

XIXth
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE
RED CROSS



NEW DELHI
1957

362.101/652

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XIXth
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE
RED CROSS

NEW DELHI

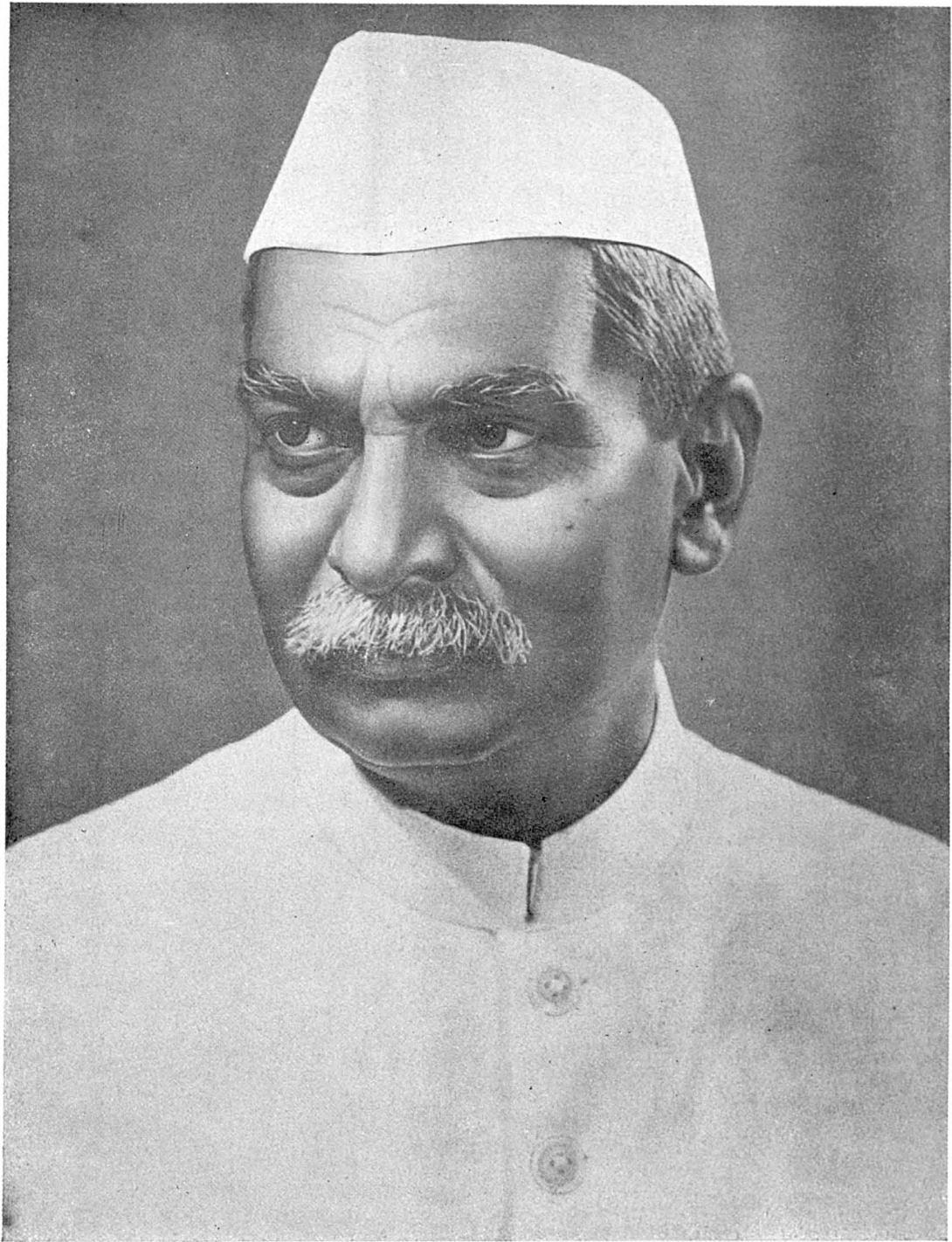
OCTOBER - NOVEMBER 1957



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1211 GENEVE

PROCEEDINGS



DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD
President of India and of the Indian Red Cross Society



RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

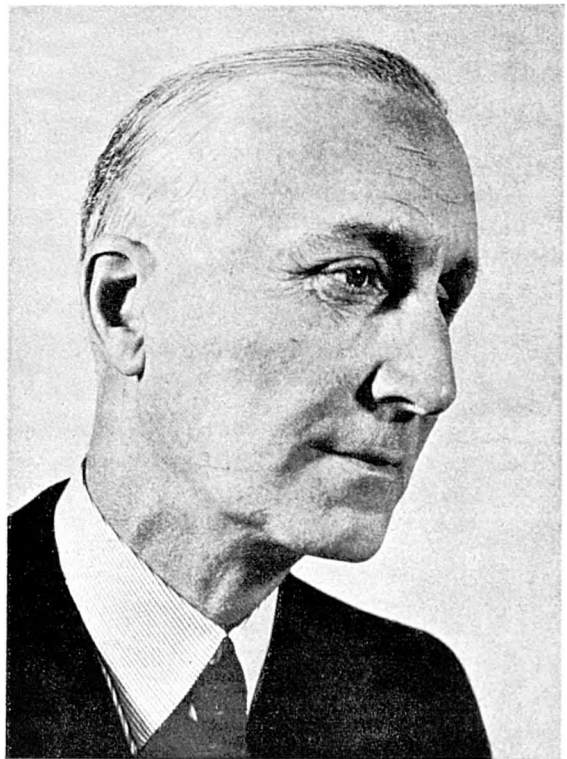
Chairman of the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross and of the Indian Red Cross Society.



H. E. AMBASSADOR ANDRÉ FRANCOIS-PONCET
Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.



MR. JUSTICE EMIL SANDSTRÖM
*Chairman of the Board of Governors of the
League of Red Cross Societies.*



PROF. LEOPOLD BOISSIER
*President of the International Committee
of the Red Cross.*



VIGYAN BHAVAN

Headquarters of the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross: view of the main meeting hall.

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PART I
INTRODUCTORY DATA

PRELIMINARY CORRESPONDENCE

LETTERS OF INVITATION ISSUED BY THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY

TO THE PRESIDENTS OR CHAIRMEN OF THE NATIONAL RED CROSS,
RED CRESCENT, RED LION AND SUN SOCIETIES

New Delhi, the 22nd May 1956.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN (PRESIDENT),

The XVIIIth International Red Cross Conference having accepted our offer to receive the next International Conference in New Delhi, the Indian Red Cross Society has the honour to invite your Society to participate.

The Conference will be held from the 21st* January to 5th February, 1957. A provisional programme and agenda, as adopted by the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, are enclosed for your information and we shall be grateful if you will submit any suggested additions or amendments to the proposed agenda at your earliest convenience to the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, 7 Avenue de la Paix, Geneva (Switzerland).

At a later date, we will send you details concerning transportation to New Delhi, hotel accommodation and other information which may facilitate your journey and assist in making your visit with us a memorable one. We are, however, enclosing with the present letter some information concerning the inoculations which will be necessary or advisable before making the journey.

A separate invitation will be addressed to your Government which is party to the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field and, as such, under Article I of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Article 1(b) of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross is a regular member of the Conference with power to vote. We should be most grateful if National Societies would urge their Governments to send delegations in addition to the accredited representatives sent by the National Society.

The Indian Red Cross Society is particularly glad to have the opportunity of welcoming the National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, as well as the Governmental representatives, to India and trusts that it will be possible for your Society to honour the Conference with its presence.

Yours sincerely,

AMRIT KAUR
Chairman, Central Managing Body.

THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE GOVERNMENTS
PARTY TO THE GENEVA CONVENTION FOR THE AMELIORATION OF
THE CONDITION OF THE WOUNDED AND SICK IN ARMIES IN THE
FIELD (1864, 1906, 1929 OR 1949)

New Delhi, the 22nd May 1956.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The Indian Red Cross Society, having been charged with the responsibility of convening the XIXth International Red Cross Conference in New Delhi, has the honour to invite Your Excellency's Government to participate.

The Indian Red Cross Society expresses the wish that all Governments party to the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field (1864, 1906, 1929 or 1949) may be represented at this Conference by official delegates who, under the Statutes and Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross, are regular members of the Conference with all its privileges and prerogatives, including the right to vote.

A separate invitation has been sent to the President (Chairman) of your National Red Cross (Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun) Society. The Conference will be held in New Delhi from the 24th* January to 5th February

*Due to various circumstances, the Standing Commission decided on 13th December 1956 that the opening of the Conference should be postponed until 28th October 1957.

1957. A provisional programme and agenda, both adopted by the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, are enclosed for your information.

The Indian Red Cross Society is particularly glad to have the opportunity of welcoming to India the distinguished representatives of the National Governments which have recognised the humanitarian principles of the Red Cross in subscribing to the Geneva Conventions and trusts that Your Excellency's Government will see in the forthcoming Conference a gathering worthy of its official participation.

Accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

AMRIT KAUR
Chairman, Central Managing Body.

ORGANISATIONS INVITED AS OBSERVERS*

New Delhi, the 23rd June 1956.

DEAR SIR,

The Indian Red Cross Society having been charged with the responsibility of receiving and organising the XIXth International Red Cross Conference, which is to be held in New Delhi, we have the honour to invite (name of the organisation) to participate as an observer, as authorised under Article 3 of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross.

The Conference will be held from the 24th† January to 5th February, 1957. A provisional programme and agenda, as adopted by the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, are enclosed for your information.

At a later date, we will send you details concerning transportation to New Delhi, hotel accommodation and other information which may facilitate your journey and make your visit with us a memorable one. We are, however, enclosing with the present letter some information concerning the inoculations which will be necessary or advisable before making the journey. The Indian Red Cross Society is particularly glad to have the opportunity of welcoming your organisation to India and trusts that it will be possible for you to honour the Conference with your presence.

Yours sincerely,

BALWANT SINGH PURI
Secretary General.

* A similar letter was sent to certain Indian national organisations.

† Due to various circumstances, the Standing Commission decided on 13th December 1956 that the opening of the Conference should be postponed until 28th October 1957.

AGENDA

GENERAL THEME: PROTECTION OF POPULATIONS

I

COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

- I. Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretaries of the Council of Delegates.
- II. Approval of the draft agenda of the Conference drawn up by the Standing Commission.
- III. Nomination of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and Assistant Secretaries of the Conference.

II

PLENARY SESSIONS

- I. Report of the Council of Delegates.
- II. Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and Assistant Secretaries (the Bureau of the Conference is constituted in accordance with Article 7 of the Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross Conference).
- III. Appointment of Commissions of the Conference:
 - (a) International Humanitarian Law Commission;
 - (b) Medico-Social Commission;
 - (c) General Commission;
 - (d) Drafting Committee.
- IV. Report of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.
- V. Report by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on the action taken on the Resolutions of the XVIIIth International Red Cross Conference.
- VI. Report of the International Humanitarian Law Commission.
- VII. Report of the Medico-Social Commission.
- VIII. Report of the General Commission.
- IX. Red Cross as a factor in World Peace.
- X. Election of members of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.
- XI. Place and date of the XXth International Red Cross Conference.

III

MEETINGS OF COMMISSIONS

A. INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW COMMISSION

- I. Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Rapporteur and Secretaries.
- II. Proposal of international Regulations concerning the protection of civilian population against the danger of indiscriminate warfare.
- III. Role of National Societies in the sphere of Civilian Protection.
- IV. Geneva Conventions:
 - (a) ratification, diffusion and application;
 - (b) application to Police officers of the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention.
- V. Legal assistance to foreigners.
- VI. Prohibition of Atomic Experiments.

B. MEDICO-SOCIAL COMMISSION

- I. Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Rapporteur and Secretaries.
- II. Report of the International Commission for medical equipment.

- III. Role of National Red Cross Societies as auxiliaries to the public authorities in time of peace and in time of war:
- (a) Medico-Social field (first aid, establishment of hospitals, blood transfusion, maternity and child welfare, nutrition, public health education);
 - (b) Nursing (organisation, recruitment and training of professional and auxiliary personnel, etc.);
 - (c) Junior Red Cross (organisation—development of health and life protection programme—training of future Red Cross leaders—collaboration with the educational authorities, etc.).

C. GENERAL COMMISSION

- I. Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Rapporteur and Secretaries.
- II. Reports of National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies.
- III. Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross.
- IV. Report of the League of Red Cross Societies.
- V. Report of the Joint Commission of the Empress Shoken Fund.
- VI. Reports on the funds administered by the International Committee of the Red Cross:
 - (a) Allocation of the income of the Augusta Fund;
 - (b) Florence Nightingale Medal.
- VII. Financing of the International Committee of the Red Cross:
 - (a) Report of the Commission for the financing of the International Committee;
 - (b) Report of the Council of the Foundation of the International Committee.
- VIII. Means by which Governments could increase facilities accorded by them to National Societies with reference also to the centralisation and coordination of National and International relief action through the Red Cross.
- IX. Adoption of Russian as a working language by the Conference.

D. DRAFTING COMMITTEE

- I. Election of the Chairman, Members and Secretary.
- II. Drafting and coordination of resolutions.

GENERAL PROGRAMME

THURSDAY, 24TH OCTOBER

- 10.00 a.m. Standing Finance Commission of the League of Red Cross Societies.
3.00 p.m. Commission for the Financing of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

FRIDAY, 25TH OCTOBER

- 10.00 a.m. Executive Committee of the League of Red Cross Societies (77th session).
3.00 p.m. Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.

SATURDAY, 26TH OCTOBER

- 10.00 a.m. Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies (24th session).
3.00 p.m. Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies (24th session).

MONDAY, 28TH OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Council of Delegates of the International Conference of the Red Cross.
11.30 a.m. Opening Ceremony of the XIXth International Conference.
2.30 p.m. Plenary Session of the International Conference of the Red Cross.

TUESDAY, 29TH OCTOBER

- 10.00 a.m. Plenary Session.
11.00 a.m. General Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross.
International Humanitarian Law Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross.
Medico-Social Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross.
3.00 p.m. General Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross.
International Humanitarian Law Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross.
Medico-Social Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross.

WEDNESDAY, 30TH OCTOBER

- 10.00 a.m. General Commission.
International Humanitarian Law Commission.
Medico-Social Commission.
3.00 p.m. General Commission.
International Humanitarian Law Commission.
Medico-Social Commission.

THURSDAY, 31ST OCTOBER

- 10.00 a.m. General Commission.
International Humanitarian Law Commission.
Medico-Social Commission.
3.00 p.m. General Commission.
International Humanitarian Law Commission.
Medico-Social Commission.

FRIDAY, 1ST NOVEMBER

- 10.00 a.m. International Humanitarian Law Commission.
Medico-Social Commission.
3.00 p.m. International Humanitarian Law Commission.
Medico-Social Commission.
Study Commission for the Red Cross Centenary.

SATURDAY, 2ND NOVEMBER

10.00 a.m. International Humanitarian Law Commission.
Medico-Social Commission.

MONDAY, 4TH NOVEMBER

10.00 a.m. Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies (24th session).
3.00 p.m. Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies (24th session).

TUESDAY, 5TH NOVEMBER

10.00 a.m. Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies (24th session).
3.00 p.m. Plenary session.
Address by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH NOVEMBER

10.00 a.m. Plenary Session.
3.00 p.m. Plenary Session.

THURSDAY, 7TH NOVEMBER

10.00 a.m. Plenary Session.
3.00 p.m. Plenary Session
Closing Meeting of the International Conference of the Red Cross.
7.00 p.m. Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.

All sessions, including the opening ceremony, were held at Vigyan Bhavan.

LIST OF DELEGATES AND OBSERVERS ATTENDING THE XIXth INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS

DELEGATES REPRESENTING GOVERNMENTS AND NATIONAL SOCIETIES

ALBANIA

Red Cross

Mr. Mane Nishova.

ARGENTINA

Government

H. E. Mr. Adolfo Scilingo, Ambassador.

Red Cross

Dr. Guido S. Castagnino, President.

Mr. Jose Reynaldo Perrotto.

AUSTRALIA

Government

Mr. W. G. A. Landale.

Mr. A. M. Morris.

Red Cross

Sir Peter MacCallum, Chairman.

Mrs. L. A. Scantlebury.

Mr. A. G. Brown.

Miss N. P. Minogue.

AUSTRIA

Government

H.E. Dr. Albin Lennkh, Ambassador.

Dr. Klaus R. Ziegler.

Red Cross

Count J. Zeno de Goess, Vice-President.

BELGIUM

Government

H.E. Count Geoffroy d'Aspremont Lynden, Ambassador.

Mr. Vossen.

Mr. Vranckx.

Mr. Van Roy.

Red Cross

Prince Frederic de Mérode, President.

Miss Simone Vercamer.

Mrs. Suzanne Lippens-Orban.

BRAZIL

Government

Senateur Dr. Vivaldo Palma Lima Filho.

Red Cross

Senateur Dr. Vivaldo Palma Lima Filho, President.

Prof. Dr. Aramis Athayde.

Lt. Gen. Dr. Benjamin Gonsalves.

Mr. Tom W. Sloper.

Dr. Luis L. Reid.

Madame Maria Zohra da Rocha Athayde.

BULGARIA

Government

Dr. Peter V. Kolaroff, Minister.

Red Cross

Dr. Peter V. Kolaroff, President.

Prof. Dr. Nissim Mevorah.

Mr. Ivan Stoianoff Shikoff.

Mr. Dimitre Illieff Dimitroff.

Mr. Ivan Gheorghieff Marinoff.

BURMA

Red Cross

Justice U. Aung Khine, Chairman.

Thiri Pyanchi U Tun Tin.

Mr. K. C. D. Swamy.

BYELORUSSIA

Government

Mrs. Maria Tour, Deputy Minister.

CAMBODIA

Government

Mr. Lam Sisomoutb

Red Cross (Observer)

Dr. You Chhin.

Mr. Khiou Bonthonn.

CANADA

Government

Mr. Pierre Dupuy, Ambassador to Italy.

Brig. W. J. Lawson.

Mr. T. P. Malone.

Mr. W. M. Agnes.

Red Cross

Mr. George Aitken, Chairman, Central Council.

Dr. W. S. Stanbury.

Mr. John A. MacAulay.

Mr. Paul Vaillancourt.

Miss Margaret E. Wilson.

CEYLON

Government (Observer)

Dr. W. A. Karunaratne.

Red Cross

Mr. K. Somasuntharam, Chairman.

Dr. W. A. Karunaratne.

Mrs. C. C. de Silva.

Mrs. M. Tiruchelvam.

Mrs. K. N. Ramanathan (*Observer*).

CHILE

Government

H.E. Mr. Miguel Serrano Fernandez, Ambassador.

Red Cross

Dr. D. Agustin Inostrosa, President.

Dr. Carols Tapia Fernandez.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Government

H.E. Mr. Pan Tzu-Li, Ambassador

Madame Kung Pu-Sheng.

Mr. Fu Hau.

Mr. Shao Tien-jen.

Mr. Ma Mu-ming
Mr. Chi Chao-Chu } Functionaries.

Red Cross

Mme. Li Teh-Chuan, President.

Mr. Wu Yun-fu.

Dr. Woo Lan-Sung.

Mr. Peng Yen.

Miss Laing Sze-Yi.

REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Government

Mr. Han Lih-Wu.

Mr. Cheng Shih-Tun, Adviser.

CUBA

Government

Dr. Oscar Figarola é Infante.

Red Cross

Dr. Oscar Figarola é Infante.

Dr. Luis Molina Comesañas.

Dr. Juan M. Vega Fuentis.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Government

Dr. J. Cech.

Dr. M. Novy.

Red Cross

Dr. F. Janouch, President.

Dr. J. Rusnak.

Dr. K. Blaha.

DENMARK

Government

H.E. Mr. V. Theis-Nielson, Ambassador.

Red Cross

Prof. Dr. Louis Le Maire, President.

Mr. Arne Fremm.

Miss K. M. Ahlmann-Ohlsen.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Government

Sr. Haji Hasham Ismail, Consul-General.

ECUADOR

Government

Dr. Hugo Merino Grijalva.

Dr. Juan J. Moeller.

Red Cross

Dr. Hugo Merino Grijalva.

Dr. Juan J. Moeller.

EGYPT

Government

Dr. A. F. El Bakary.

Mr. Ezz El. Din El Syed Issa.

Red Crescent

Dr. Ibrahim Shawky (Former Health Minister).

Dr. Usman Othman Shaib.

Mrs. Shawky (*Observer*).

EL SALVADOR

Government

Mr. Dymas Funes-Hartman.

Red Cross

Mr. Dymas Funes-Hartman, President.

ETHIOPIA

Red Cross

Mrs. Senedu Gabru.

Mr. Kebede Abozin.

FINLAND

Government

H.E. Dr. Aaro Pakaslahti, Ambassador.

Red Cross

General A. E. Martola.

Mr. Kai J. Warras.

FRANCE

Government

H.E. Mr. Paul Emile Naggiar, Ambassador.

Medecin General Inspecteur Caste Doat.

Mr. Jean Fautriere.

Mr. Gaspard de-Villelume.

Red Cross

H.E. Ambassador Andre Francois-Poncet, President.

Vicomte de Truchis.

Mr. R. Merillon.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Government

Mrs. Jenny Matern.

Prof. Dr. Alfons Steiniger.

Mrs. Margarete Rudolph.

Red Cross

Dr. Werner Ludwig, President.

Dr. Ludwig Mecklinger.

Mr. Helmut Fichtner.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Government

Dr. Muehlenhoever.

Dr. Hinz.

Red Cross

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Dr. Ahmed Abu Qura.

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Prof. Gueorgui Miterev, President.

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Red Cross

Mr. Orlando Pedragosa Nadal, Consul General.

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Red Cross

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Prof. Dr. Ton That-Tung, Deputy Minister of Health.

Dr. Nguyen Van Thu (observer).

Red Cross (Observers)

Prof. Dr. Ton That-Tung.

Dr. Nguyen Van Thu.

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Red Cross

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Mr. A. C. Nussbaumer, Asstt. Treasurer General.

