's signature, preceded by "Paris, 3 June 1872, J.H.D."

With the experience gained in 1863, Dunant realized that he must rouse public opinion and at the same time convince governments. As Great Britain had not taken part in the Franco-German war, he decided to go there. He wrote to his sister Marie before leaving Paris, on 23 June 1872:

*Now I am the President of the Permanent International Committee which is to establish a Diplomatic Convention to settle the condition of prisoners of war in all civilized nations. Everyone is anxious to join it, and the committee members, who are people from different countries, are devoted to me. I have them well in hand, and past experience will serve me.—I want this to be the Brussels Convention, and the King of the Belgians and the most important people in Belgium are rubbing their hands with glee [...]. I have prevented my name from appearing anywhere, to prevent any attack [...]. And now, if I can leave for England, I shall dismiss every feeling except the conviction that I shall succeed. I am confident, for the ways have been prepared. The Times is devoted to me, and so are a number of other big English papers [...].<sup>1</sup>*

### **Lectures in London and Plymouth**

During the summer, he gave two lectures which roused tremendous interest in England. The first, delivered in London on 6 August, under the auspices of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, was chaired by Lord Elcho. After a long account of the historical background of the Geneva Convention, warming to his subject of prisoners of war, Dunant declared:

*Without a diplomatic convention, without an international law [...] nothing can be guaranteed; all is left to the arbitrary will of men, and we shall have, unless we take care, deplorable scenes of inhumanity, which will occur under our own eyes at a time when every nation is boasting of its civilization. Society in general reposes on its conventions [...].*

*As for myself, for twelve years I have meditated much on these questions, and have suffered much for them. I believe I know the Continent, and my conviction is that we are on the eve of the gravest events of this*

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<sup>1</sup> BPU, Msfr 2115, C. pp. 79 and 80 recto-verso.

century [...]. *A great war is imminent. Within a few years, perhaps, the Continent will be overturned by a general conflict of nations, accompanied by social disturbances, which will shake more than one nation.*<sup>1</sup>

He concluded by mentioning the advisability of setting up national committees to make public opinion aware and urge governments to send delegates *ad audiendum et referendum* to a congress which would probably be held in Brussels.

On 13 September, he was asked to read a paper to the Congress of the Social Association on the question: Can a Court of International Arbitration be formed with a view to avoiding war; and if so, in what way?<sup>2</sup>

Here Dunant broadened the discussion. He appealed to diplomacy as the safeguard of civilization, since without it international understanding and respect for conventions would be mere words.

In his first address, he expressed fears of an imminent war, while in the second he affirmed the hope that official negotiations would lead to universal peace. With his clear sense of reality, he did not enlarge on a definition of an international court of arbitration, which in the circumstances was too far-reaching an undertaking. On the other hand, he regarded the convening of an international conference on prisoners of war as increasingly feasible.

Some of his so far unpublished letters give an idea of the success and popularity achieved by Dunant in England in only a few weeks. The Times gave him a whole column on the first page. Weekly magazines did the same. Florence Nightingale wrote congratulating him, and from Cowes Napoleon III sent him a note penned in his own hand.

Those tributes provided evidence that Great Britain welcomed his ideas and might even play a leading role in the matter. Tracts appeared containing *A proposal for a Diplomatic "Convention of London"*, in

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<sup>1</sup> *A Proposal for Introducing Uniformity into the Condition of Prisoners of War*, London, 1872 24 pp.; see p. 19. This booklet, which was published in English, went through two editions in one year.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the lecture was published in *The Globe and Traveller* of London, on 13 September, and on the following day by *The Western Daily Mercury*. Lastly, under the title of "L'arbitrage international", excerpts from Dunant's French manuscript appeared in *Un Souvenir de Solferino suivi de l'avenir sanglant*, [Genève et Lausanne], Institut Henry-Dunant et l'Age d'Homme, 1969, XXII, 199 pp.; pp. 139 to 146.

*Favour of Prisoners of War similar to the Convention of Geneva for Sick and Wounded.* An English Committee for prisoners of war was formed. A plan of work was drawn up and headquarters found. Yet there was a stumbling block: the British government did not seem inclined to call an international conference. Before the end of the year, Dunant therefore gave up temporarily the project and returned to Paris.

To secure such vital government patronage, Dunant, who was still president of the Permanent International Committee, on 7 March 1873 made a direct approach to Thiers, then president of the Republic. Although his request was not granted, it was not rejected out of hand, for Barthélémy St. Hilaire advised him to go to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Comte de Houdetot, vice-président of the Permanent Committee, therefore wrote to Comte de Rémusat. He made a much more precise request: "Trusting, Mr. Minister, that Your Excellency will be so good as to take the initiative, on behalf of the French Government, of convening an international conference on 2 June next, thereby following the example set by the Swiss Government in the matter of the Convention relative to wounded soldiers, We have the honour to be [...]".<sup>1</sup>

On 7 April, the Minister for Foreign Affairs indicated that there might be a favourable outcome:

*I can only welcome your committee's plans and I hope that they will be fulfilled; yet I cannot take any initiative in the matter before I have the views of my colleagues, the Minister of War and the Minister of Marine, having regard to the special interests entrusted to them.*<sup>2</sup>

In November, the Duc Decazes became Minister for Foreign Affairs. He did not disguise his hostility to the Universal Alliance's undertaking. His policy being "isolationism", Decazes did not on any account want to annoy either England or Russia. He therefore nipped in the bud any French initiative which might upset those two powers. Faced with such hostility on the part of the French Minister, the untiring Dunant once more went to London.

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<sup>1</sup> BPU, Msfr 2110, p. 186 recto-verso. The quotation is taken from a copy kept with Henry Dunant's correspondence.

<sup>2</sup> BPU, Msfr 2110, p. 85 recto-verso. The same remark applies.

## Brighton lecture

He was received at Buckingham Palace, where he met the Persian ambassador and secured the Shah's accession to the Geneva Convention.<sup>1</sup> On 1 July, he wrote to his sister Marie:

*I am to be presented to the Prime Minister of England, and I shall ask him to convene a Diplomatic Congress for Prisoners of War in London [...].*<sup>2</sup>

On 15 September, he gave another lecture at Brighton in which he advocated a *Convention for Prisoners of War*.<sup>3</sup> He described the considerable aid rendered by neutral Red Cross Societies during the Franco-German war, which aid would not have been possible without the Geneva Convention. In view of the threat of a new European conflict which this time would be a general conflict, he emphasized the need to go further:

*If the Diplomatic Convention of Geneva be the first step towards the realisation of a universal humane Code of Laws between the civilized powers, the second step in this way would be a Convention on behalf of the Prisoners of War, who have a right to be treated with humanity.*<sup>4</sup>

All wars waged by civilized powers, even the more recent, had given rise to terrible ill-treatment, and the principal victims were no longer the wounded but prisoners of war. Dunant went on to say that an English society, whose patrons included the Lord Mayor of London, lords and members of parliament, was endeavouring to prevail upon the British government to call a conference. "It is England's privilege to take the initiative!"<sup>5</sup>

There was no response to that stirring appeal. Dunant therefore definitively gave up the idea of holding a conference in London. Any initiative was henceforth to come from Paris, where Comte de Houdetot was active in the Permanent International Committee.

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<sup>1</sup> This episode, which is not directly relevant, shows the credit which Dunant still enjoyed and his devotion to the Red Cross, regardless of his relations with the International Committee.

<sup>2</sup> BPU, Msfr 2115C, p. 85 verso.

<sup>3</sup> London, Army and Navy Library, 1873, 11 pp.

<sup>4</sup> *Convention for Prisoners of War*, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Original text in English.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

## **Last phase of preparation : January to July 1874**

After a brief stay in France, Dunant returned to England at the end of January. From there he proceeded direct to Brussels on the eve of the Conference.

