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FRENCH EDITION OF THE REVIEW

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A HUMANITARIAN

Josephine Butler, "The Great Feminist"

by Belinda Peacey

International Review commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by publishing various articles concerning the Red Cross and the rights of man. It might also be appropriate to recall here that another text, inspired by the same ideal as the Universal Declaration, was proclaimed by the international community: the "Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women" adopted unanimously on November 7, 1967 by the U.N. General Assembly.

One may wonder why this was necessary, in view of the wide range already covered by the provisions of the Universal Declaration and seeing that the preamble thereto affirms "the equal rights of men and women". Nevertheless, the need was sufficiently apparent in numerous countries for the United Nations to promulgate a special declaration.

Before doing so, the nations had on many occasions, by agreements, recommendations and resolutions, tried to establish international standards applicable at national levels to the rights of women. In one particular field in which the dignity of women is outraged, there is, for example, the important Convention for the Repression and Abolition of the White Slave Traffic and the Exploitation of Women for the Purpose of Prostitution, which was adopted on December 2,

1949, by the United Nations General Assembly. The Declaration on Discrimination against Women provides that all appropriate measures, including legislation, should be taken to combat all forms of traffic in women and their exploitation for prostitution.

The International Conference on Human Rights, meeting at Teheran in May 1968, approved an extensive programme on measures intended to promote women's rights in the modern world.

It therefore appeared of interest, in this year of 1968, designated Human Rights Year, to recall the memory of a woman who carried on a courageous struggle in the defence of those rights; Josephine Butler, Founder of the International Abolitionist Federation, of which one of the present objectives is to promote the social rehabilitation of prostitutes. Josephine Butler was an outstanding figure of the XIXth century general humanitarian movement for the safeguarding of man and human dignity, a movement of which one of the luminaries was Henry Dunant, and one of the achievements on a world scale, the Red Cross.

We might add that the Red Cross itself offers women a wide field of activity. But one of the obstacles to their development in many parts of the world is woman's inferior status and the discrimination to which she is a victim in matters of education and professional training. By offering scope to women who have received an education, and by making occupational training available to them, the Red Cross contributes considerably to the cause of the advancement of women.

In addition, it offers scope for courage and self-sacrifice. There is much unsung heroism in the day-to-day activities among the sick, in the self-abnegation of nurses; as Max Huber wrote in La Croix-Rouge au temps présent, "Our organization's strength and prestige, the confidence it inspires, are derived from its eminently humanitarian work".

We therefore extend our thanks to Mrs. Belinda Peacey for the following article outlining an exemplary life and struggle. (Ed.)

* *

To the majority of people the name of Josephine Elizabeth Butler and her campaign for the abolition of State-regulated prostitution are by now equally obscure. Yet her courage in fighting an injustice and opposing certain laws connected with matters which were unmentionable a hundred years ago, entitles her to her place among the great social reformers of the nineteenth century.

She was born in 1828, inheriting many of the qualities of her father, who was an ardent fighter for reform and who, until her marriage to George Butler in 1852, exerted the greatest influence upon her character.

George and Josephine Butler were a devoted couple. That she achieved so much was largely due to his understanding and the sacrifices he made. She was endowed with good looks and charm, was highly intelligent and capable of expressing herself skilfully in the written and spoken word.

The Butlers' first home was Oxford, where their three sons were born, and which they left five years after their marriage when George Butler was appointed Vice Principal of Cheltenham College. It was at Cheltenham that Josephine Butler gave birth to a daughter whose tragic death, at the age of five, was to prove a turning point in her life.

Shortly afterwards, George Butler was offered and accepted the principalship of Liverpool College, welcoming the move which would take his wife away from unhappy associations. 'I became possessed with an irresistible desire to go forth and find some pain keener than my own', she told a friend some years later; and Liverpool was to provide her with precisely this.

A long-established tradition for charitable works existed among the city's prominent families, and Josephine Butler's attention was soon drawn to the Brownlow Hill Workhouse, where some of Liverpool's human derelicts—women ousted from the labour markets and abandoned children—found a refuge.

It came as a surprise to the two hundred women and girls at work in the oakum sheds at the workhouse to find one day in their midst, a tall, beautifully dressed young woman, trying to

¹ George W. & Lucy A. Johnson: Josephine Butler: An Autobiographical Memoir, 3rd edition. J. W. Arrowsmith, 1928, page 43.

untwist the tarry ropes with hands that were totally unfitted to the task. At first they laughed at her; but Josephine Butler went back regularly, and by talking to and befriending them learnt much of the sordid circumstances that had brought them there. Many of them were prostitutes who had become infected with disease and drifted in and out of the workhouse infirmary, where they were kept alive in conditions harsh enough to discourage them from returning too often.

Josephine Butler's next step was to bring into her own home a young prostitute who was dying of disease. The effect of her action on the residents of the respectable suburb in which the Butlers lived, can be imagined, as also upon the outcasts of Liverpool, among whom the news that kindness and sympathy were to be found at the Butlers' home spread rapidly. Before long, the attic and cellar were crowded to the point at which not one more sick prostitute could be taken in. She then appealed for funds to rent and furnish a Home of Rest for these unfortunates and established a workroom where they could earn a little by sewing. Later, she raised sufficient money to convert a large house into a factory at which they were employed in making envelopes.

Meanwhile, fate was preparing a more extensive theatre for her activities, one that was to send her crusading through her own country and the Continent.

THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS

In 1864, 1866 and 1869, the British Government passed the Contagious Diseases Acts authorizing the control of prostitutes by the State. The title of the Acts was, perhaps intentionally, ambiguous to obscure a loathesome subject, and since the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts were passed about the same time, people were confused as to whether the new laws affected humans or beasts. The legislation was brought in as a result of official concern at the increase in venereal disease in the crowded new industrial areas, though 'the preservation of the health of the armed forces of the Crown' was the issue of primary importance. The solution to the

problem seemed to lie in the system introduced into France by Napoleon in 1802, and which now operated all over the Continent. Under this, prostitutes were registered, kept in brothels licensed by the police and compulsorily medically examined by army surgeons. 'Regulationists' in Europe had for some time been pressing the British Government to adopt the system; the medical profession were wholly in favour of it.

By 1869 the provisions of the Acts had been applied to fourteen naval and military areas in England,2 and it was hoped to extend them to others. The responsibility for registering prostitutes was in the hands of a special force of plain-clothes police, who had powers to arrest a woman simply on the grounds of 'having good cause to believe' that she was a prostitute; the subject could be induced to sign a 'voluntary submission' declaring herself to be one, and agreeing to be medically examined at regular intervals. Some poor wretches signed the submission because prostitution. was their only means of livelihood; others gave in under pressure The woman who neglected to attend for her medical inspections was imprisoned, and if found to be diseased, confined in a certified hospital. But the unfortunate suspect who refused to sign a submission was served with a summons and brought before a magistrate, who had only the policeman's word or his own deductions from the case, to guide him. No further evidence was needed to prove she was a prostitute; and there was no appeal.

Many women who had committed no crime were thus arbitrarrily imprisoned. The Acts were, moreover, conspicuously a class measure, and by their unfair discrimination against one sex infringed the basic principle of the equality of all before the law. The system, which compelled only registered prostitutes to undergo medical examinations, was futile, since it could never guarantee complete safety from infection as long as there were other prostitutes illicitly carrying on their profession, and men were free to spread disease unchecked.

² Scotland was free of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Josephine Butler was horrified when she read the Parliamentary report of these Acts. At the time she was absorbed in the movement for Women's Rights, their education, employment and suffrage. She did not immediately consent when asked to lead the National Association for the Abolition of the Contagious Diseases Acts.³ Before giving her answer to the Association she endured months of intense mental conflict, when she was torn between acceptance of a task which she interpreted as a call from God, and dread of the consequences, were she to identify herself with this question, to her beloved family and the career of her husband who was highly respected throughout the educational profession. At length, in her own words, 'driven into it by anger against injustice', she plucked up the courage to speak to him and he unhesitatingly told her to take up the work.

First, she made a tour of the areas where the Acts were in force, visiting a brothel in Chatham and, subsequently, many other 'houses'. Her first test as a speaker for the cause came when she addressed a large gathering of working men at the Mechanics' Institute in Crewe. Her audience, struck by her eloquence and simple explanation of the facts, understood her perfectly. It was their womenkind who suffered from the enforcement of the Acts; their innocent daughters and sisters, trudging home from work with no wealth or social position to protect them, who were liable to arrest. The meeting at Crewe was followed by numerous other meetings, at which she spoke to audiences from all walks of life, and the publication of many pamphlets, which she wrote for the cause.

The Abolitionist movement grew more rapidly in the North than in the South, until the defeat of a former governor of Malta, who was a staunch Regulationist, in a Parliamentary by-election at Colchester in November 1870. The Acts were a controversial point in the election, during which mobs urged on by the brothel-keepers stirred up disturbances and threatened Josephine Butler, who was

³ Many associations for the repeal of these Acts were formed up and down the country. All worked in close conjunction and in time looked to Josephine Butler as their leader.

⁴ A.S.G. Butler: A Portrait of Josephine Butler; Faber & Faber, 1954 (page 186).

obliged to disguise herself as a working-class woman and take refuge in a disused warehouse. Twenty months later another election gave the Abolitionists a further opportunity of demonstrating against the Acts.

But the Colchester election had succeeded in sufficiently arousing public opinion for the appointment of a Royal Commission, with power to suggest whether the Acts should be amended, maintained, extended or repealed. The Commission's twenty-five members, among whom were peers, bishops, Members of Parliament, representatives of the armed services and doctors, first met in December 1870. The following March they summoned Josephine Butler to give evidence before them. She was the only woman present and well aware of the Commissioners' hostility. Even so, they all were impressed by the reasons she advanced against the *Contagious Diseases Acts*. Nothing less than their repeal was acceptable, she told the Commission, nor could any amendment be considered.

No sooner had she arrived back in Liverpool, than she was obliged to return South to present to Parliament a petition against the Acts, signed by over 250,000 women.

The Royal Commission published its report in July, and a record of inconsistencies and dissident views it proved to be. Although it advised that the compulsory medical examinations should be discontinued and the special police be in uniform, it did not recommend the repeal of the Acts. The Abolitionists at once called a conference, and a deputation which included Josephine Butler went to see the Home Secretary, who, the following February, announced his intention of introducing measures to replace the Acts. These proved equally repellent and were, moreover, to be extended to the entire country. Opposition to them proved so strong. however, that they were withdrawn. But the Abolitionists had achieved nothing; the hateful Acts still operated. This was, perhaps. the hardest period of Josephine Butler's campaign in her own country, when many of her supporters lost heart, or considered that it had been foolish not to accept the Home Secretary's propositions.

It was then that the Abolitionists gained an ally who was to lead them to victory. With the general election of 1874 came a change of government. J. B. (later Sir James) Stansfeld M. P.

found himself in opposition, and now openly declared for the Abolitionists by accepting the Vice-Presidency of their National Association.