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- Vice-Chairmen:** The Heads of the delegations of the Standing Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, of the League of Red Cross Societies, the Chairmen of the Conference Commissions and the Heads of the delegations of National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies.
- Secretary-General:** Sardar Balwant Singh Puri, Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross Society.
- Assistant Secretaries:** Mr. Claude Pilloud, Assistant Director, General Affairs, International Committee of the Red Cross.
Mr. W. J. Phillips, Under Secretary-General, League of Red Cross Societies.

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PART II
MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

NOTE

The Minutes of the Meetings of the Council of Delegates constitute the verbatim account of the proceedings, as recorded in the complete stenographic reports and tape recordings of the sessions.

In accordance with past practice, speeches made in languages other than French, English or Spanish were translated into one of the working languages of the Conference by interpreters provided by the delegations of the speakers concerned (see also Article 16 of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross effective from the 1st September, 1952). While the original language used is indicated, the transcript of such speeches appearing in the Minutes is based on the translations so provided.

COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

October 28, 1957

SUMMARY:—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR—ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES—VOTING RIGHTS FOR TWO NEW NATIONAL SOCIETIES—APPROVAL OF DRAFT AGENDA OF CONFERENCE—ADMITTANCE OF THE PRESS TO MEETINGS—NOMINATION OF CHAIRMEN, VICE-CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES OF CONFERENCE AND COMMISSIONS.

The meeting was called to order at 9 a.m. with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Chairman of the Managing Body of the Indian Red Cross, in the Chair.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (India)—Ladies and Gentlemen: It is my privilege as Chairman of the Red Cross Society of the host country to extend to you all the warmest of warm welcomes. I cannot tell you how the Indian Red Cross feels about this Conference. We are delighted to have had the honour of your acceptance of our invitation. I hope the Conference will be a great success and yet another landmark in the history of this great movement.

Now, according to tradition, I propose the election of the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross to come and take this Chair. I hope you will receive him with acclamation.

Mr. Leopold Boissier, President of the I.C.R.C., took the Chair amidst acclamation.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (Original French)—Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you for the honour you have extended to the institution which I represent—the International Committee of the Red Cross—in electing me as Chairman. The main purpose of this meeting is to take certain decisions which are necessary for the smooth progress of the Conference. I hope that we shall get through our business in good time so that we can all proceed to the plenary meeting hall, where we shall be honoured by the visit of His Excellency the President of the Republic.

The first item on our agenda is the election of a Vice-Chairman of this Council. In agreement with the Indian Red Cross, I should like to propose a person whom we all respect for her devotion to the work of the Red Cross, both in her own country and in the International Red Cross, and for whom we also have great affection—Lady Limerick, Vice-President of the British Red Cross.

Is this proposal acceptable to you? (*Applause.*)

Lady Limerick was elected by acclamation as Vice-Chairman of the Council of Delegates.

Next we must consider the question of the Secretariat of this Council; I should like to propose the appointment of the Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross, Sardar Balwant Singh Puri, with Mr. Pilloud, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Mr. Phillips, of the League of Red Cross Societies, as assistants.

Do you agree with the proposal that these three persons should form the Secretariat of this Council? (*Applause.*)

There being no objection, these officers were also elected by acclamation.

Now we come to the main task before us and I will read you Article IV, paragraph 3 of the Statutes of the International Red Cross.

“The functions of the Council of Delegates shall be :

- (a) to meet, prior to the opening of the Conference, in order to propose the names of persons to fill the posts of Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and Assistant Secretaries-General; these proposals shall be submitted to the Conference,
- (b) to determine the order in which questions and proposals submitted to the Conference are to be brought up for discussion,
- (c) to give an opinion upon, and, where necessary, take decisions in respect of such questions and proposals as may be referred to it by the Conference or by the Standing Commission”.

I would remind you that this Council in which we are now sitting is composed of delegates of duly recognized National Societies, delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross and delegates of the League of Red Cross Societies, each institution having a single vote. On this occasion I am happy to express our greetings to several National Societies which have been recognized by the International Committee of the

Red Cross and admitted to the League since the Toronto Conference. They are the Red Cross or Red Crescent of the following countries: Afghanistan, Federal Republic of Germany, Republic of Korea, Tunisia and Republic of Viet-Nam. On behalf of all of you here, I am happy to welcome these new Societies to the International Red Cross. You have already greeted them in the League and now it is my privilege to welcome them to the great institution of the International Red Cross.

The next question before us requires a few explanatory remarks. The Sudanese Red Crescent and the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam recently applied for recognition by the International Committee. The applications were submitted too late for the International Committee to follow the normal procedure for consideration, that is to say, discussion in plenary session and examination together with the League in order to determine whether these two Societies fulfil the requirements for admission. Both the Committee and the League consider, after a careful examination of the statutes of these two National Societies, that they do meet the conditions for recognition. I should therefore like to propose that they be granted the right to vote at this Conference; this would enable them to request admission to the League during the present Conference, as a special case, and they would be recognized by the International Committee very shortly thereafter. This is a rather unusual procedure but I think that if we had had a few days more at our disposal, recognition would already have been accorded. I therefore ask you, as a gesture of courtesy, to grant the right to vote to the Sudanese Red Crescent and the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

Are there any objections? There are no objections and I therefore put to the vote my proposal that these two Societies should be granted the right to vote.

MR. SANDSTROM (President of the League of Red Cross Societies) (original French)—Mr. Chairman: I suggest that we accept your proposal by acclamation.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—Mr. Sandstrom suggests that we vote by acclamation. I therefore call upon you to applaud. (*Applause.*) The Sudanese Red Crescent and the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are admitted by acclamation and I am happy to welcome them to the International Red Cross.

Our next task is to approve the draft agenda of the XIXth Conference; it has been prepared with great care by the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross on the basis of suggestions made by the International Committee, the League and a number of National Societies, and has been distributed to all of you.

In this connection, I must refer to a matter of procedure: any additional proposals must be submitted by five delegations, each belonging to a different country, to the Chairman of the Conference. The Chairman will then either accept them in accordance with the powers attached to his office, or will submit them to the Bureau of the Conference.

Are there any comments? There being no comments, the draft agenda of the Conference is approved.

We come to now several proposals which have been made by the Standing Commission regarding the procedure to be followed at this Conference. First of all, there is the establishment of three Commissions:

- (1) The General Commission.
- (2) The Commission for International Humanitarian Law. I must point out in passing that the earlier translation of this title from French into English as the "Human Rights Commission" was inaccurate. Now, the International Red Cross has never made any pronouncement concerning the rights of man; that is a matter for the national legislation of States and, to a certain extent, for the United Nations, but is of no concern to us for the present. The correct title of the Commission is "Commission for International Humanitarian Law".
- (3) The Medico-Social Commission.

The preparatory work for the Conference has been based on a distribution of matters for consideration among these three Commissions.

Are there any objections to this procedure? It goes without saying that in addition to these three Commissions there will be a Drafting Committee for the Conference.

In the absence of any comments, I consider my proposal as accepted. We come now to a slightly more controversial question on which I must know your opinion.

The Standing Commission proposes that the Press should be admitted to all plenary meetings of the Conference, but not meetings of Commissions. Opinion is divided on this matter. I should therefore be glad if you could state briefly, so that we can quickly take a vote, whether or not you are in favour of admitting the

Press to meetings of Commissions. We will have a short discussion now and I would remind you that at Toronto the Press was admitted to meetings of Commissions.

MR. SLOPER (Brazil) (original French)—Mr. Chairman: I should like to suggest that we approve the proposal of the Standing Commission but that in case it appeared desirable in the course of the Conference to make a change, the Conference Bureau should be authorized by the Council of Delegates to take the necessary action.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—You have heard the proposal of Mr. Sloper. Are there any other speakers?

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R.)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I think that the activities of the Conference and of the Commissions are so important that it would be desirable to have a full reflection of all the discussions in the Press. I think that the public should know about everything that is going on in the Conference and the Commissions. That is why I think that it would be desirable to admit the Press to the sittings of the Conference and to the sittings of the Commissions.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—I thank the U.S.S.R. Delegate. Three proposals are now before us: (1) to admit the Press to meetings of the Commissions; (2) not to do so and (3) a compromise proposal—that the Press should be admitted if it appeared necessary, the decision to be taken by the Conference Bureau.

DR. MERINO GRIJALVA (Ecuador) (original Spanish)—The Delegation of Ecuador considers that since the Red Cross is a public institution and not a secret body, there is no reason why the Press should not attend all public meetings of Commissions.

I therefore think there is no reason to discuss the third proposal—that the Conference Bureau should be empowered to take a decision. I believe that all our discussions should be published and should be known in the country in which this Conference is being held as well as in the other countries of the world.

MRS. BARRY (Ireland)—I think that the proposal of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross should be accepted. I find that in committees or commissions where the Press is present, the work is very much prolonged and delegates are inclined to take the opportunity of wasting the time of the commission on propagandist statements and for this reason I would ask the delegates to consider accepting the proposal of the Standing Commission.

DR. CHAOWKAT CHATTY (Syria) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Syrian Delegation considers that it is right and proper that the Press should be allowed to attend plenary meetings or meetings of Commissions discussing humanitarian questions, so that the work of the Conference and the Commissions may be well known.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—The Syrian Delegate proposes that meetings of Commissions should be open to the Press. Are there any other speakers? The Delegate of Czechoslovakia.

DR. JANOUC (Czechoslovakia) (original French)—I have a question to ask: For what reasons did the Standing Commission make this proposal before the matter had been settled by the Council of Delegates?

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—The reasons are more or less those referred to by Mrs. Barry, President of the Irish Red Cross, but they were perhaps stated in a less affirmative manner. It was felt that if discussions took place in a closed meeting, delegates would not all feel obliged to express their views, even when they were in agreement with the previous speaker. The discussions would therefore be shorter. It is more a question of speeding up the discussions than of any profound political considerations.

MRS. PECSON (Philippines)—We feel inasmuch as Red Cross is essentially a public service work, there should be no reason why we should not throw open the meetings to the Press. The Press and the public are entitled to know what we or the Commissions are doing. For that reason we honestly believe that the Press should be admitted to the Commission meetings, except only when we decide to have private sessions in which case the Press may, at the discretion of the Chairman, not be included.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—I thank the Delegate of the Philippines. I think that everyone here has already formed an opinion and that any further speakers would merely repeat what has

already been said on these three proposals. I therefore think that we could take a vote, but first I give the floor to the Delegate of the Red Cross of the People's Republic of China.

MRS. LI TEH CHUAN (People's Republic China)—On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I consider that both the Conference and the Commissions should allow the Press to come because these are very important meetings.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—We must now decide the order in which we shall vote on the proposals. Does anyone wish to suggest voting first on the compromise proposal made by Mr. Sloper? No such request. We shall therefore vote on the proposal that the Press should be admitted to meetings of the Commissions, the latter naturally having the right to go into closed session if they wish. Will those in favour of admitting the Press to meetings of Commissions please raise their hands? I will ask Mr. Pilloud, Mr. Sloper and Mr. Phillips to count the votes.

Thirty-eight votes in favour of admitting the Press.

Will those who consider that the Press should not be admitted to meetings of Commissions please raise their hands?

Ten votes.

By 38 votes to 10 the proposal of the Standing Commission is rejected, and the Press will be admitted to meetings of the Commissions, except where the latter decide to meet in closed session.

The last item on our agenda concerns the submission to the Conference of nominations for the officers of the Conference and its Commissions. For the office of Chairman of the Conference I should like to propose a person who is in all our thoughts, whom we all admire, for whom we have the greatest respect, and about whom I will say a few words at the plenary meeting if you approve my proposal—Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. (*Loud applause.*)

It will therefore be my great honour and pleasure to propose to the Conference, on your behalf, the appointment of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Chairman of the Managing Body of the Indian Red Cross. As regards the Vice-Chairmen of the Conference, I suggest that we should follow the procedure adopted at Toronto, which gave rise to no difficulties: that we should propose as Vice-Chairmen of the Conference the heads of all delegations of National Societies to the Conference. We shall thus have as many Vice-Chairmen as there are National Societies represented.

Do you agree to submit this proposal to the Conference?

Are there any objections? Accepted.

We come now to the nomination of the Secretary-General of the Conference. I think that there is no doubt on this matter and that we should nominate the man who is the king-pin of the Conference, who has had to organize it twice, who has demonstrated his untiring devotion and great qualities as a member of the Red Cross, and for whom we all have great affection—the Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross, Sardar Balwant Singh Puri.

Do you agree to this nomination for the office of Secretary-General? (*Loud applause.*)

I think that you will agree to the nomination as Assistant Secretaries General of Mr. Pilloud, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Mr. Phillips, of the League of Red Cross Societies, both of whom have for a long time been engaged on the preparation of this Conference, and in whom we have complete confidence.

Do you agree to the nomination of Mr. Pilloud and Mr. Phillips? (*Applause.*)

They too are nominated by acclamation and I congratulate them. Lastly, we are required to make suggestions to the Conference for officers of the Commissions. Under the rules of procedure of the Conference each Commission is responsible for appointing its own Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and Secretaries. We feel, however, that in order to ensure an equitable distribution and to satisfy, if not each National Society, at least each continent, we should ourselves make carefully considered proposals. I shall therefore ask Sardar Balwant Singh Puri to read out proposals for the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and Secretaries of our three Commissions, as well as of the Drafting Committee, which is also, of course, an important body.

I give the floor to Sardar Balwant Singh Puri.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—Ladies and Gentlemen: The following ladies and gentlemen are proposed for the offices of Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the three Commissions and the Drafting Committee.

For the General Commission, the proposal is that General A. E. Martola of Finland be elected as the Chairman.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—It is proposed that General Martola, President of the Finnish Delegation, be elected as Chairman of the General Commission. He is not present here but may be nominated *in absentia*. Is a delegate for Finland present?

MR. WARRAS (Finland)—Gen. A. E. Martola has arrived in New Delhi, but I have not yet had any time to speak with him this morning. I think he will agree.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—The Secretary-General of the Finnish Red Cross thinks that General Martola will accept. That being so, do you recommend this nomination to the Conference? (*Applause.*)

General Martola is proposed by acclamation.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—For the Vice-Chairmen of the Commission the following names are proposed:

1. The Countess of Limerick—United Kingdom.
2. General Alfred M. Gruenther—U.S.A.
3. H.E. A. A. Hekmat—Iran.
4. Lt.-General Van der Kroon—Netherlands.
5. Col. Dr. Soemarno Sosroatmodjo—Indonesia.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—You have heard these proposals. Are there any others?

There being no other nominations, I take it that these persons are proposed by acclamation for appointment as Vice-Chairmen.

Next we come to the Commission on International Humanitarian Law.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—The names proposed are:

Chairman: Mr. John A. MacAulay—Canada.

He was Chairman of the last International Conference at Toronto and we are all grateful for the work he has done.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—Mr. John MacAulay, who was a most efficient Chairman of the Conference at Toronto, has been proposed as Chairman of the Commission on International Humanitarian Law.

Are there any other proposals? (*Applause.*)

Mr. John MacAulay is proposed by acclamation.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—For Vice-Chairmen, Prof. Gueorgui Miterev of U.S.S.R.; Mme Li Teh Chuan, China; Prince Frederic de Merode, Belgium; Justice U Aung Khine, Burma and Dr. D. Agustin Inostrosa, Chile.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—You have heard our future Secretary-General. Are there any other proposals? No. In that case, I take it that you also accept these proposals by acclamation. (*Applause.*)

Now we come to the third Commission, the Medico-Social Commission.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—For the Medico-Social Commission, the name proposed is: Chairman: Dr. Mrs. Irene Domanska, Poland.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—I put the proposal by Sardar Balwant Singh Puri to the vote.

Mrs. Domanska, head of the Delegation of the Polish Red Cross, is proposed by acclamation.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—For Vice-Chairmen the proposals are: Sir Peter MacCallum, Australia; Dr. Octavian Belea, Rumania; General Dr. Guido Ferri, Italy; Dr. Ibrahim Shawky, Egypt; Prof. A. von Albertini, Switzerland.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—You have heard these proposals, which are also accepted. (*Applause.*)

We now come to the Drafting Committee, which is of great importance.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—For the Drafting Committee, those proposed are Mr. T. W. Sloper, Brazil; Sardar Balwant Singh Puri; Mr. Claude Pilloud, International Committee of the Red Cross; Mr. W. J. Phillips, League of Red Cross Societies, and Mr. K. Shanker Nigam, Indian Red Cross.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—I would draw particular attention to Mr. Sloper, who is the obvious choice for Chairman of this Committee, by virtue of his linguistic ability, his thorough knowledge of the whole Red Cross movement, and the ease with which he perceives all the subtleties of any proposal. I therefore propose that Mr. Sloper should be nominated as Chairman (*Applause.*)

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—I repeat, Mr. Sloper's colleagues are: Sardar Balwant Singh Puri, Indian Red Cross; Mr. Claude Pilloud, International Committee of the Red Cross; Mr. W. J. Phillips, League of Red Cross Societies, and Mr. K. Shanker Nigam, Indian Red Cross.

MR. BOISSIER (Chairman) (original French)—They are also accepted. (*Applause.*)

We have now come to the end of our agenda.

Are there any other proposals to be made which are within the competence of this Council of Delegates?

There are none.

In that case, we can adjourn. I thank you for your co-operation and attention and I hope that during the Conference, when much more difficult questions will be discussed, we shall all display the same qualities. I would remind you that we are to meet at 11 o'clock in the plenary meeting hall.

SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI (India)—May I remind my friends that all should be in their seats before quarter past eleven, in the Conference Hall downstairs in order that we may be ready for the opening ceremony of the Conference.

The meeting was adjourned at 10 a.m.

PART III
MINUTES OF THE PLENARY SESSIONS

NOTE

The Minutes of the Plenary Sessions constitute the verbatim account of the proceedings, as recorded in the complete stenographic reports and tape recordings of the meetings.

In accordance with past practice, speeches made in languages other than French, English or Spanish were translated into one of the working languages of the Conference by interpreters provided by the delegations of the speaker concerned (see also Article 16 of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross effective from the 1st September, 1952). While the original language used is indicated, the transcript of such speeches appearing in the Minutes is based on the translations so provided.

OPENING CEREMONY

VIGYAN BHAVAN — NEW DELHI

October 28, 1957 at 11.30 a.m.

SUMMARY:—READING OF VARIOUS MESSAGES—SPEECH OF WELCOME BY RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR, CHAIRMAN OF THE XIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS—OPENING ADDRESS BY DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD, PRESIDENT OF INDIA AND PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN RED CROSS—ADDRESS BY H.E. MR. A. FRANCOIS-PONCET, CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMISSION—ADDRESS BY MR. L. BOISSIER, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS—ADDRESS BY MR. JUSTICE EMIL SANDSTROM, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES—ADDRESS BY SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA.

The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, was escorted to the rostrum by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, H.E. Mr. Francois-Poncet, Mr. L. Boissier and Mr. E. Sandstrom.

The assembly stood while the Indian national anthem was played.

The Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross, Sardar Balwant Singh Puri, read out a series of messages received from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Director-General of the World Health Organization, UNICEF, Countess Mountbatten of Burma, the President of the Republic of Italy, the President of the Greek Red Cross and the President of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR, CHAIRMAN, INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, COMRADES IN A GREAT CAUSE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society, it is both an honour and a pleasure to me to welcome all the delegates who have come from far and near to attend the XIXth International Red Cross Conference.

This is the first occasion on which India has been privileged to be host to the supreme parliament of the Red Cross which is convened once in every four years. The Conference, as you are all aware, had been scheduled to meet last January but in view of the international situation prevailing at that time and the consequent diversion of Red Cross attention to relief action in Central Europe and the Middle East, the Standing Commission decided to postpone it. I am glad that the postponement has not been for too long a period and that thereby perhaps we have been able to have a more representative gathering today.

The Red Cross, as is well known, is a non-governmental, non-political and non-denominational institution, transcending all national, religious and ideological boundaries. The sheet anchor of its ideals is humanitarianism and the guiding star of its actions strict impartiality. And I can testify from long experience that that is why it has succeeded, ever since its inception nearly a century ago, in rendering exemplary service, both in peacetime and in war to an ever-widening circle of beneficiaries. Decade after decade and, indeed, now year after year more and more responsibilities are being entrusted to it as a compliment to its achievements and in recognition of its capacity to keep pace with the situations of a rapidly changing world.

I have no doubt that meeting here under the common emblem of the Red Cross—the time-honoured symbol of compassion and hope to humanity in distress—all our discussions will be inspired throughout by the eternal spirit symbolised in that emblem.

We have here in this august gathering some 400 delegates representing 82 countries as well as Observers from many International and National Organisations interested in the humanitarian work of the Red Cross. We are happy indeed to have with us seasoned and distinguished leaders of Red Cross work—the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross and its Chairman, Ambassador Francois-Poncet, the International Committee of the Red Cross with its President, Mr. Leopold Boissier, the League of Red Cross Societies and its Chairman, Mr. Justice Emil Sandstrom. We are most grateful to them and to all who have come here to share in a co-operative endeavour towards contributing another glorious chapter to the annals of the Red Cross.

We are meeting at a time when the clouds of mistrust and suspicion still continue to darken our horizon. But I have no doubt that the spirit of an organisation such as ours will help in its own way to dispel those

clouds and that the friendly cooperation which is the hallmark of Red Cross work will strengthen us to go forward in faith and in hope to serve mankind.

I do not think it necessary at the moment to comment upon the strenuous work that lies ahead of us for a heavy agenda already bears witness to it including as it does matters of the gravest concern to humanity. I might only mention one interesting innovation that has been introduced in the present session and that is the short study tours which our overseas guests have been invited to undertake immediately after the final meeting. At their option and according to their choice they will make trips to certain areas of our country whereby they will, I trust, get some idea of how we try to interpret and implement the mission of the Red Cross in various fields in our own humble way and within our limited resources. They will also have a glimpse into certain cross-sections of our people's social and cultural life as well as the revolutionary reorientation now going on under our National Five Year Plans.

Fellow delegates, we have tried to make you as comfortable as possible but we ask you to forgive any shortcomings that you may find in our reception of you. The welcome that the Indian Society offers you comes from the heart and we hope that your coming to this ancient land of ours will cement still further the bonds of friendship that link us together as a world family.

I shall not take more of your time by standing between you and our President who has graciously consented to inaugurate and bless this Conference—Mr. President.

