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**FRENCH EDITION
OF THE REVIEW**

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

**EXTRACTS FROM
THE REVIEW**

SPANISH

Jean Pictet: El péndulo de la historia — VII Reunión Regional de las Sociedades Árabes de la Media Luna Roja y de la Cruz Roja.

GERMAN

Jean Pictet: Das Pendel der Geschichte — VII. Regionalkonferenz der arabischen Rotkreuz- und Rothalmondgesellschaften.

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DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE

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

As announced in our February issue, the second session of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts opened at the International Conference Centre, Geneva, on 3 February 1975. The Conference, which is chaired by Mr. Pierre Graber, President of the Swiss Confederation, is merely the continuance of the first session, held in Geneva from 20 February to 29 March 1974, which was also chaired by Mr. Graber. At the opening of the twenty-third plenary meeting, after greeting the delegates, the Chairman said that the task awaiting the Conference was arduous indeed. The hopes which the international community had placed in the Conference's work must not be disappointed, he said, and he emphasized the unanimous desire of the Conference Bureau for decisive progress.

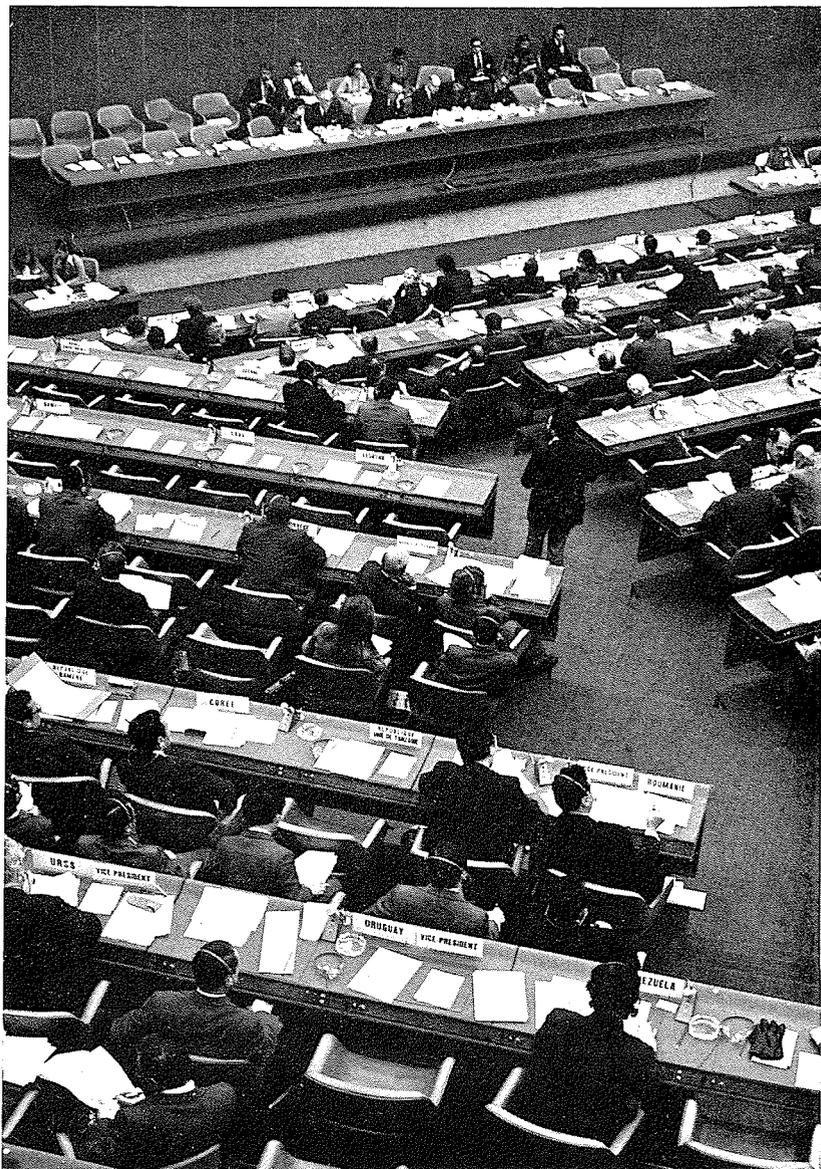
After five plenary meetings, the Conference has resumed its committee work. *Committee I*, chaired by Ambassador E. Hambro (Norway), deals with the general provisions of international humanitarian law and particularly with the scrutiny of their application. *Committee II*, chaired by Professor S. E. Nahlik (Poland), is concerned with the protection of the wounded, the sick and the shipwrecked; the study of the articles covering the protection of civilian medical units, civilian medical and religious personnel, and means of transport, particularly aeromedical transport. *Committee III*, chaired by Professor H. Sultan (Arab Republic of Egypt), deals with the protection of the civilian population against the effects of hostilities.

The ad hoc Committee presided over by Ambassador D. Garces (Colombia) deals with weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects. It resumed work on 12 February, on the basis of the report of last autumn's Conference of Government Experts held at Lucerne, under ICRC auspices.

At the end of March, as the *Review* goes to press, the four committees have already covered a large part of their programme. We shall revert to the proceedings of the Conference and, for the benefit of our readers, summarize the results of the second session, which will close on 18 April.

It can, however, already be stated that a third session is to be held next year. It will continue the work carried out by the present session, thanks to which it is hoped that the two draft Protocols submitted to the government representatives by the ICRC will be given their definitive form.

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



Geneva, February/April 1975: Second Session.



Geneva, February/April 1975: Second session.

Photo J.-J. Kurz ICRC

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

by Jacques Moreillon

Last November we reproduced a chapter of a book written by Jacques Moreillon, an ICRC delegate-general, and published by the Henry Dunant Institute.¹ We now quote another chapter of the same book. As usual, the views expressed are those of the author alone. (Ed.)

Interventions by the ICRC in internal disturbance and tension between 1958 and 1970

1) GENERAL

From the beginning of 1958 to the end of 1970, ICRC delegates made more than 992 visits to almost 400 prisons in 54 countries, where they saw more than 100,000 political detainees; 180 of these visits took place during periods of internal disturbance, and 812 during internal tension.

Figures such as these make plain that it would be impossible, and of no great interest, to give the history of those troubles; moreover, the majority of them are too much a part of current events and not enough part of history for them to be examined publicly without transgressing the self-imposed principle of discretion to which the ICRC has always held.

¹ *Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et la protection des détenus politiques*, Henry Dunant Institute, Geneva—Editions l'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1973, 330 pp.

We have preferred to present a global and, as far as possible, statistical view of the great mass of information underlying these figures. We have tried, in particular, to discover the arguments most often used by the ICRC to obtain from governments the authorization to visit their detainees, and the reactions of those governments to the offers of service made by the International Committee or by its delegates. We have also tried to locate the source, in general, of the requests for intervention addressed to the ICRC, their nature, and the type of reply made by the ICRC.

Like all generalizations, this approach has its limitations, and we have done our best to indicate them whenever we have noticed them. An initial precaution was to make a distinction, not only between internal tension and internal disturbances, but also, within each of these two categories, between situations of a colonial or racial nature and others, since, on analysing the matter further, it will appear that these cannot be examined together.

* * *

Before any detailed examination of the distinctions between those four phenomena, a few very general statements derived from case studies may be called for.

In comparing the frequency of the various reasons put forward by the ICRC to induce States to accept its intervention, we see that, apart from general humanitarian considerations, by far the most frequently used arguments are those of precedent and discretion. After these comes the reminder of the traditional role of the ICRC (without mention of any precedents) and its universally recognized right to take the initiative in a humanitarian cause. Invocation of Article 3 follows very closely, a fact the more interesting since the situations envisaged within the scope of this study are never, by definition, genuine civil wars.

Two arguments, of "average frequency", are that the ICRC is a neutral and independent institution, and that any action by its delegates is impossible without the agreement and goodwill of the government concerned.