For some years he was a member of the Select Committee set up by Parliament to study the question of Regulation and in 1883 his masterly attack on the Committee's report resulted in the government putting an end to the compulsory examination of women and withdrawing the police who administered the Acts. Three years later the Acts were repealed.

BRITISH INDIA

Although the *Contagious Diseases Acts* had been repealed by the British Parliament, a year or so later disturbing reports from India and the publication in the British press of the text of a circular, reputed to have been issued by the Quartermaster-General to all officers commanding British troops, revealed the extent of regulated prostitution there.

'The Infamous Memorandum' (the name the published document acquired) complained of the inadequacy in standard and number of the women supplied for the troops, and ordered the dismissal of the 'matrons' in charge of the brothels which showed no improvement in these respects.

The Memorandum raised an outcry. The Secretary of State for India telegraphed the Viceroy, who replied several months later informing him that the Indian Government had agreed to repeal the Acts. Nevertheless, the Abolitionists learnt from unofficial sources that a system of prostitution almost identical to the one that had been abolished in the United Kingdom, still operated under the Cantonment Acts. Brothels had reopened in a number of military areas, the prostitutes being provided with premises and a regular wage; medical examinations had been resumed and the 'matrons' were encouraged to replenish the stocks of women by a fee for each new girl they 'recruited'.

The Abolitionists now decided to institute an independent enquiry. Two American women, Dr. Kate Bushnell and Mrs. Elizabeth Andrew, left for India at the end of 1891. They spent

three months there and confirmed that the abhorrent system was still in full operation and sanctioned by the military authorities. Their *Statement of Facts* was sent to the India Office and subsequently published. The Secretary of State was unable to ignore their report, especially since they had brought back with them, as part of their evidence, one of the tickets issued to a soldier allotting a prostitute to him.

The appointment of a special commission to investigate the allegations coincided with the return from India of Lord Roberts on the completion of his term of office as Commander-in-Chief. He offered to give evidence before the commission and asserted that on his orders the system had been abolished in every cantonment. He was, however, completely given the lie by his former Quartermaster-General, who had arrived back in England two years earlier and now declared that not only had Lord Roberts been shown the Infamous Memorandum, but he had read and entirely approved it. In a humiliating interview with W. T. Stead, a prominent journalist of the time, Roberts apologized to the American women and acknowledged his fault in neglecting to see that Army discipline had been carried out.

Yet, even after this, the situation in British India remained unsatisfactory. Although the system had been officially condemned, the British Government was on more than one occasion petitioned by the Indian Government to allow the reintroduction of the Acts, but firmly stood its ground.

PARIS

Twelve years before the *Contagious Diseases Acts* were repealed in the United Kingdom, Josephine Butler proposed that British Abolitionists should co-operate with Abolitionists on the Continent to fight the detested system everywhere.

Towards the end of 1874, armed with letters of introduction to various government officials, she went to Paris. She knew something of the moral corruption that prevailed in the streets and the tyrrany exercised over the unhappy victims hunted down by the *Police des Mœurs* from her study of Parent Duchâtelet's definitive work on the subject of prostitution in Paris, and her

investigations confirmed the statements he made in his 'faithful and terrible history'.5

She obtained an interview with the head of the *Police des Mœurs*. 6 When she asked him whether vice and disease had diminished or increased in Paris during the past five years, he replied that they had increased, were continually increasing and attributed the causes to the 'increasing coquetry' of women. When she pointed out the injustice and hygienic failure of the system he upheld, he shrugged off her observations.

She left his office with a permit to see over Saint-Lazare, the immense, sinister-looking prison into which were cast the refractory and vagabond women of Paris. She was deeply affected by their utter degredation and misery, but realized there was nothing she could do for them.

Discouraging as this visit to Paris seems to have been, she was able to report a few signs of hope. She had discovered that in two working-class quarters the *maisons tolérées* had been ordered to close; and numbers of people from all classes had sought her out to speak to her on the subject which had brought her to Paris.

It was shortly after this visit that the Abolitionists acquired another valuable adherent, in the person of M. Yves Guyot. Formerly Minister of Public Works, Guyot became a member of the Paris Municipal Council, and in his journal, Droits de l'Homme, persistently attacked the methods of the Police des Mæurs. In 1876, he was instrumental in organizing a conference to which foreign Abolitionists were invited, and which Stansfeld and Josephine Butler attended. A larger meeting followed for members of the public, whom Josephine Butler addressed in French. Guyot tells us that she 'carried her hearers away' by her argument that, if prostitution was indeed an institution of public safety such as should be organized by governments, then the ministers, prefect of police, high functionaries and doctors who defended it, were failing in their duty if they did not consecrate their own daughters to it.

⁵ Parent Duchâtelet, Alexandre Jean Baptiste, De la prostitution dans la Ville de Paris, 2 vols. Paris 1836 and 1857.

⁶ W. H. Stead tells us that Lecour, the head of the *Police des Mœurs*, was said to have made 15,000 arrests a year. These were made by the police on suspicion. "There was no redress, no trial—nothing but ruin irremediable for these victims." *Josephine Butler: A Life Sketch.* Morgan & Scott, 1887, p. 80.

BELGIUM

In the next five years the campaign for Abolition advanced considerably and in 1875 the International Federation was formed. It was evident from the Federation's annual conference in Liège four years later that widespread interest had been aroused in the principles of Abolition. The delegates attending the conference represented not only a variety of countries, but men and women—which was what Josephine Butler wanted—of all classes of society.

After the conference she left for Brussels. Her attention had first been drawn to the international traffic and commerce in prostitution three years before, when she was told of the railway trucks which had been seen passing through Liège to Brussels, packed with foreign girls and under the protection of the police.

Two men from the Society of Friends had already started investigations in Brussels; a third man, a Belgian lawyer, was engaged on a private enquiry. Josephine Butler met all three.

In Belgium, like the rest of the Continent, the State derived an income from the taxation of brothels; but the Belgian penal code forbade the admission to them of girls under sixteen. The Quakers had collected reliable evidence of little girls (many of them British) aged between twelve and fifteen, being sold into prostitution and installed in the *maisons de débauche*.

The Quakers' report was shown to Josephine Butler on her return to London; in addition, a Belgian detective gave her information which enabled her to launch an attack on the traffic that undoubtedly existed.

Her exposure of the violation of the Belgian penal code and the cruelties inflicted upon these children was published in England in May 1880, and appeared in French, Belgian and Italian papers. The rage and uneasiness aroused by the disclosures led to the Belgian authorities' demanding that she should affirm her allegations on oath before a magistrate.

She did so in Liverpool, testifying to everything that she had written. Her statement was first sent to the British Home Office, thence to the Belgian Government, who immediately instituted an enquiry. Police officials, white-slavers and several brothel-keepers

were brought to justice; the revelations in court profoundly shocked the public and authorities.

'Pure vengeance is not our object', Josephine Butler had written in a letter to W. T. Stead, who had shown up the hideous business in a series of articles. 'We are actuated... by pity for the wronged and outraged.' 'Some evidence of the results she hoped for, 'an awakened, indignant public', was seen in the United Kingdom. The City of London formed the Association for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Girls; the British Parliament introduced a Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was passed in August 1885. This law made it an offence, punishable by severe penalties, to procure a girl or woman under twenty-one, not only in England but abroad, and brought the traffic from England to the Continent of Europe to an end.'

ITALY

Josephine Butler was in her mid-sixties in 1893 when, at the request of Italian Abolitionists, she went to Italy to see what could be done to end Regulation there. It was not her first visit to the country on behalf of the cause. About twenty years earlier, she had secured an interview in Rome with the Minister of Justice and Police, whose opinion she failed to alter.

State clinics and compulsory brothels were to be found even in the remotest Italian villages, except in Tuscany, where the peasants fiercely resisted police attempts to register their daughters. The system was, moreover, expensive to run, for it was administered nationally rather than by the municipalities, as it was in France.

When Josephine Butler arrived in Italy the country was in the grip of a severe financial crisis; unemployment was widespread and people were dying of hunger. With her gift for recognizing the right moment to act, she urged those Abolitionists who were parliamentary deputies to attack the question of State-regulation on economic grounds, pointing out the strong case they had to

⁷ A.S.G. Butler, op. cit, page 141.

⁸ The Report of the League of Nations Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children, Geneva, 1927.

put before parliament 'condemning this shameful use of public funds' which could be better spent on bread for the starving.

She realized, too, that a Papal pronouncement against Regulation would carry much weight in Roman Catholic countries, and while in Rome explored the possibilities of making a personal appeal to Pope Leo XIII who, like his predecessor Pius IX, earnestly desired Abolition. Both English cardinals, Manning and Vaughan, were among her staunchest supporters, and had provided her with letters to the Holy See. She did not, however, make use of them, deciding rather to plead her cause 'merely as a humble individual'.9

Plans for her audience with the Pope were all but completed the following spring, when she fell dangerously ill. As soon as she was well enough to travel she was removed to Frascati and thence returned to England. But her efforts had not been in vain. In 1895 Cardinal Vaughan wrote to tell her that the Pope had decided to issue the encyclical she so earnestly sought; entitled *Permoti Nos*, it was issued on July 10th of that year.

GENEVA

The International Abolitionist Federation held its first major congress in Geneva, the place chosen for its permanent head-quarters, in September 1877.

The purpose of the congress, which was promoted by Josephine Butler, Stansfeld and a number of other leading Abolitionists, and attended by over 500 representatives from fifteen countries (some of them as far afield as Russia and the United States), was to ventilate and clarify all the arguments against State-regulation so that Abolitionists everywhere should speak with one voice. To this end, five commissions were appointed, covering every aspect of the subject under the headings: Hygiene, Morality, Economics, Preventive and Rescue Work, and Legislation. Each resolution was first submitted to the particular commission and thereafter put to the vote of the entire assembly. The results were wholly satisfactory. Governments, municipalities and the press throughout

⁹ E. Moberly Bell, Josephine Butler: Flame of Fire, Constable, 1962, page 204.

Europe were sent copies of the proceedings, which concluded with a demand for an immediate end to State-regulation.

Unfortunately, these deliberations had little effect upon the city in which they took place. The State-regulated brothels in Geneva were amongst the oldest on the Continent. Running them had become 'big business'.

Geneva was always a great disappointment to Josephine Butler. No prostitutes were to be seen in the streets only because they were kept shut up in numerous *maisons tolérées*; thrown into hospital week by week as they became diseased, denied Christian burial when they died.

The opposition to State-regulation first showed itself among the working classes of Geneva in 1891, when Josephine Butler took up the cause of some little girls who had been raped by a notorious libertine. Their case had been dismissed and the distraught parents had turned to her for redress. The house to house campaign she organized not only ventilated their grievance, but gave the necessary impetus to a petition in support of Abolition which was signed by 22,000 Genevans and presented to the Grand Council, which ignored it.