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD, PRESIDENT OF INDIA

RAJKUMARIJI, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have great pleasure in being with you today and in extending to all the distinguished guests present a hearty welcome. I am happy to feel that there are as many as 82 countries represented here by their National Red Cross Societies, Governments, and a number of International and National organizations. This is indeed a tangible indication of the great importance attached to this Conference.

India has been the venue of a number of international meetings to consider various subjects, but this Conference has a special significance of its own; it represents the unique humanitarian institution of the Red Cross which, for a century, has been making valuable contribution to human welfare by working for the alleviation of suffering. The activities of the Red Cross during war in giving succour to the sick and wounded and prisoners-of-war, in tracing missing persons and mitigating the brutalities of conflicts in all possible ways are well known.

The Red Cross also seeks to uphold and propagate the ideals of peace by demonstrating through its high principles and actions the brotherhood of man and by appealing not so much to his intellect as to his conscience which is basically ethical, sublime and spiritual. To a country like India, nurtured on the ideals of truth and non-violence, propounded by its *Rishis* and Lord Buddha, preached by Emperor Ashoka and practised by Mahatma Gandhi, the Red Cross assumes added significance.

In India, the Red Cross has been functioning for about four decades. In its expanding sphere of work it has dealt with a series of natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes and famines. To its lot also fell such unexpected human catastrophes as post-partition disturbances which occurred in the wake of India's Independence, the tribal incursion into Kashmir, mass migration of populations and similar other situations. Our total achievements may not have been commensurate with all the needs of a vast country like ours, but the quality of services rendered despite many limitations has always been commendable. During major emergencies, thanks to the kind co-operation of the International Red Cross Organization and the fraternity of sister Societies, the Indian Red Cross has received generous assistance by way of large quantities of relief supplies. This spontaneous sharing of suffering is perhaps the most tangible expression of goodwill, for which we are always grateful.

Towards the promotion of world peace also, the Society's extraordinary assignment in Korea in 1953 was something to which any country could look back with a sense of genuine satisfaction and pride. At all important Red Cross meetings and conferences the Society has been steadfastly upholding the cause of world peace.

The present Conference is meeting at a crucial period of the world's history in a revolutionary era of scientific advancement with the advent of atomic and nuclear energy and the attempted conquest over space. These achievements would have been hailed as great gifts of modern science to mankind but for their grave potentialities and apprehended possibility of being employed as devastating instruments of war and destruction of human race. Coupled with this eventuality is the mounting degree of suspicion, fear, misunderstanding

and frustration, which are a constant threat to world peace. Humanity thus seems to be groping in the dark at the cross-roads of destiny, not knowing whether man will attain mastery over his creation of scientific miracles or face extermination. And that, I believe, is the reason for the emphasis of this Conference on the protection of humanity by the prohibition of atomic experiments.

These tests with their radio-active fall-out and unknown after-effects are causing pollution of air and water and may have also genetic effects of unpredictable consequences. It is no consolation to say that the effect of the experimental explosions is not harmful to any dangerous degree. What is wrong in principle cannot be right in practice.

It is obvious that these questions are concerned not merely with the welfare but with the very survival of mankind. I have therefore no doubt that your deliberations will be inspired by most practical realism and in the highest humanitarian traditions of the Red Cross. The voice of this Conference in these vital matters may well express the unexpressed sentiments of humanity at large. I am sure that the world will anxiously watch your activities with great expectations.

I am, however, not unaware of the limitations of a humanitarian organisation, but, realising as I do, the magnificent achievements of the Red Cross ever since its inception and the commendable role it has been playing for the promotion of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering, both in war and in peace, all over the world, and above all the moral force with which it champions the cause of peace, I cannot but look upon its endeavours with reinforced optimism.

I hope you will be interested in the study visits which Rajkumariji has mentioned. I trust that these short trips will afford you some enjoyable relaxation from your strenuous work. You will be able to see how India is upholding and propagating the aims and objects of the Red Cross; you will also have opportunities for gaining some insight into the social, cultural and economic life of our people. In particular, I hope you will see some of our Plans in action and what we are doing to raise the standards of economy of our people from the present state of their backwardness. We would fain readjust our ancient heritage to the needs of modern times without disintegrating our fundamental, spiritual and material concepts of life. The task is stupendous; we are facing it with courage and determination.

I know many of you have travelled long distances to come here at some personal inconvenience. Your host, the Indian Red Cross Society, is doing its best to provide for your comforts; I count upon your indulgence for any shortcomings.

I wish you god-speed in your deliberations and hope your stay in our midst will be fruitful and memorable.

I have now much pleasure in declaring this Conference open.

HIS EXCELLENCY AMBASSADOR ANDRE FRANCOIS-PONCET, CHAIRMAN OF THE
STANDING COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

My first words, in this opening address for the XIXth Conference of the International Red Cross (a task and honour that have fallen to me as Chairman of the Standing Commission) must be to salute the great country, both of venerable antiquity and of ever renascent youth, which is giving us such a warm welcome, to tender my thanks also for this generous hospitality to the Indian Union President, His Excellency Rajendra Prasad, and to express my humble respect to the Prime Minister, the eminent Statesman to whom fell the charge of leading his people to its lofty destiny on the road of Independence, and who, from the achievements of his sense of justice and of his love of peace, has deserved and won the respect of the world.

Close by his side, Her Highness Princess Amrit Kaur has appeared in the eyes of all of us, crusaders of the Red Cross, as the living symbol of New India. No one could have been a more gracious presentation of it, and a kinder and more touching image of her country, more worthy to be loved and also to be appreciated, for the reason that to all her virtues have been added lucidity of intellect, rightness of judgment and firmness of character.

The Red Cross of India, over which she presides, has become in her hands one of the most active and alert Societies of ours, because she is the perfect impersonation of the ideal that we cherish, the charitable practical devotion to all our fellow-creatures, which we endeavour to propagate and make an every day reality all round us.

Our gratitude towards the Princess must therefore be threefold.

We must be thankful for her collaboration to our Standing Commission, where her enlightened advice and suggestions are always highly judicious. And also, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are heavily in her debt for the leading share she took in the organization of the XIXth Conference in her country, in full agreement with the

Authorities of India. Still more particularly we owe to Her Highness, despite the previous arrangements already made, the obliging, and may I say, the almost smiling acceptance of a serious postponement (amounting to several months) of the Conference itself, and of its final preparations.

For this, and for all the help that Princess Amrit Kaur so kindly gave, let us proffer to her our most heartfelt thanks and praise.

Ever since Henry Dunant set up his admirable work and founded his famous Society, almost a hundred years ago, no Conference of the Red Cross was ever lacking in interest and success, but this one, Number Nineteen of the series, promises to be of outstanding importance.

It occurs indeed at a time when the whole world seems to fall a prey to wild agitation and anxious cares. The barometer of the planet no longer points to storm, as it did at the moment when we should have held our assizes, but the hand of it has stopped at "change", or "rain and wind". This unsteady condition cannot but result in chronic feverishness, noxious to international health.

Antagonistic in their nature, the two main trends of thought, the two political and social systems that are vying with each other, and contending for predominance in the public mind, each of the two suspecting imminence of attack from the other, cannot be blended together and have not yet succeeded in establishing a sound basis for the possible modalities of acceptable co-existence.

At the same time, science has made prodigious discoveries and found the means of disintegrating atoms, and of letting off by disruption such enormous quantities of energy as has never been attained or even contemplated. But unfortunately, as too often happens, the result of such stupendous inventions is being made to serve purposes of war preparations, far more and far sooner than to favour peaceful and profitable uses. New weapons are being contrived, shaped out of nuclear elements and of a destructive power defying imagination, capable of annihilating in a trice hundreds of thousands of human beings and thus of making wars more terrible than they ever were.

The horror of those visions is such that one would wish to cancel the idea of the coming tragedy and prevent the possibility of using those deadly implements and wish also to be able to suppress or, at least, to limit the use and production of them, and place them under efficient control. But, so far, all efforts made to attain this result have failed. The "H" bomb, one might say, remains as a sword of Damocles, suspended over our heads.

Last, but not least, a number of peoples, living until recently in tutelage have been emancipated. They have become masters of their own fate and government. They now form independent States. The political map of the world has taken on a new visage. The venerable trunk of Asia, mother of races and peoples, has brought forth green new branches and boughs. India, now awakened, has achieved her own organization. She now belongs to the major Powers of the world, whose voices at present must be listened to. But the elixir of life and freedom, the wine of democracy, the alcohol of national sentiment are all heady drinks and must be taken in moderation.

What then, in the midst of this upheaval of ideas, this seething of passions, what must be the role and influence of the Red Cross? What can she do, attempt and achieve?

In the first place, by the mere location, this year, in New Delhi, the capital of India, of the appointment given every fourth year to its constitutive elements, the Red Cross has accomplished an act of high significance, primarily meaning and proclaiming that all opposition or difference between East and West, between the countries of rising and setting sun, between Asia and Europe have definitely been cleared away. The Red Cross, born in Europe, has no pretension to maintain a sort of European prevalence, and makes no more distinction between continents than between colours of skin. Its members, whoever they are, wherever they live, are bound together by the bonds of close friendship and brotherhood. The Red Cross is universal. It concerns and is concerned with the interests of every one of the world countries, with all living men. She holds out her arms to all, as in her eyes, the whole of mankind is but one family, the Mother-country in which all Mother-countries are joined.

The Red Cross keeps aloof from and above politics, just as it respects all religions, without having ties with any of them. It is non-political in the same sense as it is non-religious, without being "irreligious", non-political, in the sense that it refuses to interfere in the political fields of anyone of its members. All of them remain, of course, entitled to follow the trend of their own opinions. But under the flag of the Red Cross, each of the members become neutral, with no one against it, no adversaries nor enemies—only men that suffer and want aid, the Red Cross itself having one only concern: a will to help them out of their sufferings.

The Red Cross is a bond of union, alien to systems and parties, averse to whatever fosters division. All antagonistic doctrines, rivalries, enmities, remain outside its door, uncompromisingly repulsed. If the door were to be opened, however slightly, it could never be closed again. The Red Cross is no Tribunal, no Court

of Justice to which national Societies, becoming more or less defence-lawyers for their respective governments, might appeal for individual support, bandying complaints against one another. "Voi che intrate lasciate ogni politica!"—"All ye who enter here abandon politics". This golden rule of the Red Cross is of all rules, the most intangible and the only possible safeguard of its value, sacredness and efficiency.

The deep desire to observe a rigorous political neutrality must not, however, prevent the Red Cross from backing up with its moral prestige, any and all efforts undertaken towards a disarmament agreement or a partial or total renunciation of the production and use of weapons of massive destruction, under real and efficient control. It is not the concern of the Red Cross to investigate the particular reasons why no international agreement has as yet been achieved and to enquire as to whose fault it may be, as the complexities of these problems and the difficulties with which these enquiries bristle, cannot admit of ready-made solutions. But, on the other hand, the Red Cross cannot forget the particular circumstances to which its birth is due, nor its "*raison d'être*", its special task, which is to mitigate the evils of war, to come to the aid of all war victims, to make war less inhuman, awaiting the time of its final suppression.

It is also natural that Red Cross should stimulate, urge, the various governments, to carry negotiations as far as possible, so as to free the peoples from this horrible nightmare.

Meantime, the Red Cross will proceed further to elaborate and propound more and more precise rules, in order to complete the code of Protection in favour of civilian populations, which code she has already initiated. It will be one of the most important points of the agenda of our 19th Conference.

But, first of all, she must counter the outburst of passions and the threatening prospect of total destruction, by emphasizing the necessity of zeal, kindness, charity, and sublimity of heart. She must appeal to the generosity of peoples and draw to her all lofty minded men, associate them in her salutary action, and, by her radiant example, illustrate the spirit of mutual aid, concord and peace.

In the last four years, catastrophes, disastrous happenings of all sorts, continuously struck numerous countries. The International Committee, the League, the national Societies, indefatigably rushed to their aid with magnificent emulation. By so doing, they gave to the world motives for optimism and reasons to firmly trust in the triumph of generous instincts over the lower impulses, in the final victory of the good angels over the war demons.

And the mere fact of staying for a few weeks on this Indian soil, the cradle of the oldest civilizations and the noblest doctrines, will add to the moral forces of the Red Cross and strengthen her in the consciousness she has both of herself and of the holiness of her mission.

MR. LEOPOLD BOISSIER, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF THE RED CROSS

I wish first of all to express my sincere thanks to the Indian Red Cross, for having once more organised our Conference, with the assistance of this noble country, after unfavourable circumstances had led to its postponement. All the preparations have had to be made twice over, and our gratitude is so much the greater.

Many speakers will certainly dwell on the profound significance of the Red Cross meetings at New Delhi. I for one would like to tell you of the conviction which has never failed to inspire me, and which finds today in this assembly its most striking manifestation. The Red Cross ideal exists in the conscience of all peoples, whatever their beliefs or their civilisation. Henry Dunant, citizen of Geneva, and Ashoka, King of the country which was to give birth to Gandhi, have had brothers, known and unknown, in every quarter of the world. Everywhere men have arisen who have proclaimed the right of the victims of violence to assistance and respect. This has led to a sense of universal brotherhood and above all of common responsibility.

To quote only one example, since the Toronto Conference the International Committee of the Red Cross has seen this sense of common responsibility strikingly manifested in a new field of activity: the protection of political prisoners. Whereas a soldier wounded or taken prisoner during a war between states is protected by the customs of war and the Geneva Conventions, the political prisoner is powerless in the hands of the representatives of the established order which his deeds or thoughts have been considered to threaten. However, on more than one occasion, the International Committee has obtained permission from governments to visit and bring relief to the very people who had rebelled. Thus the Red Cross has been able to accomplish its mission in struggles more merciless than those which pit nation against nation.

In all its aspects this mission is unique. No other group of human beings, no other institution can fulfil it, since it requires complete independence and unwavering acceptance of those principles of charity and brotherhood for which the Red Cross had gained acknowledgement and which it has been able to put into practice because they lie deep in every human heart.

Our first duty here, therefore, will be to preserve and strengthen the principles which guide and inspire us. We shall do so in full knowledge of the obstacles in our path, especially the rivalries now shaking the world and the perhaps invincible power of modern weapons. We shall do so, nevertheless, all the more doggedly in that we are convinced that we bear the common responsibility which I have mentioned. For if the Red Cross lost courage, abandoned the struggle or even became divided, who would take its place?

Our second duty is indicated by one of the items on the agenda: the Red Cross and Peace. All of us who are gathered here wish to make a solemn appeal to the world to renounce war and finally enter upon the path of the peaceful settlement of international conflicts. But, in the eyes of the public, what authority will we have for making such an appeal if we here do not ourselves, as do the humble servants of the Red Cross on the battlefield or in the hospitals, set an example of peace and good understanding?

Let us compare our opinions, and discover what brings us closer together; in that way we shall reduce the possible causes of division! Let us be frank and true to our own selves, but let us conduct our discussion in a spirit of mutual understanding and thus arrive at unanimous resolutions!

If this Conference works in such an auspicious atmosphere, the Red Cross will have gained a new victory. In this great country, which wishes ardently for concord to enable it to promote the prosperity and happiness of its peoples, the Red Cross will take one further step towards its supreme goal: universal solidarity in the fight against suffering.

JUSTICE EMIL SANDSTROM, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF GOVERNORS, LEAGUE
OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES

At Toronto, we all with great joy greeted the invitation of the Indian Red Cross to hold the next International Conference at New Delhi. We are delighted now to assist at the opening of the Conference in this country of a famous old culture, and where modern humanitarian ideas have won such vivid response.

The League and its component Societies render homage to this country, its people and its President, His Excellency Dr. Rajendra Prasad. At the same time, we want to commend and express our gratitude to the Indian Government for the very substantial financial subvention it gives the League. We also join in the tribute paid by the previous speaker to the Prime Minister, to the Indian Red Cross and to its Chairman.

Since the 18th Conference at Toronto, in 1952, the Red Cross movement has made—I think it is justified to say—a great stride forward. Saturday, at the meeting of the Board of Governors of the League, it was reported that only since the meeting of this Board at Oslo, in 1954, seven new Societies have been duly recognized and admitted to the League, bringing the total number of Societies to 78. The Red Cross has thus grown in universality which is one of the conditions for its working possibilities in case of war.

Activity in the National Red Cross Societies has enlarged and intensified, and a gratifying thing is that more and more interest is being directed towards the medico-social field. The original object of the Red Cross was to be an auxiliary to the medical service of the armed forces in time of war. On one hand, however, the situation has changed since the Red Cross movement started in that in many countries the armed forces themselves have taken over the whole of that service. On the other hand, in time of peace, the work for the military forces is not enough to keep up the interest in the Red Cross and among the public for the Red Cross. There is needed an activity to replace the work for the armed forces, or to complement it, in order to keep up the interest also among Red Cross people and the public in time of peace.

The medico-social activity, the service for social welfare, for children, especially for handicapped children, for prevention of accidents among children, for mothers, for aged persons, for health education, for first aid, for home nursing or whatever it might be, is very well suited to be a substitute for the old traditional Red Cross activity, and it is no doubt quite in line with the general Red Cross idea, i.e. giving help to those suffering and in distress.

It is especially recommended that this kind of activity be taken up in countries where Government health or social services do not cover the whole field.

When the programme for this Conference was worked out, it was thought that it would be of special interest to give an opportunity to the countries in this part of the world to discuss their problems in the medico-social field and especially with that in view a Medico-Social Commission has been proposed. This has now been accepted. We hope that the Societies from this part of the world will avail themselves of this opportunity.

In the international field, the unrest and the conflicts which have characterized the past years have caused an intense activity on the part of the International Committee along its traditional lines.

On the other hand, as already the President of the Standing Commission pointed out, the last five years have been marked by catastrophes, disasters, and political events which have afflicted various countries, affecting millions of men, women and children.

To alleviate these sufferings, the National Societies and the two great organs of the International Red Cross—the League of Red Cross Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross—have undertaken numerous relief actions, some of them on a very large scale. The actions in Hungary and for the Hungarian refugees alone involved some \$ 50 million, and it is well justified to pay a tribute to the generosity of the international public which subscribed these funds.

It is as we have thus seen a Red Cross in full activity, and in strong progress, that meets here today to discuss with the Governments its problems.

In a world beset with so much suffering, it is comforting to know that we belong to this strong organisation that can take up the challenge and bring help to those in distress. We are happy to know that in our fight we have the moral and material support of the Governments.

We hope that this Conference will serve the purposes we have set for it and bring about a further development of our movement.

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

Mr. President, Excellencies and Distinguished Delegates, our President has already offered a cordial welcome to all of you on your visit to this country for this Conference. I should like to add to that welcome on behalf of the Government of India.

We welcome you here not only because yours is a great organisation but, more particularly, if I may say so in all humility, because the type of work which you do is in tune with the spirit which we should like to encourage in ourselves. I do not say we would succeed in that in ourselves or anywhere else but, at any rate, we try to do so because, however much we may forget somewhere at the back of our minds there lingers the voice of Gandhi, somewhere in the recesses of our minds in our racial memories there lingers the message of Ashoka and others. We forget it often enough and we follow wrong paths, yet we do not quite forget it for it comes back to us from time to time, and because we feel that the essential basis of the activities of the Red Cross is in tune with that message, we bid you special welcome.

The Red Cross Organisation saw light, I believe, nearly a hundred years ago in order to mitigate somewhat the horrors of war, to serve perhaps as some kind of a bridge between combatants and belligerents. Its work has grown since then, and I have no doubt that it has brought enormous relief and, more particularly, it has bridged these rival forces at a time when they were completely separated and isolated from each other. It has represented that aspect of human nature which may be said to be the more civilized aspect, in contradistinction to the other which forgets civilization. But I suppose, whether as individuals or as groups, we are all rather a mixture of the civilized and the uncivilized, of the divine and the brute. And, I suppose that nobody can call war with its brutalities as the outcome of a high civilization. It may be something unavoidable or not, that is a matter for argument, but no one can call the deliberate infliction of suffering and destruction as a part of human civilization.

But it represents as the human heritage the heritage not of the civilized aspect of man but of some other aspect, and in order to balance that and to take up the divine or the civilised in man it is always trying to make its efforts and the Red Cross, I suppose, represents one of those efforts.

Now, the Red Cross Organisation came into existence almost as an outcome of war, as a child of war, to mitigate the horrors of war. What exactly is the position of the Red Cross in the present age to which reference has been made by some of the distinguished speakers before me? What is this child of war? How does it function in this age of cold war? Surely, its function is essentially the same even though it may not have to deal with people, hospitals and the like. It will have to deal with people whose minds are attuned to war and of the evils of war, even though they hate it, because of the compulsion of events perhaps. In other words, it is not, perhaps, quite enough to wait for war, its evils and its mutilations, for the Red Cross to come into action.

Why not try to soothe and to heal the wounds of the spirit? Why not be a bridge between these various isolated hosts, separated hosts? I have no doubt that it does so to some extent even now, and as has been pointed out, it has endeavoured to bring some relief even in times of peace to those who suffer from disabilities or persecution and the like; and I welcome that. But I venture, in all humility, to put before this distinguished audience that the old approach of waiting ultimately for war to happen and then trying, seeking to mitigate it, is hardly adequate today when that possible war may well mean something that you cannot mitigate in any way—the consequences of it—but it may well mean destruction on a terrific scale.

How then do we meet this crisis? How does the Red Cross meet it? How did everyone of us meet it? It is not the special function of the Red Cross. It has become a function of every sensitive individual. But the Red Cross, being rather specialists in dealing with suffering humanity, and I suppose, thereby also gaining some knowledge in how to deal with the troubles of the spirit, how will they deal with the spiritual torment of today?

A distinguished speaker before me thought of the two systems, political and social, which apparently face each other. That is true. But may I suggest, in all humility, for your consideration that there may be something else besides those two systems which seem to imagine that they have the world for conflict or sharing. There may, perhaps, be some other ways of achieving what we have in our minds without necessarily adopting one system or the other in its entirety. There may be many such ways. In any event, whether there are many or whether there are only two or three, how do we deal with this particular situation? Because, that situation brings war into the minds of men.

You will remember that in the Constitution of that great organisation, the UNESCO, it is stated that wars begin in the minds of men. And, therefore, you should root them out from the minds of men. If we indulge in what is called cold war, that is indulging in war in our minds, and indulging is something worse than war; that is hatred which leads to war—hatred and fear.