Other arguments also invoked, in descending order of frequency, are:
— the Resolutions of the International Conferences of the Red Cross;

- the hope, in the case of internal disturbances, of obtaining certain concessions from the rebels as a result of government authorization to visit the prisons;
- the Statutes of the ICRC or the International Red Cross;
- the fact that visits by the ICRC to detainees do not affect their legal status;
- the Geneva Conventions;
- the work of the three Expert Committees on political detainees;
- United Nations resolutions.

* * *

The replies from governments, when affirmative, are not as a rule accompanied by any explanation; quite often, however, they set limitations or conditions (we will see later in what sense). When they are negative, by far the most frequent reason given is that there are no political detainees in the country in question, often with the added statement that all prisoners in the hands of the authorities are penal law offenders.

Well behind these answers come two replies of average frequency: first, respect for national sovereignty does not permit of the ICRC's visiting State prisons and, second, all detainees are well treated and there is no point in visiting them. In the case of internal tension, particularly, it quite often happens that a government, when refusing intervention by the ICRC, stresses that the Geneva Conventions, including Article 3, do not apply.

Finally, the ICRC is sometimes told that other organizations are already visiting the prisoners in question or, more rarely, that it is feared the ICRC visits might confer on the detainees an "international status" or even the status of prisoners of war.

We should note, in conclusion, that in very many cases governments begin by refusing ICRC intervention, using the arguments enumerated above, but in the end allow the International Committee's delegates to visit their political detainees.

* * *

Each file opened by the ICRC as a result of the existence of political detainees in a country obviously refers to a whole range of contacts, which we felt it worth while to classify according to the frequency of their letters to and from the International Committee in Geneva (we have not taken into account the contacts made by delegates on the spot; they are too varied, too numerous, and not systematically recorded). Of the ICRC correspondence concerning the subject of our study,

- 34% came from persons or groups living outside the countries they wrote about (two-fifths of them nationals of those countries and usually opposed to the regime) and 10% sent by the ICRC to those persons or groups;
- 10% from persons living in the country (usually in opposition, families of detainees, or even detainees themselves), and 3% addressed to those persons by the ICRC;
- 12% were exchanges with the National Red Cross Societies in the countries in question;
- 11% were exchanges with the national authorities of the countries; two-thirds from the ICRC and one-third from the governments;
- Amnesty International; the United Nations and other inter-State political bodies; organizations such as the League for the Rights of Man; the press: each of these four categories was responsible for 4% of the ICRC correspondence;
- finally, the League of Red Cross Societies and bodies like the International Commission of Jurists each accounted for 2% of these exchanges.

It may be estimated, on the basis of the first two figures given, that about 40% of the letters received by the ICRC concerning political detainees come from opponents of the regime concerned (whether they live in the country or outside it), and that the ICRC replies to roughly a quarter of these approaches. The replies themselves are generally extremely prudent in tone and the majority of them restate the limits of the ICRC's possibilities in situations not covered by the Geneva Conventions.

For the rest of the correspondence, there are, as a rule, as many letters going out as coming in, except with governments, to which the ICRC writes twice for their once.

Certainly, these figures are only a very vague indication. Too much should not be read into them, especially as certain political situations give rise to a flood of correspondence which occasionally distorts the averages for many other countries more neglected by public opinion.

2) ICRC INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL DISTURBANCES FROM 1958 TO 1970

a) Under "colonial" regimes

In six internal disturbances under a colonial or similar regime between 1958 and 1970, the ICRC asked to visit the persons imprisoned as a result of the events; each time, authorization was granted and the ICRC delegates were able to visit the detainees without the presence of witnesses.

The countries in question were Kenya, Cyprus and Aden under British rule, and Angola, Mozambique and Guinea under Portuguese authority (Portugal, incidentally, did not consider its overseas territories as colonies).

In each of these countries, the ICRC delegates made visits to places of detention, ranging from three visits in one country to a maximum of forty-four in another.

At no time did the governments contest the ICRC's ability to offer its services, but in certain cases authorization was given only after an initial refusal, based either on the argument that the detainees were "terrorists imprisoned under penal law" or that visits by the ICRC were unnecessary, since the National Red Cross Society of the country concerned was already visiting the detainees.

In fact, in all these situations, the ICRC made many approaches in close collaboration with the National Societies, which pleaded successfully in its favour, thus indicating, at least in some cases, a significant development in their attitude with regard to the problem of political detainees in their colonies or overseas territories. For example, on two occasions, it was through the good offices of the Red Cross Society in the home country that the ICRC received permission to make the visits requested.

For its part, the Committee used the whole range of arguments listed above (in one case, they were *all* cited, without exception, in a note verbale to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Detaining Power); it is interesting to note that on two occasions the delegate on the spot obtained from the authorities oral permission to visit the places of detention, although permission had earlier been refused, in writing, to the ICRC. These government promises were honoured.

b) Other cases of internal disturbance

During this same period, 1958 to 1970, the ICRC asked to visit prisons in eight other cases of internal disturbance in different parts of the world; in all these countries, too, the delegates were able to see the political detainees in their prisons (minimum one visit; maximum thirty-two).

These countries, all of them independent, were the following: Burundi, Congo-Kinshasa (now Zaire), Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Indonesia, Laos, Nicaragua and South Vietnam. (For the Congo, Laos and South Vietnam, we are not referring to the period of civil or international wars which these countries have experienced, and in which the ICRC exercised its traditional activities for the benefit of prisoners of war and those of comparable status; we are speaking here solely of periods of mere internal disturbance, which, even though serious, did not involve any actual armed conflict, so that prisoners were more political than military in character.)

Those eight situations often presented points in common which it is interesting to mention here: some governments twice refused the ICRC in Geneva, whose intervention was even described as "intolerable interference", permission to make the visits, but soon afterwards granted it to the ICRC delegates on the spot; twice also, the authorities accepted the aid of the ICRC only on the condition that all the detainees benefited from it, thus avoiding the differentiation between "political" and "penal law" prisoners. Again on two occasions, the ICRC considered that the National Red Cross Society was sufficiently neutral to take over the provision of assistance to political detainees which the ICRC had begun; in two other cases, it was the government itself which requested the ICRC delegates to continue their action, the utility of which, at first violently disputed, became evident in practice.

On two occasions, the former colonial Power urgently requested the ICRC to take action in favour of its imprisoned ex-administrators, here again indicating a change of attitude, the more welcome in that one of those Powers had, in the past, shown some difficulty in understanding the aims of the ICRC in this type of situation.

Sometimes the governments concerned set conditions or limitations on the first visits by the ICRC, notably regarding the places of detention where the International Committee's representatives might go; in general, the delegates accepted these but succeeded in getting them lifted subsequently; on the other hand, in the only case in which the authorities wished to allow only visits *with* witnesses present, the ICRC refused.

It even happened that a State declared its desire to apply the Geneva Conventions "in globo" when it had not been asked to do so, since there was, in fact, not even a civil war in progress.

It should be noted, finally, that on a few occasions—without prior consultation with the International Committee—international organizations of a political or humanitarian nature made direct approaches to the countries concerned requesting them to grant the ICRC the right to visit political detainees; these spontaneous moves created certain difficulties, for on each occasion the ICRC itself was already making overtures and wished, above all else, to convince the Detaining Powers not only of its complete neutrality but also of its total independence.

3) ICRC INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL TENSION FROM 1958 to 1970

a) Under colonial or racist regimes

As we have seen, between 1958 and 1970 the ICRC was finally able to visit, more or less systematically, persons detained as a consequence of internal disturbances, whether anti-colonial or not. The situation was not quite the same in internal anti-colonial or racial tension. During those twelve years, the ICRC offered its services in seven situations of this kind where it knew arrests had been made. For five of them, its delegates were able to make between 5 and 64 visits to prisons, namely, in Rhodesia-Nyasaland, Zanzibar and Hong Kong under British author-

ity, in Rhodesia after the unilateral declaration of independence, and in the Republic of South Africa.