But the indifference so long maintained towards the Abolitionists changed to active hostility in the months prior to the day when the male population throughout the canton were to vote on a referendum approving or rejecting State-regulated prostitution. Gangs of the worst elements in the city, paid by the *tenanciers*, broke up the meetings of the Abolitionists and threatened to wreck their headquarters. They were stoned in the streets, reviled in the press and menaced by brothel-keepers carrying fire-arms. The poll was a crushing defeat for the Abolitionist cause.

Tenanciers and brothel-keepers celebrated their victory by processing through the city shouting bawdy songs and smashing the windows of the Abolitionist headquarters on the way.

'I shall never forget that memorable evening and night,' 10 Josephine Butler wrote to her family. But a fortnight later she was able to report that the Abolitionist Federation was gaining more

¹⁰ Letter of Josephine Butler dated March 25th 1896, quoted by George W. and Lucy A. Johnson, op. cit., page 164.

adherents every day. A friend to whom she related all that had happened in Geneva, observed thoughtfully that it was not a defeat, it was the germ of victory. But it was a victory that Josephine Butler did not live to see.

The nine years of life that remained to her were largely spent in writing—books, memoirs, pamphlets, articles—and keeping up a vigorous correspondence with her relations, friends and the members of the Federation. She continued to take a lively interest in contemporary world events almost up to the day of her death, 30th December 1906.

CONCLUSION

Josephine Butler lived long enough to know that her work would go forward. Professor Sheldon Amos, 11 one of the chief supporters of her cause, has stressed the greater difficulties in combatting the European system of State-regulation, which, in the majority of countries who adopted it, was based on police administration rather than on law as it was in England and Sweden, where the Contagious Diseases Acts applied only to individuals and licensed houses did not exist. Even so, it was a European town, Colmar, which as early as 1881 made a stand against the system by closing its licensed brothels and refusing to register prostitutes. Norway followed suit five years later (in the same year that the United Kingdom repealed the Contagious Diseases Acts), and Denmark in 1901. Meanwhile in Switzerland, at various times during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, one canton after another closed its 'houses.' But in Geneva, despite the Federal High Court of Switzerland's pronouncement (in 1907) that the establishment of maisons tolérées was illegal, not until November 1925—shortly before the Abolitionist Federation celebrated its jubilee there—was the last 'house' in the city closed. In France, the birthplace of Regulation, an Extra-Parliamentary Commission appointed by the Government officially condemned the system of the Police des Mœurs in 1905.

¹¹ Sheldon Amos, The Laws in Force for the Prohibition, Regulation or Licensing of Vice in England and other Countries, Stevens & Sons, 1877, page 15 and 227.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER, "THE GREAT FEMINIST"

Within Josephine Butler's lifetime evidence from all parts of the world steadily mounted to convince the medical profession of the uselessness of State-regulation; proving to them that the system—so cruel and unjust to women—far from acting as a safeguard against disease, tended rather to spread it, and encourage promiscuity by giving a sense of security which was entirely false.

Josephine Butler has been called 'the Great Feminist' 12 and, indeed, no woman in history has exerted a more far-reaching influence on the general attitude towards women. As Professor James Stuart 13 has written of her, 'She belongs to all nations and all time,' for her struggle to establish principles of justice and the rights of her sex was not confined to her own country, but extended to Europe and then spread throughout the world.

She perceived that her objective would ultimately embrace far wider issues. These she considered must inevitably lead to raising the status of women, to opening up wider opportunities in the fields of education and employment and eventually granting them full citizenship through woman suffrage.

Today, it is almost impossible to imagine the immense courage she possessed to do what she did. Neither does it diminish her greatness nor detract from her achievement to say simply that she made it safe for a woman to walk alone down a street.

Belinda PEACEY

Editor, News Review British Red Cross Society

¹² A.S.G. Butler, op. cit. page 29.

¹³ The Rt. Hon. James Stuart, Introduction to Josephine E. Butler: An Autobiographical Memoir, George W. & Lucy A. Johnson.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

HELP TO WAR VICTIMS IN NIGERIA

We give below our monthly report on the ICRC relief action in Nigeria and the secessionist province of Biafra. The information given portrays the situation at the end of October 1968.

DEATH OF TWO DELEGATES

On October 2 the International Committee regretfully had to announce the death in Biafra of two of its delegates, Dr. Dragan Herćog, born in 1936, member of the Yugoslav surgical team, and Mr. Robert Carlsson, born 1936, member of a Swedish distribution team.

On October 4 the ICRC issued the following press release:

Following the inquiry conducted by the head of its mission in Nigeria, the International Committee is now able to give details of the circumstances in which two of its delegates and two members of the World Council of Churches met their deaths on 30 September at the Okigwi hospital, during fighting for that town, South-East of Enugu.

As the fighting approached Okigwi, the Yugoslav surgical team running the Okigwi State Hospital ordered the removal of some 200 patients from the hospital. The hospital area, about a hundred yards from the federal forces' main line of attack, was immediately declared a neutral zone. Red Cross notices were placed along the roads leading to the hospital, which clearly displayed the red cross on the roof and doors.

The Yugoslav doctors and Swedish relief workers who had withdrawn to the hospital as the fighting drew near, improvised two shelters and decided to stay put. They were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Savory, of the World Council of Churches.

In the afternoon of 30th September, the ICRC delegates, hearing no further fighting, waved a small red cross flag outside their shelter. A Nigerian officer ordered: "Come all out International Red Cross".

The delegates left their shelter with raised arms. They were surrounded by soldiers. One of them punched Yugoslav doctor Vucinic

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and Swedish delegate Renstroehm. The other soldiers searched everyone, confiscating everything in their pockets. A Nigerian officer tried to intervene, striking his soldiers with a stick. It was then that Dr. Vucinic, head of the Yugoslav surgical team, saw that the soldier who had struck him was loading his weapon. He threw himself to the ground, and all the delegates did the same. There was a volley of shots. A few minutes later Dr. Vucinic stood up and saw that two of the ICRC delegates and Mr. and Mrs. Savory were dead.

The officer commanding the Nigerian battalion in the Okigwi region was immediately informed and sent his Land Rover to convey the bodies and survivors to the command field head-quarters. The ICRC base at Lagos was informed. The ICRC delegates spent the night in camp, exposed to the whim of threatening Nigerians who called them "mercenaries" and "Biafran rebels".

It was not until the following day, 1st October, that the whole

team was escorted to Enugu by a lieutenant.

ICRC Commissioner-General August Lindt has protested strongly to the federal military government, demanding an enquiry, the punishment of those responsible and, above all, the tightening up of orders to Nigerian front-line troops to ensure the safety of Red Cross personnel.

MISSION TO LAGOS

Mr. Roger Gallopin, Member and Director-General of the ICRC was in Lagos from October 12 to 19. Accompanied by Mr. August Lindt, Commissioner-General of the ICRC for West Africa, he was received by Major-General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Military Government of the Federation of Nigeria, in the company of various ministers.

Mr. Gallopin informed the head of the government that the ICRC was prepared, with the support of the federal authorities, to pursue its assistance to all the victims of the conflict and to seek increased contributions which are now proving to be necessary. General Gowon replied that the aid provided by the ICRC would continue to be welcome and that he appreciated the efforts which the ICRC proposed continuing to make with potential donors. The ICRC representative stated that the extent of the action would be conditioned by that of the donation received.

Mr. Gallopin also spoke with Sir Adetokunbo Ademola and Chief Ade S. Ojo, respectively President and Chairman of the Nigerian Red Cross. It was agreed that the National Red Cross Society would continue to be closely associated with the relief action in Nigeria so that it would be in a position to assume it itself as soon as possible. It will also benefit from the assistance of the League of Red Cross Societies which, at the International Committee's request has sent a delegate to Nigeria.

In addition, Mr. Gallopin met Chief E. O. Enahoro, Permanent Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as diplomatic representatives of governments which have contributed to the relief action in Nigeria and whom he informed of his talks with the Nigerian leaders.

Mr. Gallopin also mentioned the conditions in which two ICRC team members lost their lives on September 30 at Okigwi and asked to be informed of the Government's conclusions. He was told an inquiry had been arranged and a report would be communicated to the ICRC on the subject.

RELIEF

Distribution. — During this time the distributing teams continued their work in the field.¹

On the Nigerian side, relief stocks amount to nearly 9,000 tons viz: 5,098 tons in Lagos, 1,224 tons in Enugu, 1,572 tons in Calabar, 408 tons in Uyo, 624 tons in Asbor.

Most of these stocks consist of dried fish, powdered milk, meat preserves and clothing.

In Santa Isabel (Equatorial Guinea), stocks earmarked for Biafra amount to 2,827 tons.

In Biafra itself in which, according to estimates, there are from 6 to 7 million persons, the ICRC teams have set up some 400 distribution centres which feed 650,000 women and children. They have also supplied a food centre for about 250,000 other children.

Thus, the action undertaken has made it possible to avoid a further deterioration of the food situation. At the end of September, the mortality rate appreciably fell in the camps and villages. A few cases of small-pox and dysentry have been reported, but there does not appear to be an epidemic at present.

¹ Plate. — Each week the refugees gather for the food distribution.

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The airlift. — In order to ensure the good running of these centres, it is important that the airlift between Santa Isabel and Biafra functions intensively. Five aircraft, one Swiss, one Swedish, one Finnish, one Norwegian and one Netherlands are carrying out this operation.

Personnel. — The total personnel, whose work is co-ordinated by the ICRC, amounted on October 22 to 459 persons, namely 261 in Nigeria, 107 in Biafra and 91 in Santa Isabel. Of this total there were 127 ICRC delegates.

This action, organized under the aegis of the ICRC, comprises National Red Cross Societies belonging to eleven different countries. These are Denmark, Finland, France, the German Federal Republic, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, USA and Yugoslavia. The "Magen David Adom" (Israel) has also sent a medical team and the following mutual aid organizations are contributing to this effort: Catholic Relief Services, World Council of Churches, Adventist Church, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, Oxford Famine Relief Committee, Roman Catholic Church Mission, Save the Children Fund, Society of Friends (Quakers) and the International Union for Child Welfare.

General situation. — At the end of October this was as follows:

Donations received.—These amounted to 12 million Swiss francs. The ICRC supplemented them with a 3 million franc loan from its own funds. Gifts in kind (food and medicines) were estimated at 28 million francs.

Utilisation.—A total of 12,000 tons of food had been distributed on both sides. Stocks were estimated at 10,000 tons.

Medical supplies distributed amounted to about 2 million francs. ICRC purchases with funds made available to it amounted to 6 million francs for foodstuffs and one million for medical supplies.

Operating expenses.—Seven million francs, whereof $5\frac{1}{2}$ million for all transport and $1\frac{1}{2}$ million for purchase of equipment (vehicles, etc.)