While in London, it was by means of correspondence that he took part in the Committee's decisions. Simultaneously, in the English branch of the Alliance, he worked on the Committee for Palestine and the Anti-Slavery Committee. Houdetot would write to him once or twice a week to keep him informed of decisions, request guidelines, ask him to approach a given minister or head of State, or elicit his opinion regarding the wording of the preparatory document.<sup>1</sup>

A draft convention was ready by the end of January. All that remained to be done was to publicize it and fix the venue and date of the Preparatory Conference. Houdetot sent Dunant three proofs of the draft for publication in *The Times*, after which Houdetot was to have it published in France, as a precaution vis-à-vis Germany. The tentative date for the Conference was 9 March, but the venue had not yet been selected. Houdetot made his last approach to the Duc Decazes, at the end of December, and on 3 February received a reply in the form of the French government's categorical refusal to give any official support. The Germans made it known that they would prefer a neutral country, and London rather than Paris. Houdetot inquired whether Dunant could not opt for London or Vienna.

Important decisions were reached in February. In the first place, the "Permanent International Committee for the Amelioration of the Condition of Prisoners of War" was to become the *International Executive Committee for the Amelioration of the Condition of Prisoners of War*, just as the "Committee of Five", in Geneva in 1863, had constituted an "International Committee for Relief to the Wounded". One of them had emerged from the *Société genevoise d'utilité publique* of which it had only been a committee, the other, from the *Universal Alliance* of which it had only been a committee. Houdetot was to

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<sup>1</sup> *Procès-verbaux du Comité Exécutif International pour l'amélioration du sort des prisonniers de guerre*, drawn up by Henry Musson or Frédéric Kastner, BPU Msfr 2117. These records confirm the prestige enjoyed by Dunant, who was called upon to act, so to speak, as the Committee's ambassador to the English government, besides his functions as international secretary.

be president, Richard Wallace vice-president, Adhemar von Linden secretary-general, and Henry Dunant international secretary.

Following the example of the International Committee for Relief to the Wounded, the new committee itself convened the preparatory International Conference which was to precede the Diplomatic Conference, since no government agreed to give official support. A convocation circular was prepared. The last proofs of the "draft" were proofread and sent to Dunant for comment. The venue was decided on and the date fixed. At its meeting of 24 February, the Executive Committee adopted all the decisions, enumerated as follows in the record:

“— After these preliminaries,

The President read out a letter written to him on the 3rd by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to his letter of 24 December 1873.

Duc Decazes states on his own behalf and on that of the Minister of War and the Minister of the Marine, that he thought the time had not yet come for the activities of the Alliance for Prisoners of War to be other than of a private nature, or for the French government to give even indirect co-operation.

— The Executive Committee disregarded this and decided to approach foreign courts itself.

(1) A preliminary letter introducing the question was to be sent forthwith to the different embassies in Paris to ask for their co-operation and goodwill. The printed circular letter of the Committee for Prisoners of War was to be appended.

(2) A letter was to be addressed to Sovereigns.

(3) A letter was also to be written to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Minister of War and the Minister of the Marine of each State, asking them to send representatives to the Conference opening in Paris on 4 May 1874, at 2 p.m., at the Society's seat, 43 rue de Clichy.

— A draft of the three letters was read, amended and adopted. The letters were to be sent by the President”.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> BPU, Msfr 2110, p. 118 recto-verso.

A month later, towards the end of March, all invitations had gone out. Each Power was sent ten copies of the draft. Houdetot and Dunant arranged for the letters addressed to heads of State, in Paris and London, to go through diplomatic channels. Favourable replies began to come in early in April. On the whole, the scheme was welcomed.

And then there was a sudden change. On receipt of the invitation and the draft, the Tsar's government executed a surprising diplomatic manœuvre. On 18 April, Gortchakov, Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed Houdetot, in a long letter conveyed by Orloff (ambassador to Paris), of the points of an agreement which Russia proposed to the Society for Prisoners of War:

- (a) that the Society's draft and the Russian draft which were being prepared "be merged into one", with a view to setting forth the rights and duties of governments and armies in time of war;
- (b) that the Conference be deferred to a date not so near as 4 May and time allowed "for us to complete and send Cabinets the draft on which we are working and which would supplement the draft we have been transmitted";
- (c) should the Society agree to the idea, that Brussels be the venue of the Conference.<sup>1</sup>

From the *Proceedings of the International Executive Committee*,<sup>2</sup> we learn that the Committee decided on 20 April to postpone the opening of the Conference until 18 May, although it was apparently still unaware of the Russian initiative.

On 23 April, Bloudoff (Russian ambassador in Brussels) informed d'Aspremont (Belgian Foreign Minister) that the Tsar had received the Society's draft as well as the invitation to the Conference on 4 May. He handed him a copy of Gortchakov's counterproposal and said he would like to have the opinion of King Leopold II.

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<sup>1</sup> BPU, Msfr 2110, p. 135 verso. Gortchakov's letter to Orloff was reproduced in *Actes de la Conférence de Bruxelles* (1874), Bruxelles, Imprimerie du Moniteur belge, 1874, iv-76 pp.; see p. III.

<sup>2</sup> BPU, Msfr 2117, p. 19 verso: "The President believed that a special meeting was required because of the need to consider the postponement of the Congress to a date subsequent to 4 May. He proposed the date of 18 May. Between now and 4 May, it is physically impossible to receive an official reply from several States [...]."

On 25 April, the Committee discussed the Russian proposal. It decided to stick to the date of 18 May for the International Conference, to maintain the Committee as an entity, to retain the individuality of its draft proposal and to seek the basis for an understanding with Russia, "avoiding, however, the premature absorption of the Executive Committee [...]"<sup>1</sup> It considered that the Society could benefit from the support of that power.

Another meeting took place on 27 April, at which Houdetot reported a discussion he had had with Gortchakov. It was proposed that the *private* Conference should be held, but that it would take place with the Diplomatic Conference at Brussels in view. The Committee accepted this.

On 2 May, in reply to Bloudoff, d'Aspremont said that "His Majesty's government [...] unreservedly applauds the initiative taken today by the cabinet in St. Petersburg concerning the treatment of prisoners of war."<sup>2</sup> Belgium agreed to welcome the Conference in its capital. It should be noted that this letter referred only to the prisoners of war and not to a Russian document on the laws and customs of war.

On 4 May, the Committee learned that the Belgian plenipotentiary minister in Paris had written to Houdetot to assure him that he would recommend the project to his government.

On 7 May, Gortchakov received Houdetot at Stuttgart. As usual, Houdetot reported on the meeting to Dunant<sup>3</sup> and told him that "the preparatory meeting [*sic*] in Paris should be cancelled" since the Russian government had already<sup>4</sup> invited all European states to an official congress in Brussels on 27 July. He offered reassurance, however, in telling him that "the project that we were to present to the Conference [in Paris] on 18 May will be submitted for consideration by the plenipotentiaries attending the *official meeting in Brussels* as the proposal of the Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of Prisoners of War, simultaneously with the proposal of the Russian government."

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23 verso.

<sup>2</sup> *Actes, op. cit.*, p. IV.

<sup>3</sup> BPU, Msfr 2110, p. 166 *et seq.* Houdetot used the same terms before the International Executive Committee on his return to Paris. See *Procès-Verbaux, op. cit.*, p. 29 verso and 30 recto.

<sup>4</sup> An invitation of "unusual rapidity" commented Jean De Bruecker in "*La déclaration de Bruxelles de 1874 concernant les lois et coutumes de la guerre*" in *Chronique de politique étrangère*, Institut royal des relations internationales, Brussels, January 1974, p. 1-108, and in particular. p. 6.

He went on to say that delegates from Asian and American States "who have not been invited to the Brussels Conference for lack of time" would be received if they wished to come. He concluded:

*Our work has been accomplished.*

In fact, the work had been scuttled.