In the other two cases, the ICRC did not present a formal request for visits and limited itself simply to making overtures, in view of the hopes expressed by the government concerned of releasing the detainees in question before the imminent independence of its colonies. The Committee did not pursue its attempts. Therefore it would not be correct, in this case, to speak of a refusal by the detaining authority; it is none the less probable that if the situation had appeared more serious, or even if the government's reaction had been less reserved, the ICRC would have made a definite offer to visit the detainees.

For the other cases, it may be said that when a colonial government has had an opportunity to acquire a thorough knowledge of the action of the ICRC during disturbances, acceptance of the International Committee's services in a simple case of tension poses no problems. Indeed, in two cases the visits were expressly asked for, *both* by the National Red Cross Society *and* by the authorities.

b) Other cases of internal tension

As can be seen, the ICRC offered its services in the majority of internal disturbances which broke out during the last twelve years and every time that anti-colonial or racial tension led to mass arrests.

It was not the same in internal tension not attributable to colonialism or racial discrimination. Thus, from 1958 to 1970, the ICRC was informed of the existence of political detainees in 71 countries in addition to those listed above (6 in Western Europe, 8 in Eastern Europe, 20 in Black Africa, 4 in North Africa, 8 in the Middle East, 9 in Asia and 16 in South America), but it asked to visit those persons in only 46 cases. Eight of these 46 governments entered into discussion with the Committee and recognized its right to offer its services, but finally did not accept them (1 in Western Europe, 3 in Black Africa, 1 in North Africa, 1 in the Middle East, 1 in Asia and 1 in South America). Finally, four States disputed that the ICRC had any competence in the matter (1 in Eastern Europe, 2 in Black Africa and 1 in South America).

The others accepted, and in the course of these twelve years the ICRC made 638 visits (ranging from 1 in one country to 297 in another) in the following 34 countries:

Western Europe: France — Federal Republic of Germany — Greece — Northern Ireland

Eastern Europe: Bulgaria — German Democratic Republic — Hungary — Yugoslavia

Black Africa: Chad — Lesotho — Malawi — Rwanda — Tanzania

Middle East: People's Republic of South Yemen (Aden) — Bahrain — Lebanon

Asia: India — South Korea — Philippines — Singapore

Latin America: Argentina — Bolivia — Costa Rica — Colombia — Cuba — Ecuador — El Salvador — Guatemala — Haiti — Mexico — Nicaragua — Panama — Peru — Venezuela

It should be noted that half a dozen of these 34 countries accepted the visits by the ICRC at one time, then withdrew their authorization later. They are all the same included in this list, for the fact that they authorized the ICRC delegates to visit their prisons, if only once, created for them an important precedent.

To 25 countries the ICRC refrained from offering its services. We assume that it was chiefly because it was sure that its offers would be refused; perhaps now and then it thought that its intervention, far from improving the lot of those for whom it was concerned, might make it worse; in those cases, it seems to have considered that it was better not to compromise its relations with the States in question, in the hope that maintaining a favourable atmosphere would make acceptance of its offers easier if the internal tension became internal disturbance, and its intervention would prove truly indispensable. It is, however, difficult for us to be categorical on these points, for the ICRC archives contain few records of discussions relating to countries where the Committee did not intervene.

We have seen that four countries disputed the competence of the ICRC even to offer its services in the circumstances. Three of them did not reply, not even to acknowledge receipt of the ICRC's written proposals or to the ICRC delegates' requests for a meeting, and another refused to discuss the subject of its political detainees. Eight States refused only after discussion, and as we have seen, at the beginning of this chapter, the reasons most frequently adduced by governments in order to prohibit the ICRC from entering their prisons, we shall not repeat them here.

We would like, however, to note that in one of these 71 countries, whose government has always categorically rejected the ICRC's requests, an "honorary delegate" of the International Committee (a Swiss national living in the country and willing to perform voluntary services for the Red Cross from time to time) was able, in a semi-official capacity and as a result of his personal acquaintance with the General Director of the Prison Service but with no formal authorization, to make twelve visits to ten prisons. During those visits, he was able to talk, usually without witnesses, with about 5,000 detainees, an indeterminate number of whom were "political". Because of the special nature of the visits and, above all, the official position taken by the government, this case is not included in the list of 34 countries which, between 1958 and 1970, authorized ICRC visits in internal tension which was not anti-colonial or racial in nature.

4) CONCLUSIONS

The figures which we have quoted and the brief remarks which we have made in reference to them give some idea of the activities of the ICRC in favour of political detainees over the last twelve years. However, we feel that the picture would not be complete unless we added the following statements and conclusions:

Among the 54 countries which allowed their political detainees to be seen, the number of visits can be broken down as follows:

- only one visit: 10 countries
- 2 to 5 visits: 15 countries
- 5 to 10 visits: 10 countries
- 10 to 20 visits: 8 countries
- 20 to 50 visits: 9 countries
- more than 100 visits: 2 countries.

In certain countries and under certain circumstances, a small number of visits sufficed to improve the lot of the detainees, especially when they were to be released soon after the ICRC delegates had seen them. It

nevertheless remains true that the ICRC was not always able to make as many visits as it would have liked and that, in many situations, its intervention was merely an adumbration of the action which the dimensions of the problem, in fact, demanded.

Was it the governments, solely, which defined those limits? This cannot be definitely stated, for it is certain that the ICRC would on many occasions have done more if it had had the financial resources. It might be wondered whether, if it had had those resources, the International Committee, on each occasion, would have undertaken actions on a larger scale when the governments concerned were willing to permit it to do so. It is probable, but not certain. It can be affirmed that during the period under study here the International Committee always tried to do its utmost in favour of persons imprisoned when there were internal disturbances. The same was generally true—although ICRC action was initiated after some hesitation—in situations of internal tension under colonial or racist regimes. Less affirmative statements may be made for the other cases of internal tension, where the policy of the ICRC was less systematic, particularly during the first few years of the period dealt with in this chapter.

In fact, it can be seen that the hesitations of the International Committee in this sphere have gradually decreased over the years.

It is probable that in the future, if circumstances so require, the International Committee will be willing, not only to keep up but even to intensify its action in favour of political detainees, provided it is given the financial resources.

Obviously, an essential point which it is important to define is the value, not only of these 992 visits to political detainees, but also of all those made before 1958.

There again, the analysis must be carefully graded; moreover, as we said in the Introduction, our aim in this work is neither to study the technique of prison visiting nor to examine the conditions of detention of those whom the ICRC delegates saw in their prisons. However, it may be stated that more than 90% of these visits took place “according to the rules”, that is, with talks without witnesses between delegate and detainee, a vital factor which alone enables a delegate to have an accurate picture of the situation in a prison.

Evidently, a visit from the ICRC has more effect if it is followed by others, in the course of which the delegate can make sure that the

improvements asked for on previous visits have in fact been made. From 1958 to 1968 (on this point, the statistics which we established referred only to those ten years), the reports from delegates expressly noted 110 cases of radical improvements made, at their request, in hygiene, food, accommodation, clothing, medical care, leisure pursuits, work, correspondence, family visits, separation of "politicals" from penal law prisoners and in the general conditions of the places of detention which they had visited more than once.

This figure may seem small, but it is necessary to bear in mind, first, that it refers only to the major improvements and, second, that the improvements were not always recorded in the reports, either because the visiting delegates changed, or because they did not consider it necessary to report them. In fact, it is rare that a visit, even a single visit, does not improve the lot of the detainees, if only as a result of the "detailed inspection" which it usually causes *before* it takes place.

Nevertheless, there is evidence of a tendency on the part of the ICRC to avoid making single visits and to try, more and more often, to persuade the Detaining Powers to allow delegates to revisit systematically places already visited.

In fact, the time is almost past when a single visit created a precedent as necessary as it was valuable, since, as has been seen in this chapter, there is a sufficient number of precedents today. The proof of this is that, in 1971 and again in 1972, the ICRC delegates visited political detainees in 65 countries as compared with 54 in 1958, and the gates of 230 prisons opened a total of 314 times to those delegates.