After the death of two delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross

On September 30, 1968, two delegates of the ICRC, Dr. Dragan Herćog, member of the Yugoslav surgical team and Robert Carlsson, member of a Swedish relief team, were killed in the service of the Red Cross during the fighting around Okigwi, a town some 27 miles from Umuahia. Another member of the Swedish team was wounded and had subsequently to be operated upon. Two persons working for the World Council of Churches were also killed in the same spot.

The mortal remains of the two delegates were transported from Nigeria to Sweden and Yugoslavia respectively. They passed through Switzerland and a brief ceremony took place at Zurich-Kloten airport on October 9. Three wreaths from the ICRC, the League and Swiss Red Cross were placed on the coffins covered by the flag of the Red Cross. Amongst those present were Mr. Gonard, President of the ICRC and Dr. de Rougemont, ICRC member, Mr. Beer, Secretary-General of the League, Dr. Mesterovic, President of the Yougoslav Red Cross, Professor von Albertini, former President of the Swiss Red Cross, ICRC doctor-delegates Piderman and Spirgi, the heads of Swedish and Yugoslav diplomatic and consular representations, as well as several officials of the Red Cross international organizations.

As a last tribute to the dead from the head of the institution, Mr. Gonard spoke as follows:

At a moment when the bodies of our two delegates are about to go to their respective countries, to Sweden and Yugoslavia, I would here wish to pay solemn tribute to the devotion of Robert Carlsson and Dr. Dragan Herćog, to the extent of giving their lives.

The International Committee profoundly sympathizes with the sorrow of their families and with that of the Swedish and Yugoslav

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Red Cross Societies, both members of the League and represented today by Mr. Henrik Beer, its Secretary-General.

These new martyrs to the splendid Red Cross ideal remind us that to serve it requires total devotion and personal acceptance of the considerable risks involved.

Like their five hundred comrades at present in Nigeria, they too were conscious of their responsibilities towards the sufferings of mankind and of the victims whose lot they tried to soften and ameliorate.

Moved as they are by the sorrowful duty which they are now accomplishing, the I.C.R.C. and the League will be represented or will continue to be united in thought at the final ceremonies which will be a reminder both in Sweden and Yugoslavia of their delegates' last great sacrifices before whose coffins they make obeisance with much sadness of heart.

Mr. Fischer, representing both the ICRC and the League, accompanied Robert Carlsson's remains to Stockholm airport where a simple ceremony took place, in accordance with the family's wishes. Volunteers of the Swedish Red Cross, in uniform and with their flags, stood behind leading members of the National Society. The President, Mr. Erland von Hofsten gave the following address:

Your country and your compatriots salute you, Robert Carlsson. You have now returned again to Swedish soil. You fell at your post killed by bullets whilst defending a humanitarian cause, in the service of the Red Cross. We the heads of the Swedish Red Cross together with hundreds of thousands of members of the National Society pay tribute to you and your comrades in Nigeria and Biafra. You wanted to bring your own contribution in the struggle undertaken to help your suffering fellow-men.

As a sign of esteem and gratitude, the Swedish Red Cross places on your coffin, covered by the Red Cross emblem, these flowers which will be accompanying you to your last dwelling-place in Horred.

Our thoughts at this moment naturally go with deep compassion to your widow and children.

A minute of silence was observed by all attending, then the flags dipped in salute whilst the funeral party left the airport for Horred



Robert Carlsson

THEY DIED ON RED CROSS SERVICE

Dr Dragan Hercog



where the burial took place of one who had made the supreme sacrifice, whilst serving in one of the relief teams placed by the Swedish Red Cross at the disposal of the ICRC for its action in Nigeria and Biafra.

* * *

On the same day, a special aircraft carried the mortal remains of Dr. Dragan Herćog to Belgrade, accompanied by the young doctor's widow and Mr. Wilhelm, Assistant Director at the ICRC. The funeral took place on October 11 at the capital's main cemetry. The coffin, draped with a Red Cross flag, was guarded by members of the Junior Red Cross and a long procession filed past to pay their respects to the fine and courageous personality of the deceased.

We give some extracts of addresses then delivered:

Dr. D. Mesterovic, President of the Yugoslav Red Cross.—
Dragan Herćog responded to the appeal of the Yugoslav Red Cross and the ICRC in the spirit of socialist humanism, praticising with zeal the noble profession of medicine, united with his comrades at the hospital which bears the name of the national hero Dr. Dragisa Misovic. He volunteered to go to Biafra in the turmoil of civil war, convinced that his skill and knowledge would save many wounded and sick. He left behind his family, his many friends, his beloved Belgrade, certain he was needed as a doctor in an unhappy land where thousands of men, women and children were dying daily without medical care. Impelled by the humanitarian and altruistic ideal, he did not shrink from facing danger, for he held it higher to save the lives of others than to save his own . . .

... Like his father, who gave his life for Yugoslavia's freedom, Dragan Herćog devoted himself entirely to medicine. When he left for Biafra, he had not forgotten the history of our people and of our army medical corps, nor the examples of humanism, dedication and heroism of the many foreign medical missions which saved the lives of our wounded and sick during the Balkan Wars and the two World Wars. Let us remember at this time all the doctors and members of the medical corps who gave their lives in the discharge of their noble medical mission, for the freedom of our peoples. This thought should be of

consolation to us at this distressing time when we leave Dragan Herćog. For his mother, his sister and his wife, there are no words to console them in their grief after this ghastly crime...

... Dragan Herćog will never be forgotten by us.

Mr. R. J. Wilhelm, Assistant Director of the ICRC.—

Dr. Herćog's name has just been added to the list of International Red Cross delegates who have given their lives in the accomplishment of their mission to the very end, a mission which has no distinction of colour, race or belief, but which merely seeks to come to the aid of man in his suffering.

Such sacrifice shows us the greatness of the Red Cross ideal. It also demonstrates that this ideal is always being threatened and that it must always be defended and proclaimed anew, everywhere and not only in Africa. It finally shows us that to be faithful to the memory of these brave men and to the ideal inspiring them, as we know it inspired Dr. Herćog, we of the Red Cross must, without discouragement or scepticism, without respite, pursue in Nigeria and elsewhere that most essential humanitarian work, in spite of the great sorrow we all of us feel and which we so deeply share with the family of the deceased.

Dr. G. Piderman, delegate of the ICRC.—

He carries no arms, not even for protection of his own life, and he takes good care of all victims carried in from the other side of the front. So a man who is serving in Red Cross missions cannot be on the wrong side. His post is and will always remain neutral... This is the way we have seen our friend and colleague Dragan Herćog acting. He has been at the post attributed to him and his comrades by the official ICRC delegates and he stayed there, following their instructions and those of the Geneva Conventions, but finally by his own brave decision, strongly and actively working without any rest, day and night sometimes, as the fury of war action was approaching.

At the end, a funeral march was played whilst a large gathering followed the coffin carried by colleagues of the deceased to the burial site where three speakers described Dr. Herćog's medical career.

* * *

The ICRC thus closely associated itself with the ceremonies which took place in Stockholm and Belgrade, also showing that our whole movement will remember the sacrifice of those who have fallen whilst accomplishing their humanitarian mission. On the other hand, the fact that, in this case, the emblem of the Red Cross had not been sufficient to protect those who were legitimately covered by it, has troubled consciences throughout the world, as can be seen by the testimonies of sympathy which have continously arrived in Geneva once the tragic news was known. We should also mention that, in Sweden as well as in Yugoslavia, the press, radio and television gave wide publicity to the ceremonies which we have described.

This account is now followed by one given by Mr. J. Pictet, Director-General of the ICRC ¹. He writes in final farewell and also as a warning against the dangers which today increasingly threaten the spirit of peace and goodwill symbolized by the Red Cross.

The entire Red Cross is in mourning. Two representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross were killed in Nigeria—together with two representatives of the World Council of Churches—by the bullets of an irresponsible soldier.

They died whilst identifying themselves, defenceless except for the emblem they were wearing and trusted; the emblem which is considered everywhere to be the very symbol of immunity against hostile action.

It was called an "incident". In fact, it was a tragedy which must lead to the most serious thinking. Does it not make us evaluate the greatness and at the same time the hazard of relief missions?

No doubt the murderer was not aware of his crime; no doubt he acted against orders. Nevertheless these servants of the Red Cross died for no reason, victims of blind violence and human stupidity.

Our times are marked by a hardening of hearts and declining international morality. Hatred and fanaticism are triumphant everywhere. If one day the protective value of the Red Cross emblem should be doubted, if the medical profession should be refused the safeguard which it must claim in the interest of those it has to tend, the world would have regressed a hundred years. We would then have to face the

¹ «La leçon d'un drame ». Journal de Genève, October 12, 1968.

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threat that not enough healers would be ready to face all difficulties to rescue the innocent victims wherever war leaves its wake of misery.

However, no individual act, criminal and senseless as it may be, can shake the structure of treaty law which has been patiently elaborated during centuries of effort, in response to the aspirations of peoples and which great minds have recognized as being one of the most solid foundations of civilisation.

On the contrary, such tragic events must lead to better understanding throughout the world of the necessity to observe humanitarian principles in every form of conflict between men, and of the Geneva Conventions of which the aim is to spare non-combatants unnecessary suffering without, however, hindering military forces in the accomplishment of their duty towards their country.

Robert Carlsson of the Swedish Red Cross and Doctor Dragan Herčog of the Yugoslav Red Cross were cut off in their prime at 32 years of age while devoting themselves unsparingly, with a zeal which impressed those familiar with their work, to the wounded and the unhappy starving people in a bloody conflict. What a loss for their families, for their friends, among whom we count ourselves, and for so many unknown persons to whom they could have brought relief had their careers not been so prematurely ended forever.

Faithful to their vocation and to the Hippocratic oath, knowing the risks this type of mission involved, they chose to stay at their posts until the end. These two heroic volunteers are a wonderful example to all servants of the Red Cross. Their names are forever engraved in the great book of humanity.

EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES

Sudan

From August 26 to September 15, ICRC delegate André Tschiffeli was in the Sudan, when he handed the Red Crescent a donation of 5,000 Sudanese Pounds (SW. Fr. 60,000) from the International Committee for the benefit of the many persons uprooted by the disturbances in the South of the country.

The ICRC delegate sat in on a meeting of the National Society's Central Committee to decide on how this welcome assistance could be put to the best use.

Distribution of material was immediately made to refugees in the suburbs of Khartoum.¹

Mr. Tschiffeli also went to Wau, in the Bahr-el-Ghazal province, where he met the governor.

At Juba, the capital of Equitoria province, the delegate met General Ahmed Sherif, commanding the security forces in the South, with whom he discussed the local situation. He handed to the Red Crescent representative the contribution allocated to the area, by far the most affected by the troubles. The bush population have concentrated around the administrative capitals seeking safety from the disturbances.