The situation had been considerably changed. Russia had managed to bring about the cancellation of the preparatory Conference in Paris, organized by the Society. On the other hand, it seems clear that Gortchakov had given formal assurances to Houdetot that the Society's proposal (concerning prisoners of war) would be considered simultaneously with the Russian proposal (concerning the laws and customs of war) and that the Society would participate in the Conference as a member. The diplomatic correspondence, however, suggests that the intentions of the Russian minister were different, at least on the first point

On 9 May, for example, Bloudoff sent d'Aspremont *the Proposal for an International Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War* (the Russian project), and asked that Brussels be host for the Conference around 27 July. The Russian ambassador made no reference whatever to prisoners of war, an indication that the Society's project had already been set aside in the talks between governments.

On 17 May, Houdetot wrote to Dunant to express surprise at the latter's silence. Did he have doubts? Did he disapprove the decisions of the Executive Committee? Houdetot himself believed the word of the Russian Imperial government.

On 27 May, we learn from the *Procès-Verbaux*<sup>1</sup> that, "The President informed the Committee that Prince Orloff would soon acquaint it with the Russian proposal". The fact is that eighteen days earlier the Russian government had already handed its proposal to the Belgian government! The International Executive Committee was so certain that it would be admitted to the Conference as a member that it had "its" document reprinted under the heading: *Draft Proposal by the International Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of Prisoners of War, founded in France (June 1872) placed under the patronage of*

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 32 verso.

*H.M. the Emperor of Russia (6-18 April 1874). To be annexed to the Proposal for General Rules of International Relations in Wartime. From the Office of the Emperor. To serve as a basis for the work of the Diplomatic Conference convened at Brussels by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, 15-27 July 1874.*

On 30 May, the Belgian government asked its Russian counterpart to inform it of the number and status of the plenipotentiaries it intended to assemble in Brussels.

On 10 June, the *Procès-Verbaux* (*op. cit.*, p. 36) provide further confirmation of the dilatory attitude of Russia. The Committee had still not received even one copy of the Russian proposal. Nevertheless, it went ahead with the distribution of its own draft and focused its activities on France.

It was only on 24 June that the Committee became acquainted with the Russian proposal, and only because this had been reprinted in the *Journal du Nord!* The latest *procès-verbal* at our disposal proves that Orloff never transmitted the draft to Houdetot; that despite this betrayal, the Committee continued to urge governments to appoint their delegates to Brussels. In addition, and for the first time, it became disturbed at the fact that it had not received an invitation from the Russian government, enabling the Society to participate in the work of the Conference.

Thereafter, we have only the correspondence between Houdetot and Dunant to enable us to follow the course of events. The first major development was the appointment by the Executive Committee of its representatives in Brussels—Houdetot, Musson and Dunant. The days went by, and there was still no official invitation. Houdetot was worried, and Dunant was aware of the fact that in addition to their current difficulties, England was hostile. So it was as a special representative of the “British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,”<sup>1</sup> that Dunant left for the Belgium’s capital. On 26 July, from Brussels, he wrote to Houdetot that he would be happy to meet him, *because I am still hopeful that you will come. In any event, I can do nothing without you, and indeed I shall do nothing, because it is for you alone to represent the Society. In any case, so long as an official invitation has not been sent from St. Petersburg, nothing can be done or said.*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> U.N.-L. of N. Suttner-Fried Collection, Aa II, a 34.

<sup>2</sup> BPU, Msfr 2110, p. 173. The quotation is from a draft of the letter written by Dunant.

### **III. The Brussels Conference (27 July to 27 August 1874)**

#### **The Committee is excluded**

On the day the Conference opened, Dunant was in Brussels, at the Hotel de Flandre. Houdetot was in Paris. He had given up coming to Brussels for several reasons. For one thing, no official invitation had been sent to the Society for Prisoners of War. Furthermore, contrary to promises made by Gortchakov, several delegates from South American countries, with full powers from their governments, had arrived in Paris and were refused admission to the Brussels Conference. Finally, the Society's proposal had not been annexed to but had been merged into the working document submitted to the Conference by the Russian Government under the title: *Proposal for an International Convention Concerning the Laws and Customs of War*.

On three occasions, during the Brussels Conference, Houdetot called upon Ambassador Orloff in Paris, at Dunant's request, to remind the Russian government of its promise to receive non-European countries at Brussels. His efforts were in vain. Not only did he find himself embarrassed with regard to the delegates, for example the one from Colombia, for he had given them assurances that they had not come for nothing, but he learned that the Society would not participate in the Conference.<sup>1</sup>

This had a particularly serious consequence: there would be no one to speak for the Society's proposal. This had been excluded from the agenda of the Conference and only the Russian proposal remained. However, a brief comparison between the two papers shows what one owes the other, from the humanitarian point of view, in a number of general provisions, but most particularly in the part dealing with the condition of prisoners of war.

#### **What the Russian proposal owes the Society**

The begin with, the very layout of the Russian document embodies an original distinction, inasmuch as the "rights of belligerents with

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<sup>1</sup> He also found out that reticence on this point was not limited to Russia. In its plenary session in 29 July, the Conference decided to admit only the official delegates of the governments invited by Russia. The Society for Prisoners of War, whether in the form of its International Executive Committee, its English branch or its Belgian committee, was to be excluded.

regard to private persons”<sup>1</sup> are the subject of provisions which are quite distinct from those governing rights as between belligerents. This “affirmation of a profoundly humanitarian idea,” however, inspires the whole of the Society’s proposal and is an expression of its very philosophy, namely, that a belligerent who has surrendered must no longer be regarded as an enemy, but as a fellow human being in need of assistance. The Society’s proposal, for example, provided that prisoners would receive pay (Article 86); that they would be protected “against abuse by the population” (Article 87); that they could keep as private property all their possessions except military equipment (Article 18).<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, despite the fact that the Russian proposal dealt with matters in a much more general way, a dozen or so of its paragraphs correspond completely or partially to provisions in the Society’s proposal.

Paragraph 9, defining “who shall be regarded as a belligerent” reflects the concern which was the starting point of the Society’s proposal, that is to say, who should enjoy “the privileges inherent in the status of prisoner of war” (Art. 1). The special case of a *levy en masse* is dealt with in strikingly similar terms<sup>3</sup>:

*Par. 45*

The population of a locality not yet occupied by the enemy which takes up arms for the defense of their country shall be regarded as belligerents and if taken prisoner shall be regarded as prisoners of war.

*Art. 48, par. 1*

If, at the approach of the enemy army, the population of the part of the country not yet occupied, or the entire population of the country, rises *en masse* to resist the invader, on an order from the responsible authorities, such population, when operating in conjunction with the regular army, shall be treated as a declared enemy and those of its members who are captured shall be prisoners of war.

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<sup>1</sup> Jean De Breucker, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The *Russian* proposal was divided into *paragraphs*, whereas the *Society’s* proposal consisted of *articles*.

<sup>3</sup> The paragraphs on the left are from the Russian proposal and the articles on the right from the Society’s proposal.

*Par. 46*

Persons belonging to the population of a country in which the power of the enemy has already been established and who take up arms against the enemy may be tried in court and shall not be regarded as prisoners or war.

*Art. 48, par. 2*

Nevertheless, if the citizens or some of the citizens of a country already occupied by the enemy army rise up against it, they are violating the laws of war and may no longer claim their protection.  
(American instructions, Art. 51 and Art. 52).

Similarly, par. 47 is reminiscent of art. 50, from which it takes, word for word, the expression, "return to their peaceful occupations." This exact correspondence is rare, for it appears that the Russian who drafted the text made every effort to find synonyms. Thus we find in par. 69 and art. 60 the following:

"reprisals [...] are allowed"  
="reprisals are authorized"

"the laws and customs of war"  
="the usages of war"

"[when the enemy] has recourse to means condemned by the law of nations"  
="when the enemy [...] resorts to means forbidden by international law..."

Again, still considering content, we find that par. 4 was inspired by art. 6 and par. 22 together with its "observation" by arts. 56, 57 and 58. Par. 48 duplicates art 49. Let us look at par. 21 and art. 55:

*par. 21*

If a spy who has successfully carried out his mission, returns to his own army and is subsequently captured by the enemy,

*art. 55*

A spy who, having succeeded in his mission and safely rejoined his own army, is later captured by the enemy shall not be

he shall be treated as a prisoner of war and shall incur no responsibility whatsoever for his previous activities.

punished for acts of espionage but shall be placed under especially close surveillance, as a particularly dangerous individual. (American instructions, Art. 104.)