* * *

After the above chapter of the book written by J. Moreillon, we would mention that in the Third World, ICRC assistance is not confined to political detainees, who are often placed in the same prison as ordinary prisoners. Again, the conditions of detention under which the latter are kept, owing to the inadequate financial resources of the prisons services, may be such that aid from outside sources is very welcome. In the circumstances, the ICRC tends more and more frequently to visit prisons in general rather than a particular category of prisoners. If such visits are added to those made to persons detained for political offences or for reasons of a political

nature, then the list of places where ICRC delegates have rendered assistance to civilians imprisoned in their own country is considerably lengthened.

Thus, since the end of the Second World War, and not counting international conflicts and civil wars, ICRC delegates have visited civilian prisoners in the following seventy countries:¹

Africa

Angola (Port.) — Burundi — Cameroon — Chad — Congo (Brazzaville) — Congo (Kinshasa) — Cape Verde Islands (Port.) — Ethiopia — Gambia — Kenya (G.B.) — Lesotho — Liberia — Malawi — Mauritania — Mozambique (Port.) — Nyasaland (G.B.) — Guinea Bissau (Port.) — Republic of South Africa — Rhodesia — Rwanda — Togo — Zambia — Zanzibar (G.B.).

Asia

Goa (Port.) — Hongkong — Indonesia — Laos — Malaysia — Philippines — Singapore — South Korea — South Vietnam — Sri Lanka — Thailand.

Europe

Bulgaria — Cyprus — France — German Democratic Republic — Greece — Ireland (Eire) — Northern Ireland — Spain — The Federal Republic of Germany — Romania — Yugoslavia.

Middle East

Aden (G.B.) — Bahrain — The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen — The Yemen Arab Republic.

Latin America

Argentina — Bolivia — Brazil — Chile — Colombia — Costa Rica — Cuba — Dominican Republic — Ecuador — El Salvador — Guatemala — Haiti — Honduras — Jamaica — Mexico — Nicaragua — Panama — Paraguay — Peru — Uruguay — Venezuela.

¹ Where a country has changed its name during the period concerned, the name mentioned is that used by the country when the visits took place.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

ICRC Action in Cyprus

At the beginning of this month, the ICRC sent to some Governments and all National Societies a memorandum describing the ICRC's work in Cyprus since December 1974. We give below some extracts:

Introduction

The instability which still prevails in Cyprus, indicated in particular by major population shifts, has resulted in a great many humanitarian problems, demanding protection, medical and material assistance, and action by the Tracing Agency. The ICRC has therefore maintained in Cyprus a delegation of some forty persons, including ten delegates, four specialists in Agency problems, three relief supply delegates, two doctors and five mobile medical teams provided by National Red Cross Societies.

Protection

In the South, in the area controlled by Greek Cypriot authorities, the ICRC has continued to provide care for the Turkish Cypriot population, paying regular visits to some 70 villages in which they are gathered. It has kept under close observation the conditions under which these people are living and has intervened with the authorities to bring about any necessary improvements. The delegates have given special attention to making sure that relief supplies are distributed regularly by the authorities and that the people have freedom of movement.

In the North, in the area under the control of the Turkish army, the ICRC has continued its work in protecting and assisting the Greek Cypriot people living in some 50 villages and two cities. Despite some

restrictions on their freedom of movement, the delegates made every effort to maintain continuous contact with those isolated communities. Various incidents were brought to their attention and they have accordingly intervened with the authorities to take appropriate action. Investigations were requested in a number of instances.

Population Transfers

On 30 November, on the initiative of the ICRC, an agreement was concluded between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash, representing, respectively, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. The agreement provided for the transfer from the North to the South, and vice versa, of certain categories of persons—the wounded, the sick, elderly persons, children and pregnant women. Following the unilateral proclamation of a federal Turkish Cypriot State, however, these transfers were halted on 27 January by the Greek Cypriot authorities, who permitted only transfers requested by the ICRC for urgent medical reasons.

From 1 December 1974 to 26 January 1975, 716 Turkish Cypriots were transferred to the northern area, 245 cases remaining on the waiting list. During the same period, 505 Greek Cypriots were moved to the southern area, with 123 cases still on the waiting list.

These operations were carried out by the ICRC, which selected the persons and arranged transport.

Medical Activities

The isolated Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities continue to be in great need also of medical services, which sick and aged people in these communities have long been receiving from the ICRC's mobile medical teams. These teams, made available to the ICRC from the outset by the German Federal Republic, Denmark, Finland, Ireland and Sweden, have therefore been kept on the spot.

In the South, the mobile teams providing general medical services have been progressively replaced by a system of clinical medicine, with particular emphasis on caring for geriatric cases. At present, two medical teams provide weekly consultations at various points, particularly in the hospitals at Limassol, Larnaca, Polis and Paphos.

The ICRC also works in close co-operation with four Turkish Cypriot doctors who remained in the South and who now have complete freedom of movement within their respective districts. The ICRC teams have worked out with them a programme of visits to all of the Turkish villages.

In the North, three medical teams continue to look after the medical and hygienic needs of Greek Cypriot communities, having set up dispensaries which receive scores of persons every day. The teams have also been active in preventive medicine, maintaining close epidemiological surveillance, particularly after the outbreak of bacillary dysentery and its spread in Gypsos and Voni in 1974. In the town of Morphou, the medical teams have to deal with a major medical and sanitary problem due to the action of the Turkish authorities in gathering together in the town the residents of nearby villages, consisting mainly of aged persons.

Although the Greek Cypriot population depended for care almost entirely upon the ICRC medical teams up to the end of 1974, the ICRC since then has been successful in inducing the authorities to arrange for Turkish Cypriot doctors to take over an increasing share in the work. This has enabled the ICRC teams to give increased attention to medico-social work and to provide protection.

Tracing Agency

The Tracing Agency has continued to play a major role in ICRC activities in Cyprus. On average, five Agency delegates—sometimes more, sometimes less—with the assistance of some 80 local employees, have been occupied in tracing missing persons, keeping the population informed, forwarding family messages and arranging the transfers of civilians. For these various tasks, the ICRC has maintained a central bureau in Nicosia, with an annex for the northern zone, and, in co-operation with the Cypriot Red Cross, four regional Agency bureaus in Limassol, Larnaca, Ormidhia and Paphos.

The search for missing persons called for great efforts by Agency personnel and delegates. After country-wide investigations, about a thousand cases were solved by the Agency. The Agency also co-operated with the bipartite *ad hoc* committee which took over responsibility for finding missing persons at the beginning of this year. This co-operation took the form of turning over to the *ad hoc* committee, consisting of representatives of both sides, the facts it had already gathered on unsolved cases. The information bureau for families, set up by the Agency after the hostilities, still receives every day a large number of persons who come to seek or supply information.

Since postal communications have still not been restored between the two zones, Red Cross family messages remain the only means of correspondence, within the island as well as abroad. As of 1 March, the Agency had despatched about 600,000 messages. An average of 6,000 messages a day are still being handed to ICRC delegates.

Relief

The ICRC has maintained a relief co-ordinator in Nicosia, as well as two relief delegates, one for each zone. It has also continued to manage two warehouses for relief supplies, at Limassol and Nicosia.

In the South, assistance to displaced Greek Cypriots is provided by the Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The ICRC has nevertheless made regular deliveries to the appropriate governmental agencies of large quantities of supplementary foodstuffs—meat, baby foods and powdered milk—for these persons.

The delegates have continued their distributions to Turkish Cypriot communities, supplementing the activities of the Government and of the Turkish Red Crescent in villages.

In the North, relief distributions are carried out through the United Nations. The ICRC makes emergency distributions in case of need. The delegates verify that all distributions are made fairly.

Financial situation

The foregoing enumeration of ICRC activities in Cyprus clearly shows the number of humanitarian problems still confronting the institution. There is reason to fear that a great many of these problems will not be finally solved until there is, eventually, a political settlement. The ICRC has therefore decided to maintain its existing forces on the island, pending developments.

The budget for the first six months of 1975 amounts to 5 million Swiss francs. In view of the continued need for its protection and assistance, the ICRC is sure that the required financial resources will be given to it to enable it to carry on its work.

*EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES***Africa****Ethiopia**

The delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross who have been in Addis Ababa for several weeks have not yet been authorized to go to Asmara. To the ICRC's offers to provide the victims of the conflict in Eritrea with assistance and protection, the Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs has replied that the Government has the situation in hand and that there is no emergency. The ICRC is still prepared to play its traditional humanitarian role on behalf of the victims of the present conflict: the wounded and the sick, prisoners, and the civilian population.

The report drawn up by an Ethiopian Red Cross team authorized to go to Eritrea was sent to the Government on 26 February 1975. Following that mission, the ICRC medical delegate purchased locally essential medical supplies to an approximate value of 8,000 Swiss francs and sent them to Asmara by air.

Mozambique

The ICRC regional delegate for Southern Africa was in Mozambique from 10 February to 7 March 1975 and conferred with representatives of the Transitional Government and of the regional Red Cross Society. He also went to the provinces of Beira and Tete, where food is in short supply owing to a large influx of refugees and the return of a number of Mozambican nationals. The regional delegate participated in the distribution of

relief supplies with which the ICRC had been provided by the Swiss Government, and he considered with the local authorities further requirements which needed to be covered.¹

It should be noted that during the period September 1974 to February 1975 the ICRC sent to Mozambique medical supplies (plasma, vaccines, antibiotics and surgical equipment) and food (powdered milk, wheat flour and beans) totalling over 260,000 Swiss francs.

Latin America

Chile

During February 1975, ICRC delegates in Chile visited thirty-six places of detention or hospitals holding 3,882 persons, including 957 detained for political reasons.

During the same month, assistance rendered to detainees and their families (medicines, toilet articles and clothing) amounted to 50,000 dollars, not including ten batches of medical supplies to places of detention visited. Six hundred and fifty families in Santiago and 1,700 in the provinces received ICRC material aid.

Venezuela

Two ICRC regional delegates for Latin America conferred on 28 February 1975 with the Venezuelan Minister of Defence and the General Chief of Staff. They received general permission to visit the armed forces places of detention. The delegates were also authorized by the Ministry of Justice to visit civilian places of detention.

Between 28 February and 10 March 1975, they went to five prisons and saw some 3,000 detainees, including sixty-one imprisoned for political reasons.

Asia

Indo-China

Owing to the recrudescence of hostilities in the Khmer Republic and the Republic of Vietnam, the International Red Cross has stepped up its assistance to war victims. Moreover, with all the Red Cross Societies involved, it is considering the needs brought about by the new situation.

¹ *Plate.*

Some forty delegates and doctors are engaged in the relief operation in the Khmer Republic.

Four medical teams and two surgical teams are at work at Phnom Penh and in the provinces, attending to the wounded in hospitals and in camps for displaced persons.

Despite serious logistic problems, the distribution of relief, mainly medical supplies and food, is continuing. A further 20 tons of powdered milk provided by the Swiss Government has been forwarded by the Swiss Red Cross, and the Danish Red Cross has supplied 10 tons of sweetened powdered milk to be distributed by its medico-nutritional team.

In the Republic of Vietnam, there are hundreds of thousands of displaced persons coming from the northern part of the country and the central highlands. Reports reaching Geneva indicate tremendous need for material and medical assistance. The Red Cross has therefore decided to increase immediately the aid it has been giving in recent months to the South Vietnam Red Cross, which has direct responsibility for helping the displaced persons.

Burma

In mid-February, the ICRC sent five tons of unskimmed powdered milk, provided by the Swiss Confederation, to the Burma Red Cross to enable it to carry on its milk distribution programme in schools.

Europe

Cyprus

The head of the ICRC delegation in Cyprus had an interview on 10 March with General Demirel, commander-in-chief of the Turkish armed forces in Cyprus. The ICRC representative raised various problems concerning living conditions in isolated Greek Cypriot communities, the search for missing persons, and the working conditions of the ICRC delegates in the part of the island under Turkish control.

Middle East

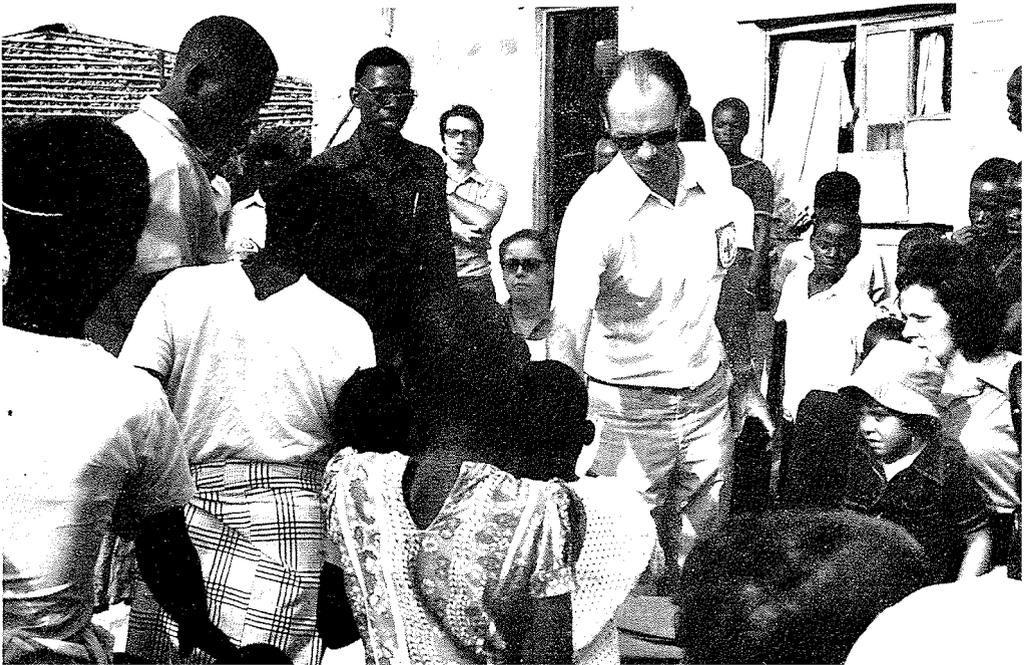
Family reuniting. — Two operations for the reuniting of families took place on 12 February and 5 March, under ICRC auspices, between occu-



Geneva: The President of the Red Cross of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, at the Central Tracing Agency.

Photo J.-J. Kurz/ICRC

Mozambique: An ICRC delegate at a distribution of powdered milk donated by the Swiss Government.





Turkey: The Turkish Red Crescent distributing soup to earthquake victims.

Photo Turkish Red Crescent

pied Gaza-Sinai territory and the Egyptian Arab Republic. The movements were carried out in the UN buffer zone on the El Qantara road. In the course of the two operations, 324 persons returned to occupied territories in Gaza-Sinai and 641 to the Nile Valley.

Floods in El Arish. — Torrential downpours struck the region of El Arish during the third week of February, causing serious floods which brought great suffering to the civilian population. Several hundred persons were made homeless and about a score were killed. The ICRC immediately organized several convoys which brought 2,000 blankets, 200 tents, 35 tons of flour, 500 food parcels and 150 clothing parcels to the flooded area, providing relief to some 3,000 persons. The ICRC delegation also set up an office to register missing persons and provide information to families.

Syria. — Ten tons of powdered milk, provided to the ICRC by the Swiss Confederation, were sent to the Aleppo section of the Red Crescent Society to enable it to continue its relief programme.

*IN GENEVA***ICRC guests**

In response to an invitation, the President of the Red Cross of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam paid a visit to the ICRC on 19 March¹. He was received by Mr. Roger Gallopin, President of the Executive Board, and Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocké, Director of the Department of Operations. Afterwards, he visited the League of Red Cross Societies where he was welcomed by Mr. Henrik Beer, Secretary General.

* * *

The members of the Geneva State Council and of the Administrative Council of the City of Geneva, the Attorney General and the presidents of the Geneva Grand Council and Municipal Council, visited the International Committee of the Red Cross on 26 March.