Middle East

Visits to places of detention.—The ICRC delegation in Israel undertook a further series of visits to prisons in the occupied territories of Gaza and the Jordan West Bank. As previously these will be made the subject of reports to the Detaining Power and the Power of origin. This last round can be added to the other numerous

¹ Plate. — On the outskirts of Khartoum; families from the South are given material by an ICRC delegate.

and regular visits made to places of detention carried out by the delegates of the ICRC in the routine of their customary work.

Syrian pilots in Israel.—Representations are in process to obtain the repatriation to Syria from the Israeli authorities of the two Syrian pilots who had landed with their aircraft on an Israeli airfield at the beginning of August and who are still detained in prison at Sarafand. They were visited by the ICRC delegates to whom they handed family messages which were transmitted to Syria.

The boarding of Egyptian fishing boats.—The Egyptian authorities requested the ICRC on September 16, to intervene with the Israeli Government on behalf of the sixteen crew members of the boats "Ahli" and "Danchwai", boarded by the Israeli navy on September 4.

Following the intervention of the ICRC delegates in Israel, the sixteen fishermen were released. They were repatriated on September 21 in their own boats.

A further group of three Egyptian fishermen was also held and examined by Israeli forces. The delegates of the ICRC visited these detainees in Ramleh prison on September 30 and they were released and repatriated to the UAR via Cyprus on October 1.

Family reunions.—On 17 October a further operation to reunite families took place at El Qantara. It was organized by the ICRC delegates in Egypt and Israel, like those which occurred previously, and involved 203 Palestinians returning to occupied territory, and 246 Egyptians bound for the UAR.

Red Crescent branches.—A number of representations have been made by the ICRC delegates to the Israeli authorities to enable the Red Crescent branch in El Arish to resume its humanitarian activities in the occupied UAR territory of North Sinai, Several branches of the Red Crescent West of Jordan have already received from the Israeli authorities some facilities to resume their activity, with the assistance of the ICRC delegates.

Distributions of powdered milk.—By the end of October, the ICRC has distributed more than 20 tons of powdered milk in Jordan West Bank territory and North Sinai.

A further consignment of 30 tons has been sent to the occupied territories and will be distributed by the ICRC delegates with the co-operation of local relief organizations.

Meeting of ICRC heads of delegations.—The heads of delegations in the Middle East met in Nicosia on October 22, presided over by Mr. Pierre Gaillard, Assistant Director of the ICRC.

This quarterly meeting, which is of undoubted usefulness, permits better co-ordination of the ICRC's activities in the Middle East. The last meeting had taken place on July 3 and 4 in Istanbul.

Yemen

Having arrived on September 22 in Najran via Jeddah, the ICRC surgical team was briefed on its mission by Mr. André Rochat, head of the ICRC delegation in the Arabian Peninsula. On October 4 it proceeded to its place of work near the fighting areas, led by Mr. Jean-Paul Herman, ICRC delegate.

During the long journey across the desert, liaison was maintained between the medical team on the move, the ICRC delegation in Jeddah and the ICRC in Geneva by a radio-operator who accompanied it to its base in order to ensure the satisfactory installation of the field post.

It should be recalled that this surgical team is directed by Dr. James Paramore and comprises a medical student, Mr. Franco Borella, assistant and anaesthetist, as well as three male nurses, Mr. Edwin Haederli, Mr. Pierre Savary and Mr. Bernard Conus.

The recrudescence of hostilities having considerably increased the number of war wounded, the team had a difficult task to face on its arrival. In this connection it should be pointed out that, for example, on October 18 it gave treatment to 150 wounded and hospitalized sick and performed 15 operations.

Aden

A new surgical team.—Dr. Tsanin Dobrev and Dr. Stanislas Baev, placed for the second time at the ICRC's disposal by the Bulgarian Red Cross, ended their mission on October 17 at the Aden Central Hospital, where they had been installed since July 13 of this year.

A new surgical team obligingly made available to the ICRC by the Rumanian Red Cross, has arrived in Aden. Dr. Dobrev is remaining on the spot until its arrival, to ensure the hand-over to this relief team which will consist of Dr. Nicolni Ionescu, Dr. Clement Baciu and an anaesthetist. These two surgeons had already successfully carried out a previous mission in Aden.

Visits to detainees.—As a result of representations made by the ICRC mission in the Arab Peninsula, the Aden delegation has been authorized to resume its activity on behalf of detainees. On October 7 and 8, the ICRC delegates visited the prison at Mansura, where there were about 200 detainees. They received every facility to inquire into the detention conditions and to speak with many detainees.

Italy

The President of the International Committee visited the Italian Red Cross from 23 to 26 September 1968. This was for him a welcome opportunity to meet H. E. Mr. G. Potenza, President, as well as notables of the National Society, and to give a talk on the ICRC's present-day activities.

During his stay in Rome he was received by H. E. Mr. Saragat, President of the Republic, and H. E. Mr. Medici, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who announced a further 100 million Lire donation from the Italian government towards the ICRC's work in Nigeria.

He was received in audience the following day by His Holiness Pope Paul VI, who expressed his wishes for the success of the Red Cross humanitarian work.

He also visited a number of charitable organizations with headquarters in Rome and which are in close touch with the International Committee, such as Caritas Internationalis and the Order of Malta.

During his visit to the various services of the National Society, Mr. Gonard was pleased to note how extensive were the tasks accomplished to-day by the Italian Red Cross.

NIGERIA



Each week the refugees gather for the food distribution (centre, an ICRC delegate).



On the outskirts of Khartoum, families from the South...

SUDAN

... are given material by an ICRC delegate.



IN GENEVA

Death of Leopold Boissier, member and former President of the ICRC

The accidental death on October 22, 1968, of its former President, Leopold Boissier, was a severe blow to the International Committee. It will, with faithful gratitude, always remember this man who gave of his best, both intellectually and morally, in the service of the Red Cross.

Leading members of the Geneva cantonal and municipal authorities, the diplomatic corps, international organizations and the university attended the funeral, as well as the presidents of the Red Cross Societies of the Federal Republic of Germany and of Switzerland, the Secretary-General of the League and many members and personnel of the ICRC. Mr. Gonard, the President of the ICRC, in his oration recalled what the work of the Red Cross owed to our departed colleague, to whom he paid the following tribute:

Everything in our late colleague's career seemed to indicate that it was his destiny to serve the Red Cross, and particularly the International Committee, which founded it.

He was the son of an ancient Genevese family in which dedication to one's fellow-man was like a second nature and which has left lasting marks of its concern for the unfortunates of this world, particularly in the form of a foundation. It is known, moreover, that Mrs. de Gasparin, who was born a Boissier, helped Henry Dunant during his early difficulties. No less a tradition was the silence maintained about the good performed, a Christian virtue rarely encountered today and which enhances the value of generosity. This was the noble school in which he was raised by his father, Edmond Boissier who, throughout his life, was a member and then Vice-President of the International Committee, and

who, in 1920, was the first to outline the principles of the Red Cross which are today universally proclaimed.

The various stages of Leopold Boissier's so full life contributed greatly to forming what I venture to call "his Red Cross personality". He was a Doctor of Laws, a professor of comparative constitutional law at Geneva University, and the qualities of the jurist and the scholar were discernible in this man who, even before becoming President, directed the ICRC Legal Commission and a working group to define its terms of reference and its programme.

Then, at the head of the ICRC, he was the watchful guardian of its doctrine, seeing that the institution did not stray from the straight and narrow path laid down by the founders, for he knew that from this rectitude it would draw its strength and prestige.

He was also a diplomat who began his rise under the aegis of Gustave Ador and Max Huber in the service of the Swiss nation; his diplomacy was manifest when he presided over the ICRC whose international activity implied close connections with the representatives of all countries. In this, with the thorough-bred courtesy for which he was known, Leopold Boissier worked felicitously to smooth out difficulties, avoid disputes and forge links of trust and effective co-operation with the leaders of various countries, for he understood that the future and success of the Red Cross depended on its unity and universality.

A third facet of his personality is reflected in his activity as the Secretary-General of the Interparliamentary Union and President of associations working for peace, whilst he was an indefatigable advocate for the promotion of human rights, respect for minority groups and the advent of a world of greater justice where oppression would be banished. This led him, within the Red Cross, to work in favour of better understanding among the nations and for the development of the spirit of peace. We shall not forget that it was while he was President that the ICRC was called upon, during the Cuba crisis when world peace seemed momentarily threatened, to act as arbiter. Credit is due to Leopold Boissier for having understood in that grave hour that the ICRC could not evade the issue without failing in its mission.

The President's task is hardly distinguishable from that of an institution. I would, however, mention some fields in which he made a very personal contribution and where he left his mark. He was a member of the International Committee of the Red Cross from 1946 and was

elected President in September 1955. In the following year he had the heavy responsibility of directing the ICRC's activities during the events of Hungary and Suez. He himself went to Budapest in February 1957, and in November of the same year he led the ICRC delegation at the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross in New Delhi, where he took the chair at the Council of Delegates.

Under his guidance, the ICRC had to assume ever greater tasks, whilst conflicts among men increased, and more delicate tasks too, as these conflicts were no longer the normal type of international wars, but rather internal disturbances, those "wars in all but name" as he called them. Events did not take him unwares and the 1963 award of the Nobel Prize jointly to the ICRC and the League of Red Cross Societies, our sister society, was a veritable crowning to his career.

That same year, our colleague had the privilege—and he certainly deserved it—of presiding over the Red Cross Centenary Congress and of taking part in the ceremonies commemorating the institution's century in the city where it was born and to which he never failed to do credit throughout his life of moral integrity and selfless service to mankind.

When Boissier resigned his presidential office in 1964 he was paid moving tributes from delegates of many National Societies gathered in Geneva.

But on ceasing to be President, our late lamented colleague by no means ceased his activities. He continued to be a member of the Committee, the Presidential Council and the Legal Commission, where his experience and views commanded respect. He had even embarked on a new undertaking, by participating in the founding and guiding of the Henry Dunant Institute, a sort of Red Cross university, still inchoate yet already showing enormous promise.

Death took him from us when he still had much to give, ready to continue devoting himself unselfishly to the relief of human suffering whenever a noble cause appealed to his innate sense of justice and fraternal ideal. My colleagues and I shall always remember this brave and upright man who deserved well of humanity and who will for a long time to come be an example to the generations who will have the formidable honour of following in his footsteps.

The ICRC action in the Middle East

Until the autumn of 1968 the ICRC's work in the Middle East in connection with the Israeli-Arab conflict was as follows.

After having completed its action on behalf of the wounded (First Geneva Convention) and of prisoners of war (Third Geneva Convention) originating from various States parties to the conflict of June 1967, the ICRC is now working for the protection of civilians in territories occupied by Israel. Twelve delegates are pursuing this humanitarian mission in Tel Aviv, in Jerusalem for Jordan West Bank territory, in Gaza for Egyptian territory in Gaza and Sinai and in Kuneitra for Syrian territory in the Golan.