On the specific subject of prisoners of war, the Russian proposal borrows heavily from the Society's draft. With only a few differences and a few additions, we may sum up the kinship between the two documents by noting that:

par. 23 includes provisions of arts. 1, 3 and 4; par. 24 = art. 3; par. 25 = art. 20; par. 26 = art. 25; par. 27 = art. 23 which is less precise; par. 28 = art. 37; par. 29 = arts. 7 and 27; par. 30 = art. 34; par. 31 = art. 21; par. 32 = art. 34 (2);

par. 33 = art. 66

“Every prisoner of war is honour bound to state his true rank” “Honour obliges the prisoner of war to state his true rank”;

par. 34 = art. 63;

par. 35 = arts. 69 and 70;

par. 36 = art. 75;

par. 37 = art. 83.

Neither Dunant nor Hudetot claimed that the Russian project was “theirs.” When they finally became acquainted with the document, they certainly recognized a number of their own ideas, differently arranged, expressed in other terms and merged into a wider context. Dunant expressed no resentment against Russia and expressed satisfaction at its support. In his *Mémoires*, he wrote, “The Russian Emperor, Alexander II, conferred upon it [The Society for Prisoners of War] his special benevolence and august patronage, as a result of which the Grand Chancellor, Prince Gortchakov, took the matter in hand, gave wider scope to the plan [...]”<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, see p. 29. This reference is from the manuscript at the BPU, Msfr 2093 B/1, p. 12 verso.

No member of the Society was admitted, however, to support the proposals which had been so painstakingly prepared. No one had received an official mandate to argue for the fundamental principles of a diplomatic convention on the subject of prisoners of war. The success of this particular project, therefore, depended upon what the Conference decided.

As we know, Dunant was in Brussels, in a private capacity. He used his influence to act in spite of that fact.

### **Despite everything, Dunant makes his presence felt**

The correspondence Dunant exchanged with his family during the month of August provides evidence of this determination, as one or two examples will demonstrate. On 10 August, he wrote to his sister Marie in Geneva:

*I am very glad to be in Brussels, for a good many reasons. To begin with, the change of air has done me a great deal of good. I have also found many people who are well disposed toward me. The Secretary of the Belgian Society for the Wounded, whom I had never seen but with whom I had corresponded for ten years [...] Dr. van Holsbeek [...] told me that Mr. Moynier was furious. After all, he should be.—I have been visited by a great many delegates, notably the Russian delegates and, above all, the delegates from the English Embassy. The Times mentioned the fact that I had arrived in Brussels [...]. The Congress will go on for at least another month. Little by little, the Russian proposal has been reduced to purely humanitarian matters, having been successively stripped of everything that Prince Gortchakov had thought he could put through, and which had infuriated England. As of today, the success of the project is certain, but it is fortunately very different from the original Russian draft.<sup>1</sup>*

On 27 August he wrote her again:

*I am still quite pleased with my stay in Brussels, which is bearing fruit which I find precious [...] because it is making it possible for me to regain some influence, without which I no longer had any business in Europe [...].*

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<sup>1</sup> BPU, Msfr 2115 C, p. 94-95 recto-verso.

*The Congress will wind up this week. I have fought Russia all the time, because Russia seeks to regulate war, by making people accept the idea that it is the normal situation of mankind and always will be, whereas I, the Society of Prisoners of War (and that of the Wounded) seek to reduce the inevitable horrors of war, that terrible scourge which future generations, perhaps, will regard as a madness.*<sup>1</sup>

We know what the outcome was. In immediate terms, the Conference was a failure. As noted by Jean De Breucker, it received its *coup de grace* from London. On 20 January 1875, in reply to the Russian circular Lord Derby uttered: “a flat refusal to take part in the Conference. In criticizing the work done at Brussels, Lord Derby adopted the view that the proposal to codify the law and customs of war offered more dangers than advantages.”<sup>2</sup>

The Society for Prisoners of War had also seen its day. As its proposal no longer belonged to it, it had no longer any reason to exist.

#### **IV. Dunant’s judgement on the Brussels Conference**

Concluding his study on “ The 1874 Brussels Declaration”, M. De Breucker wrote:

*The worst period was over, but the needs remained. In 1899, the Powers, which had again been convoked by the Russian Government this time at The Hague, recognized the historical imperative of completing with a proper convention the work they had begun at Brussels. The continuity between the work done in 1874 and that being done in their time was so obvious to them that they inserted a reference to the Declaration in the preamble.*<sup>3</sup>

On the eve of the Hague Conference, Dunant expressed a similar view in a well-known manifesto, *La proposition de Sa Majesté l’Empereur Nicholas II*, Heiden, November 1898, consisting of 19 pages.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> BPU, Msfr 2115 C, p. 96-97 recto-verso.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> This was apparently, written during the period when Dunant was drafting his *Mémoires* (*op. cit.*, see p. 29, reproducing Msfr 2093 B/1, p. 12 verso), in which he applauded the Russian initiative of 1874 and attributed to England alone the responsibility for the failure of the Conference: “This Conference took place at Brussels, but England’s systematic hostility prevented the achievement of a diplomatic entente on this question between the European Powers”.

Recalling that Alexander II had granted his high patronage to the proposal to settle in advance and by diplomatic means the condition of prisoners of war, which was the origin of the proposal for the 1874 Brussels Convention, Dunant explained that the task confronting the Hague programme:

*could apparently very well include both consideration of ways and means of pacification and further diplomatic study of practical measures to prevent unnecessary hardship and to alleviate the evils of war, these two subjects having already been examined at Brussels in 1874. The permanent nature of the future Congress would enable it to attend to the most urgent questions one after another and to draw up a special convention for each, in order to avoid future arbitrary solutions. All the world's States could reach diplomatic agreement on a specific and well defined subject [...]. In Brussels, too much was attempted at one fell swoop; and it was that very fact which prevented [sic] the conclusion of a proper diplomatic treaty endorsed by governments. Nevertheless, those meetings did produce important useful results. It was desired to prepare a code of war and a draft "international convention concerning the laws and customs of war", whereas it would have been preferable to conclude two or three special conventions or "Declarations", each on a given subject. Such conventions restricted to a limited purpose would no doubt have been adopted and ratified by all governments, thereby giving a powerful impetus to the "law of nations".<sup>1</sup>*

After a brief analysis of the English, American, Italian, French, German and Swiss government attitudes, he added: "By making war more humane, we make it more difficult"<sup>2</sup>. He concluded with the following appeal for general disarmament:

*In the twentieth century, the savage selfishness of nations cannot last, just as in the Middle Ages the quarrelsome and fierce egoism of the barbaric feudal barons could not continue unchecked. Life was hard then, but today, if the rivalry in increasing arsenals goes on for long the struggle for life will become so awful that there will remain nothing but to prepare for doom... May the heads of all nations rise to the occasion*

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<sup>1</sup> *La proposition de Sa Majesté l'Empereur Nicolas II, op. cit., p. 15.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit. p. 16.*

*and seize the opportunity to deliver their peoples from the crushing burden oppressing them, and to remove the threat of conflict.*<sup>1</sup>

To conclude this brief survey of the part which Henry Dunant played in the Brussels Conference, we would mention that it was but one event in the life of a man whose single-mindedness becomes more apparent as current work makes his publications, correspondence and unpublished writings accessible, revealing a unity of means which enabled him to lay the solid foundations of the international conventions, and a unity of purpose throughout the successive stages of his work, for peace.

This aim will be achieved only if mankind makes efforts and sacrifices greater than those demanded by all the wars ever waged. In Dunant's eyes, that aim was the world's only hope, for he foresaw the world wars of the twentieth century, with all their horror and devastation. Nevertheless, he believed that mankind would awake to the danger, and still be able to choose between total destruction and survival.