How then is one to deal with this situation when there are conflicting policies, conflicting views? And we live on the verge of war and disaster. One may imagine perhaps that, well, one view is right and the other is wrong, and therefore, the right should put an end to the wrong. Some people may feel that way. But even so, it does not appear particularly easy to do that, whichever might be the right and whichever the wrong. And in the process of trying to do that, one does a great deal of wrong. Therefore, that approach does not lead anywhere, whatever approach is there, and if that approach does not lead anywhere, then the approach of what has been called cold war is a very inefficient approach leading nowhere. Some other approach has to be found. I do not know; it is for the great men of the world to think it out. But it is manifest, it seems to me, that the approach will have to be something very different from the approach of hatred and cold war which, it can be demonstrably shown, have not led to any reasonable result in the past, much less will they do so in the future.

It is not perhaps by laying stress on that aspect of human nature which so easily becomes brutish that we shall solve the question. I do not pretend to say that people in this country or any particular country are better than others. I believe that, broadly speaking, the people of India are rather gentle and yet I know very well that these so-called gentle people can and have misbehaved terribly on occasions. We, all of us, are these mixtures of the good and the bad and the question that arises is what policy we should pursue which might bring out the good rather than the bad; and surely, a policy of constant fear and hatred and cold war is not going to bring out the good in the individual or a nation, but rather bring out the bad.

Then, there is sometimes what is called 'co-existence.' Well, we of course do co-exist, but not co-exist in the sense that we have to put up with it, dislike it as we do, but rather, shall I say, the more integrated variety of it, and ultimately, one comes to the conclusion that one cannot really proceed far if we always have the actuality or the prospect of violence that disturbs our mind and brings out what is worst in us—fears and hatreds. Our fears and hatreds produce fears and hatreds in the other. So, unless we can get rid or try to get rid of this wake of violence, there appears to be no way out, unless that violence itself puts an end to our problems. So, we come back to this grave problem, which is much deeper than these so-called differences in systems, political or economic. It is a problem of the tormented spirit of sensitive human beings today.

Perhaps those people for whom the world is just white or black, with no intermediate shades and therefore who feel convinced of certain rightness of themselves and certain wrongness of all those who oppose them, perhaps they think it is in a sense well, because they are not troubled by doubts. But more sensitive people are troubled by doubts. Most sensitive people know that it is not a question of black or white and that anyhow it is not a good thing to pursue a wrong method even to gain a right object.

So, all these problems come to us. To all of us, whatever our vocation might be and sometimes to those who are so firm in their opinions of their own rightness, I would like to say in the words of a famous Englishman who lived long ago—Oliver Cromwell—who received a deputation, I think, from the City of London—I forget what the deputation said, but it is immaterial—and he replied to that "Gentlemen, I beseech you to consider in the bowels of Christ whether it is possible that you might be wrong". It is always possible for anyone of us to be wrong, and for us to imagine that we are always right, I venture to submit, is itself wrong. So, the only approach that we can make is an approach of tolerance and an approach of avoidance of violence and hatred. And I do think that if that approach were made, we would influence those who, for the present, may be opposed to us, far more than by the approach of fear or the threat of violence.

I venture to say this to this gathering because more than any other group of people this gathering represents the touch of healing, the soothing touch and what the world requires today more than anything is this touch of healing not only to the body but to the tortured minds of humanity.

SECRETARY-GENERAL (SARDAR BALWANT SINGH PURI): The plenary session of the Conference will continue its deliberations in the afternoon and we shall meet again at 2.30 p.m. punctually.

(The Conference then adjourned)

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

October 28, 1957

SUMMARY:—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR—ON PROPOSALS OF COUNCIL OF DELEGATES, ELECTION OF CHAIRMEN, VICE-CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES OF CONFERENCE AND COMMISSIONS—ADMITTANCE OF THE PRESS TO MEETINGS OF CONFERENCE AND COMMISSIONS—REPORT BY CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMISSION—DISCUSSION OF PROTESTS AGAINST INVITATION OF A GOVERNMENT TO THE CONFERENCE POSTPONED TO SPECIAL PLENARY MEETING.

The meeting was called to order at 2.30 p.m. with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Chairman of the Managing Body of the Indian Red Cross, in the Chair.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (India, Red Cross)—It is my privilege once again as Chairman of the Indian Red Cross to extend a very hearty welcome to you. I will now ask Mr. Leopold Boissier to read to you the Report of the Council of Delegates.

MR. BOISSIER (I.C.R.C.) (original French)—Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honour to present to you the report of the Council of Delegates which met this morning and appointed Lady Limerick as its Vice-Chairman.

The first item which I must submit to you is the election of the Chairman of this Conference.

As Chairman of the Council of Delegates, I have the honour to submit for your consideration the appointment of the Chairman of this XIXth Conference. The Council has unanimously proposed the election of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Chairman of the Managing Body of the Indian Red Cross. (*Applause.*)

In accepting the proposal of the Council of Delegates by acclamation, you have honoured the whole Red Cross movement, for there is no better illustration than Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of the ideals of our movement, because of her extensive knowledge, her experience, and her devotion. You are all familiar with the various stages of her career which have led her from her ancestral home, through Oxford and the capitals of Europe, to the work of assisting the weak and the forsaken. As a disciple of Gandhi, she learned from him to see in every human being, whoever he may be, a brother to be loved and understood. Working beside the master towards that ideal, she took part in India's accession to independence, and since then has held high office in the central Government and abroad. In her, we greet India of the past, India of the future which by dint of tremendous efforts is developing today, and India the eternal. In her we also greet with affectionate admiration the first woman Chairman of an International Red Cross Conference and, through her, if I may be permitted to say so, all women who are the best workers for our cause. (*Applause.*) In your name I now hand to her the emblem of Chairman of the Conference.

(Rajkumari Amrit Kaur then took the Chair)

As regards the Vice-Chairmen, the Council proposes the election of the heads of delegations of National Societies represented at this Conference. (*Applause.*)

Next we come to the Council's proposals concerning the Commissions of the Conference. It has been decided that three Commissions should be established: first, the General Commission; secondly, the International Humanitarian Law Commission (which has previously been erroneously referred to as the Human Rights Commission), and thirdly, the Medico-Social Commission. A Drafting Committee will also be set up.

The Council of Delegates also submits to you certain proposals for the officers of these Commissions. It has tried to reach a balanced distribution among the continents, since it would be impossible to achieve this among all the National Red Cross Societies in view of the great number represented here. I shall now take each of these Commissions in turn and make proposals to you for the office of Chairman and Vice-Chairmen.

For the General Commission, Chairman: General Martola of Finland. (*Applause.*)

General Martola is elected by acclamation.

The following are proposed as Vice-Chairmen: The Countess of Limerick, Great Britain; Mr. James Nicholson, United States; H.E. A. A. Hekmat, Iran; Lt. General Van der Kroon, Netherlands; Col. Soemarno Sosroatmodjo, Indonesia. (*Applause.*)

Elected by acclamation.

Next is the Humanitarian Law Commission: as Chairman, we propose Mr. John MacAulay, Canada, who was such an efficient Chairman of the Conference at Toronto. (*Applause.*)

Mr. MacAulay is unanimously elected by acclamation.

The Vice-Chairmen proposed are: Professor Miterev, U.S.S.R.; Mrs. Li Teh-Chuan, China; Prince Frederic de Merode, Belgium; Justice Aung Khine, Burma; and Dr. Agustin Inostrosa, Chile. (*Applause.*)

Elected by acclamation.

Next we come to the Medico-Social Commission: the Council of Delegates proposes as Chairman Mrs. Irene Domanska, Poland. (*Applause.*)

Elected by acclamation.

As Vice-Chairmen: Sir Peter MacCallum, Australia; Dr. Octavian Belea, Rumania; General Dr. Guido Ferri, Italy; Dr. Ibrahim Shawky, Egypt; Prof. A. von Albertini, Switzerland. (*Applause.*)

Elected by acclamation.

Next you must elect the members of the Drafting Committee, which will obviously have a difficult task. We propose as Chairman Mr. Sloper of Brazil. (*Applause.*)

If you agree, Mr. Sloper will be assisted by Sardar Balwant Singh Puri, Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross; Mr. Claude Pilloud, of the International Committee of the Red Cross; Mr. W. J. Phillips, of the League of Red Cross Societies; and Mr. Shanker Nigam of the Indian Red Cross. (*Applause.*)

There are still two questions which I must submit to you. The first concerns the attendance of the Press at meetings of Commissions. The Standing Commission had proposed that the Press should be admitted only to plenary meetings and not to meetings of Commissions; at its meeting this morning, however, the Council of Delegates took a contrary decision by 38 votes to 10 and proposes to you that the Press should be admitted to meetings of Commissions. This is a rather delicate matter and I think that the Conference should take a clear decision on it. I would remind you that each governmental delegation has one vote and each National Society also has one vote.

H.E. MR. RUEGGER (Switzerland, Government) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I venture to make an urgent appeal to the present gathering to consider carefully the decision which it is about to take. We all know and appreciate fully that the Press is a necessary and beneficial institution for us, and it is increasingly essential as regards the Red Cross cause, in order to disseminate throughout the world the principles and ideals on which our work is based. Sometimes, however, within the Red Cross too, we have to build up this structure, brick by brick, and we must be able to work with some discretion and to avoid protracted discussions and speeches which, I regret to say, are sometimes addressed not so much to the members of the Commissions as to the general public; speeches of that kind prolong our work unduly and distort the conduct of our business. Now, as you have heard from the remarkable speech to which we listened this morning, the world looks to this Conference of ours, meeting in India, to perform constructive and efficient work. The time at our disposal is short; we hope that some guidance will emerge from this Conference and that there will be sufficient unity of views on a few main principles. Must we submit all this to the crossfire and comment of the Press? It is so easy to say yes, it is more democratic and a demonstration of liberty to admit the Press—but is that really so? First of all we have a job to do, and then what we have done will be examined closely in plenary meetings; it is in this second stage that the Press will be of great and indispensable assistance. I thank you, Madam Chairman.

Mrs. LI TEH-CHUAN (People's Republic of China, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman and fellow-delegates: There are certain things which the Chinese Government and the Chinese Red Cross have to raise as an emergency matter before this Conference on a point of order. According to news verified from many sources, the Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, Mr. Francois-Poncet, under the direction of the United States delegation, on October 26, in disregard of the opposition of the majority of the members of the Standing Commission, has gone so far as to rob the name of the Standing Commission to send of his own will, a telegram to the so-called Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of the Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched as the Republic of China, Taiwan, to send delegates speedily to attend the Conference. The delegates of the Chiang Kai-shek clique are on their way to the Conference.

Mr. Francois-Poncet, as Chairman of an international organization has the audacity to misuse his authority to serve the cause of the United States in creating two Chinas and disrupt the Conference. This is a provocation against this Conference and it is intolerable to the Chinese delegation as to all fair-minded people.

The delegation of the People's Republic of China and the Red Cross Society of China hereby makes the following proposal before the Conference :

The Conference strongly condemns the United States delegation for the carrying out of its sinister political plot at the International Red Cross Conference and the illegal act of Mr. Francois-Poncet and immediately takes emergency measures to forbid Chiang's clique repudiated by the Chinese people from attending the Conference.

The Chinese people and the Chinese Government resolutely opposes the creation of two Chinas and would have absolutely nothing to do with any International Conference in which the elements of Chiang Kai-shek's clique attend and take part.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I would like to bring to the notice of the delegate from China that any emergency motion has to be placed before the Chairman before it can be put here and I would also like, on behalf of the Standing Commission, to say that Ambassador Francois-Poncet has done nothing on behalf of the Standing Commission.

We will now go on with the election, before we take the vote on the admission of the Press, of the Secretary General and Assistant Secretaries General of the Conference.

MR. BOISSIER (ICRC) (original French)—After asking you to elect the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Commissions, I omitted to ask you to elect a Secretary General of this Conference. The Council of Delegates proposes the man who, working beside our Chairman, has prepared this Conference, who has worked for a number of years most conscientiously and efficiently, and whom we all admire as one of the best servants of the Red Cross: Sardar Balwant Singh Puri. (*Applause.*)

Sardar Balwant Singh Puri is elected by acclamation as Secretary General of the Conference.

We propose that Mr. Pilloud, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Mr. Phillips of the League, should act as Assistant Secretaries General. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Pilloud and Mr. Phillips are elected by acclamation.

Before a vote is taken on the question of admitting the Press, I have one further matter to submit to your attention. The Council of Delegates decided to propose that the representatives of the Sudanese Red Crescent and the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam should be granted the right to vote during the present Conference. Both these Societies have applied to the International Committee for recognition, but the applications were received too late for the Committee to be able to give them proper consideration and to consult the League. They both fulfil the requisite conditions, however, and I am confident that if you grant them the right to vote, it will be possible to admit them to the League in the course of this Conference, as an exceptional measure. I therefore propose that the representatives of the Sudanese Red Crescent and the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam be granted the right to vote at this Conference. (*Applause.*)

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Now we proceed to vote on the proposals put before you in regard to the admission of the Press to plenary sessions as well as to the meetings of the Commissions.

H.E. MR. SCILINGO (Argentina, Government)—Madam Chairman and Delegates: I have listened with great attention to the impassioned appeal of the Chairman of the Swiss Government delegation. The Argentine delegation feels that the Red Cross movement is based on public opinion, that it needs the support of the people and under those circumstances it feels that we should run the risk of whatever things are being discussed coming to the knowledge of the people. It is the responsibility of the delegations intervening in the debate that would apply a necessary brake. Consequently the Argentine delegation would favour that in the discussions the Press be admitted.

Mrs. BARRY (Ireland, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: This morning I proposed that the Press be admitted to the plenary sessions of the International Conference. I asked that the Press might be excluded from the meetings of the Commissions. I did it for three reasons. My first reason was that in Commissions where the Press is admitted there is valuable time lost with propagandist statements. My second reason is that very often the alteration of one word in a statement made at a Commission through an inaccuracy—not wilful inaccuracy—of the Press can alter the whole meaning of the statement. My third reason was that very often the Press has an effect on the morale of various delegations. Those were my three reasons.

I know that the Red Cross in the world has nothing to hide, that everything it does is open to inspection at all times. But I did make the appeal because I have been at many conferences and I have found a great deal of our time lost through long propagandist statements. I would appeal to you now to consider it very seriously.

Mrs. KAMALENDU MATI SHAH (India, Red Cross)—I just wish to say that I think it would be good if the Press were to be admitted, because whatever we do we do for the general good and that should be broadcast. It should be known to everybody. Of course, there is good and bad in everything. There may be advantages and disadvantages. But everybody should know our good activities. Therefore, I am in favour that the Press should remain and broadcast our activities.

Mr. DYMAS FUNES-HARTMANN (El Salvador, Government and Red Cross) (original Spanish)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am convinced that generally speaking the Press is one of the greatest helpers of the Red Cross movement, for without its spontaneous and disinterested co-operation it would be difficult for us to achieve any success at all in our countries. I should like to take this opportunity to express before this distinguished gathering our praise and gratitude to the Press of all the countries of the world. I believe, however, that we should reflect very carefully on the question of admitting representatives of the Press to meetings of small Commissions.

Although Red Cross matters are not matters to be dealt with in secret or which should be hidden at any time, certain opinions may sometimes be expressed which, because they pertain to technical questions, can only be understood by those who are qualified to evaluate and appreciate them properly. If those opinions were heard by persons who may have a first class general knowledge and education but are not sufficiently well versed in the special problems of the Red Cross movement, this might result in certain articles in the Press which would not be conducive to the development of our activities.

I have therefore come to this rostrum to urge you to consider very carefully whether or not the Press should be admitted to meetings of small Commissions during the present Conference.

H.E. Mr. PAN TZU-LI (People's Republic of China, Government)—Madam Chairman, You have just said that the Conference should go through the normal procedures. We understand this rule and this rule should be followed. But ours is an emergency motion. It is a question of the utmost importance, namely the question of organization of this Conference. If this question is not settled, the Conference cannot proceed smoothly. Therefore, this question must be discussed before other questions.

Mrs. PECSON (Philippines, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman and fellow-delegates: The Red Cross is a people's movement. What, I pray, can such a noble movement hide from the people upon whom it depends for support? Because of the very nature of its work, the Red Cross should always welcome—nay, invite—the Press to its meetings so that the Press can help to strengthen it by keeping the people constantly informed about its ideals and activities and thereby guide public opinion in its favour.

As to the arguments presented here against admission of newspaper reporters to Commission meetings because delegates would take advantage and make long speeches for purposes of propaganda: please permit me to state that the delegation of the Philippine National Red Cross and the representative of my Government are one in the belief to the contrary. We believe that when the Press is present, people become more careful, and therefore, sparing in their statements. We think that the argument I have just mentioned can never hold true particularly in an august body like this one composed of selected representatives of sovereign peoples and their Red Cross Societies and who are consequently responsible persons.

On the other hand, we have faith in the integrity and fairness of the Press. We are positive that its members will never break confidence with us, never with the Red Cross. Democracy demands—and so does the welfare of the Red Cross—that the Press be given access not only to our plenary sessions but also to Commission meetings. However, should there be need for executive session, which in the case of the Red Cross there should never be, then the Chairman can call one quietly, but the general rule should be for authorised representatives of the Press being given access to Red Cross meetings.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I hope the delegate from the U.S.S.R. is going to speak on this point only, because no other point is to be raised now. Does he wish to speak on this question of the admission of the Press?

Prof. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, fellow-delegates: It seems to me that at today's session, the question of the admission of the Press to our sittings has become a

prolonged one. I believe that this question could have been solved long ago and then we could have proceeded to the next and very urgent question. On behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Government and on behalf of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R., I fully support the statement made by the Chinese delegate, because of the wrong decision of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross and because of the fact that Ambassador Andre Francois-Poncet sent, of his own will, a telegram to Taiwan, the Conference cannot proceed to its business.

We all know that there is only one Red Cross Society in China and there is only one China in the world. This State cannot be deprived of its rights. I insist that the Chinese question be put to the discussion.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I am not going to have any more speeches on this Press question, and I shall put it to the vote. Will those in favour of the Press attending the plenary session please raise their hands. (Some members raised their hands.)

Are there any against the Press attending the plenary sessions? No. So the proposal that the Press may attend the plenary sessions is carried unanimously.

The second proposal before you is that the Press be allowed to attend the meetings of the three Commissions but that if ever the Chairman wants to have a session *in camera*, the Commissions will be entitled to have the sessions *in camera* and the Press will not be admitted. Will those in favour of this proposal please raise their hands and keep them up because we may have to take a count. Will those who are against this proposal please raise their hands. According to the votes counted, there are 63 in favour of the Press coming to the Commissions, the Chairmen having the right of holding the sessions *in camera*, should they wish to do so. 63 are in favour and 31 are against. So, the proposal is carried.

The report of the Council of Delegates is finished. Before we proceed to anything else, I wish to say how sorry I am that this Conference begins on a note of gloom. Just a little while ago, as I arrived in this hall for this first plenary session, I was informed that Major General Costedoat, delegate of France, had passed away. I am sure we are all very sad at this event happening to a person who would have made, I am sure, a very valuable contribution to the deliberations of this Conference. I am sure you would like on behalf of all of us to extend our sympathy to the Leader of the French delegation and also ask him to convey our sympathy to the relatives of the deceased. May we all stand in silence for a minute to express our sorrow?

(The Conference then stood in silence for a minute)

Fellow-delegates, my first duty is to thank you in all humility for the honour you have done me by electing me the Chairman of the Conference. To chair an international conference these days is not an easy task. But you have reposed confidence in me and equally I repose that confidence in you. I do want the support of all of you. I want this Conference to be a specially successful conference, breathing the Red Cross spirit in accord with the inspiring messages that were given to us from the floor of this rostrum this morning. Thank you very much and I hope you will all help me to fulfil the task you have allotted me. It is a responsible task and I will not be able to do it without your co-operation.

I would also like to tell delegates that if they have any important matter, or an urgent matter, to be considered, they should send up a slip to the Chairman before coming to the rostrum to speak on things which are not on the agenda.

We now go on to the report of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross and I ask Ambassador Francois-Poncet to come and give us his report.

H.E. MR. PAN TZU-LI (People's Republic of China, Government)—We want to raise an emergency matter.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I appeal to every Delegate here that if they have any emergency question to raise, they should do me the courtesy of sending their proposals to me.

H.E. MR. PAN TZU-LI (People's Republic of China, Government)—We have the right to raise this question again.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—But you have no right to come to the rostrum and speak on something which is not relevant to the issue under discussion. Now, I may say this to you that the Standing Commission has not gone back on anything that it has done. I may also say this to you that I received a telegram myself yesterday morning asking me to change the name used for the Government of the Republic

of China and I have said, "No". So, I have no news at the moment of anybody coming from Taiwan and I hope that China will accept that. We have had this question discussed at length in the Toronto Conference and you have seen what the result of those deliberations has been. The People's Republic of China is a full-fledged member of the Red Cross body.

I will ask Ambassador Francois-Poncet to present the report of the Standing Commission.

H.E. MR. FRANCOIS-PONCET (France, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honour to report to you on the work of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross from the summer of 1952 to the present time. May I first refresh your memories by reviewing a few points in retrospect. The Standing Commission in its present form dates from the Stockholm Conference of 1948. It is true that it existed before then and that it figured in our Statutes. It was, however, in spite of its name, a body which functioned only intermittently. It met every four years, at the end of the International Conference, and ratified the decisions taken by the latter. This done, it then subsided and only became active again just before the next Conference. It decided where this was to be held, fixed the date, prepared the list of those taking part and the agenda, and looked after the internal organization in agreement with the National Society acting as host. But between one Conference and the next there was a vacuum; there was nothing to ensure co-operation, unity, continuity and smooth relations between the ICRC, the League and the National Societies, and there was no authorised body which could, if the need arose, express joint and common views. The Stockholm Conference, disturbed by this state of affairs and wishing to remedy it, decided to carry out an experiment. This was the subject of Resolution 13. This arrangement did not alter the composition of the Standing Commission which remained as it had been in the past and which consisted then, as now, of nine members: two delegates of the ICRC, one of whom must be the President of the Committee, two from the League, one of whom must be its Chairman and five members from National Societies elected not by reason of their nationality but on a personal basis and by virtue of their standing in leading International Red Cross circles. The Stockholm Conference made this Commission, composed in the same way, into a truly permanent body. It laid down that it should meet twice yearly and more frequently if necessary. It extended and clearly defined its mandate. The Commission was made responsible not only for settling differences which might arise in connection with the interpretation of the Statutes and for organising the next International Conference but also for ensuring the coordination of the work of the International Committee and the League during the period elapsing between the International Conferences, studying all questions common to the two organizations and calling for cooperation, examining all legal disputes, and adopting whatever course circumstances might demand, with the reservation that these would be reported to the next International Conference.