Furthermore, the ICRC has four delegations in the neighbouring Arab States, in the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon which, working together with those countries' National Societies, arrange for the reuniting of families as well as for a large number of repatriations, ensure the transmission of family messages and do everything possible to help the many victims of the conflict.

Whilst carrying out their mission these delegates naturally maintain close touch with their opposite numbers in Israel and in the occupied territories. A co-ordinating meeting, moreover, takes place every three months in Nicosia, directed by ICRC representatives from Geneva.

Basing its action on the principles of humanity and the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention, the ICRC has so far received a certain number of practical facilities from the Israeli authorities upon which its delegates can act on behalf of civilians in the occupied territories.

In broad outline the ICRC's action consists first of all in organizing several relief actions for needy persons, mainly on the Jordan West Bank and in Sinai. In this way, more than 40 tons of powdered

milk, provided by the ICRC and National Societies, have been despatched to these occupied territories and are in the process of distribution. Medical supplies have been donated to various hospitals. In addition, several thousand articles of warm clothing, blankets, tent covers supplied by the same donors, were distributed by the delegates during the cold winter of 1967-1968.

The ICRC also despatched two consignments to Sinai, the first of 75 tons and the second of 300 tons of food from the Red Crescent of the United Arab Republic. These food supplies were distributed to the inhabitants of North Sinai, notably in El Arish.

Furthermore, the delegates of the ICRC have obtained permission from the occupation authorities for most of the Red Crescent branches in West Bank territory and the Red Crescent branch at El Arish in Sinai to continue their work. The ICRC has attempted to intensify and extend their field of activity by bringing financial and material aid with the help of a number of National Societies.

Finally, the ICRC delegates regularly visit the Arab detainees numbering about 1,800 held in ten prisons in Israel and the occupied territories. They have obtained improvements in their detention conditions.

It is not necessary to go into detail here regarding the direct aid given by ICRC delegates to the civilian population in arranging for the exchange of family messages, the many reunions of Arab families dispersed by the conflict, assistance to large numbers of individual cases, etc.

As can be seen, the activities briefly outlined above are important, and the ICRC is attempting to pursue and extend them by constantly adapting its action as events develop.

However, on the legal level, whilst the International Committee of the Red Cross has always maintained that the Fourth Convention was applicable overall in the three occupied territories, the Israeli Government, in spite of the ICRC's persistent representations, has declared that it wished "to leave in abeyance for the time being" the question of the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied territories, preferring to act on a pragmatical basis by granting delegates practical facilities.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the Geneva Conventions are treaties drawn up between States and that consequently the governments signatories to the Geneva Conventions are alone responsible for their strict application. The International Committee of the Red Cross, however, which has never been requested to act as a substitute in the absence of a protecting Power, neither by the Powers whose territories are occupied not by the occupying Power, is attempting to pursue its action in accordance with the general principles of humanitarian law, as laid down in the Fourth Geneva Convention, and within the limits of the practical facilities granted by the Government of Israel.

HENRY DUNANT INSTITUTE

PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE MODERN STATE AND THE RED CROSS

The Red Cross must reconcile two diametrically opposed imperatives. It is thus faced with a contradiction which is perhaps its major problem.

To follow its calling and safeguard that which is its quintessence and force, it must remain true to itself. That is why it is increasing measures to ensure its constancy; it is hedged in by its statutes, it lays down rigid conditions for the recognition of new National Societies, it enunciates intangible principles. But to continue to be effective in its struggle against suffering, it must, on the other hand, continually change. Its methods, means and structure, its very language, must vary and diversify to suit the times and places where it discharges its mission.

We must admire the Red Cross for having, for more than a century, accomplished a feat in remaining true to its ideal and, at the same time, in evolving to a remarkable degree. However, the question remains: has the world around it not changed even more rapidly and radically? Has the Red Cross nevertheless been lagging behind?

It is within the purview of the Henry Dunant Institute, as a centre of study and research, to endeavour to answer such a question. The Red Cross is an auxiliary to the public authorities; the State is its main interlocutor. There consequently, is where a beginning must be made; hence the theme "The Modern State and the Red Cross" for this first discussion panel in Geneva, from 11 to 13 September 1968.

The discussion was conceived and desired by the President which the Henry Dunant Institute has just had the sorrow of losing, Mr. Leopold Boissier. Who could have foreseen that it would be the last Red Cross event on which he was to leave the mark of his so vigorously original personality!

"We hope", he said at the beginning of the first day, "that this meeting will be further testimony to the vitality of the Red Cross, to its adaptability to present-day demands, and to the solidarity which unites all who have the privilege of serving it". This hope was not to go unfulfilled.

Some hundred participants, including representatives of the International Committee, the League and fifteen National Societies, heard the delivery of some remarkable papers, all of which showed how wide is the scope for the Red Cross in the modern world.

General André Beaufre and Mrs. Denise Bindschedler, member of the ICRC and professor at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, demonstrated that, in ethics and law, the Red Cross, provided it continues to be realistic in its approach, has the means of alleviating the evils of war.

Dr. Pierre Dorolle, Assistant Director-General of the World Health Organisation, was well placed to give proof that the more medicine becomes an affair of the State, the more it becomes apparent that there are certain tasks which private bodies alone can carry out.

What is the Red Cross function in emergent countries? Canon Burgess Car's exposition made clear how great it was, but also how difficult.

International Review of the Red Cross will publish several of the papers which were delivered. In addition, the Henry Dunant Institute has announced its own forthcoming publication which will reflect the wealth of subject matter of this useful three-day discussion.

RED CROSS AT INTERNATIONAL WELFARE CONFERENCE

A meeting of the League of Red Cross Societies, a member agency of the International Council on Social Welfare, was held for world-wide Red Cross participants in the ICSW's XIVth Conference conducted in Helsinki, Finland, 19-24 August, 1968.

The meeting at the Finnish Red Cross Headquarters was jointly conducted by General Martola, President of the Finnish Red Cross, and Miss Monique Esnard, the League's official representative to the conference, which discussed aspects of "Social Welfare and Human Rights".

The Red Cross participants were told of programmes of the host Society and visited its Blood Centre, a hospital for plastic surgery, and other installations.

Mr. Frederic Siordet, Vice-President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, addressed the meeting on "Protection of the human being in armed conflicts", his conclusions being:

The study of the history of the Red Cross and of the humanitarian Conventions postulates two observations.

First: that the Red Cross was born in 1863 and was carried on with remarkable momentum, was due to the favourable moral "climate" of the time. Under the influence of philosophical and religious movements, people were more responsive than formerly to the suffering of others and to human solidarity.

Secondly, in the sphere of Red Cross work action precedes law. Powers are ever more sensitive about their national sovereignty, and even more so in time of war than in time of peace. They never agree to limitations, being placed unconditionally on that sovereignity. They only consent in as much as experience has proved it does them no harm. The first Geneva Convention of 1864 might never have seen the light of day but for the events of Solferino. All extensions of this Convention and its successors, as well as their improvements, have merely sanctioned, by providing future legal bases, earlier achievements due, for the most part, to action taken by the ICRC or some Protecting Powers.

If we are to bring to a halt civilization's mad race to apparent self-destruction, if we are to struggle against the spirit of war and,

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

in the event of war, if we are to contend with it to save its victims, that favourable "climate" must be restored. What is needed is that all men of good will, and those of the Red Cross to begin with, persist in continuing the work of mercy, in other words to proclaim, illustrate and finally impose on the world what has saved millions of human beings and can yet save millions more, namely "the moral value of human life".

Miss Esnard reported on social welfare congresses in which the League participated, either through its secretariat or the National Society of the host country, and on the IVth Red Cross International Seminar on Welfare Service, held in Rosenön, Sweden in the Spring of 1967. We would also mention that the League was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare.

THE HOSPITAL SHIP "HELGOLAND"

It is known that a hospital ship has been sent to Vietnamese waters by the German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany. When giving an account in Bonn at the beginning of October of two years' activity, Dr. A. Schlögel, Secretary-General of that National Society, stated that the action in progress has entirely fulfilled its initiators' hopes and is expected to continue throughout 1969.

In two years, 18,910 sick have been given treatment. During the same period, 3210 sick were installed in the ship, whilst 15,700 were cared for at aid posts set up by the "Helgoland".

At Da Nang (where the vessel sailed after being initially at Saigon), the number of war-wounded civilians has considerably increased. Most of the sick are children up to the age of 15 who at certain times represent more than 40% of the non-ambulatory patients.

AWARD OF THE NANSEN MEDAL TO A MEMBER OF THE RED CROSS

The person to whom Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, presented the 1968 Nansen medal on October 10 last, in Geneva, was an active member of the Red Cross movement, Mr. Bernard Arcens. He is President of the Senegal Red Cross Casamance regional committee.

Since 1963, Mr. Arcens has been exerting every effort to organize local emergency relief to the refugees coming into the Casamance region. It was in recognition of Mr. Arcens' work that the Nansen Medal Committee decided unanimously to pay tribute to this dedicated member of the Red Cross.

During his visit to the League of Red Cross Societies Mr. Arcens mentioned that in 1965 the Senegal Red Cross had appealed to the League for assistance in launching, in close co-operation with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, an emergency medical

programme for the benefit of the refugees arriving in Casamance. He paid warm tribute to the nurse who took part in that action through the offices of the League and several National Societies

India

In spite of the heavy burden imposed on it by two difficult years, the Indian Red Cross in 1967 was able not only to continue, but to extend its many humanitarian and charitable activities. This is made clear in the Annual Report submitted by Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Chairman of the Society's Managing Body, to the 1968 Annual General Meeting at New Delhi in April under the chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Husain, President of India.¹

¹ See Indian Red Cross Society, Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting, New Delhi, 1968.

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

The Indian Red Cross, Mr. Chandrasekhar stated, may be rightly proud of having helped more than a million and a half women and children, sick and disabled, in regions affected by natural disaster during the year under review. More than 10,000 Red Cross distribution centres were organized during the two years of drought and distributed to disaster victims 10,000 tons of powdered milk and other foodstuffs, 50 million vitamin tablets and 250,000 articles of clothing and blankets.

"We are conscious of the fact", he said, "that we would not have been able to carry through this vast relief operation—much bigger than any project undertaken so far by the Indian Red Cross, or perhaps any sister society—without the most generous support that we received from the League, the ICRC, the government of India and many others from different parts of the world and from within the country."

The report reviews the work carried out by the Indian Red Cross both nationally and internationally, which included dispatch of relief consignments to victims of conflicts, medico-social services, blood banks, nurse training, organization of family planning centres and the recruiting of more than 375,000 new adherents to the Junior Red Cross. Such were the operations successfully carried out by the National Society in the course of a particularly fruitful year.

Switzerland

The first National Red Cross Societies, including the Swiss Red Cross, were created as a result of Henry Dunant's wish to see civilians taking a voluntary part in caring for wounded and sick soldiers.