They were welcomed by Mr. Eric Martin, President of the ICRC, Mr. Roger Gallopin, President of the Executive Board, and by other members and directors of the ICRC. The Geneva officials were given an account of the current work of the institution, after which they visited the offices of the Central Tracing Agency.

Mr. André Chavanne, President of the State Council, made a brief speech in which he expressed the satisfaction of the authorities at the resumption of their close association with the ICRC, whose activities extend to so many places throughout the world where human suffering exists. He concluded by expressing thanks to the International Committee for persevering, every day, in its humanitarian efforts and for its unflinching confidence in mankind.

¹ *Plate.*

Death of a former Editor of the Review

A man whose intelligence and kindness left a living mark on the ICRC, even though his activities in the institution ceased some thirty years ago, passed away in Geneva on 5 March 1975.

Henri Reverdin was appointed a member of the editorial staff of the *Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge* in 1926, and in 1943 he became Editor. Two years later he left to devote himself entirely to university teaching, and in the ICRC publication at that time we find the following tribute: "The Review stands as a token of his character, intellectual honesty and profound erudition". While he was in charge of the *Review*, he also contributed a number of outstanding articles on humanitarian events in the world, essays and book reviews.

The ICRC and the editorial staff of the *Review* were grieved to learn of Henri Reverdin's death. They will faithfully and gratefully treasure his memory.

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

RED CROSS APPEAL

Because of the situation in Cambodia and South Vietnam and in order to increase their assistance to the civilian populations of the two countries, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies launched an appeal to National Red Cross, Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun Societies and to governments on 25 March 1975.

Current estimates put the number of displaced persons in South Vietnam at almost one million. The number of homeless in Cambodia is also put at around one million.

Although it is extremely difficult to carry out an exact assessment of needs, priorities are: foodstuffs, kitchen utensils, cloth and sleeping mats—all relief supplies which could be purchased locally. In addition, tents, medicaments, milk, tinned fish and meat must be sent into the countries.

The appeal was made for a three-month-long assistance programme. Costs are estimated at five million dollars, most of which is needed in cash.

DISSEMINATION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS

A resolution of the XXIInd International Conference of the Red Cross asked the ICRC to centralize information on the dissemination of the Geneva Conventions in the world with a view to regularly imparting such information to National Societies and Governments. The International Review is therefore publishing information supplied by National Societies on the subject.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The German Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic has just published an excellent 24-page summary of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949.

The National Society informs the ICRC that the booklet has been distributed to its various local chapters. With its clear layout and practical format, the summary should reach a wide public.

POLAND

The Polish Red Cross recently produced a brochure of some forty pages to convey to the general public the importance of international humanitarian law in the present-day world and to disseminate the Red Cross principles and the 1949 Geneva Conventions as widely as possible.¹ It contains the following chapters: 1. International humani-

¹The brochure, published in Warsaw and entitled *Miedzynarodowe Prawo Humanitarne*, is by Mr. Tadeusz Mallik.

tarian law; 2. General characteristics of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 for the protection of war victims; 3. First Geneva Convention; 4. Second Geneva Convention; 5. Third Geneva Convention; 6. Fourth Geneva Convention; 7. The red cross emblem, its importance and the protection it affords; 8. War victims information service; 9. Repression of abuses and breaches; 10. Trends in the development of international humanitarian law.

SPAIN

The Spanish Red Cross holds courses on the Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions for students at the teacher-training university, to acquaint them of the movement's aims, structure and activities, so that they may initiate schoolchildren at an early age in the Red Cross spirit, teach them what it means, and convey an understanding of how important it is that its principles should receive practical fulfilment in the world.

Each course lasts three days and covers the following subjects: Principles and International Conventions; Information on the Red Cross in general; Information on the Spanish Red Cross; Methods for imparting such knowledge in schools; How teachers can apply themselves to the task with their pupils and how they can act through colleagues.

Film shows are held, and the course ends with a series of practical demonstrations carried out by relief units in the province concerned. Further, a member of the National Directorate conducts a meeting at which some subject is discussed, each participant being supplied with the relevant documents.

At the first meeting, small groups (of six to ten) are formed which are, in turn, joined by representatives of provincial and national Red Cross services. These are consulted in their own particular field, on the basis of a questionnaire issued in advance. A subsequent meeting is devoted to a critical consideration of the course, and conclusions are then drawn. At the end of the course, the National Society remains in touch with the participants.

As a rule, a first-aid course follows, and the feasibility of a future single course, according to circumstances, is being considered.

THAILAND

In primary and secondary schools there is a course of instruction on the history and principles of the Red Cross as well as on the Geneva

Conventions and other subjects, e.g. first aid and health education. Further efforts are being made for the dissemination of Red Cross principles and international humanitarian law to be included in the normal curriculum of social education, and the Department of Physical Education is working out a plan in collaboration with the Education Technique Department of the Ministry of Education, for widespread dissemination. In the meantime, the Department of Physical Education is also stressing the principles of the Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions in the course it conducts for Red Cross Juniors. ICRC documents have proved useful in the preparation of a suitable curriculum.

The Ministry of Education, the Department of Physical Education, and the Junior Red Cross, have published a number of handbooks outlining the history of the international Red Cross and of the Thai Red Cross, and dealing with subjects such as Junior Red Cross activities. These publications are used to make the Thai Red Cross and humanitarian principles known among the young.

“RED CROSS : YOUR EMERGENCY LIFELINE”

National Societies commemorate Henry Dunant's birthday every year, and the 8th of May has become World Red Cross Day. As we announced in our January issue, the theme chosen for 1975 is Red Cross: your emergency lifeline. The League of Red Cross Societies has prepared a kit with various documents, posters and photographs concerning the activities of National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies in emergencies. We reproduce below the editorial with which the documentation opens, and hope that the World Day soon to be commemorated in many countries will meet with complete success.

Disasters, natural or man-made, are one human ill that science is unlikely to eliminate in the predictable future. Instead efforts must focus on preparedness and on the swift, efficient supply of disaster relief.

Red Cross, an international disaster veteran, has long recognized that the days of well-meaning charity are over. Help that doesn't match needs, arrives too late, or isn't distributed, is no help at all. Instead Red Cross is developing an international force of trained disaster specialists, a purchasing network, a reservoir of technical and logistical know-how, to do justice to the public's generosity.

In this development, the Red Cross has helped pioneer the only rational approach to the disaster problem: countries in disaster-prone areas must be prepared for the worst—with a national emergency relief plan of action. Many of the world's 122 National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies are actively involved with the authorities to which they are auxiliaries in developing such plans and translating them into reality by training volunteers and regularly rehearsing for action, assuring a minimum stock of relief items and means of communication and transport.

The international nature, impartiality and neutrality of the Red Cross stand it in good stead, enabling it to respond quickly to needs in many different situations.

Despite its harnessing of modern technology, the Red Cross intends to remain a relief agency with a human dimension. It knows its most important asset is its human resources—millions of men, women and young people who channel their urge to help through their National Society. In an age when the individual feels he counts for less, Red Cross is saying people matter—and holding out a lifeline.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RED CROSS IN AFRICA

A symposium on the development of the Red Cross and Red Crescent in Africa, organized by the League of Red Cross Societies, took place at Montreux, Switzerland, from 24 February to 8 March. Representatives of 34 African and of a dozen other National Societies took part. Dr Eric Martin, President of the ICRC, addressed the opening session, emphasizing the vital role facing the Red Cross in a world still dominated too often by instability and violence. On the occasion of ICRC Day, 7 March, the ICRC delegate-general for Africa summarized the main lines of the institution's activities in Africa, especially in the field of assistance to prisoners.

Food aid supplied by the ICRC and distributed by the National Societies, and the diffusion of humanitarian law and the principles of the Red Cross were two of the subjects of lectures and animated discussions.

The symposium was important for a number of reasons and we shall mention it again next month.

TURKEY¹

Situated between Asia and Europe, Turkey is a country which is prone to many natural disasters—earthquakes, floods, droughts and forest fires, which historically have caused heavy loss in both lives and property.