Resolution 13 adopted by the Stockholm Conference went even further. It instructed the President of the ICRC, the Chairman of the League, and the Chairman of the Standing Commission to meet during the period elapsing between ordinary meetings of the Standing Commission, at any time which one or other might consider critical, for the purpose of consultation and, possibly, of deciding on action to be taken. In this way, the Standing Commission came to be an active wheel in the International Red Cross machine. It acted as look-out and navigator of the ship during the crossing from one Conference to another but without infringing the independence and initiative which, within their respective spheres, are the right of the different bodies which jointly constitute the Red Cross.

Between the Stockholm Conference in 1948 and the Toronto Conference in 1952 its work was carried out as planned. The results were eminently satisfactory and the Toronto Conference therefore simply incorporated the terms of Resolution 13 approved at Stockholm into the Statutes of the International Red Cross. And very shortly afterwards these terms appeared, without modification, in Articles IX, X, XI and XII of the revised Statutes which now constitute the Charter—no longer provisional but final—of the Standing Commission. I am sure the meeting will forgive me for this survey of the past. In my opinion it is never superfluous to look back in order to show where one is going.

From 1952 to 1957, from the Toronto Conference to that in New Delhi, the Standing Commission has been composed as follows:

Chairman:	Ambassador Francois-Poncet.
Vice-Chairman:	Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.
Member, Assistant to the Chairman:	Mr. Sloper.
Members:	Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Pachkov; The President, Mr. Ruegger, and Mr. Siordet, for the ICRC; The Chairman, Judge Sandstrom, and Lady Limerick, for the League.

When Mr. Ruegger relinquished the Presidency of the ICRC, his successor, Mr. Leopold Boissier came to join us. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing appreciation to these two eminent figures

and to pay a well-deserved tribute to the members of the Commission, to their complete devotion to our cause, the conscientious enthusiasm with which they have carried out their duties and to commend and thank them for the atmosphere of friendliness, mutual understanding and co-operation which has reigned at all its meetings.

During these five years, the Standing Commission has met on the appointed dates, twice a year, and each time it has reported to the Executive Committee of the League on its work. On one occasion, of which I will speak in a moment, it held an extraordinary meeting. The three Presidents have remained equally faithful to their mandate and have exchanged views regularly. Each month the Directors of the ICRC and the League examined and took decisions jointly on each others' business and problems always under the supervision of the Standing Commission but without its being necessary for it to intervene as arbitrator. Agreement is always reached by friendly means. There have been no quarrels between them. The Commission, which is basically a court of arbitration has never been informed of the existence of any dispute. But we should not read into this that it has achieved nothing! It is the Commission's very existence and its permanence which, to a large extent, exercise a conciliatory influence. It becomes a point of honour not to be obliged to have recourse to it. Nor do we wish to imply here that it is fear of the overseer which is the basis of good conduct. We should point out too that in chemistry certain elements can only be combined when a third is added. The phenomenon which we have witnessed is something similar. Those of you who are present will no doubt remember that on 8 December, 1951, the ICRC and the League reached an agreement, a *modus vivendi*, defining the prerogatives each in its own sphere of action of the two organizations. This agreement has been firmly adhered to and put into effect in the genuine spirit and on behalf of the Red Cross. I am not going into details today of the questions which we have studied: many of them are routine matters and come within the category of current business. It will therefore no doubt be sufficient to record the most important matters with which we have been called upon to deal.

The Standing Commission has been responsible for compiling and publishing the new edition, in three languages, of the Handbook of the International Red Cross which is, if I may use the word our "Bible". The Commission, anxious to speed up the ratification of the Geneva Conventions which were revised and added to in 1949, requested National Societies, in the name of the three Presidents, to bring pressure to bear upon dilatory Governments. This measure has proved effective as, at the present time, more than two-thirds of the States concerned, that is 65, have ratified the Conventions, thus giving them the force of law. The Commission has sanctioned recognition of a number of new National Societies by the ICRC and their admission to the League; this brings the number of member Societies to 77. We can be justifiably proud of these new enrolments which are proof of the wide-spread influence of the International Red Cross, provided of course that the new members become imbued with its spirit and traditions, and loyally respect its regulations.

The Red Shield of David Society (Magen David Adom) has applied once more to the Commission for recognition and admission to the organization, but it wishes at the same time to retain its emblem. The Commission pointed out that the matter did not come within its competence but that it was for the next Conference to take a decision on the Israeli request; moreover, any possible modification in the denomination of the Red Cross would call for the meeting and approval of a special Diplomatic Conference. Finally, no new facts had arisen since the last Conference rejected the application to which we refer, as the Red Shield of David had refused to accept the existing emblems, and persisted in its wish to retain its own. The Commission therefore expressed the opinion that it considered no useful purpose would be served by re-opening a debate which seemed to have, for the moment, no possibility of reaching a conclusion and that was also the opinion of the Red Shield of David Society, since it has withdrawn its application. Two suggestions have been submitted to the Commission. The object of the first was to introduce into the Conference Regulations a clause stipulating a definite "quorum", i.e. the presence of a minimum number of Societies to render discussions and decisions valid. The second referred to the period of time which should elapse between Conferences which some considered were held too frequently. With regard to the first point, the Commission considered that, in applying as it does the quorum rule for the Board of Governors, the Conference, whose sessions are certainly not limited, benefited indirectly, in that the Board of Governors meets at the same time as the Conference. There seemed therefore to be no point in complicating and overloading the Statutes at present in force by the addition of a new clause. Moreover, it has never happened that an insufficient number of representatives were present at the Conference.

With regard to the frequency with which Conferences are held, it is true that many Societies consider this excessive and that they would like to see a longer period between each. This is a point which is worth discussing.

The Standing Commission pointed out that the Statutes are not sufficiently explicit in this respect. They stipulate that Conferences shall be held, *in principle*, every four years. The words "in principle" leave a certain latitude. In fact, the XIXth Conference has been convened not four but five years after the XVIIIth. It may therefore be opportune to give the Standing Commission definite authority to apply the latitude afforded it in

the present Statutes to the extent justified by circumstances, rather than to tie it to a rigid and pre-determined period of time.

The Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R. would have liked the Commission to recommend the adoption of Russian as a working language, with effect from the XIXth Conference, on the same footing with Spanish, French and English. The Rules of Procedure governing International Conferences stipulate that the translation from one of these three languages into the other two must be the responsibility of the Society which is acting as host and organizing the Conference. If other languages are used, their translation is the responsibility of the people using them. Russian has hitherto come under this category. The U.S.S.R. request was for Russian to be considered as a main language alongside the three others. The Standing Commission did not feel qualified to endorse an innovation of such importance which entails serious considerations of a material nature and which would run the risk of encouraging similar requests from other Societies. It therefore considered that it was for the Conference to decide, should the question be submitted to it.

During the past five years there has, unfortunately, been a great deal of suffering and many natural disasters have occurred. Floods, fires, and earthquakes have followed each other almost without interruption and the Netherlands, Italy, Mexico, Belgium, Algeria, England, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, India, Haiti, the Lebanon, Australia, Pakistan, Colombia, etc. have all suffered. In all these tragic cases the Red Cross organizations, the International Committee, the League and the National Societies have come to the assistance of the victims. The Standing Commission had no reason to intervene in the work undertaken. This was not its responsibility. When, however, it was informed of the work which had been carried out, it was able to appreciate with pleasure and pride the speed and efficiency with which the Red Cross had carried out its humanitarian work, the fine example, the unfailing generosity, the enthusiasm and the devotion which the Red Cross had manifested at all levels, and the sympathetic response which it had awakened among Governments and among the public, not to mention the splendid co-operation which it enjoyed in carrying out its work.

To disasters resulting from natural causes was added, unfortunately, suffering caused by man. No sooner had war finished in Korea and Indo-China than civil war broke out in Guatemala, and there was serious trouble in North Africa, Egypt and Hungary.

In Korea and Indo-China, the ICRC had not been able to carry out its work except in behalf of one of the two combatants. In Guatemala it succeeded in gaining in principle, and obtaining in practice, authority to visit and assist political prisoners. In this precedent we may perhaps see the seed of a new international Convention which would secure for political prisoners, in the same way as for prisoners of war, certain guarantees of a humanitarian nature which would be controlled by the Committee. In Morocco and Algeria, the ICRC paid repeated visits of inspection to detention and assembly centres and internment camps, and sent reports to the respective Governments but they did not meet with a similar response from the other side. On the contrary, the Hungarian incident called for the entire International Red Cross machinery: Committee, League, National Societies, Governments. There is no doubt that this was one of the most extensive large-scale relief operations hitherto undertaken and successfully carried out by the Red Cross. There is no need for me to describe the many vicissitudes of this undertaking. The Committee and the League naturally assumed responsibility for this work and, as it was perfectly divided between them and the National Societies, excellent co-operation was achieved without friction and in the best possible conditions, without there being any necessity for the Standing Commission to intervene. It has the satisfaction of noting that whereas the events in Hungary had given rise to a surge of political passion throughout the world, the Red Cross only excited human emotions. Faithful to its principles, it was able to alienate all considerations of a political nature and to devote itself entirely to the alleviation of distress, suffering and misery. Another point was forced upon the members' notice. At the start of a relief action one of the first difficulties encountered is caused by the spontaneous despatching (without due consideration) of a variety of articles, often of a most nondescript nature, coming from numerous and varying sources.

The first thing to be done is to plan, direct and co-ordinate efforts, to adapt and regulate them in accordance with the nature and urgency of requirements, if one is to avoid confusion, accumulation and insufficiency of supplies, the collection of useless articles and loss. The League has given some very sound advice in this connection, to the effect that no action should be taken until its representatives, sent to the field of action, have been able to survey the extent of the damage and to state what measures are immediately necessary. Nevertheless, this advice, based on past experience, has not always been followed. It should be said that the information given to the National Societies taking part in the relief action was sometimes contradictory and on some occasions differed from one day to another. It would, in fact, be advisable for the Red Cross to be recognised, in all countries, by the Government and the public as the sole body responsible for the collecting, co-ordinating, arranging and despatching of relief supplies. These are problems which require to be studied and to which, after the XIXth Conference, the Standing Commission should endeavour to find a solution. I have just said

that the Standing Commission did not have to intervene in the relief action in Hungary; nevertheless, it was severely affected by it. From the autumn of 1955 until early in 1956, it was engaged in the preparation of the XIXth Conference, which, at the invitation of the Indian Red Cross, was to be held in New Delhi. The date originally arranged was October 1956, which, in agreement with the Society acting as host, was later changed to January 24, 1957.

When drawing up the Agenda, the Standing Commission had decided that it was necessary to reduce and simplify the programme (generally too long and overloaded with matters of secondary importance) of the Conference, to place all its work under the general title of "The Protection of the Civilian Population" and to reduce Commissions to four: General Commission, International Humanitarian Law Commission, Medico-Social Commission and Drafting Committee. In this connection, it has received protests (in the same manner and in the same terms as at Toronto) from the Government and the Red Cross of the People's Republic of China and the Government and the Red Cross of Formosa. The Government and the Red Cross of Peking protested against the invitation sent to the Government and the Red Cross of Formosa, whose existence they refuse to acknowledge. For their part, the Government and the Red Cross of Formosa claimed to be the only bodies qualified to represent China, and protested against the invitation sent to the Government and the Red Cross of Peking. The dispute was not new; it had been dealt with by the XVIIIth Conference in Toronto. The Standing Commission made reference to the traditional ruling whereby the International Red Cross does not concern itself with the legitimacy of Governments. It is sufficient for a Government to exercise its authority over a particular territory and for it to be signatory to the Geneva Conventions to have the right to take part, without reservations, in the International Conference. It is sufficient for the Society to carry out effective activities in the territory under that Government's control, and for it to be officially recognized by the ICRC, to be called upon to participate in the International Conference with the right to take part in the discussions and to vote. If not, it can only be invited as an observer.

In application of those principles, the Standing Commission invited the Government of the People's Republic of China, signatory to the Conventions and the Red Cross of the People's Republic of China, recognized by the ICRC, to take part in the XIXth Conference, with the right to take part in the discussions and to vote. It also invited the Government of Taiwan, as such and inasmuch as it exercises effective authority in the island of Taiwan, and is signatory to the Conventions, to attend in its full right the XIXth Conference. The Red Cross Society of Taiwan, however, which exists and, in fact, carries out its activities in the territory of Formosa but has not been recognized by the ICRC, as it has never taken the necessary action, could only be invited as an observer, in an advisory capacity but without the right to vote. The Standing Commission has not succeeded in convincing the parties in dispute that they should accept these principles and admit that there can be two Chinese Governments and two Chinese Red Cross Societies, just as there are two Governments and two Red Cross Societies in Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam. Nevertheless, their obstinacy is no reason for us to sacrifice the rules and traditions of our Statutes on their behalf. The Standing Commission therefore overruled their continued protests, in spite of the lengthy exchange of correspondence in which both parties invariably repeated the same arguments. Apart from this there was an additional dispute which arose. On 26 March, 1957, a letter of invitation which was intended for the Government of the Republic of China was addressed to the Government of the Republic of Formosa. This Government first of all did not appear to be offended. It even accepted the invitation by a letter which was dated 14 May and sent a list of its delegates. But five months later, on 5 October, 1957, it declared, on the eve of the Conference, that having called it the Government of Formosa and not the Government of the Republic of China was an abuse and it complained to several Governments, and it decided to go back upon its acceptance and refused to take part in the present Conference. It even thought it fit at that time to send to the Indian Red Cross and to its President, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, a very strong reproach. Ladies and Gentlemen, Princess Amrit Kaur and the Indian Red Cross do not deserve in any way these reproaches. They have not acted on their own initiative. They acted strictly in accordance with the communications given them by the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, and for which I have just explained the reasons. The Standing Commission approves without reservation their conduct and takes full responsibility, and considers it deeply unjust to lay that responsibility at their door. It has been asked why the Standing Commission sent a letter of invitation to the Government of Formosa and not to the Government of the Republic of China, and some have seen in this designation a political intention. Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to solemnly declare here that the Standing Commission was moved by no political considerations. The day is not purer than our intentions. It considered that the two terms "Republic of China" and the "People's Republic of China" would lead to confusion, and that Formosa was clear. That was the sole reason. Has that been a mistake? If that has been a mistake, it is not a very serious one, since the Government of the Republic of China took seven months to become aware of it. It is not a very serious one since in reply to a letter sent by me with no indication of my official capacity in which I stated that the International Conference would open on October 28, the Government of the Republic

of China—addressed by its official title—replied that it would send representatives to be present. The International Red Cross is not a legal authority, still less a political authority, and it has no special authority to create any precedents. The incident may therefore be regarded as closed, and I ask you to put an end to it. It has led us very far from our normal preoccupations, far from the subjects for which we have gathered here. I wish now to continue, with your permission, the reading of my report.

Apart from this incident, the matter was following the normal procedure. Preparations were in full swing and the invitations had been posted. Members of the League and the ICRC staff had already been sent in advance to India. Teams of interpreters had already been engaged when the disturbances in Hungary and Suez, to which I have already referred, broke out. Strong feelings were aroused throughout the world. A storm of controversy arose, but also and at the same time, a surge of charity, pity and the desire to help. Feeling some concern and fearing that the successful outcome of the XIXth Conference might suffer from this outburst of contradictory sentiments, a number of National Societies informed the American Red Cross of their anxiety and requested it to inform the Standing Commission of their wish that the XIXth Conference should be postponed until a more appropriate moment. Although the Standing Commission would, no doubt, have been able to judge the situation on its merits, it felt that it was its duty to have a general consultation on the subject with all the National Societies concerned. This consultation revealed that 52 Societies, which included the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, that is to say the great majority, were in favour of the postponement of the Conference.

In these circumstances, the Standing Commission called an extraordinary meeting on December 13, 1956. It was most perplexed and embarrassed. To stop the arrangements being made, to postpone the Conference without fixing a later date, did this not imply that it was incapable of retaining the equanimity which would have allowed the members of the Conference to meet without dispute? "Charity even in the throes of a conflict"—was not this an acceptable translation of the Red Cross motto "Inter arma caritas"? To make the voice of fellowship heard in the midst of a storm, was not this a specific and urgent task of the XIXth Conference? Further, should they not avoid offending the Red Cross of India? On the other hand, any solution was better than to risk the failure of the Conference, either through an insufficient number of participants or the risk of a spectacle of violence and discord. Finally, from the material point of view, normal communications had broken down; ordinary means of transport by sea, land and air, were disorganized. The relief action for Hungary was occupying in Europe a great many members of the League and the ICRC staff and preventing them from proceeding to New Delhi. The arguments for and against postponement were put forward, discussed and given scrupulous considerations by the Commission, whose sole aim was to do what was in the best interests of the Red Cross.

There is no point in reopening the discussion now. It was very searching, very moving, and all cards were laid on the table. Finally, a small majority declared itself in favour of postponement, as it was felt that it was difficult to go against the wishes of fifty-two societies whose possible absence in New Delhi might have done immense harm to the XIXth Conference and might perhaps have been a fatal blow to the unity and universality of the International Red Cross which must at all costs be safeguarded. The Standing Commission, when announcing the postponement, decided that, whatever might happen in the intervening period, the XIXth Conference would take place before the end of 1957 and that it would be held, if the Indian Red Cross agreed, in New Delhi.

The Indian Red Cross and its President would have been quite justified in these circumstances in withdrawing the invitation and saying: "Go ahead then, but without us!" They did nothing of the kind. They were not in any way put out. They were open-minded and generous, and they renewed their invitation, proposing that the new date should be 24 October, 1957. I have already said how much we appreciated this gesture on the part of the Society and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur which was a proof of their understanding indulgence and broadmindedness—qualities which we would like to see as universal. I would like them to know once again, how grateful we are to them. (*Applause.*)

We are meeting now nine months later. Alas, world tension has not disappeared! The atmosphere is however less strained than it was at the beginning of the year. Regular sea and air communications have been re-established. Tempers have cooled. There is, I think, a better understanding of the fact that the International Red Cross must remain outside all political controversy, that it must not allow itself to be infected by the passions which are being unleashed around it, and that it must confine itself to giving assistance to those in distress, whatever may be the cause of their misfortune, and without distinction of creed or party; in this sphere there will be no risk of damaging its smooth working, its solidarity and its unity. What sort of an International Red Cross would it be whose members were in conflict on the pretext of condemning war? It would be an anomaly, a paradox, a nonsensical contradiction! I am sure that the XIXth Conference has understood this

and that it will not allow itself to be led down the dangerous slope. The Standing Commission would give every assistance there, if it were necessary. But I am forgetting, when I say this, that the Standing Commission's mandate has expired. It was elected by the XVIIIth Conference. The report which I am submitting to you on its work during these five years is its swan song. I hope I have been able to convince you that it has carried out conscientiously and effectively the duties which you entrusted to it. You have to elect a new Standing Commission. When making the choice, remember that the five members to whom you give your votes must have your confidence, they must be able to withstand pressure from individuals and to rise above national interests, even when accepting that responsibility which may be of an exceptional nature. They must have only the general interests of the Red Cross at heart and preserve intact the capital of esteem and respect which the institution has built up and which has been increased by the experiences of recent years. (*Applause.*)

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Fellow-delegates, we are due at Government House at 4.30 p.m. So, I am afraid I shall have to ask this House to adjourn now. But, if you are all agreeable, instead of the Commissions meeting at ten o'clock tomorrow morning, we might have a plenary session for one hour, so that two speakers who had sent in their names may be allowed to speak. The session is now closed.

MR. PHILLIPS (Assistant Secretary-General)—The Bureau of the Conference which is responsible for organizing its work and which consists of the Chairman of the Conference, the Chairman of the Standing Commission, the Heads of the Delegations of the International Committee and of the League of Red Cross Societies and the Chairmen of the four Commissions, and the Secretary-General of the Conference will meet to-morrow at 9.10 a.m. in the room of the Chairman, No. 333, on the second floor. Then, the plenary session will meet at 10.00 a.m. for one hour, and the three Commissions will commence their work at 11.00 a.m.

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

October 29, 1957

SUMMARY:—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN—PROTESTS AGAINST INVITATION ISSUED TO GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA—EXPLANATION OF ACTION TAKEN BY STANDING COMMISSION AND ITS CHAIRMAN—DISCUSSION OF PROTESTS—CLOSURE OF DISCUSSION BY CHAIRMAN.

The meeting was called to order at 10.00 a.m. by the Chairman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I want to make an appeal to the delegates that have assembled here to attend the International Red Cross Conference. First of all, I would like to draw the attention of the delegates to the fact that no resolutions and no speeches from the rostrum can be made on subjects which are not on the agenda without due notice to the President. Every delegate should have the courtesy to say "this is what we want to speak on".

Secondly, I would like to remind the delegations that the Red Cross is not competent to deal with political matters and we should try at this Conference to lessen the tensions that exist in the world today and not to aggravate them. I hope that all delegates, when they speak this morning, will maintain a high standard of debate, that they will not impute motives to each other and will not attack personalities. We are here, as I have said, to create friendship between nation and nation and not to separate man from man.

I should also like to take this opportunity, because I did not have it yesterday, of thanking the Chairman of the Standing Commission for the excellent report that he gave to us yesterday.

Mme. Li, the Leader of the Red Cross delegation from China, has asked me to allow her to say a few words because she was interrupted in what she was saying yesterday.

MRS. LI TEH-CHUAN (People's Republic of China, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Fellow-Delegates: In order to save time I will ask my interpreter to read my statement.