This obligation of placing trained, professional nursing personnel at the disposal of the Army Medical Service led the Swiss Red Cross to found in 1899 its own nursing school and to concern itself generally with the development of treatment of the wounded. Since

1951, this task, namely "the professional development of female and male nurses and the supervision of their training in schools recognized by the Swiss Red Cross" devolves upon it by Federal decree and its activity since then, connected with the medical and auxiliary professions, care of the chronic sick, ergotherapy, training of laboratory assistants, has been ever more widely extended.

In view of the increased dangers to which the civilian population would be subjected in a total war, the Red Cross can no longer restrict itself to supporting the Army Medical Service. It must also foresee how it can best bring aid to the civilian victims of an eventual conflict. This necessitated co-operating with the Federal Office of Civil Defence and this new and additional task figures in the revised statutes of the Swiss Red Cross of 1963. The public has in particular to be informed of possible dangers and measures to be taken as protection against them, to have personnel trained for civil defence needs and for civilian hospitals and to constitute sufficient reserves of equipment. To ensure the training of large numbers of nursing reinforcements (Samaritans, first-aiders, Red Cross auxiliary hospital nurses) the Swiss Red Cross also counts on the assistance of its auxiliary institutions. The large network of Samaritan sections of the Alliance suisse des Samaritains, the most important auxiliary institution of the Swiss Red Cross spreads out to all regions of the country and the most distant places. The 1250 or so sections of Samaritans in Switzerland today carry out the most valuable work for the people's well-being. However, the threat of a possible war renders it necessary to set up a system of aid in the event of disaster on as wide a base as possible.

With this end in view, the Alliance suisse des Samaritains increasingly extends its activity and will also participate in the development of civil defence by training Samaritans and first-aid workers. First-aid measures for saving lives can also be taught to adolescents and for this reason courses for young rescuers are regularily organized under the auspices of the Junior Red Cross and the Swiss Rescue Society.

The various Red Cross branches, for their part, organize homecare courses and courses for voluntary auxiliary nurses thanks to which women and young girls can acquire knowledge making them

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

capable of assisting professional nurses by carrying out certain simple duties at the bedside of the sick in hospital.

What is the end of all these efforts? It is that in each family there would be at least one person able to give elementary treatment to a sick or wounded person. This is advisable and necessary in time of peace when one considers our over-crowded hospitals and the frequency of accidents occurring not only outside but also in the home or else at work. In time of war, it is evident that the situation will be still more precarious. Apart from the fact that there would be a shortage of doctors, nurses, hospital beds, the morale of the population will be improved by knowing that many private individuals are prepared to face emergency situations and know at least what essential measures should be taken at the outset.

Besides treatment to be given to the wounded and sick, there is also assistance to the aged and handicapped whom the effects of indiscriminate warfare will not spare either. Arrangements must also be made to aid those people if necessary. In this connection, calls may be made upon voluntary Red Cross male and female assistants who at present are already accustomed, within the branches, to deal with aged and handicapped persons and could render valuable services in aid centres for the homeless and refugee camps.

As regards assistance to the homeless, it should be pointed out that in certain places those in charge of local civil defence organizations and Red Cross branches have combined to instal in common an improvised reception centre or a depot for material.

In the event of war or disaster, the blood transfusion service will also play a much larger part than in time of peace. The blood transfusion service of the Swiss Red Cross comprises regional centres whose principal task it is to supply preserves of fresh blood to hospitals and to the medical corps and also the Central Laboratory in Berne whose modern installations manufacture blood derivative products and kits. The Swiss Red Cross in addition has specialists available for the working of underground army workshops. It has, moreover, signed a contract with the army concerning the supplying of dried plasma and the blood transfusion service can in addition count on blood donations in military colleges.

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

Much reliance is placed on the young to publicise first-aid. Adolescents, in fact, learn with pleasure and facility, most of the time they like giving aid and assuming responsibility. Consequently, the Red Cross tries to win over the youth to its cause. In Switzerland, the Junior Red Cross has made fresh strides since the Second World War. Its programme of work aims at inculcating in the young the principles which it should follow in adult life; to serve the cause of health and help one's neighbour, to cultivate international friendship and understanding amongst peoples, to encourage the wish to be useful, to learn how to take responsibilities and to show tolerance to others. All these qualities are indeed indispensable for the maintenance of peace in all quarters. The Swiss Red Cross therefore hopes that by giving youth the opportunity of participating in its humanitarian work, to show it at the same time the path it should follow.¹

¹ The above article appeared in the review *La Croix-Rouge suisse*, Berne, 1968. No 1.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

"KAMPF OHNE WAFFEN" 1

These two well illustrated volumes edited by Erich Grassl will be of interest to the young since they describe the characters and work of those who to a high degree worked for others and thus deserve sympathy and also enthusiasm because of the effect and durability of their achievements.

The first volume contains the biographies of famous figures in XIXth Century history: Florence Nightingale and Henry Dunant. A vivid account is given of the Crimean War, the persistent struggle to improve conditions for nurses, which is followed by a description of Dunant at Castiglione, then in Geneva where, after writing "A Memory of Solferino", he became the animator of a small group which was to found the Red Cross.

Biographical sketches are made of three fine characters: the Reverend Wilhelm Löhe (1808-1822); Dominikus Ringeisen (1835-1904), founder of the "Ursberg" Institute in Swabia for crippled, blind, deaf and epileptic children and known as the "Stadt der Nächstenliebe"; and Albert Schweitzer.

In the second volume, several contributors give lively accounts of five courageous beings whose work was far-reaching enough to instigate and make effective relief actions and the founding of institutions of a humanitarian character today. These are Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1831-1910), St. John Bosco (1815-1888), Marie Juchacz (1879-1956) and Johann Heinrich Wichern (1808-1881). A Swedish woman, Elsa Brandström, who holds a place of honour in the history of the Red Cross, is also to be found in this useful contribution to humanitarian achievement. It should be recalled that during the First World War and in the following years she devoted her life to German and Austrian prisoners of war in Russia. Eruptive typhus which she had contracted whilst caring for them did not prevent her from continuing her work, when cured, going from one camp to another, bringing clothing, medicines and moral comfort to them. I.-G. L.

¹ Verlag Ludwig Auer, Donauwörth, 1967, Vol. 1, 144 p., Vol. II, 172 p.

The ILO approach to human rights, by C. Wilfred Jenks, ILO Panorama, Geneva, 1968, Number 32.

Nineteen sixty-eight, the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has been designated by the General Assembly of the United Nations as the International Year for Human Rights.

Nineteen sixty-nine, the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the International Labour Organisation and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration of Philadelphia, is to be celebrated as the International Year for Social Justice.

The sequence is an accident of history but gives appropriate expression to the intimacy of the relationship between human rights and social justice in the strategy of peace. Without human rights, guaranteed by civil liberties, such social justice as may be achieved is the gift of power, precarious because limited by the vision, interests and fears of the powerful; without social justice, such human rights as may be achieved, limited to civil liberties and economic opportunities for those who can grasp them, offer none of the fullness of life to the common man; without human rights and social justice there can be no solid foundation for an enduring peace; without an enduring peace, human rights and social justice remain at the mercy of the arbitrary interference with personal freedom and diversion of resources from social to military purposes which are the invariable consequences of armed conflict. Human rights, social justice and peace are inseparable facets of the freedom and dignity of man...

... In none of these matters is it sufficient to enunciate broad policies or formulate general international standards. The specifics of application make all the difference between theory and reality. Inquiry, reporting, complaint and enforcement procedures are no less necessary than legal standards to the sustained thrust of the war against "man's inhumanity to man".

The acceptability of such procedures, still too often regarded as an affront to national pride, presupposes a general recognition that they are a necessary element in the arrangements whereby society protects its common values against erosion or contempt. The confidence which they inspire depends on the measure in which they combine the most scrupulous thoroughness with the most scrupulous objectivity. The ILO has an exceptional experience of the operation of such procedures in this spirit which may be of great value for their further development.

Over a wide range of economic and social rights, technical co-operation and operational programmes have become of major importance in making international standards effective in practice. Freedom from forced labour, freedom of association and freedom from discrimination

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

are so closely related to matters of acute political controversy that it is not surprising that technical co-operation in these fields should have lagged far behind what has been done in such politically more neutral fields as training, management development, conditions of work, health and safety, and social security.

New forms of technical co-operation may become desirable as such co-operation impinges on acutely political issues, but the whole practice of technical co-operation for economic and social development between world organisations and governments is so new that its purpose, scope and methods must still be regarded as experimental. Major developments, far from being improbable, are to be anticipated. They may include ways of coming to grips more closely with these ticklish issues. Orderly and constructive industrial relations, for instance, are primarily an art of dialogue between partners who respect, trust and keep faith with each other. What part can the ILO play in teaching the practice as well as the philosophy of this art of dialogue?

On the eve of the International Year for Social Justice it is important to reassess the adequacy of what has been achieved in all these matters to the scale of the present and prospective need for effective action, and the adequacy of the methods of action and resources available to the immensity of the challenge which this need presents.

The objective is to get the maximum social dividend from economic growth through what the Declaration of Philadelphia describes as "the fuller and broader utilisation of the world's productive resources"; the attainment of that objective is, as the Declaration likewise affirms, "a matter of concern to the whole civilised world" which calls for "continuous and concerted international effort"; the ILO contribution to the promotion of human rights has already transformed world thinking on the subject and had a substantial practical impact, but it has only just begun. The first half-century of the ILO represents no more than a day in the progress of social justice in the world community.

Medical Schools in Africa, World Health, World Health Organization, Geneva, July, 1968.

What is the situation at the present time? There are eleven medical schools in eight countries of Middle Africa. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Madagascar, Nigeria and Uganda these schools were set up before independence. Since then others have appeared in Ivory Coast, Rwanda, and Tanzania. New ones are now planned in Cameroon and Kenya.

In Asia and Latin America, there is hardly any country of more than three million population that does not have a medical school. In the African Region there are still nine such countries without a medical school, and seven of these as yet have no plans for setting one up.

In the eleven medical schools now functioning, a total of 170 African students were expected to terminate their studies in 1967 and by 1970, the total yearly output should be around 400 graduates. How inadequate this is can be seen from the following calculation: The population of the African Region, now approximately 200 million, is increasing at a rate of 2%, or by about 4 million per year. If at least one doctor is needed for 10,000 people, 400 new graduates are required each year simply to keep pace with the normal increase in population. In medical training, the countries of Africa have to run in order to remain in the same place.

But a crucial question must be answered. Will health progress remain dependent on foreign personnel indefinitely? Is it not time to make a fresh effort, and deliberately plan for the day when African countries, in line with the rest of the world, will have health services manned by their own nationals trained in their own medical schools and institutions? The replies to these questions will determine the direction and scope of Africa's health progress in the next twenty years.

Finnish Nurses Found a Research Institute, Aila Leminen, International Nursing Review, Basel, 1968, Vol. 15, No. 2.