No obstacle could withstand his steadfast faith. That is why, although the Brussels Conference thwarted the work of the Society for Prisoners of War, despite the fact that the Russian government adopted the Society's draft convention in order to merge it into an over-ambitious "Declaration" which the States turned down, and even though Dunant's work within the institutions he had created finished prematurely, his ideas will continue to radiate throughout the history of the world, and his appeal from Heiden to men of all nations for general disarmament is still the hope of the world today. The best minds of Dunant's age were quite right to award him the first Nobel Peace Prize.

**Yvonne de POURTALES**  
**Roger-H. DURAND**

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

**DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE**  
**ON THE REAFFIRMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF**  
**INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW APPLICABLE**  
**IN ARMED CONFLICTS**

On 20 February 1974, the Diplomatic Conference convened by the Swiss Government opened in Geneva. It was attended by the plenipotentiaries of 118 States parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and members of the United Nations, and by representatives of numerous international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. The Conference examined the two draft Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions which the ICRC had prepared with the assistance of experts from countries all over the world, for the purpose of supplementing international humanitarian law in view of the development of conflicts. Since armed conflicts, unhappily, break out from time to time and the forms and techniques of warfare develop, it has become necessary to adapt the Geneva Conventions to present-day circumstances.

On 29 March 1974, the Conference ended the first phase of its work, and its President, Mr. Graber, announced that a second session would take place in 1975. In its May 1974 issue, *International Review* published a brief account of the deliberations in the plenary sessions and the three Committees that had been set up.

The Conference had also constituted an "ad hoc Committee on Conventional Weapons" which approved the convening of a conference of government experts to study in depth the question of prohibition or restriction of the use of certain conventional weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects. This conference was held at Lucerne last autumn, and two articles on its scope and

results appeared in the October 1974 and January 1975 issues of *International Review*.

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On 3 February 1975, the second session of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts opened at the Geneva International Conference Centre and is expected to last until 18 April 1975. The deliberations were resumed at the point where they had been suspended at the end of the first session.

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# INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

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## SECOND PUBLICATION BY ICRC ON THE USE OF CERTAIN WEAPONS

In its November 1973 issue, *International Review* included a review of a report, published by the ICRC, on weapons that may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects, summarizing the work of a group of experts convened by the International Committee.<sup>1</sup>

Pursuant to the wishes of the XXIInd International Conference of the Red Cross (Teheran, November 1973) and of the United Nations General Assembly (resolution 3076 [XXVIII]), the ICRC accepted to organize in 1974 a Conference of Government Experts to study in depth, at the humanitarian level, the question of prohibition or restriction of the use of conventional weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects.

The programme of this Conference, held at Lucerne (Switzerland) from 24 September to 18 October 1974, has already been made known to our readers.<sup>2</sup> The Conference constituted a further significant step forward in the general work being undertaken by the United Nations, the Red Cross and specialized institutions with a view to prohibiting, or at least restricting the use of those weapons which would be recognized as being particularly cruel.

A report, published by the ICRC, on the deliberations of this Conference, has just been issued.<sup>3</sup> It will help governments to supplement

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<sup>1</sup> *Weapons that may Cause Unnecessary Suffering or have Indiscriminate Effects* (ICRC, Geneva, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> See *International Review*, June 1974.

<sup>3</sup> *Conference of Government Expert on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons* (ICRC, Geneva, 1975). This 115-page volume, available in English, French and Spanish, may be obtained from the Documentation Department of the ICRC, price Sw.fr. 15.—.

their information and will urge them to continue tests and research regarding those data which appear to be still not sufficiently advanced for them to make decisions on concrete proposals in respect of prohibition or restriction.

In an introductory chapter, the International Committee of the Red Cross noted that the participants in the Lucerne Conference assembled government-appointed experts from about fifty States. Experts appointed by national liberation movements and representatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Red Lion and Sun Society, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the International Confederation of Former Prisoners of War and the NGO Special Committee on Disarmament also took part in the proceedings.

This was the first meeting in forty years to examine, at intergovernmental level, the possibility of prohibiting or restricting the use of certain conventional weapons. The Conference achieved its purpose, namely the drawing up of a report primarily intended for governments. Where differing views were expressed and the discussion did not result in generally acceptable conclusions, the various opinions were recorded in the report. In accordance with its Rules of Procedure, the Conference adopted no resolutions and put forward no recommendation, nor was any question put to the vote. A considerable amount of work therefore still remains to be done and most of the delegations, as indicated in the report's conclusions, expressed a wish that a second conference might be convened by the ICRC. But this conference should not take place before the autumn of 1975 at the earliest and should not confine itself to the mere drafting of a report on its deliberations. After having completed the necessary tests, the experts will have to state their views on the possibility of prohibiting or restricting the use of certain weapons, with the determination to bring their work to a successful conclusion. They will have to determine the essential facts that will form the basis of international regulations and consider the possibility, contents and form of proposals to prohibit or restrict the use of such weapons. A special committee of the Diplomatic Conference on International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts (Geneva, February-April 1975) will have the opportunity to study this report and to co-operate with the ICRC in working out the mandate for the second Conference of Government Experts on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons.

So as to allow readers to gain a clearer idea of the contents of the report now issued by the ICRC, we give below the general headings:

A. *Legal criteria*

B. *Incendiary weapons*

1. Definition and classification
2. The use of incendiary weapons
3. The military characteristics of incendiary weapons
  - Air weapons
  - Ground weapons
  - Flame field expedient weapons
4. Substitutes for incendiary weapons
5. Medical effects of incendiary weapons
  - General features of burn injury
  - Burn injuries from incendiary weapons
6. Evaluation

C. *Small calibre projectiles*

1. Definition and scope
2. Military requirements for SCPs
3. Wound ballistics and medical considerations
  - Evidence from computer modelling
  - Evidence from gelatin-block experiments
  - Evidence from animal experiments
  - Evidence from gunshot casualties
4. Evaluation

D. *Blast and fragmentation weapons*

1. Definition and classification
2. The use and military characteristics of blast and fragmentation weapons
  - Fragmentation weapons
  - Blast weapons
3. Substitutes for blast and fragmentation weapons
4. Medical effects of blast and fragmentation injuries
  - Blast effects
  - Fragmentation effects
  - Shape, mass and velocity
  - Flechettes
5. Evaluation

E. *Delayed action and treacherous weapons*

1. Definition and classification
2. Military aspects
  - Time-fused weapons
  - Naval mines
  - Emplaced landmines
  - Scatterable mines
  - Booby-traps
3. Medical considerations
4. Evaluation

F. *Future weapons*

1. Technical, military and medical considerations
  - Laser weapons
  - Microwave devices
  - Infrasound devices
  - Light-flash devices
  - Geophysical warfare
  - Environmental warfare
  - Electronic warfare
2. Evaluation

\* \* \*

It may be noted that at its last session the United Nations General Assembly took into consideration the results of the Lucerne Conference and adopted resolutions 3255 A (XXIX) and 3255 B (XXIX), reproduced in our January 1975 issue, welcoming the work so far accomplished and, taking extensively into account the Lucerne Conference's conclusions, noting with appreciation the expressed readiness of the International Committee of the Red Cross to pursue the work already begun under its auspices.

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

The regional delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross for Southern Africa was in Mozambique from 1 to 18 December 1974. At Lourenço Marques he met high government authorities, including the Prime Minister of the transitional Government, and local Red Cross leaders.

He went to the provinces of Tete and Beira to ascertain the food and medical requirements of the population directly affected by recent events. Having estimated those needs, the ICRC, in co-operation with the Swiss Government, set up a relief programme totalling 200,000 Swiss francs, which comprised distributions of powdered milk and medicines to be carried out on the spot by the local Red Cross.

Lastly, during his stay in Mozambique the ICRC regional delegate visited thirty-one political detainees in the Beira and Machava prisons.