The Turkish Red Crescent Society, founded 11 June 1868 (the oldest of the League's Red Crescent member National Societies), has a long history of disaster emergency relief work.

Its experience gained from numerous catastrophes proves the value of disaster preparedness and preplanning. Under governmental mandate, the Turkish Red Crescent has primary operational responsibilities to build up stocks of relief goods and cash reserves; recruit and train personnel for relief operations; provide food, clothing, shelter, first aid and general medical and nursing services; establish local stores of relief supplies; and related activities.

To meet these responsibilities, the National Society developed extensive supplies and training programmes. Supplies are kept in a large, central warehouse in Ankara, the capital, and in five provincial depots throughout the country. Transportation is planned in advance, so that as soon as a disaster emergency is reported, relief goods can be expedited.

Mobile first-aid clinics are also kept on the ready, stocked with standard treatment materials and medicaments. Fully trained Red Crescent personnel are available, on an alert basis, for any likely calamity. This personnel is trained continuously by the Red Crescent, in accordance with known and anticipated requirements.

Medicaments, food and shelter

Primary requirements in most disaster situations are medicaments, food and shelter. The Turkish Red Crescent Society's check list includes various medical supplies and non-perishable foodstuffs, tents, ambulances, blankets, clothing, soup-kitchen equipment, water-purification units, power generators, mobile dispensaries and various delivery vehicles. The Society can distribute up to three hot meals a day to disaster

¹ Extract from *Contact* number 4: Tom Majors, Assistant Director Information Bureau of the League of Red Cross Societies.

victims,¹ due to its good organization, and it keeps 25,000 tents and 100,000 blankets stored permanently in its warehouse and depots—ready for any eventuality.

Most of the tents for disaster relief are manufactured in the Red Crescent's workshops at the Central Warehouse in Ankara. Those tents returned from a disaster area are repaired, as required, and cleaned, before being re-stocked for later use. For relief goods which are imported from abroad the National Society has pre-arranged for the non-implication of customs duties and other taxes.

A recent law established a Central Co-ordinating Committee on Disaster Relief, composed of representatives of the Government and various agencies and chaired by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement. Similar committees exist in the countryside, under the provincial governors. The Red Crescent is a member of both the Central and provincial Disaster Committees.

The Central Committee establishes policy and procedures, draws up and revises plans, defines tasks of participating agencies and issues instructions to local committees on the handling of emergency operations. Executive power is delegated to governors, subject to general supervision by the Central Committee.

Within this organization the Red Crescent plays a vital role, with its own plans for national and local actions—plans which can be adapted rapidly according to the intensity or the duration of any foreseeable disaster, to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being.

¹ *Plate.*

M I S C E L L A N E O U S

250,000 REPATRIATED IN THE ASIAN SUB-CONTINENT

In its April 1974 issue, the International Review published an article on operations in the Asian sub-continent which, from September 1973 to March 1974, enabled more than 250,000 persons to be repatriated.

The bulletin of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (supplement to No. 6, December 1974), published an article on the subject. A few excerpts are reproduced below:

The rapatriation operation in the South Asian subcontinent which ended on 1 July was aimed at reducing the serious humanitarian sequels to the events of 1971 involving India, Pakistan and the new State of Bangladesh. During the operation UNHCR moved 121,700 Bengalis from Pakistan to Bangladesh, 108,750 non-Bengalis from Bangladesh to Pakistan and 10,850 Pakistanis from Nepal to Pakistan in what has been described as the largest airlift of human beings ever organized. Seven to eight flights a day criss-crossed the skies over the 1,500-mile route, carrying people who through no fault of their own had found themselves stranded minorities.

Eastbound movements to Dacca were virtually completed by the end of March after 121,000 Bengalis had been moved, while the Katmandu-Lahore lift came to an end on 25 March. The last group of non-Bengalis touched down at Karachi on 1 July.

UNHCR personnel stationed at Dacca, Karachi and Lahore to supervise the functioning of the airlift worked closely throughout the operation with government authorities and with the ICRC. The ICRC was responsible for drawing up lists of returnees for clearance by both governments and for the processing and documentation of those who on this basis received permission to move.

Though in the past UNHCR had been involved in organizing repatriation on a substantial scale, the South Asian sub-continent undertaking involved the largest number of people, the longest distances, and the most complex logistical arrangements. It was moreover closely linked, under the terms of the New Delhi Agreement, with the return of 92,000 Pakistani prisoners of war and internees from India. This was completed on 30 April on a bilateral basis under the aegis of the ICRC, thus respecting the principle of simultaneity which was the keystone of the Agreement.

Beyond its immediate humanitarian impact, the operation helped attenuate political tensions in the region. In an agreement signed on 9 April, the Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan credited the swift movement of the returnees with having "*generated an atmosphere of reconciliation and paved the way for the normalization of relations on the sub-continent.*"

THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY AND CURRENT WORLD PROBLEMS

The main purpose of the fourth session of the United Nations University Council held in Tokyo from 20 to 24 January was to define the broad lines of policy which will enable the rector to present concrete proposals for the programme at the next session, to be held in New York from 24 to 26 June. At the opening session Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, Unesco Director-General, delivered an address of which the following excerpts contain the substance, especially concerning the problem of peace and international co-operation.¹

...The Director-General then cited a few examples of decisive matters on which the United Nations University, by adopting a scientific, multidisciplinary approach, could advance mankind's knowledge and hence its means of action.

¹ See *Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XXI (1975), No. 1-2.

“ Let us take first of all the basic question of peace, which is the essential objective of both the organizations that have brought the United Nations University into being ”, said Mr. M’Bow. “ Everyone here is aware that various institutions, too numerous for me to list them now, have for years past been investigating the legal and political aspects of the maintenance of peace and the peaceful settlement of conflicts. Nevertheless, however good the work already done may be, there are many reasons for having these questions considered by the United Nations University. For one thing, the approach in most of the work has been highly specialized, whereas the university’s rôle would be to invite scientists already studying these problems to join forces and to co-operate in interdisciplinary and transnational research. For another, most of the studies so far completed have been too strictly concerned with history, whereas the United Nations University, thanks to the wide-ranging contacts it would make possible, would certainly be conducive to the adoption of a forward-looking attitude. Lastly, almost all the institutions at present engaged on peace research are in the industrialized countries, and mainly in the Western hemisphere.

The remedies for the existing inequalities between peoples and nations, without which it is illusory to suppose that true peace, based on fellowship among all men, can be established, do not generally receive the attention they should in such research. The findings arrived at are thus open to criticism in so far as they may be considered to be based on prejudice or affected by national or regional attitudes...

...My good wishes for your success are commensurate with the high mission entrusted to you amid all the uncertainties of this period in mankind’s history. Not a month, not a week goes by, in fact, without bringing us new threats. Some, comparing this time with the period which preceded the Second World War, speak of its ‘rising dangers’. One of the highest moral authorities in the world has recently publicly proclaimed his anxiety. Almost everywhere on earth, in fact, we see the strong oppressing the weak; the most elementary human rights being violated; armaments budgets eating into the livelihood of the poorest people, when bombs are not raining down upon them; we see nature itself polluted, with poisons invading rivers and oceans and penetrating the air we breathe. Yes, I want to say again here that mankind is faced with an alternative which it has never had to meet before: either we must organize ourselves by redesigning our national and international structures on generous and realistic lines, in other words by demonstrating our fellowship and community of interest, or we shall be doomed to sink back into a barbarism which would bring

to nought all that man has painfully achieved over thousands of years.

It is in this tremendous task, wherein the very survival of the human race is at stake, that you have the frightening honour of being called upon to assist. You are unlikely to have any magic formula for this purpose, but it rests with you, making use of an innovatory form of machinery, to plan activities which will themselves be innovatory and will pave the way for concerted thought and investigation directed to dealing with the major problems of our time. At this period when international co-operation is seeking new paths, you are called upon to show that such co-operation, in the field allotted to you, can take new forms to achieve the purposes common to the United Nations and to Unesco — namely, peace and the social and economic advancement of mankind. All men of goodwill are whole-heartedly with you in the pursuit of this lofty task.”