At yesterday's plenary session, the Chinese delegation put before the Conference an emergency motion opposing the plot of certain persons in utilizing the Conference to create "two Chinas" and requesting the Conference to adopt measures to prevent elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan from taking part in the Conference under whatever name. In order to show respect for the opinion of the Chairman of our Conference, we did not finish our statement. But Mr. Francois-Poncet used his position to propagandize at great length the theory of "two Chinas". Although he again and again emphasized that the International Red Cross Organization should be "outside of politics", yet a great part of his report dealt with China's internal affairs, attempting to create at our Conference a situation of "two Chinas". Everyone knows that recently, certain forces inimical to China with the United States at their head have been actively engaged in the plot of creating "two Chinas". The activities of Mr. Francois-Poncet are a part of these sinister activities of the United States.

Everyone knows that the People's Republic of China is a State party to the Geneva Conventions and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal Government representing China, and the Red Cross Society of China the sole Chinese National Red Cross Organization recognized by the People's Republic of China is also a member of the League of Red Cross Societies. Therefore, only the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Delegation of the Red Cross Society of China have the right to attend this Conference as the sole legitimate representative of China. Taiwan is a province of China, and the authorities exercising jurisdiction there can only be regarded as one of the local authorities of the People's Republic of China, which has no right of representation whatsoever in foreign relations. The Red Cross organization there can also only be a local organization of the Red Cross Society of China and therefore has no qualification whatsoever to attend this Conference. Persons with any bit of common sense can understand this, and according to the second paragraph of Article I of the Statutes of the International Red Cross, only States parties to the Geneva Conventions are entitled to send delegations, and there can only be one government delegation for each State. According to paragraph 2 of the "Conditions for the Recognition of National Red Cross Societies", there can only be one Red Cross Society with central authority in each State. It can thus be seen, if the invitation to elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan to attend the Conference is not deliberately intended to split China and interfere in China's internal affairs, then what is it?

The assertion of Mr. Francois-Poncet that the Chiang Kai-shek clique is a State party to the Geneva Conventions is even more the height of absurdity. The People's Republic of China is built on the overthrow

of the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique by the Chinese people. It has supplanted old China over the whole country (including Taiwan). This is in full conformity with the basic principles of international law. Change of government often takes place in various countries of the world. A new regime naturally replaces the old regime. What right have those persons of a past regime who have totally lost all qualifications of being representatives to take part in international conferences? Mr. Francois-Poncet, who has been a diplomat, should understand this kind of basic common sense in international law.

Secondly, the placing of the relations of the Chinese Government with its Taiwan province on the same level as those between East and West Germany, North and South Korea and North and South Viet-Nam is also absurd and ludicrous. Everyone knows that the present States of East and West Germany and North and South Korea were created as a result of the Second World War, and that the temporary division of North and South Viet-Nam was recognized by the Geneva Agreements. Different from the situation in these countries, Taiwan has already been returned to China after the Second World War and has become in fact a part of China. The question of Taiwan does not belong to the category of unsettled international questions left over by the Second World War. These are all recent historical facts. Those who confuse China's domestic matter with the state of division of Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam must either have a poor memory or harbour ulterior motives.

Thirdly, the so-called Taiwan question is in substance China's domestic matter in which no foreign country or international organization is allowed to interfere. Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory, and the present abnormal situation is only a result of the United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan. But the will of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is unshakable. Taiwan will definitely be liberated sooner or later. Any act of letting the so-called "Government of Taiwan" attend an international Conference as an independent Government under the pretext that it exercises in fact authority and implements the Geneva Conventions there is an act of support of United States aggression.

Behind the curtain, the United States has directed Mr. Francois-Poncet to abuse his post in sending a telegram to the so-called "Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China" to summon the Chiang Kai-shek clique to attend this Conference. Such an act is not only an insult to China's national dignity and interference in China's internal affairs, but is also an act directed at disrupting this Conference.

In view of the above-mentioned facts, the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the delegation of the Red Cross Society of China once again make the following request to the Conference:

That the Conference condemn the illegal act of Mr. Francois-Poncet and his back-stage director and immediately adopt effective measures not to allow elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to attend the Conference under whatever name.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The delegation from the U.S.S.R. I would again ask the delegates not to accuse personalities or States. We are not a political organization. May I also request them to be as brief as possible.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the Soviet Government and on behalf of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R., I want to support most energetically the statement of Madame Li, head of the Red Cross delegation of the Chinese People's Republic. Because of the decision of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, an extremely difficult situation has been created at this Conference.

Everyone knows that there exists only one Chinese State and the Red Cross Society of this State was recognized by the International Committee of the Red Cross. This is the Red Cross Society of the Chinese People's Republic. This Society was admitted into the League of Red Cross Societies and its representatives are members of the Executive Committee of the League. This Society for a number of years includes in its range the forces of the old as well as the new generation and it carries out many-sided activities inside the country and in the international arena. This Society was recognized by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic as the Society acting on behalf of the territory of China.

The so-called Red Cross Society of Taiwan is not recognized by anybody and cannot be recognized. It is not recognized by the International Committee of the Red Cross because it does not satisfy the requirements necessary for its recognition. How could it happen that the Standing Commission, ignoring this fact, made a decision to invite the representative of this Society to attend the Conference in the capacity of an observer and to invite the representative of the so-called Government of Formosa, even in the capacity of a full-fledged delegate to the Conference? It happens because a few members of the Standing Commission ignore the repeated protests on the part of the Red Cross Society of the Chinese People's Republic and do not listen to the

arguments of the Soviet representative in the Standing Commission who repeatedly proved that the invitation to the Conference of the Taiwan representative in any capacity will be unlawful. How wrong—I would even say, absurd—seems to be the decision of the Standing Commission. The Soviet delegation follows and completely shares the reasons and arguments presented here by the delegation of the Chinese People's Republic. As the Standing Commission even at its recent meeting here in Delhi did not agree with the protests of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and with the proposals of the Soviet representative, I deem it my duty to declare at this authoritative Conference that the Soviet Government and the Soviet Red Cross consider the decision of the Standing Commission to invite to the Conference the delegates from Taiwan wrong, and we consider that such a decision not only is not contributing, but on the contrary is bringing considerable harm to the cause of international co-operation, understanding and mutual aid on the basis of the Red Cross humanitarian principles which are guiding us, and to follow which we were called upon by the Prime Minister of the Indian Republic, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Thus, for the reasons mentioned above I repeat once more that the Soviet delegation fully shares the feelings and views expressed here by the real representatives of the Chinese people and strongly supports the statement made here by the head of the Chinese delegation.

H.E. MR. FRANCOIS-PONCET (France, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have listened very philosophically and calmly to the reproaches which have been levelled at me, for this was almost a repetition of the scenes which took place at the Toronto Conference; in fact, I felt five years younger, which at my age is indeed a pleasant sensation. There is nothing we can do about the fact that there is a vast continental China with its capital at Peking, and a smaller China with its capital at Taipei. Attempts are being made to oblige us to choose between these two Chinas, but we refuse to do that. We refused yesterday, we refuse again today. However persistently we are asked to make this choice, we shall still refuse to choose tomorrow, because this is a matter which is strictly political. Attempts are being made to drag us into this political domain, to force us to take a political decision; but for us politics are poison, we do not want to swallow them and we shall not. For if we were to enter upon political discussions, then, Ladies and Gentlemen, the unity of the International Red Cross would suffer. We must not confuse the International Red Cross with the United Nations. The United Nations is a political body. The International Conference of the Red Cross is a body whose purposes are charity and goodwill, and which pays no regard to political considerations of any kind.

We applied the rules which were confirmed by the Toronto Conference, and we invited the two Chinas: in a letter, however, one of them was referred to as the Government of Formosa. Seven months later, that Government took exception to the form of address and refused to come on the grounds that it had not been given its proper title. About ten Governments, including those of the most important countries, considered that it was entitled to be referred to by its official name—the name which it bears in the United Nations of which it is a member. The Standing Commission did not think it necessary to modify the form of address, first of all because the Government of Formosa had originally accepted the invitation without comment and only affirmed seven months later that this title was unacceptable to it. Furthermore, the Standing Commission recalled that at Toronto reference had frequently been made to the Government of Formosa and no incidents or difficulties had arisen. I then addressed a telegram to the Foreign Minister of the Republic of China, not in my capacity as the Chairman of the Standing Commission, but in my own personal capacity by signing my name alone, without any title attached to it. The telegram read simply: "The International Red Cross Conference opens on Monday at 11.00 o'clock". Thereupon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China replied: "I will be represented there". The Standing Commission was aware of the action taken by me, in fact I informed it before doing so, and the Standing Commission left me free to do this on my own personal responsibility.

Why did I act in that way? Ladies and Gentlemen, I acted in that way because by virtue of the office I hold, and perhaps also because of my own psychological make up, I am a conciliator, a mediator; I must always endeavour to ensure that no one feels hurt or unjustly treated and it is my desire to see conciliation indulgence, tolerance and non-violence prevail in the relations which exist between us. I do not regret having taken this initiative, because I am conscious of having acted in the true spirit of the Red Cross.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK (United States, Government)—Madam Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Government of the United States, responsive to the feelings of its people, is a strong supporter of the Red Cross. The American people believe in the ideals of the Red Cross, not only within their own country but in the international application of those ideals. The American Government as represented by this delegation has welcomed the statement by the distinguished President of India that this organization is above politics and its principles transcend the day by day debates which should be properly

left in the political forum of the international community. It was with joy that the United States delegation listened yesterday to the speech of the great Prime Minister of India. It was with concurrence in our hearts and our minds that we listened to Pandit Nehru who urged this Organization, this Conference, to put aside the battles of cold war and to give to those enlightened considerations which might really fulfil the purpose of the Red Cross. In consequence, it was with no surprise but with sadness that in less than two hours after the Prime Minister of India had set the tone for this debate, and had implored the delegates to rise above partisan passions, it was with sadness that we heard a certain delegation rise to vituperative attack.

Madam Chairman, I shall abide, as always, by your directives. I fully support your appeal that we do not descend into personalities; that we do not decry the aims of the International Red Cross. The United States is a country which has no reason to be afraid, and in consequence, I shall treat with the contempt it deserves the allegation made by certain delegations here. It seems to me, however, that the Red Cross has a certain obligation to its own honour. One of the most distinguished officers and servants of the International Red Cross has been impugned by a certain delegation. The accusation that this distinguished citizen of France, of world community, could be a puppet of a foreign State is wrong. His own integrity and character and high honour are well known to the world and that itself is the best refutation of this slanderous attack.

But, as I said before, the honour of the Red Cross itself is concerned in this, because if this Conference can see with impunity one of its principal officers thus slandered, it seems to me that the insult bears also upon the flag under whose standard you work.

I am not surprised that the allegations came from a delegation here whose Government consistently refused the efforts of the Red Cross in the Korean war to alleviate the fate of the prisoners of that conflict. However, Madam Chairman, since other Delegations have put their views upon the record, it is necessary for me formally to state under the instructions of my Government exactly where we stand on certain matters of juridical importance. And this, Madam Chairman, is not to indulge in political debate. I must speak for the record. The presence here of the United States Government Delegation does not imply the recognition by the United States of the regimes in Peking, in North Viet-Nam, in North Korea, in Eastern Germany or the so-called regime of Outer Mongolia. None of these regimes is recognized by the United States, by the United Nations or by the specialized agencies of the United Nations. My Government recognizes as the sole Government of Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany, as the sole Government of Korea the Republic of Korea, the sole Government of Viet-Nam the Republic of Viet-Nam, and as the sole Government of China, the Government of the Republic of China. That, Madam Chairman, I request to be entered upon the record.

As I said before, we do not regard the regime of Outer Mongolia, which is not recognized in the United Nations or in its specialized agencies, as a Government at all. Therefore, I wish to make undeniably clear before this Assembly that our participation here is based upon the universality of the Red Cross and its humanitarian ideals, and upon the necessity for Governments to transcend political differences and get on with the work of the Red Cross.

Madam Chairman, one issue has been belaboured until, I am sure, all the delegations except a few are tired of it. The speaker from the regime in Peking this morning sought to come again into this debate with the qualification as to which Government represents China. It seems to me the issue before this Assembly is far simpler and is in keeping with the non-political character of this Assembly. It boils down in very homely terms: does a man have a right to be called by his own name? Madam Chairman, your Standing Commission has laboured with a difficult problem. It was, however, given clear directives by the Toronto Conference. It has done its best to carry out those directives. I myself, honestly, as the head of the American delegation, feel it unfortunate that certain of the styles of invitation were not given according to the official title of the country which received the invitation.

You have all seen in this hall, and every delegation present has seen it, that every delegation present has a placard which gives its correct name. There is only one delegation which is not present and which has no placard and, which we heard to our astonishment from the Chair yesterday, could not be invited because it has no official title! We believe the statement of the distinguished Chairman of the Standing Commission that the Standing Commission is not a juridical body and has no competence to decide on the question of recognition or non-recognition of States. But we find here that an important question of principle is involved. It is very clear from the report of the Standing Commission that the question of qualifications for invitations was never considered. They were accepted by the Toronto Conference, and therefore, the debate entered into by the preceding speakers this morning on the question of who represents China is not before the Assembly.

Madam Chairman, the United States wishes to help your discussions by avoiding political debate. However, there is a question of principle involved here which we feel must be settled. It is a question of principle, because it is a dangerous precedent that any non-juridical body representing itself as a non-political

organization, should judge as to who represents States. It is a dangerous precedent, and in our view also, we honestly feel that the Government of the Republic of China should be here, and because of that, the United States Delegation has, this morning, tabled a resolution. Madam Chairman, this resolution is based directly upon the present debate. It is the key to the report of your own Standing Commission. Because all of you perhaps have not seen the text of it, may I recall it: "Having in mind the report and the documents of the Standing Commission, confirming the statement of the Chairman of the Standing Commission that the Red Cross is not concerned with juridical and political questions, regarding the status of Governments, resolves, in accordance with the traditional principles of the Red Cross, that it is the sense of the Conference that all Governments invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles". That, I think, is an exceedingly clear and simple piece of paper. I do not see how any Delegation could cavil with the principle set forth therein.

Madam Chairman, the delegation of the United States is with you in standing upon principles rather than personalities. We are with you in your desire to keep the tone of this debate elevated, and above all, with your desire that the Red Cross should deal with the work of the Red Cross. There is much to be done. There are distinguished and experienced and valiant people here to get on with this work, and I declare that the United States delegation will do its utmost to expedite and further the success of this Conference.

H.E. MR. RUEGGER (Switzerland, Government)—Madam Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: Many words said yesterday afternoon after the brilliant inaugural speeches we had the privilege to hear and many words said this morning have obscured the real issues before us and risk bringing our discussions into channels which are not, should not and may not be those of this Conference, which should indeed uphold with its own dignity the authority of the supreme body of the International Red Cross.

I wish to revert, therefore, to the subject-matter before us, which is by your ruling, Madam Chairman, the report of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross. We have heard last night a most remarkable report by His Excellency Ambassador Francois-Poncet, delivered with the force, the wisdom and the touch which characterise this great Red Cross leader. This report, which goes back to the Stockholm Conference in 1948, to the new structure and programme given then to the Standing Commission, which embraces the activities of the Commission since the Toronto Conference, is a document which should be read again and again. It opens also vistas on the future activities of our movement and organizations.

I am grateful to Ambassador Francois-Poncet for having said words, in full agreement with all his colleagues regarding our future programme. No one better than he could have expressed those words. After having tabled the great and vitally necessary subject of increased protection of the civilian population which is before us now and which must lead, as soon as possible, to new rules of international law accepted by the States (and here, I may mention our gratitude to the Brazilian Red Cross for having in Oslo tabled a resolution which was an excellent incentive for further work in this field), I am grateful that Ambassador Francois-Poncet has mentioned another problem which must sooner or later, we hope as soon as possible, be brought within the scope of codification of international humanitarian law: that a new Geneva Convention embody the rules in favour of political detainees, rules for the acceptance of which the International Committee in Geneva has been carefully, energetically, steadfastly and successfully working by legal studies, and in the field, during the last four years.

The report of the Standing Commission as a whole, is, as I said before, a remarkable document which must be gratefully acknowledged. I move that we express our sincerest thanks to the eminent Chairman, Ambassador Francois-Poncet, whose unflinching and loyal devotion to the Red Cross principles is so well known. A real leader in every field, also that of the Red Cross, may never shun difficulties. He may not choose the easy path in striving for the maintenance of the Red Cross principles and the universality of the movement. He deserves our respect, tribute and our grateful thanks. We had yesterday the privilege of being twice under the spell of his inspiring words on the tasks of the Red Cross. Our heartfelt gratitude goes also particularly to the Vice-Chairman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, whose devotion to highest ideals, whose brilliant service, whose graciousness are an invaluable contribution to our endeavours. We all deem it a great privilege to work under the guidance of this great and brilliant leader of thought and action in her own great country, who has now risen to high and difficult responsibilities comparable only to those of an international magistrate. We know that whatever at any moment her personal feelings may be on points of detail she will always loyally accept and execute in a high spirit the difficult tasks entrusted to her by the Commission. I thank also, most sincerely, all the other members of the Standing Commission, both those appointed by the last Conference, as those who have represented and those who represent the two great international organizations of the Red Cross.

I wish to add that the delegation of the Swiss Federal Government, the Depositary Government of the Geneva Conventions, give their fullest confidence to the Standing Commission in its present composition and hope, I shall say this already at this juncture, in the continuity of its action during the coming, possibly difficult, years.

Having endeavoured to call your attention to the real object before us—the report of the Standing Commission—I may now refer to the particular side issue, which has already taken too much time of our Conference. I can be very brief, as actually everything essential has already been said by the Chairman of the Standing Commission in his report. There is no really important question before us now. There could have been a question, whether the meeting of our Conference should be universal or not. But that issue, the only real one, has already been decided upon after Toronto, in the sense of a real universality of our Conferences. It is quite obvious that when invitations are issued according to this principle, it must be hoped that they will be accepted by all Societies invited, by all States or territories which consider themselves as bound, either as a signatory or as a successor of any State signatory to any one of the Geneva Conventions. It is less a privilege to attend the Conference than a duty, a duty filled in the interest of the work for alleviating the suffering in war and in peace. During the bitter civil war in Spain, representatives of both parties sat together at an important Red Cross meeting in London, not considering it as a privilege but as a duty, a duty fulfilled in the interest of the solution of the conflict. Let us not go back on that and other precedents.

It is quite obvious also that no Government here present can consider their presence at this Conference as a precedent having any bearing on its own rules of diplomatic intercourse, of implicit recognition and so on. The Red Cross field, I would urge to everybody present here, is a unique field, a field entirely apart from everything else, as the great majority of the Governments here represented are aware.

Madam Chairman, I am personally not among those who believe that a resolution, however worded, can be a universal panacea. Should others insist on submitting a motion, I should have to submit one too. But I strongly believe that it is quite sufficient to simply state a few points on which the majority—I hope a vast majority—can agree. Those points are the following:

Firstly we express our thanks to the Standing Commission for having decided to issue the invitations in the spirit of the universality of the Red Cross and also regardless of all political considerations which may, under no circumstances, hamper the development of the movement;

secondly, we reaffirm the principle that the National Society which offers its hospitality to a Conference acts statutorily, in transmitting the invitations merely as a mandatory and that, therefore, all members must refrain from addressing their remarks to this National Society as such; thirdly, we desire that also in future the invitations to all conferences of the Red Cross be issued in a spirit of broad universality, and include in the interest of humanitarian law States and territories whose authorities consider themselves as bound by any one of the Geneva Conventions, this quite regardless of the fact whether these States or territories enjoy recognition as such by other signatories.

It is to be underlined also that in the field of the Red Cross the criteria of recognition, as usual in the intercourse between States (and as usual before other organizations like the specialized agencies of the United Nations which have nothing to do with the Red Cross) these rules do not apply. Evidently also, the question regarding the invitations to the Red Cross Conference do not and cannot set a precedent in other fields.

The Red Cross has never laid a claim—it would be absurd to think so—to be an arbiter in diplomatic protocol and etiquette. If there may be some discontinuity in style in this field, it does not really matter so much. It can always be corrected according to circumstances. The Good Samaritan surely never thought of protocol and etiquette. The greatest living Red Cross worker and Red Cross leader, Max Huber, whose inspiring message to the Toronto Conference is yet remembered, devoted a probably immortal booklet to the Good Samaritan and the Red Cross. Let us not allow this great Delhi Conference to connect, even on a side-line, the future recollection of our debates with that of the Pharisee.

My final motion, Madam Chairman, will be brief. Firstly, we wish to vote our warmest thanks to the Standing Commission for its work, as described in its excellent report. I also want to give expression to our warmest thanks to the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Commission in particular and to all its members. Secondly, on a point of order I move that our debate be closed and, if necessary, this motion be put to vote in order to allow us to proceed with the real task of the Committee.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The plenary session was supposed to commence at 10 o'clock and end at 11. All points of view with regard to the question which was raised by the delegation from China have been expressed. I have received requests from many other speakers for the floor but I consider that if we go on with this question, we cannot get down to the work of the Red Cross. I therefore rule that there shall be no more discussion on this issue. This is an issue that has been discussed for two whole days at the Toronto Conference.

I only wish to say that what the Standing Commission did was in good faith—and I am glad that everybody recognized it—that the host country had to do what it did. I want to have no more discussion about this. I

want this Conference, as has been so beautifully expressed by some of the speakers that have come up to the rostrum today, to begin and to end on a note of friendship and no enmity to anybody, with the desire to serve the entire humanity from whichever country they happen to come, from whichever corner of the globe they happen to come. This session is now closed.

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

November 5, 1957

SUMMARY:—SPEECH BY DR. RADHAKRISHNAN, VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA—CHAIR HANDED OVER TO MR. J. A. MACAULAY—COMMUNICATION OF VARIOUS DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED REGARDING INVITATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF THE RED CROSS—PRESENTATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS BY THEIR SPONSORS—DISCUSSION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS AND THEIR ADMISSIBILITY.

The meeting was called to order at 3.00 p.m. by the Chairman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Fellow delegates, the Third Plenary Session is now open. The first item on our programme for this afternoon is an address to the Conference by the Vice-President of India. I do not think that the Vice-President of our country needs any introduction to any audience in any part of the world. We in India hold him in very high esteem not only for his distinction in the world of letters, not only for the high office that he holds, not only for the high place he has in the realm of his special subject which is philosophy, not only for all these things that make a man well known, but we also hold him in high esteem for being a wise man, a man who always speaks with the spirit that should inspire the Red Cross.