**Latin America****Chile**

During December 1974, ICRC delegates in Chile carried out forty-five visits to places of detention and altogether saw more than 7,000 detainees, some 2,600 of whom were held for reasons or offences of a political nature. Visits are continuing to be made throughout the country.

The ICRC also continued to aid detainees and their needy families by distributing relief supplies. The food, medicines and clothing distributed in prisons and to about 2,800 families totalled 27,000 US dollars.

## **Colombia**

The ICRC regional delegate for South America, accompanied by two other delegates, carried out a mission to Colombia in December 1974. At Bogotá, the ICRC delegates met Colombian Red Cross leaders. At government level, they conferred with the Ministers of Defence and Health, with the Vice-Minister of Justice, and with the Director-General of Prisons. Lastly, they talked with university professors about the dissemination of the Geneva Conventions.

The delegates subsequently visited places of detention at Bogotá and in the rest of the country. They went to eighteen prisons and saw several thousand detainees, among them some 150 held for reasons or offences of a political nature. Following this round of visits, the ICRC is now considering the possibility of despatching further relief in the form of medical supplies.

## **Asia**

### **Khmer Republic**

The recrudescence of fighting in the Khmer Republic has led to an intensification of the activities of ICRC delegates and medical teams in that country.

At Phnom-Penh, four medical and surgical teams have worked unremittingly in the main hospitals to which wounded civilians and soldiers are evacuated, besides which they have continued their round of visits to camps to which new refugees have been coming in large numbers. It will be recalled that the six teams were sent by the National Red Cross Societies of the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

Lastly, the assistance to refugees in camps west of Phnom-Penh, of which the ICRC is in charge in co-operation with the Khmer Red Cross, has also been increased.

### **Republic of Vietnam**

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam has appealed to the ICRC and to other international organizations for relief supplies such as tents, food, clothing and medicines, for several thousand civilians who have fled from the fighting area in the province of Phuoc-Binh. The ICRC, whose delegation there has been co-operating with the Red Cross of the Republic of Vietnam, has informed the latter that it is prepared

to provide increased assistance for the victims, and to that end has requested a detailed list of requirements.

### **India**

During the first week of January 1975, the ICRC opened at New Delhi a regional delegation for the Asian sub-continent. The permanent delegate appointed will deal with matters concerning eight countries, namely Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Republic of Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. This regional delegation succeeds the one established by the ICRC during the December 1971 war and gradually withdrawn in past months.

### **Pakistan**

Following the earthquake which ravaged northern Pakistan at the end of 1974, the ICRC made a donation to the Pakistan Red Crescent Society for its relief work. In addition, on 3 January 1975 the ICRC delegate in India met his Pakistan counterparts at the Wagah frontier post and handed them 2,000 blankets provided for the victims by the Indian Red Cross. The action was carried out through the ICRC in Geneva, since communications between India and Pakistan had broken down owing to the disaster.

Lastly, the ICRC made its radiocommunication network between Switzerland and its delegation in Pakistan available to the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva.

### **Philippines**

During the month of December 1974, the ICRC regional delegate for South-East Asia, accompanied by another delegate, went on a mission to the Philippines. The two delegates visited twelve places of detention where they saw approximately 2,000 detainees, 500 of whom were held for reasons or offences of a political nature.

The regional delegate also went south to study the situation after the incidents which had taken place in past months.

## **Europe**

### **Cyprus**

The ICRC delegation in Cyprus, totalling about fifty persons, is pursuing its activities throughout the island. The six medical teams (five provided by the National Red Cross Societies of Denmark, Finland,

Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany, and one by the ICRC) are still at work, both in the northern area under Turkish armed control and in the Greek Cypriot area.

The work of the delegates and the medical personnel mainly consists in visiting villages still inhabited by isolated Turkish or Greek communities, and providing material relief and medical care.

There have been a large number of transfer operations to evacuate serious cases to the nearest hospital or from one area to another. Such special cases call for preliminary negotiations which are carried out by the ICRC Tracing Agency established at five points in the island (one bureau in the Turkish district of Nicosia, and the others in the Greek district of Nicosia, at Larnaca, Limassol and Ormidhia, in the south). However, six months after the conflict, the main task of the six Agency experts sent from Geneva, assisted by some eighty employees, is still that of tracing missing persons. Family messages exchanged have reached a figure of 6,000 a day.

## Middle East

*Repatriation of Arab civilians.* — Two operations for the release and repatriation of Arab civilians were carried out in the last weeks of 1974, in the presence of ICRC delegates. On the one hand, four Lebanese civilians, captured by Israeli armed forces in southern Lebanon in December 1974, returned to their country via the Roshanikra frontier post. On the other hand, three Syrian nationals, from a village in territory occupied during the October 1973 war, were released and repatriated via Kuneitra.

*Family reuniting.* — Two family reuniting operations took place, on 17 December 1974 and 2 January 1975, under the auspices of the ICRC, in the United Nations buffer zone, on the El Qantara road. Altogether 185 persons were able to cross over into occupied Gaza-Sinai territory; conversely, 422 crossed over into the Nile Valley.

*Visit to southern Sinai.* — During the last few weeks of 1974, an ICRC delegate in Israel and occupied territories went on a several days' mission to southern Sinai. In the course of a trip which took him to Abu Zeneima, Abu Rudeis and St. Catherine, the delegate made inquiries about the living conditions of the Bedouin population, especially as regards food and health.

*IN GENEVA***Appointment of two honorary members of the ICRC**

In the course of its Assembly on 19 December 1974, the ICRC noted the resignation of Mr. Max Petitpierre on reaching the age limit.

Mr. Petitpierre assumed his functions as a member of the International Committee in December 1961. From that time on, he co-operated unflinching and intimately in the work of the institution, which benefited from his vast knowledge and far-reaching experience with Red Cross problems and international humanitarian law. It was he who presided over the 1949 Diplomatic Conference which adopted the four Geneva Conventions. Having exercised the highest functions in his country's government, he rendered the ICRC services which, with his authority and constant devotion, his knowledge of beings and things, his wisdom and prudence, proved particularly useful in the humanitarian task of the organization under various circumstances.

For many years he was a member of the Presidential Council. He carried out difficult missions for the ICRC, particularly at the time of the conflict in Nigeria. In the proceedings of various commissions which met to consider organizational problems within the ICRC, his advice was invaluable.

The International Committee is very grateful to him. At the Assembly on 15 January 1975, it paid a tribute to him and appointed him an honorary member. It particularly welcomes the fact that it can continue to count on his presence and support.

\* \* \*

Mr. Adolphe Graedel, who was appointed a member of the International Committee in April 1965, brought the institution his profound knowledge of social reality and his great experience in a rapidly changing world. The Red Cross benefited from those qualities from the time of his appointment, and his advice was extremely valuable. He took an active part in the work of the International Committee.

He asked that his term of office should not be renewed at the end of 1974, which the ICRC deeply regretted since it would be deprived of Mr. Graedel's wise counsel and co-operation. At the Assembly on 15 January 1975, the International Committee appointed him an honorary member, and Mr. Eric Martin expressed the profound gratitude of the institution of which he is President.

## **New Members of the International Committee**

At its Assembly on 16 January 1975, the International Committee of the Red Cross appointed three new members, Mr. Jakob Burckhardt, Mr. Thomas Fleiner and Mr. Alexandre Hay.

Mr. Jakob Burckhardt, who was born in Basle in 1913, read law at the universities of Basle and Munich. As Doctor of Laws he entered the service of the Federal Political Department in 1940 and was stationed in different countries. In 1958 he was appointed the Federal Council's delegate for questions relating to atomic energy and president of the Federal Commission on Atomic Energy. Three years later he became head of the Division of International Organizations in the Federal Political Department, with the title of minister plenipotentiary, and since 1966 he has been chairman of the Council of Federal Polytechnic Schools.

Mr. Thomas Fleiner was born at Kilchberg (Zurich) in 1938. He read law in Zurich and, after a period of training in Paris, took his LL.D. degree in 1965. In the United States he pursued his studies at the Yale Law School and in 1968 obtained the title of Master of Laws. The following year he became assistant professor at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) and in 1971 was appointed to his present post of ordinary professor at the Law Faculty of that university. He has written several monographs and a number of studies which have appeared in various reviews.