PHYSICIANS, BIOLOGISTS, AND THE FUTURE
OF MAN

To perpetuate the memory of Professor Jacques Parisot, President of the Ninth World Health Assembly, Mme Parisot established a foundation, administered by the Director-General of WHO, to provide for lectures on scientific subjects at World Health Assemblies. The text of the sixth lecture, which was delivered in Geneva on the occasion of the twenty-seventh World Health Assembly, was published in WHO Chronicle (Geneva 1974, No. 8). In view of the importance of the subject dealt with by Professor Jean Hamburger, we think the conclusions will be of interest to readers.

... The collective behaviour of the animal species is determined at birth and the instructions remain unchallenged. This can reasonably be explained by natural selection, since the organization of the community of individuals is as important for the survival of the species as the internal organization of each individual. This sort of enslavement to the community transmitted by heredity is a fundamental fact of biology that must be clearly grasped before we come back to the case of the only animal that apparently constitutes an exception to these rules: man.

In man, too, there is of course hereditary transmission of many instincts that play a role in communal life: it would be easy to demonstrate that men are far less free in their social behaviour than they think. But, by a phenomenon that is unique in the animal kingdom, from the vast depths of immutable instinct wells up something strange and unpredictable—a conscious and lively intelligence. The most obvious consequence is increased liberty of action and a greater degree of anarchy. As a result, the collective organization of human society, rather than being chemically determined in advance, is at the mercy of conflicting

ideas and interests. Each individual has his own views, every country its currents of opinion. The natural rules for protection of the species are thus flouted. At the very time when men are in most urgent need of directives, these can no longer be found in genetic imperatives that have slowly matured over millions of years as in the case of all other living species. We have transformed our environment, quadrupled our lifespan, multiplied our population twentyfold, increased our power of destruction immeasurably, learnt to communicate and move in a very short time from one end of the earth to the other, and here we are with our backs to the wall, alone, with nothing but our intelligence to help us find the solution to the urgent problems created by all these swift and revolutionary changes.

More serious still, the problems that man poses are far more complex than those raised by animal communities. The organization of the latter clearly has only one objective, the survival of the species; it is manifestly unconcerned with respect for the individual: when there is a queen too many in a society of bees, she is promptly put to death. The concepts that give man his dignity—respect for personality, the idea of combating disease and death, the pursuit of wellbeing and justice—create for him additional constraints which complicate the problem to be solved. There is nothing of this kind in other animal species: indeed, to our anthropomorphic eyes their systems of protection seem to be founded on injustice, cruelty, and contempt for the isolated individual. Can it be that man's intelligence, with the wonders and dangers it engenders, is analogous to what Fraser Darling jocularly calls "Irish Elkism" in allusion to the fate of the Irish elks whose antlers became so hypertrophied that in the end they hampered the animal in its movements and brought the race to extinction? That is the question now confronting us.

Solutions. — Let it be clearly understood, in the first place, that we cannot turn the clock back. The anti-scientific movement that has been emerging in recent years, the criticisms that have begun to be voiced against the very principle of progress in medicine, the nostalgia for a world without discoveries and without development of knowledge, the idea that progress must be suspended because it is progress that has created today's problems, are unjust and unrealistic. Unjust, because the programme chosen by mankind calls for the alleviation of suffering and the promotion of wellbeing, and it is undeniable that the progress of medicine and science has been in harmony with that aim: man cannot go back to cruelty and disease. Unrealistic, because we cannot pretend to forget what we have

learnt; we cannot escape our destiny, shaped as it is by the desire for knowledge and the power to acquire it.

On the contrary, what we probably need is vastly more research, information, and thought, to overcome the problems that are facing us.

If we wish both to prevent the human species from becoming extinct like so many other animal species (more than half of all species, according to certain specialists) and at the same time to preserve the concern for justice, wellbeing, and respect for the individual that ennobles and distinguishes humanity, then clearly we must get seriously to work and carry out a methodical search for solutions or acceptable compromises.

To confine ourselves to the sphere of biology and medicine, solutions do exist: solutions to the problems of overpopulation, thanks to birth control; solutions to the dangers threatening the genetic value of future man, through the creation of more genetic counselling agencies; solutions to ecological problems, through the methodical analysis of the repercussions of each of our actions on our environment.

I firmly believe that, given the extraordinary talents of the members of the human community, most of the problems I have adumbrated could be solved if a sufficient research effort were made.

Difficulties of application. — Misgivings return, however, when we begin to consider how, once acceptable solutions have been found, we can secure their acceptance by all countries and peoples alike. Man's very nature makes him somewhat reluctant to accept reasonable suggestions: reason is patently, in our species, a less powerful motive force than desire or passion. Unanimity is a phenomenon in contradiction with the biological and mental laws by which man is governed. Perhaps, indeed, it is our lack of submissiveness, our personal and national egocentricity, our tendency to reject other people's ideas, that have made it possible for our knowledge to advance. Every discovery, to quote the philosopher Bachelard, is a rejection of orthodox ideas. But this incessant calling-in-question is also a serious obstacle when it comes to getting people to agree on concrete solutions. Do you know the history of whale hunting? Confronted with the progressive annihilation of that species, the International Whaling Commission instructed its Scientific Committee to draw up a plan. After protracted studies and discussions, the experts' plan was ready by 1959. Since then its implementation has been postponed from one year to the next. For the plan to be accepted by the Plenary Commission, a two-thirds majority was required. After a delay of 13 years, voting finally took place last year, and there was one vote too

few for the decision to be adopted. And specialists say that today the slaughter of this marine mammal has passed the critical threshold beyond which the species is doomed.

Every day, even within a limited assemblage of human beings, such as a nation, we see individuals or groups rise up in mutual opposition. And how much greater is the contentiousness that a country shows towards others when prestige or the immediate national interest is at stake. Discord among men and creative intelligence are biologically linked, as the reverse of a coin is linked to its obverse.

The problem is thus in the last analysis political: how can a group of experts that has worked out a reasonable solution compatible both with the survival of the human species and with respect for man's desires and moral imperatives obtain general acceptance of what it proposes? Neither the biologist nor the physician can help the politician to settle this vital question. The biologist can only, as an observer, note the fact that men are mobilized into united action only when subjected to (I almost said conditioned by) a barrage of information in which appeals to the emotions and passions are mingled with rational data. At the same time, the physician cannot but be alarmed by the stultifying effects of such conditioning. As a defender of the human body against disease, he is a natural advocate of the human person. He therefore fears any solution that would protect the human community without also protecting the uniqueness of the individual. And he is afraid lest, in a magnificently well organized world of well protected human robots, something essential should be lost.

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

ADOPTED 21 JUNE 1973

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

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

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

ART. 2. — *Legal Status*

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

ART. 3. — *Headquarters and Emblem*

The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva.

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

ART. 4. — *Role*

1. The special role of the ICRC shall be :

- (a) to maintain the fundamental principles of the Red Cross as proclaimed by the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross ;
- (b) to recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Red Cross Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition in force, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition ;
- (c) to undertake the tasks incumbent on it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of these Conventions and to take cognizance of any complaints regarding alleged breaches of the humanitarian Conventions ;

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

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

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

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

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

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- 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 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 14, Avenida 8, Apartado 1025, *San José*.
- CUBA — Cuban Red Cross, Calle 23 201 esq. N. Vedado, *Havana*.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, *Prague 1*.
- DAHOMY — Dahomean Red Cross, P.O. Box 1, *Porto Novo*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade 17, DK-1471 *Copenhagen K*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, Apartado Postal 1293, *Santo Domingo*.
- ECUADOR — Ecuadorian Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia, 118, *Quito*.
- EGYPT (Arab Republic of) — Egyptian Red Crescent Society, 34 rue Ramses, *Cairo*.
- EL SALVADOR — El Salvador Red Cross, 3a Avenida Norte y 3a Calle Poniente, *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*.
- 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 1*.
- 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, Noatun 21, *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*.
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- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1350, *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*.
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