I have very great pleasure in asking him to speak to this Conference.

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN (Vice-President of India)—Madam Chairman and friends, I am grateful to you for the very kind words you have used in introducing me to this audience. I do not know what I am, but ladies are generally given to flattery and Madam Chairman has indulged in that great privilege.

I am grateful for the opportunity to be here and say a few words to this distinguished assembly representing many governments and Red Cross Societies. The work of the Red Cross in peace and in war is well known and has earned high praise and commendation. If only we are able to extend the spirit of the Red Cross to our international relations, we need not be afraid of having a world of hatred and horror; we will have a world of happiness and love. This organization, from its very foundations, never took notice of national rivalries or racial barriers. It went to the assistance of all people who were in need of relief. It is that spirit which should animate us in all our lives.

Since this Red Cross was founded, things have changed a great deal. The two most remarkable features of our age are the great advances in science and technology and the increasing unification of the world. Satellites are circling the earth and ideas, political and economic, artistic and intellectual, are circulating in all parts of the world. It is no more possible for nations to live in isolation. Through material contacts, through spiritual encounters, the whole world is emerging into a close neighbourhood and our attempt should be to make that neighbourhood into a brotherhood and sisterhood, into a single world community inspired by more or less the same ideals.

Unfortunately for us, the world happens to be divided into two groups, hostile to each other, and that hostility is making all these great advantages not of very much benefit to humanity. They are being used for intensifying the cold war. When we are faced by such circumstances what is it that the Red Cross spirit asks us to do? We had an emperor in our country to whom references have already been made, who was disgusted with the horrors of warfare when he conquered Kalinga and he said: "No more bloodshed". It is not now a question of merely mitigating the horrors of war. It is now a question of preventing a war which, in the modern atomic context, will be a crime against humanity.

In this matter, simply because we had great sages like Buddha, Asoka and Gandhi, we need not think that we have adopted their advice in any serious manner. Anyone who was present or who has heard of the atrocities and cruelties committed during the bloody riots in the first year of our independence will know how far our practice is from the theories and the ideals we profess. Still we protect institutions, treat them as sacred, institutions which harbour and encourage social injustice in the name of social justice. In this matter of not practising the ideals which we profess, we are all practically in the same boat. We are all sinners; we are all called upon to adopt an attitude of humility and approach the task which faces us in that spirit.

Modern psychiatry tells us that if people are behaving stupidly and wickedly, it is our duty not to be furious with them. It is our duty to understand them, to find out why they are behaving in the way in which they are actually behaving. The psychiatrists tell us that if you are able to get behind the mind, get under the skin of your opponent, you will be able to realise what circumstances have brought about the particular kind of behaviour which he happens to adopt. We should not look upon our enemies as inhuman monsters or infernal fiends. They are human beings like ourselves, anxious to lead quiet and respectable lives, anxious to practise

the decencies of domestic life, of the virtues of body, mind and spirit. Psychiatry asks us to treat other people as human beings, to find out what is wrong with them in sympathy and try to correct them. In other words, cruel methods need not be adopted for removing cruelty. That is what psychiatry tells us. I think it will be wise for us to keep that in mind.

The other difficulty from which we have suffered in this world is to believe that we had the whole truth, the entire truth and if anybody happens to differ from us, it must be due to bad faith—the crusading spirit that has been with us from the beginning of history. Plato long ago protested against the naturalisation of foreigners in the Greek Commonwealth. He made out that we stand for a way of life which is likely to be polluted and vitiated by the entry of people who do not belong to our particular way of life. We have had from that time onwards the conflicts between the Greek and the Barbarian, the Jew and the Gentile, the Greek and the Christian, the Muslim and the Christian, the Protestant and the Catholic. We have had conflicts between the Axis powers and the Allied powers.

History advises us with the admonitions of Plato, Greece profited a great deal from the teachings of Egypt, Babylon and Persia. When you talk about the conflict between Greek and Christianity, the whole of Plato entered into Christianity through Augustine, Aristotle and Aquinas. When you look at the centuries of the crusades, you realise that the Islamic conquest so to say the translation of the Greek classics brought about the European enlightenment.

Take the latest example of the Allied and the Axis powers. The whirligig of time brings out these revenges, they say: I say, brings out these surprises. The Allied and the Axis powers are great friends today. If there is a conflict today between the communist and the anti-communist world, it is not necessary for us to think that we have to wade through blood before we can settle down and adjust our differences. Given the resilience of human nature, the healing power of time and the mutability of social and political institutions, there is no reason why the present conflicts which appear to us to be so violent and destructive of each other should not be settled in a quiet and peaceful manner. We must give up absolutism in creed and conduct and we must develop the courage to be long-suffering. If we are able to do that, the present problems may wither away and we may settle down in this world as citizens of a happy human home.

Besides, civilized life has been not more than 10,000 years old. There is a long stretch before us. In this short period, several civilizations have appeared and disappeared and we need not think that the civilization to which we happen to belong is the final expression of wisdom. There is such a thing as the logic of history. The world is not in the hands of blind inconsequence. If we adhere to the great principles of morality, love and brotherhood, if even in our international relations, we are prepared to adopt those principles, our civilization may survive. But, if we instead of that put our own interests higher, then the future may be bleak.

I remember Gandhiji protesting against an editor of a paper serving on the prohibition committee, who inserted some advertisements for liquor in his paper. He asked him, "Why are you doing this?" He said, "I must live". Gandhiji's answer was "I see no necessity". He said exactly the same thing with regard to the nationalist struggle which he led. He pointed out to us that "My love of nationalism is not for my country as a nation. I want my country to become free so that if necessary, it may die to serve the cause of humanity". That is how he put it. No nation belongs to itself. Every nation belongs to the world. That is the teaching which Gandhiji gave us. If we feel that we are at the very beginning of world's history—we are, so to say, in the early hour of the morning of world's history—there is a whole day stretching before us and what is happening today may have a great consequence for the future, if we adopt the principles of the moral Government of the world and that we are called upon to help one another, not to annihilate one another; if it is possible for us to adopt such a kind of attitude, I have no doubt humanity has a great future.

What is it that we have inherited? I call it a divided inheritance. On the one side we have Red Cross Organizations which will not like to see people suffer, which cannot bear to see other people in pain and which want to come to their assistance; on the other hand, we have the production of horrible instruments of death and destruction. Mankind is now faced by this division in their own souls. If in the world you have the Red Cross on the one side and armaments race on the other, the situation of the world is a reflection of the situation in man's soul. It is the division in man's soul that is reflected in this division of the world, namely this armaments race on the one side and the humanitarian organizations on the other. Each man has in him the two possibilities: The possibilities of good and evil, the possibilities of making this world a better place than it is and the possibility of destroying this world. We can make war. We can also make peace. What we have to desire is to strengthen the positive side, to strengthen the good side. An ancient text tells us: the two possibilities of life and death are stationed in each human body. By the pursuit of glamour and power, you pass into death; by the pursuit of truth and love, you attain life eternal.

The life eternal, death, both of them are located in the heart of man. By the pursuit of infatuating things, intoxicating things, you go to death. By the pursuit of truth, you gain life eternal

The problem facing us is not an intellectual one. It is a moral and spiritual one. What we have to achieve is a redistribution of our inward resources. We have to reorganise our inward resources and we have to make ourselves whole. We must recognize that love is beauty, is well-being, is health. Hate is deformity, ugliness, disease. We must try to suppress the instincts of hatred, greed etc. and develop the instincts of love and truth. Unless we do it, unless we are delivered from this corruption, this bondage, this division in man's self, our future will be one of long travail and agony. If we want to get over it, we have to make ourselves whole. The re-making of the individual is the first essential today. We have to make ourselves whole. We have actually the division in the world today which is a reflection of the division in one's soul.

We have taught a great deal about Panch-Shila in this world. I am not talking today about Panch-Shila as an international code of morality. I want to talk to you a few words about Panch-Shila, as it was enunciated by the great Buddha. He gave us five principles. They were not principles for re-making the world. They are principles for re-making the human individual. If you re-make the human individual, the world will be made whole.

He talked about *Ahimsa*—non-hurting—and reverence for life. That is what he told us—you must not hurt people, you must not take life without absolute necessity. He put it to us as the first principle. The second one was: don't be greedy for other peoples' possessions—*Alobha*. Don't make yourself great at the expense of other people. You know the image in the Christian gospel who came to the top of the hill, showed him all the kingdoms of the world and told him: you will have all that if you fall down and worship me. The answer was: get thee behind me, Satan.

Now, for the sake of earthly security and earthly possessions, we are prepared to barter away spiritual ideals. You have adopted the Cross. What does the Cross signify? Material suffering and death and spiritual victory. In other words, it asks us not to bother about mere survival or national security but conform to the great principles of love and brotherhood. The third one is *Brahmacharya*, self-control, chastity of body and mind. It makes us feel that nobody can govern others unless he governs himself. We must learn the art of ruling our own nature or controlling our own appetites. It is only then we will be able to control other people. We must, therefore, learn to govern ourselves before we attempt to govern other people. Then there is *satya vachana*, speaking of truth. Don't shrink from speaking the truth for fear of offending the powers that be. Don't shrink from it for the sake of pleasing your superiors. If your government is in the wrong, if my government is in the wrong, it is my duty to say without fear or any kind of malice where it has gone wrong. Unless it is possible for you to be so utterly devoted to truth, it will not be possible for you to make this world go forward as a human organization.

Again, we are told—*surapannishedh*—abstention from intoxicating liquors. Let me tell you, it is not merely the physical liquors that intoxicate us. We do not feed our children with opium and poison. We should not feed our youth with provincial, partisan creeds, they are vicious poisons that fetter the souls of men and make men ill and unbalanced. It is necessary for us to feel that we are not infallible and we do not admit infallibility in others, we must never become victims of any infallible dogmas and doctrines. They have created havoc in this world. So, if we are called upon to abstain from intoxicating drinks, it is not merely the physical drinks but the mental poisons with which we infect human beings themselves. That is what we are called upon to avoid.

I may close with a statement from Deuteronomy: "I call on heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Therefore, choose life that both thou and thy seed may live". (*Applause.*)

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The applause which you have received from the Conference is just a token of our gratitude to you for having spared time to come to us and to inspire us.

(The Vice-President of India left the hall escorted by the Chairman; the meeting then continued).

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The next item on the agenda is the consideration of the resolutions that have been already circulated and which are before you. They are: the resolution submitted by the United States of America with its amendment, another resolution submitted by the Swiss delegation and another by the Chinese delegation.

Since the burden of the resolution that has been submitted by the United States Government Delegation bears on the decision that was taken by the Standing Commission and followed by the host country, and since I have the privilege of being a member of the Standing Commission and also the Chairman of the host society, I shall crave the indulgence of the Conference, if I am allowed to ask some one else to take the Chair in my place.

I shall ask Mr. MacAulay with your permission to do so. He was the Chairman of the last Conference. He has also chaired the Humanitarian Law Commission with ability, integrity and with that very acute legal sense which he brings to bear on all his work. I think it will be better for all concerned if this procedure is followed. Will Mr. MacAulay please come to the dias.

MR. MACAULAY (Canada, Red Cross, Chairman)—I wish to thank the Chairman of the Conference for asking me to accept this honour. I wish to thank the delegates for endorsing her recommendation.

There has already been substantial discussion of this item, and I would ask any delegates who wish to speak to be as concise as possible. Now, there is no reason why representations on this subject should be made in any other manner than representations on any of the other matters that have been on our agenda.

I was interested in the observation of the Vice-President who just addressed us. He said that we must resolve all matters in a quiet and peaceful manner, and I certainly subscribe to his statement in that respect; I know that I shall have the co-operation of all the delegates when this subject is being discussed.

The first resolution that was received was submitted by the delegation of the U.S. Government. The second one was a resolution presented by the Swiss Government delegation. I should have mentioned that in the one submitted by the U.S. Government delegation, there was a change in one word this morning. You have that before you. It is numbered P 14. The resolution did read as follows :

“ Resolves in accordance with the traditional principles of the Red Cross that it is the sense of the Conference that all governments invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles ”.

This morning, the Bureau discussed the amendment which had been submitted, in which for the word “ governments ” the word “ parties ” was substituted.

The second resolution presented by the Swiss Government delegation is numbered P 15. The third one, namely P 21, is submitted by the Swedish Red Cross delegation. The fourth one which was submitted to the Bureau was the draft resolution submitted by the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the delegation of the Red Cross Society of China. It is numbered P 23, I believe.

Now, these are the documents that are before you. I am now going to call on the U.S. delegation to speak.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK (U.S.A., Government)—Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates: Again, for the second time, as the head of the U.S. Government delegation, I have the rare privilege of taking my text from the preceding speech of an Indian statesman. When I spoke before this assembly one week ago today, I took my text from the Prime Minister of India and his appeal to this Conference to sublimate its differences and to look to the spiritual wounds of the cold war as being as great a danger to humanity as the wounds of actual war.

This afternoon, I speak from a full heart, because my delegation and myself have been deeply moved by the philosophy and the appeal to human moral principle and dignity which has been made by the great Vice-President of India. I am sure that there will be no dissenting voice in this hall at the principles laid down by Vice-President Radhakrishnan, and those principles should animate the Red Cross today and tomorrow, and, I hope, for centuries to come.

I welcome accordingly your unnecessary injunction that speakers this afternoon should be guided by the principles established by Dr. Radhakrishnan. It is precisely on a question of principle that I wish to speak this afternoon. I limited my remarks last Tuesday to a statement of the position of my Government on the fact that we had come to this Conference as a Government delegation, because we wished to serve, in view of the unique non-political, humanitarian and universal character of the Red Cross.

I pointed out, to make the record clear, that there were other delegations present which not only my Government did not recognize but the United Nations and its specialized agencies did not recognize. But, despite that fact, because the United States is dedicated to the ideals and the principles of the Red Cross, we had decided to come.

I said, as you will recall, Mr. Chairman, that we noted one significant absence in the roster of delegations. We noted that all other Powers were seated according to their official style and title; we noted that regimes which were not recognized by the United Nations and its specialized agencies or by my Government were seated here, the delegations of the North Korean People's Republic, of North Viet-Nam, of Eastern Germany, of Communist China and of Outer Mongolia. I did not challenge their right to sit here, because the United States, believing in these principles of universality and of genuine dedication to justice on the part of the International

Red Cross, felt that we should bow before that principle of universality, but we did request that justice be done and that the delegation which was missing from this hall, the delegation representing what we consider to be the Government of the Republic of China, which had complied with every qualification for admission to this Conference, also be seated.

Mr. Chairman, you live at the Ashoka Hotel. Most of the delegates here live at the Ashoka Hotel. I have made the acquaintance in the last week of a very intelligent Myna bird. This bird comes to me because I give it part of my toast, and it converses with me. It speaks good Chinese, but not vociferous Chinese; it has a sense of humour which is unlike certain delegations. This Myna bird tells me that flying from balcony to balcony at the Ashoka Hotel, it has picked up word that there are certain Delegates intending to mutiny, to walk out of this Conference, if the delegate of the Republic of China should properly be cited by his own style and title. May be the Myna bird may be wrong, although he seems to be very well informed of what people say in the Ashoka Hotel.

I have heard from other sources than Myna birds that in fact, a certain delegation has held over this Conference for the past week the Sword of Damocles, the threat of mutiny, by causing a rift in the humanitarian circles of the International Red Cross.

As I made clear, Mr. Chairman, when I made the statement of my Government's position at this Conference, it came because it is universal, because it is humanitarian, because it is non-political. Yet, I find to my sorrow—and the sorrow is more intense after listening to the noble philosophy of the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan—I find to my sorrow that one delegation, by such a threat, is using political means in a non-political organization, to keep one delegation and one delegation only, from sitting at this Conference.

Mr. Chairman, when I discussed matters with my Myna bird this morning, he asked: "How is the Conference going?" I said: "Thank Heaven, the Conference has buried its animosities. It is united upon right principles" and I also added, as a parenthesis, that thanks to your distinguished actuation as a presiding officer, the Commission on Humanitarian Law had brought forth resolutions in complete unanimity. But on this question, I told my Myna bird friend: "If other people, at any time, threaten to leave the Conference, threaten to abandon the principles of the Red Cross for political considerations, what indeed Myna bird would you say, if the United States should say the same thing?" And the Myna bird looked at me and nodded his head and flew away.

Mr. Chairman, I am here to speak on principles. I am here to support the resolution put down by the United States one week ago, not yet voted upon, and the consequence of which, if it had been voted upon affirmatively, would have been to restore to the Red Cross Conference the principle of universality which has not yet been established. I made the argument last week—I do not wish to take your time unduly to make it again—with respect to the Report of the distinguished Chairman of the Standing Commission—we took him at his own words—that it was a non-political organization with no juridical power and we said we did not believe that such an organization as the Standing Commission had the right or the duty or the power to decide questions of recognition of Governments. It has no right to determine the official style or title of any members seated here. And that was the reason, Ladies and Gentlemen, why the United States put down its resolution. We felt, and still feel, that it is a dangerous doctrine to submit to non-political, non-judicial organs in the international community the right to decide who is who and what Government a State or regime should have.

With your indulgence, I should like to read the United States resolution, because the fundamental principle upon which you must raise your hands is contained in our resolution, and the Swiss resolution and the Swedish resolution bear directly upon this principle. The resolution which I had the honour to submit last Tuesday, reads as follows:—

“ Having in mind the report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission,

Confirming the statement of the Chairman of the Standing Commission that the Red Cross is not concerned with juridical or political questions regarding the status of governments,

Resolves in accordance with the traditional principles of the Red Cross that it is the sense of the Conference that all—

here we want to substitute for the word “ governments ”, the word “ parties ”—

“ parties invited to the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles ”.

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, to me seems but the essence of justice. It is to you, who operate as Red Cross Societies, so simple a question as does not a man or a woman have a right to be called by his or her own name? And those of you who work for Governments and whose Foreign Offices tonight will receive telegrams indicating what position you took upon this motion, the question is one of international precedent and juris-

prudence. Does a non-political, non-judicial organization have the right to decide questions of recognition, and in a care-free way to determine what a Government should be called?

You know, Mr. Chairman, that other resolutions have been tabled. These resolutions, one put down by my friend, the distinguished leader of the Swiss delegation and one put down by the Swedish Red Cross, apply to future applications of what we in the United States delegation believe is a present principle. I was grieved when I read the resolution put down by the Swedish Red Cross. Some of you know that I have been profoundly affected by my own residence in Sweden, by my love for the Swedish people and I recall as Second Secretary in Stockholm with what reverence I regarded the figure of Judge Sandstrom. Yet the Swedish resolution seeks to push aside, for some indefinite future consideration, a matter of principle. We have heard from our philosopher Vice-President of India in his magnificent tracing of man's struggle through the ages for more enlightenment, how matters of principle must be of present application as well as of historical recollection and of future aspiration. Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, said: "Life is not in the hands of blind inconsequence". And yet the Swedish Red Cross delegation pushes off to some blind inconsequence the present application of a principle which, although it may bear on only one lonely little delegation today, may bear on all of you at some future time.

I was particularly distressed by the Swedish resolution because Judge Sandstrom—though he may not be author of it—is a well known jurist and he cannot be ignorant of the maxim of law that justice deferred becomes injustice; it becomes justice denied. I cannot understand Mr. Chairman, why our good friends who wish to accept a principle tomorrow cannot face up to, in the light of stronger lights than these, and accept the application of a principle today.

In fact, Vice-President Radhakrishnan, twenty minutes ago said, and I quote—"By the pursuit of truth and love you attain life eternal". The United States Delegation is perfectly willing to assess your feeling and to take your vote on the pursuit of truth today, and not at some indefinite future date.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that as a matter of procedure which you so wisely decided at the suggestion of the Soviet delegation in the Commission on Humanitarian Law, the American motion must as a matter of precedence be voted upon before the Swedish motion which is possibly designed to do away with the American motion and place it and the conscience of this Conference, in some comfortable deep-freeze in the future. Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I request you to place to the vote the American resolution which embodies the principles, and to see if this Conference does not agree with the United States delegation, that a man has the right to his own name, and that the Standing Commission, whatever kindly reasons might have motivated it, has made an error which is now becoming magnified beyond all proportion.

Mr. Chairman, I am so grateful to the Vice-President for elevating our debate by placing before us these questions of justice and our adherence to principle. I know the American people would not understand if the International Red Cross Conference with its noble ideals, its dedication to humanitarian principles should decide that today we will put the principle off for a while longer, condemn the man to gaol for another five years and then give him a reprieve and possibly an apology.

The American people have placed their trust in the Red Cross on the ground that it is universal in application, humanitarian and non-political. I agree that it is humanitarian and I hope you share my view that it should be non-political and I know by your showing of hands that you will accept the view that it should be universal in application and universal at this Conference.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I think we should have all these resolutions before us. I am going to call on the representative of the Swiss Government to present his resolution.

H.E. MR. RUEGGER (Switzerland, Government)—Mr. Chairman: On the subject of the resolution submitted by the delegation of the Swiss Government, I feel that I can be fairly brief. I have very little to add to my statements in the plenary meeting of October 29th on the general report of the Standing Commission. I then asked this Assembly to express its thanks to the Standing Commission, its Chairman, Ambassador Francois-Poncet, the Vice-Chairman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and all members of this body for the remarkable work carried out since the last Conference, and expressing also our confidence in the continuity of this action.

On the particular question of the invitations to Conferences of the International Red Cross, I was finally led to state some points which follow, I believe, the doctrine of the Red Cross and which are also in accordance with the practice accepted after the discussions at the Toronto Conference, and which, under your wise guidance, has weathered many storms. It is in order to avoid the repetition at every Conference of regrettable discussions like those we had in Toronto and which, at our opening meetings, appeared to loom again on the horizon, that I thought these points had to be made once more perfectly clear.

They are of a general character and in no way connected with a particular case only. It had then been suggested that the final observations of my statement be submitted to the Conference as a draft resolution. My delegation has willingly done so feeling convinced that when and where it is possible to have an agreement on general lines, particular questions are also seen in the right proportion, and then their settlement may become easier. The adoption of a draft resolution like the one I have the honour to put before you would, in the opinion of my delegation, be useful for the future. It might also be advisable, before a future Conference, to send out to Governments and Red Cross Societies, together with the invitations, an explanatory note on the rules followed by the Standing Commission. The resolution is, of course, not an injunction to the Standing Commission itself. The Standing Commission knows what it is about. But, would the invited Red Cross Societies and the invited Governments always recall after an interval of four or five years what are exactly the rules of the Conference? Again and again—and this must be avoided in future—there have been misunderstandings, in good faith, owing to the fact that the quite unique position of the Red Cross had not been realized. By your leave, Mr. Chairman, I think I must read out our draft resolution.