For the past 40 years Finnish nurses have taken a keen interest in nursing research. Many are today doing postgraduate studies in fields related to nursing. The Finnish Foundation for Nursing Education which had formed its own research committee, was the prime mover with the Finnish Federation of Nurses in setting up a Nursing Research Institute opened in 1966. The Institute, financed by a Sponsoring Association, employs two researchers whose scientific work is directed by a Research Council of University teachers. Present subjects of research are: basic dimensions of nursing and nurses' participation in decision-making in hospitals.

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

(AGREED AND AMENDED ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1952)

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

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

- ART. 2. As an association governed by Articles 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code, the ICRC shall have legal personality.
- ART. 3. The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva. Its emblem shall be a red cross on a white ground. Its motto shall be "Inter arma caritas".

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

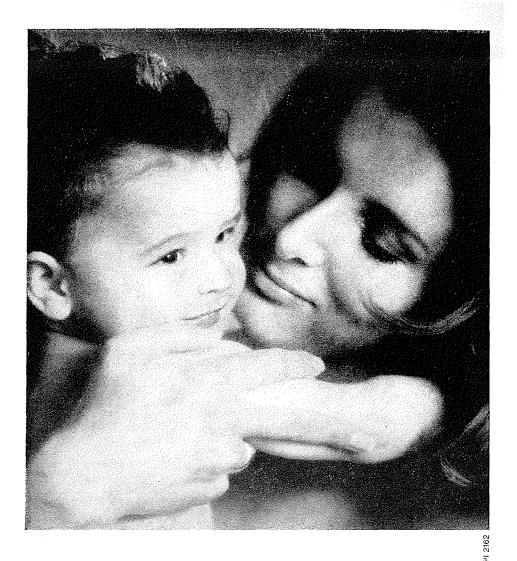
- (a) to maintain the fundamental and permanent principles of the Red Cross, namely: impartiality, action independent of any racial, political, religious or economic considerations, the universality of the Red Cross and the equality of the National Red Cross Societies;
- (b) to recognize any newly established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

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

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

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

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



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ADDRESSES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEES

- AFGHANISTAN Afghan Red Crescent, Kabul.
- ALBANIA Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga Barrikadavet, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA Central Committee of the Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis Boulevard Mohamed V, Algiers.
- ARGENTINE Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrigoyen 2068, Buenos Aires.
- AUSTRALIA Australian Red Cross, 122-128 Flinders Street, Melbourne, C. 1.
- AUSTRIA Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, Vienna IV.
- BELGIUM Belgian Red Cross, 98, Chaussée de Vleurgat, Brussels 5.
- BOLIVIA Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simon-Bolivar, 1515 (Casilla 741), La Paz.
- BRAZIL --- Brazilian Red Cross, Praça da Cruz Vermelha 10-12, Rio de Janeiro.
- BULGARIA Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. S.S. Biruzov, Sofia.
- BURMA Burma Red Cross, 42, Strand Road, Red Cross Building, Rangoon.
- BURUNDI Red Cross Society of Burundi, rue du Marché 3, P.O. Box 1324, Bujumbura.
- CAMBODIA Cambodian Red Cross, 17 R Vithei Croix-Rouge, P.O.B. 94, Phnom-Penh.
- CAMEROON Central Committee of the Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, Yaoundé.
- CANADA Canadian Red Cross, 95 Wellesley Street East, Toronto 5.
- CEYLON Ceylon Red Cross, 106 Dharmapala Mawatte, Colombo VII.
- CHILE Chilean Red Cross, Avenida Santa Maria 0150, Casilla 246 V., 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.
- CONGO Red Cross of the Congo, 41, Avenue Valcke, P.O. Box 1712, Kinshasa.
- COSTA RICA Costa Rican Red Cross, Calle 5a Apartado 1025, San José.
- CUBA Cuban Red Cross, Calle Zulueta 471, Havana.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, Prague I.
- DAHOMEY Red Cross Society of Dahomey,
- P.O. Box 1, Porto-Novo.

 DENMARK Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC Dominican Red Cross, Calle Galvan 24, Apartado 1293, Santo Domingo.

17, Copenhagen K.

- ECUADOR Ecuadorean Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia 118, Quito.
- ETHIOPIA Ethiopian Red Cross, Red Cross Road No. 1, P.O. Box 195, Addis Ababa.
- FINLAND Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu 1 A, Box 14168, Helsinki 14.

- FRANCE French Red Cross, 17, rue Quentin-Bauchart, *Paris* (8°).
- GERMANY (Dem. Republic) German Red Cross in the German Democratic Republic, Kaitzerstrasse 2, Dresden A. 1.
- GERMANY (Federal Republic) German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 71, 5300 Bonn 1, Postfach (D.B.R.).
- GHANA Ghana Red Cross, P.O. Box 835, Accra.
- GREAT BRITAIN British Red Cross, 14 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.
- GREECE Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou 1, Athens 135.
- GUATEMALA Guatemalan Red Cross, 3.º Calle 8-40 zona 1, Guatemala C.A.
- GUYANA Guyana Red Cross, P.O. Box 351, Eve Leary, Georgetown.
- HAITI Haiti Red Cross, rue Férou, Port-au-Prince.
- HONDURAS Honduran Red Cross, Calle Henry Dunant 516, Tegucigalpa.
- HUNGARY Hungarian Red Cross, Arany Janos utca 31, Budapest V.
- ICELAND Icelandic Red Cross, Ølduggøtu 4, Reykjavik, Post Box 872.
- INDIA Indian Red Cross, 1 Red Cross Road, New Delhi 1.
- INDONESIA Indonesian Red Cross, Tanah Abang Barat 66, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Avenue Ark, 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, 5 Shiba Park, Minato-Ku, Tokyo.
- JORDAN Jordan Red Crescent, P.O. Box 1337, Amman.
- KENYA Kenya Red Cross Society, St Johns Gate, P.O. Box 712, Nairobi.
- KOREA (Democratic Republic) Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Pyongyang.
- KOREA (Republic) The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3 Ka Nam San-Donk, Seoul.
- KUWAIT Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1359, Kuwait.
- LAOS Lao Red Cross, P.B. 650, Vientiane.
- LEBANON Lebanese Red Cross, rue Général Spears, Beirut.
- LIBERIA Liberian National Red Cross, National Headquarters, Corner of Tubman boulevard and 9th Street Sinkor, P.O. Box 226, Monrovia.

ADDRESSES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEES

- LIBYA Libyan Red Crescent, Berka Omar Mukhtar Street, P.O. Box 541, Benghazi.
- LIECHTENSTEIN Liechtenstein Red Cross, Vaduz.
- LUXEMBURG Luxemburg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 234, Luxemburg.
- MADAGASCAR Red Cross Society of Madagascar, rue Clemenceau, P.O. Box 1168, Tananarive.
- MALAYSIA Malaysian Red Cross Society, 519 Jalan Belfield, Kuala Lumpur.
- MALI Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, route de Koulikora, Bamako.
- MEXICO Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejército Nacional, nº 1032, Mexico 10, D.F.
- MONACO Red Cross of Monaco, 27 Boul. de Suisse, *Monte-Carlo*.
- MONGOLIA Red Cross Society of the Mongolian People's Republic, Central Post Office, Post Box 537, Ulan-Bator.
- MOROCCO Moroccan Red Crescent, rue Calmette, B.P. 189, Rabat.
- NEPAL Nepal Red Cross Society, Tripureswore, P.B. 217, Kathmandu.
- NETHERLANDS Netherlands Red Cross, 27 Prinsessegracht, The Hague.
- NEW ZEALAND New Zealand Red Cross, 61 Dixon Street, P.O.B. 6073, Wellington C.2.
- NICARAGUA Nicaraguan Red Cross, 12 Avenida Noroeste, Managua, D.N.
- NIGER Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, Niamey.
- NIGERIA Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Akete Close, off. St. Gregory Rd., Onikan, P.O. Box 764, Lagos.
- NORWAY Norwegian Red Cross, Parkveien 33b, Oslo.
- PAKISTAN Pakistan Red Cross, Frere Street, Karachi 4.
- PANAMA Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado 668, Panama.
- PARAGUAY Paraguayan Red Cross, calle André Barbero y Artigas 33, Asunción.
- PERU Peruvian Red Cross, Jiron Chancay 881, Lima.
- PHILIPPINES Philippine National Red Cross, 860 United Nations Avenue, P.O.B. 280, Manila.
- POLAND Polish Red Cross, Mokotowska 14, Warsaw.
- PORTUGAL Portuguese Red Cross, General Secretaryship, Jardim 9 de Abril, 1 a 5, Lisbon 3.
- RUMANIA Red Cross of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, Strada Biserica Amzei 29, Bucarest.
- SALVADOR Salvador Red Cross, 3a Avenida Norte y 3a Calle Poniente 21, San Salvador.
- SAN MARINO San Marino Red Cross, Palais gouvernemental, San Marino.

- SAUDI ARABIA Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, Riyadh.
- SENEGAL Senegalese Red Cross Society, Bld. Franklin-Roosevelt, P.O.B. 299, Dakar.
- SIERRA LEONE Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 6 Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, Freetown.
- SOUTH AFRICA South African Red Cross, Cor. Kruis & Market Streets, P.O.B. 8726, Johannesburg.
- SPAIN Spanish Red Cross, Eduardo Dato 16, Madrid, 10.
- SUDAN Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, Khartoum.
- SWEDEN Swedish Red Cross, Artillerigatan 6, Stockholm 14.
- SWITZERLAND Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, 3001 Berne.
- SYRIA Syrian Red Crescent, 13, rue Abi-Ala-Almaari, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA Tanzania Red Cross Society, Upanga Road, P.O.B. 1133, Dar es Salaam.
- THAILAND Thai Red Cross Society, King Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, Bangkok.
- TOGO Togolese Red Cross Society, Avenue des Alliés 19, P.O. Box 655, Lomé.
- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross Society, 48 Pembroke Street, P.O. Box 357, Port of Spain.
- TUNISIA Tunisian Red Crescent, 19, rue d'Angleterre, Tunis.
- TURKEY Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, Ankara.
- UGANDA Uganda Red Cross, 17 Jinja Road P.O. Box 494, Kampala.
- UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC Red Crescent Society of the United Arab Republic, 34, rue Ramses, Cairo.
- UPPER VOLTA Upper Volta Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, Ouagadougou.
- URUGUAY Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre, 2990, Montevideo.
- U.S.A. American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, N.W., Washington 6 D.C.
- U.S.S.R. Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Tcheremushki, J. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, Moscow W-36.
- VENEZUELA Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, Caracas.
- VIET NAM (Democratic Republic) Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, 68, rue Bà-Trièz, Hanoi.
- VIET NAM (Republic) Red Cross of the Republic of Viet Nam, 201, duong Hông-Thâp-Tu, No. 201, Saigon.
- YUGOSLAVIA Yugoslav Red Cross, Simina ulica broj 19, Belgrade.
- ZAMBIA Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R. W. 1, Ridgeway, Lusaka.