Mr. Alexandre Hay was born in 1919 and received his primary, secondary and higher education in Geneva. In 1961 he obtained his degree in law, and three years later his lawyer's certificate. He entered the service of the Federal Political Department in 1945 and successively held various posts: at the Swiss Legation in Paris, on the directorate of the European Payments Union, in the Swiss National Bank, where he was appointed director of the division responsible for international affairs, in 1954, and director at Berne the following year. He was appointed director-general of the Swiss National Bank as from 1966. Moreover, he carries out important functions in international monetary bodies.

The International Committee is happy to be able to count on the co-operation of Mr. Burckhardt, Mr. Fleiner and Mr. Hay in future. With their vast experience in legal and practical spheres, and far-reaching knowledge of the problems of the world of today, these three new members upon whom the ICRC has called will render invaluable aid in the humanitarian work which is being conducted under the emblem of the Red Cross.

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Xth INTER - AMERICAN  
RED CROSS CONFERENCE



General Stroessner, President of Paraguay, meets ICRC President Mr. Eric Martin (*left*).

Opening meeting

Photo Caballero, Asunción





**Chile:** Chilean Red Cross distributing powdered milk to needy families in Santiago, with ICRC delegates in attendance.



**Geneva:** Ambulance donated by the ICRC to the Angolan Red Cross.

Photo J.-J. Kurz/ICRC

# IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

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## TENTH INTER-AMERICAN RED CROSS CONFERENCE

The Inter-American Conference which in principle takes place every four years is intended to strengthen the ties linking the National Societies on the American Continent, promote solidarity among them, offer an opportunity for the exchange of information, and allow each of them to pass on the lessons of its experience in humanitarian action. The ninth Conference had been held at Managua in 1970, while the tenth took place in Asunción from 18 to 23 November 1974, the Paraguayan Red Cross acting as host to that important meeting organized under the auspices of the League of Red Cross Societies.

The National Societies of Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela were represented, and the as yet unrecognized Red Cross of Barbados sent an observer.

The League delegation was led by Mr. José Barroso, Chairman of the League Board of Governors, while the ICRC delegation was led by Mr. Eric Martin, its President. Observers from several international governmental and non-governmental organizations which had programmes in that part of the world were also present.

The official opening was attended by General Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay, all the government ministers, and representatives of the diplomatic corps. Addresses were delivered by Dr. Miguel Angel Maffiodo, President of the Paraguayan Red Cross, Mr. J. Barroso, Mr. E. Martin, and religious and government representatives. Mr. Martin's speech is given below:

It is a very great pleasure to gather in Paraguay's capital and take part in the Tenth Inter-American Red Cross Conference. As President of the International Committee, I should like to thank the Paraguayan Red Cross and your country's authorities very warmly for the splendid welcome they have given us. In such auspicious circumstances, I feel confident that this important meeting will be a pronounced success.

We are living in a difficult and distressing period, one in which a great many countries have experienced violent conflict, internal strife and political tension, and in which many regions of Latin America, Africa and Asia are, or have been, the scene of devastating and deadly natural disasters. The world today is governed by violence and arbitrary action. Even the most elementary humanitarian acts are neglected, and the world sees a gloomy future ahead.

In these tragic circumstances, the Red Cross is at work, repairing ruins, feeding the starving and protecting the weak.

In the duties entrusted to it by the international community, the International Committee of the Red Cross looks after the wounded, the civilian and military prisoners, and the victims of conflicts between nations. It has been active in Indo-China, in the Asian sub-continent, the Middle East and Cyprus.

It is present wherever there is internal disorder or deadly political tension. It affords relief to the victims. It visits political detainees. Without taking sides in the struggle it witnesses, it performs its independent, neutral and charitable task.

In its endeavours, the ICRC has always been able to rely on the essential support of National Societies, which do not hesitate to ease its contacts, aid in the distribution of relief supplies, and co-operate in the dissemination of humanitarian principles, with a dedication to which high tribute must be paid.

Every country in this immense continent, full of generosity, enthusiasm and devotion, must have a strong, independent and well organized National Society, exercising its medical mission in dispensaries in the most remote areas, bringing social and charitable help to all who are in need, and combating disasters by immediate and effective action. It must also, in close co-operation with ICRC delegates, be able to render aid to victims of conflict and to disseminate the principles of the Red Cross, which assure peace and the brotherhood of man.

That is our wish at the beginning of this Conference. May it contribute to a strengthening of the Red Cross ideal in all countries of America.

The main topic of the plenary meetings was the necessity of developing the Red Cross movement's potential to permit it to give more effective assistance in emergencies arising from either natural disasters or armed conflicts. In addition, the Sixth Inter-American Public Relations meeting which was proceeding at the same time gave its attention to public relations, news, publicity and fund-raising.

Like the League, the ICRC reported on its work over the last four years and on its plans for the future. The second plenary meeting discussed the dissemination of knowledge of fundamental principles and of humanitarian law, and it voted a resolution which was subsequently adopted by the Conference, namely:

The Tenth Inter-American Red Cross Conference,

*Noting the frequently recurring acts of violence and disorder in many areas of the world;*

*Conscious of the fact that the Geneva Conventions are effectively applied in practice only inasmuch as governments and peoples are aware of them;*

*Recalling Resolution 1 of the Ninth Inter-American Red Cross Conference (Managua, December 1970) and Resolution XII of the XXIIInd International Conference of the Red Cross (Teheran, November 1973) on disseminating knowledge about the Geneva Conventions;*

*Recommends the National Red Cross Societies in the Americas to step up their efforts to spread information about the principles of humanitarian law, particularly by:*

*(a) acquiring documentary material produced by the ICRC and exhibiting it in the local branches of the Red Cross and in government departments,*

*(b) seeking new ways of spreading information and of implementing the proposals of the ICRC in this field,*

*(c) relaying to neighbouring sections and to the ICRC information about the results of their efforts in the field of publicity,*

*(d) organizing regional seminars on international humanitarian law, for the purpose of instructing National Society personnel;*

*Thanks the ICRC for its renewed efforts, following the XXIIInd International Conference of the Red Cross, to support government and National Society endeavours in this field.*

The Conference also adopted a resolution on the dissemination of knowledge of the Geneva Conventions among youth, and pointing out the usefulness in this connection of the ICRC's school textbook and teacher's manual. The resolution reads as follows:

*Aware that a widespread dissemination of and instruction in Red Cross principles and the Geneva Conventions are particularly important among youth;*

*Convinced that this form of education constitutes a significant contribution to the development of the spirit of peace among nations;*

*Welcoming the work already carried out by the ICRC for devising and issuing suitable dissemination material for youth, in particular the school textbook and teacher's manual;*

*Requests all National Red Cross Societies in the Americas to undertake or continue a vigorous campaign for the diffusion of the humanitarian principles of the Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions among youth and, in particular*

- those National Societies which have not yet done so to
  - (a) introduce in their respective countries the ICRC school textbook and teacher's manual in sufficient number to produce an effective impact, and*
- all National Societies to
  - (b) seek the support of their Ministries of Education in this endeavour, in order that those books be regularly used in primary schools,*
  - (c) prepare a long-term programme of this dissemination campaign, in conjunction with their authorities,*
  - (d) seek the financial support of the Ministry of Education for the printing and distribution of those books,*
  - (e) inform the ICRC regularly of the development of their campaign, in accordance with the wish expressed in Teheran Resolution XII.*

Several commissions shared the work of examining such important subjects as "Planning and Preparation for Relief in case of Disasters or Conflicts", "Health and Social Affairs", and "Red Cross Youth". The ICRC delegation, comprising Mr. Nessi, delegate-general for Latin America, and Mr. Leemann and Mr. du Plessis, regional delegates, took part in the work and explained the ICRC's functions in these various fields.

The President of the ICRC received groups of National Society Presidents with whom he raised the question of the current work of the ICRC and the usefulness—as underlined also by several of those Presidents—of closer co-operation between Red Cross Societies and the ICRC. He also took the chair at a meeting of Presidents and Secretaries-General of the Societies represented at Asunción. At the same meeting, Mr. Nessi described the work being carried out by the ICRC in Chile. As mentioned in our previous issue, the ICRC President, concurrently with the Conference, had talks with the President of the Republic and with several ministers of the Paraguayan Government.

The Conference decided to hold the next session in Caracas in 1978.

## BOOKS AND REVIEWS

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**The Scientific background of the International Sanitary Conferences, 1851-1938.**  
*N. Howard-Jones, WHO Chronicle, Geneva, November 1974.*

... For many years, utter ignorance of the causes of the epidemic diseases under discussion provided an insuperable barrier to international agreement. By the time of the seventh conference, in 1892, the nature of cholera was no longer disputed at the international level, and at the tenth conference 5 years later the role of small rodents in the spread of plague and the identity of the pathogen were generally recognized. As to yellow fever, the fourteenth and last conference was the first at which the whole story was known.

When Robert Koch discovered the tubercle bacillus he thought that a cure for the disease would quickly follow in the form of tuberculin. While this hope was quickly dashed, the discovery of the pathogen did make possible the elaboration of BCG vaccination which, after a stormy history, is now generally recognized as a valuable prophylactic measure. It is otherwise with cholera, for vaccination against this disease enjoys a poor reputation today. Perhaps the chief benefit resulting from the discovery of the cholera vibrio has been in the diagnosis of cases and the detection of carriers, but it has had little effect upon either prevention or treatment. Paradoxically, the country that was most resistant to the germ theory of cholera—Great Britain—was the first to rid itself of epidemics of the disease, and it is universally recognized today that the only real protection against it, as the British sanitarians had consistently maintained, is a pure water supply and the sanitary disposal of human wastes. Likewise, when the flea was revealed as the missing link in the chain of transmission of bubonic plague from rat to man, prophylactic measures were not affected, for they necessarily continued to be based on the control of rodents, and not of their ectoparasites. The unravelling of the etiology of yellow fever, on the other hand, made possible two powerful weapons against it—direct attack against the insect vector and vaccination. Nevertheless, the hopeful forecast of Carlos Chagas in 1926 is still far from being realized.

The history of the International Sanitary Conferences is largely the history of public health in international perspective. It is more particularly a history of the first gropings towards what is now the World Health Organization, and delegates to the annual meetings of the World Health Assembly are the spiritual descendants of that small band of pioneers who met in Paris on 23 July 1851 to begin six months of discussions. That they met in Paris was no accident, for France was the country that originally, and repeatedly afterwards, took the initiative in promoting international discussions on health questions and in stimulating the establishment of the first non-regional international health organization—the Office international d'Hygiène publique.

## BOOKS AND REVIEWS

**Mental health-public health**, *Dr. Karl Evang, World Health, WHO, Geneva, October 1974.*

... We live in an encouraging era when health and social services are discovering and re-discovering the psychosocial and socioeconomic factors influencing both mental and physical health. Investigating and understanding the causes of ill-health must always be first steps towards prevention and cure. Since the pathogenic agents of mental troubles are usually man-made, man should also be able to remedy the situation and turn the tide.

Mental health is, therefore, "public health" in the sense that society has an overriding responsibility to include, in its general system of health services, measures to prevent and cure mental disease and to rehabilitate those on the road to recovery. Since social and economic factors play such a great role in mental ill-health, it could even be argued that governments bear a greater and more direct responsibility for protecting the health of their peoples' minds than for protecting that of their bodies.

**The right to health**, *Dr. T. Adeoye Lambo, World Health, WHO, Geneva, June 1974*

... Success must be achieved in the rural areas, where over 80 per cent of the world's population live. It is there that the health care delivery system must reach and that development must be encouraged. With renewed determination, administrators and community leaders should carry out their duty to ensure that whatever technology can be delivered through the health services is made directly available to ordinary men and women everywhere, and that they receive and understand the health message, whether related to disease control and immunization, nutrition or maternal and child care.

At the same time, recipient countries should ensure that the maximum benefit is drawn from their own resources, with the ultimate objective of self-sufficiency, while international cooperation for development must be on a scale to meet the challenge. Ultimately, success will depend on the genuineness of human concern about the gross inadequacies of everyday life in many large population groups in the world today, and on whether consciences have been stirred sufficiently to take positive action to improve the situation. The prime objective is to improve the quality of life.

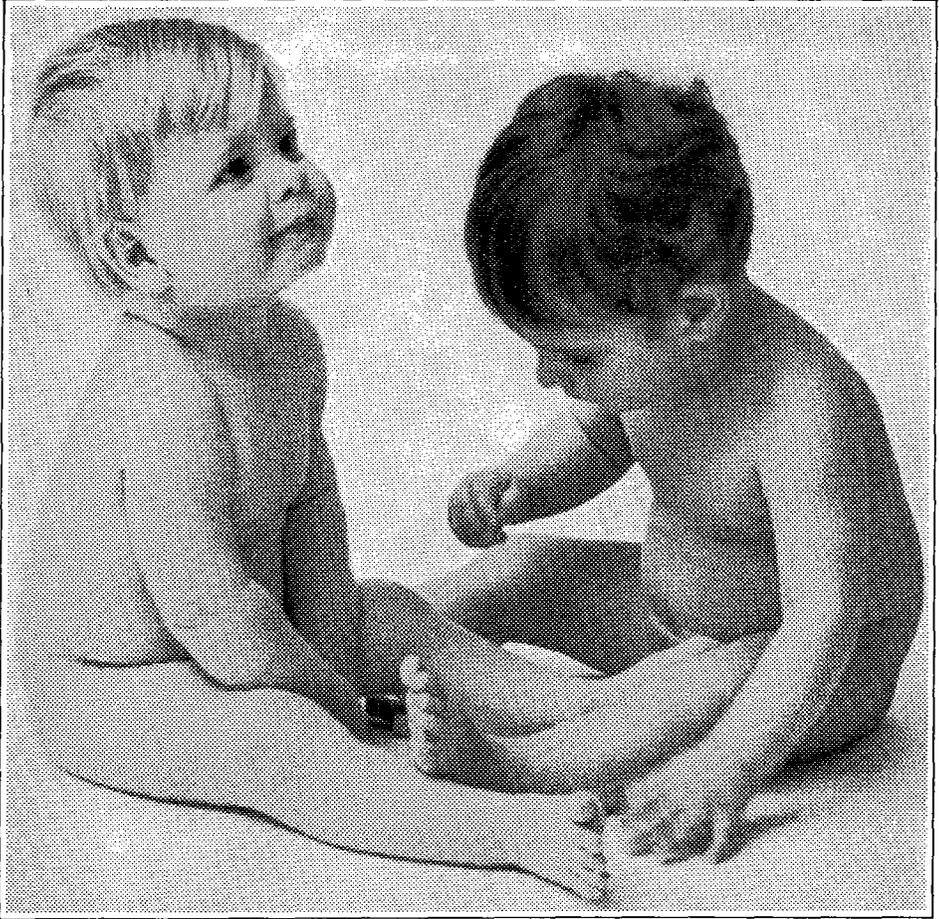


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## ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- 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*.
- DAHOMEY — 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, *San Salvador, C.A.*
- 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, Öldugötu 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, 29-12 Shiba 5-chome, Minato-Ku, *Tokyo 108*.
- 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 Arab 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, *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 Cross 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 2000*.
- 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, S-104 40 *Stockholm 14*.
- SWITZERLAND — Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, *3001 Berne*.
- SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC — Syrian Red Crescent, Bd Mahdi Ben Barake, *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-Triêu, *Hanoi*.
- VIET NAM, REPUBLIC OF — Red Cross of the Republic of Viet Nam, 201 duong Hông-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, 2837 Brentwood Drive, *Lusaka*.