The Conference,

Having taken note of the invitations issued, according to the Statutes of the International Red Cross, by the Standing Commission, to Governments parties to the Geneva Conventions, to the Red Cross Societies and International Organizations of the Red Cross, as well as to other Organizations :

Having noted also the observations made, at its first Meeting, on the subject of these invitations,

1. Expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission for having decided to issue the invitations in the spirit of the universality of the Red Cross and also regardless of all political considerations which may, under no circumstances, hamper the development of the movement;
2. Reaffirms the general principle that the National Society which offers its hospitality to an International Conference acts in accordance with the Statutes in transmitting the invitations merely as an intermediary and that, therefore, all members must refrain from addressing themselves in this matter to the inviting National Society as such;
3. Desires, that, also in future, the invitations to all International Conferences of the Red Cross be issued in a spirit of broad universality and include in the interest of Humanitarian Law, all Governments exercising authority over territories where the Geneva Conventions are applicable, this regardless of whether these Governments enjoy recognition by other signatories;

The Conference underlines that, in the field of the Red Cross, the criteria of recognition customary in the intercourse between States do not apply, and that consequently the decisions regarding the invitations to Red Cross Conferences do not and cannot set a precedent in other fields.

I will of course bow to your ruling as to which draft resolution should be put to the vote in the first place. I have indeed no special object in speaking on this matter but I should like to stress that the resolution submitted by the Swiss Government delegation is of quite a general character which, if adopted, might find its place, for instance, in the handbook of the International Red Cross as a codification of the practice arrived at by the Standing Commission and the Red Cross Conference. It is the parliamentary practice, not in my country only, but certainly in many countries here represented that proposals of a general character be put to the vote before proposals having a limited scope or bearing on a particular situation. I venture to suggest that such a procedure which seems logical be followed in the present instance and I hope and trust that in matters of principle that are contained in the draft resolution before you there will be in this Conference a large measure of agreement. Such a measure of agreement may clear the atmosphere and smooth the way for our future deliberations. Thank you.

JUSTICE SANDSTROM (Sweden, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel that the head of the American Government delegation my friend Mr. McClintock, has somewhat misunderstood the meaning of the Swedish motion. It is a motion which deals with how we are going to act upon the American resolution and the underlying reasons for it are the following.

The Red Cross cannot—as a matter of course—deny, in normal cases, that we should call the parties to the Conference by the name they give themselves. This, however, is not a rule of international law or Red Cross principle but etiquette.

What we cannot admit is that this rule should be a hard and fast rule for all cases, even in very special and exceptional cases where higher values might be involved. I will recall to you a thing which was said very aptly the other day by the head of the Philippine Government delegation. He said that there are facts that in themselves seem to be innocent and cannot be objectionable. But there might be in the surrounding facts such elements that can make out of these innocent facts very complicated questions involving also a political aspect. Even a name can be such a fact. They can involve political claims which are objects of conflict.

In such cases and especially if the unity of the Red Cross and its universality are at stake, we must preserve the right to decide on the merits of Red Cross considerations, even if the general rule of etiquette cannot be observed. The etiquette question becomes in such a case only a secondary consideration. These are underlying reasons for the Swedish resolution. By accepting the American resolution one accepts a hard and fast rule which does not permit any exception.

As to the procedure proposed by Mr. Ruegger, I should like to say that we have no objection to the Swiss Government resolution being voted upon first. As he has said, it is a very general resolution which does not come down to any concrete proposition. The American resolution is about a concrete proposition. The proposal as made by the American Government delegation binds us in all cases to a certain course of action and does not allow us to reserve our right to judge specially exceptional cases on merits. Thank you.

H.E. MR. PAN TZU-LI (People's Republic of China, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Delegates: In order to save time, I will ask my English interpreter to read my statement for me. But if the Conference does not agree then I will read out my text in Chinese.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—We discovered the other day that the interpreter is not a delegate. Only a delegate can address the Conference. If the delegate is prepared to adopt the representation made by the interpreter, and if the Conference agrees to this procedure, I will have the matter proceeded in this way in order to save time. Has anybody in the Conference any objection in following that procedure?

MR. PAN TZU-LI (as read by the interpreter)—Mr. Chairman, Fellow-delegates: The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Red Cross Society of China have always worked energetically for world peace, international co-operation and the furtherance of humanitarian cause, and in International Red Cross activities also we have made efforts and contributions in accordance with the spirit of friendly co-operation. The participation in this XIXth International Red Cross Conference of the delegations of the Chinese Government and the Chinese Red Cross Society is also for this purpose.

During the past week since the Conference was convened under the outstanding chairmanship of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Chairman of our Conference, delegates of various countries have exchanged views on a number of questions and put forward many resolutions of benefit. This proves that, although the views of many of the delegates to this Conference are different on many questions in other fields, co-operation is fully possible in the furtherance of humanitarian cause.

However, the regrettable thing is that not the delegations of all the countries have come to this Conference in a spirit of friendly co-operation, and with the aim of furthering the cause of humanitarianism. Some delegation intends to utilise this Conference to achieve its ulterior motives. This is clearly not in conformity...

MR. MACAULAY—I do not want any accusation made as such. This is not a proper presentation. You can make a proper presentation without challenging other delegates or casting reflections on other countries. No delegate has come here for ulterior motives. So, just eliminate that from your text.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—Mr. Chairman, we want to make clear our stand, and in order to make clear our stand we must mention certain countries.

MR. MACAULAY—I am telling you that you cannot mention certain countries. It is not necessary to mention certain countries.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—The United States delegate has already mentioned our name.

MR. MACAULAY—What did he say about you by name?

MR. PAN TZU-LI—Previously the American delegate has mentioned many countries. Why did not the Chairman object at that time?

MR. MACAULAY—He named a number of countries which were represented here under proper names, under the names that they had chosen. That was all that he did. He did not say that any delegate has come here for ulterior motives. That is what cannot be said here.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—We are speaking facts.

MR. MACAULAY—Facts, yes. We are not going to speak those kind of facts here.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—If people want to interfere in internal affairs and create two Chinas, and still you are not going to allow us to speak, that is not in conformity with co-operation.

MR. MACAULAY—We are not creating two Chinas by anything that is happening here. More than that, let me say one thing. If a delegate disobeys the Chair, I will have to ask the authorities concerned to disconnect the microphone. I had to do that in Toronto and I will do that here.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—Let me first finish my views. If other delegates have other views they can express their views.

MR. MACAULAY—No. I am not just going to fill up the records with a lot of irrelevant material, and I am not going to allow other delegates to come and answer that irrelevant material. You have to stick to the subject and remember that this is a Red Cross Conference.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—We regret this attitude of the Chairman in not letting others speak.

MR. MACAULAY—You can regret it. But the Chairman is quite satisfied that he is conducting the Conference along Red Cross lines in not letting you say what you want.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—We will still voice our opinion at this Conference.

MR. MACAULAY—No. If you have any opinion about Red Cross matters you can voice that, but not opinions about political and other matters. That is not what we have come here for, and I owe a responsibility to the 430 Delegates who have come here to discuss Red Cross matters and not political matters.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—The delegate from United States has mentioned political matters in his statement.

MR. MACAULAY—He did not mention anything objectionable such as you are proposing to introduce. If you want the rostrum, get on with the job and talk about Red Cross matters, otherwise leave the rostrum.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—The American delegate referred to two Chinas, the Democratic Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of Germany.

MR. MACAULAY—He did not accuse them of any ulterior motive. I am telling you that I am giving you the very liberal opportunity of saying what you have to say on matters which have the Red Cross flavour.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—At the plenary sessions of October 28th and 29th the Chinese delegation pointed out that the U.S. delegation was attempting to utilise the present Conference to realize its political plot of creating two Chinas.

MR. MACAULAY—This is not that session. You are not saying all that here. If you said that once, you said it once too often.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—If you do not let us speak, we can only express our vote of protest to the Chair.

MR. MACAULAY—You must have lots of material in your text there, which is not of a political nature. I will give you an opportunity to go through that text and eliminate the objectionable material, and I will allow you to come to the rostrum, after other speakers have spoken, to speak on Red Cross matters or matters that have a bearing to this particular subject.

MR. PAN TZU-LI— (Statement expunged).

MR. MACAULAY—I object to that statement and I order that it be stricken from the record.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—The U.S. delegate deliberately says that the question he is raising is but a simple matter, that is, should not every man have the right to be called by his own name. As a matter of fact, the

question is by no means a matter of names. Just as the U.S. delegate himself admitted later, it was his aim to have the Chiang Kai-shek.....* on Taiwan, which has long been overthrown by the Chinese people and has lost all representative character take part in the present Conference under the name of the so-called "Government of the Republic of China".

MR. MACAULAY—No, no. We need not enter into political matters.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—

Everyone knows that the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the delegation of the Red Cross Society of China are full members of the International Red Cross Conference. This is a publicly recognized fact. Since the matter regarding the Chinese delegation has already been determined, how can there be another question of the Chinese delegation? Just as the Chairman of our Conference, Madam Kaur, has said, since a delegation from China was already seated, no issue existed. The U.S. delegate said he was startled to hear this statement of the Chairman of our Conference. As a matter of fact, this statement of the Chairman of our Conference is not only in conformity with the facts, but also expressed the opinion of many delegations to our Conference.

The U.S. delegate asserts that the so-called "Government of the Republic of China" is a party of several Red Cross Conventions, and therefore is fully qualified to participate in this Conference by the bye-laws of the International Red Cross. True, the so-called "Government of the Republic of China" was a State party to the 1929 Geneva Convention and also signed on the 1949 Geneva Convention. But that was when it was not yet overthrown by the Chinese people. Everyone knows that, in any country, after its old regime has been overthrown, its international rights are inherited by the new government. This is a world recognized principle of international law. The former Manchu government in China was also a State party to the 1864 Geneva Convention, and according to the logic of the U.S. delegate, can it be that remnants of the Manchu government should also be invited to the present session of our Conference? The attempt of the U.S. delegate to use the pretext that because the so-called "Government of the Republic of China" was a State party to the Geneva Convention, or signed its name to the Convention, and therefore advocates that the Chiang Kai-shek.....* on Taiwan is qualified to take part in this Conference, is totally untenable.

Regarding this question, I would like to make another observation. Our Swiss colleagues advocate that invitations to the International Red Cross Conference should include all governments exercising authority over territories where the Geneva Conventions are applicable. We hold that this proposition is also untenable. The proposal of the Swiss delegation will face two situations: one situation is that an old regime has already been supplanted by a new government, but the remnants of the old regime are still entrenched on a part of the territory of this country and are exercising authority there. We would like to ask whether the authorities of the old regime exercising authority on this territory should be invited to attend the Conference. A second situation is that a minority opposition has established its regime in a part of a certain country, this situation exists in some countries of the world. We would like to ask whether the regime of the minority opposition should be invited to attend the Conference. It is very clear that anyone with common sense will understand that it cannot be done, because this way of doing things is not only naked interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned, but also in complete violation of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and the purposes of the International Red Cross Conference. Whether calling the Chiang Kai-shek.....* on Taiwan as the so-called "Government of the Republic of China" or as the so-called "Government of Formosa", it is all the creation of a situation of "two Chinas" on China's territory. Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. The reason that Taiwan has not yet returned to the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government is entirely due to U.S. interference and obstruction. The Chinese people will certainly liberate Taiwan, and regardless of how this question is settled, the question between the Chinese Government and the authorities on Taiwan is a matter of China's internal affairs; no interference by any country will be tolerated. The Chiang Kai-shek.....* as the authority on China's province of Taiwan has absolutely no qualifications whatsoever to take part in the Conference, and the Conference also cannot issue any form of invitation to it. The U.S. delegate made attacks against the People's Republic of China at the last plenary session, stressing that the United States does not recognize the People's Republic of China. As a matter of fact, according to our view, all this is very ludicrous. The fact that China is standing up in the world absolutely cannot be changed by the U.S. Government's attitude towards China.....†

MR. MACAULAY—I say that it be taken out of the record. It should not be said.

*Word expunged by order of the Chairman.

†Passage expunged by order of the Chairman.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—This is why the Chinese delegation will under no circumstances sit at the same Conference with elements of the Chiang Kai-shek.*

.whereas the U.S. delegate is resorting to all means to have the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek.*

. enter the present Conference and take part in the proceedings of the meetings together with the Chinese delegation.†.

MR. MACAULAY—I order that struck out. You are not assisting us in the problem we have before us.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—The delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the delegation of the Red Cross Society of China ask the Conference to reject the proposal of the United States.†.

MR. MACAULAY—I order that struck out.

MR. PAN TZU-LI—, but also is in thorough violation of the letter and spirit of the Statutes of the International Red Cross.

We also do not agree to the Swiss proposal. The reasons have already been stated.

The Chinese delegation, taking a stand of safeguarding peace, furthering the humanitarian cause and truly abiding by the Statutes of the International Red Cross, hereby puts forward the following proposal and asks the Conference to discuss and adopt it.

Mr. Chairman, the Swedish delegation moved that this present Conference does not vote on the U.S. draft resolution. The Chinese delegation approves of this. However, we oppose submitting the U.S. draft resolution to the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross for consideration in sending future invitations, because this draft resolution is in violation of the Statutes of the International Red Cross.

We hold that the correct draft resolution of the Chinese delegation in defence of the Statutes of the International Red Cross should be discussed and adopted at this Conference.

This is the Resolution:

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

Taking note of the fact that the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the delegation of the Red Cross Society of China are full members representing China to the International Red Cross Conference,

Considering that, in accordance with the provisions of Article I, paragraph 2 of the "Statutes of the International Red Cross" and the second paragraph of the "Conditions for the Recognition of National Red Cross Societies", the local authorities and local Red Cross Organizations of any State are not entitled to take part in the International Red Cross Conference,

Resolves that the authorities exercising authority in the Taiwan province of China and the Red Cross organizations there are not allowed to take part under whatever name in the XIXth International Red Cross Conference.

Thank you.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—We had a request from a delegate that he be allowed to speak after the delegate from the People's Republic of China. But before that, another delegate had asked for the floor and so, we will have to take the delegates in their proper order.

SHRI KARMARKAR (India, Government)—On a point of order, Mr. Chairman. With very great respect to you and to the esteemed delegates who have moved their resolutions, I rise on a point of order about the tenability of those resolutions for immediate consideration by the Conference. In being advised on this point, I could not take inspiration from any humanitarian point of view; but I am bound by the statutes and the rules of procedure that have been accepted by this Conference. I am afraid that three at least out of the four resolutions, I beg to submit with very great respect, are out of order and they are inconsistent with the statutes and the rules as they stand at present. I would not like to take this Conference into many details, but this question obviously has arisen on account of the fact that a certain invitation was issued in a certain manner, addressed to a certain Government by a certain title. So these resolutions have come up.

*Word expunged by order of the Chairman.

†Passage expunged by order of the Chairman.

The American resolution proposes that "all parties etc. That is how the resolution now stands. Previously it was "all Governments" and that might have been completely out of order. I think this wording "parties" is better advised and a better amendment to the original resolution. But even so, I am afraid this is out of order. Firstly, I beg the pardon of this House for inviting yours and the House's attention to certain facts which are automatically known to all delegates in this Conference. I am afraid I do not subscribe to the view that we can be guided by any humanitarian grounds when we have a definitely fixed constitution. On humanitarian grounds we may feel on matters about which we have option, but so far as the proceedings of this Conference are concerned, I respectfully beg to submit that we are bound by the statutes as they are printed and formally adopted. I am afraid that there is no humanitarian ground which can enable us to cross beyond the borders of these rules.

As you already know, Article 1 defines what an International Conference is: "The following shall be members of the International Conference with the right to take part in all discussions and to vote". This is distinguished from Article 3 by which observers can be invited also. So far as delegations are concerned (a) delegates of National Red Cross Societies recognized . . . etc. (c) The delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross. These two are out of the picture now. What is in the picture considering the resolutions is (b) delegates of the States parties to the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in the Armed Forces in the Field (1864, 1906, 1929 or 1949). Unless the situation is covered by Article 3, therefore, it is obligatory that the invitees of the Conference have to belong to one of these categories.

On the point of order, I would say, very respectfully, that the Standing Commission erred in inviting the delegates from the Government of Formosa by whatever name it was, unless they held deliberately that they were signatories to the Geneva Conventions, in which case members who were present on behalf of China at the earlier Conference would have been out of court. That is my first point.

I shall illustrate how each of these resolutions is out of order. There is a provision for amending these rules of procedure. You have a way of changing the rules of procedure and I will show you in a moment how at least one or two of the resolutions imply, almost directly, a change in the rules of procedure. On page 318 of the 1953 edition of the Statutes, it is mentioned that it may be amended only in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article XIII of the Statutes by the majority prescribed therein. On page 311 of this book, Article XIII lays down: "The Rules of Procedure of the International Conference shall be adopted in conformity with the present Statutes (and the present Statutes lay down who the delegations can be) by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Conference present and voting and after the views of the International Committee and the League have been ascertained". If you hold, Mr. Chairman, that my view is right, in respect of resolutions which imply amendments to the rules of procedure, this Conference is bound to consult the International Committee and the League before it can proceed with the consideration of the resolutions.

I will not deal with the merits of the resolutions, because I shall be out of order, since I have risen on a point of order. The first resolution I will take is the U.S. resolution. Having in mind the report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission,—that is perfectly in order—confirming the statement of the Chairman of the Standing Commission that the Red Cross is not concerned with juridical and political questions regarding the status of Governments. I am afraid that is not exactly in conformity with the Statutes. That is to say, though I and my Government entirely agree that this platform should not be made the washing house for political controversies, but at the same time so far as the Statutes and rules have laid down that the recognition is confined to States signing the Geneva Conventions, to that extent, and to that extent alone, this Conference has to determine what is the status to be given to a delegate from a particular State. With very great respect, I beg to submit that we cannot avoid that much of politics in the scientific sense of the term. We have to take cognizance of States which have a political status which have signed the Geneva Conventions. If tomorrow any humdrum delegate comes from a mental asylum and says "I am the delegate from the World Government" or something like that, he is out of order, because we are concerned with Governments which have a status. On the merits of the question, the Conference can take any decision that X is a proper State or an improper State. So, this Conference, in my humble opinion, is concerned not with controversial juridical and political questions, but with a view to conduct its work efficiently it is certainly concerned with juridical and political questions in so far as they are referred to and are relevant in the Statutes binding this Conference.

Concerning the phrase "all parties invited to attend the Conference", with very great respect I beg to submit that I am not able to understand the word "parties". That is to me a rather dubious word. It either means the delegates as they are entitled under Article 1 or observers under Article 3. I should like the delegate of the United States to make it quite clear whether he means by "parties" those referred to in Article 1 or Article 3 or whether what he refers covers both Governments and observers or only Governments or only observers.

Now, Sir, in my humble opinion, the purpose should in fairness be explained to the delegates, that is whether it refers to Article 1 or Article 3. Then we shall be able to make up our minds as to the relevancy of the question.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I think it means any Red Cross delegate, or Government delegate. Am I correct? We could clear it as we go along.

SHRI KARMARKAR (India, Government)—In my humble opinion, in so far as it relates to the Government delegation, it has to be governed by Article 1. If it is an observer, it will be governed by Article 3.

The resolution reads:

“ Resolves in accordance with the traditional principles of the Red Cross . . . ”.

There is no objection to that. Then it says:

“ that it is the sense of the Conference that all parties invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles ”.

This is rather an important point. I would like to refer to the substance of the resolution now. What does this amendment mean? In so far as the Governments are concerned, if this were the meaning of the Rules of Procedure, it should have been made clear by an amendment to Article 1. We could have said:

“ that the invitees to this Conference should be addressed according to their official titles ”.

Unless that is there, unless the Statutes are changed, I beg to submit that it will be out of order. We have to honour our own Statutes. So, let this come in the form of an amendment. Let that amendment be sent to the parties. Then let it come back to the Conference. I again respectfully submit that in so far as this procedure is there either in the Statutes or the rules of procedure, the Governments invited to that Conference should be addressed according to their official titles, in view of the present context, to which I should not like to refer in detail, because that itself is a source of controversy. I say that unless this is inserted in the rule itself, I am afraid that the resolution of the United States is entirely out of order.

MR. MACAULAY—I did not get the last word, were they “ entirely out of order ”?

SHRI KARMARKAR—It is “ out of order ” because it is doing something which has not been made clear by the Statutes or the rules. Unless this is added, it would be out of order. If this is added, then, Mr. Chairman, it would be entirely clear.

MR. MACAULAY—What have you to add to make it right?

SHRI KARMARKAR—With very great respect, I think I am unable to make the present situation right. I am very sorry for that. I am speaking very very guardedly in order not to enter into the controversy. I am afraid, I am keeping myself strictly to the letter of the resolution. I am avoiding all other matters which might lead me astray from the point of order. I would respectfully submit, for your consideration and for the consideration of the delegates of the United States, that this amendment would be entirely in order and in accordance with the formal procedure if you put an asterisk mark behind Article 1 to prevent all difficulties that have arisen. You can put an asterisk mark after “ C ” and say “ Governments invited to attend the Conference will be addressed according to their own official titles ” at the end.

MR. MACAULAY—I did not catch your last words.

SHRI KARMARKAR—If what has been stated by the delegate of the United States had to be adopted, you would have to amend these Statutes. You would have to put an asterisk mark and then say at the bottom of Article 1 that: “ Governments invited to attend the Conference shall be addressed according to their own official titles ”. The Standing Commission and everybody concerned would be bound to address the Governments as such. That is my point about the American resolution.

I shall be brief regarding the other resolutions because much ground has been covered. I will only invite the attention of the Conference to those portions which appear to me to be out of order; for instance:

“ Expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission for having decided to issue the invitations in the spirit of the universality of the Red Cross ”

I quite appreciate the spirit underlying these words. But I am afraid, we cannot offer any spirit of universality at the cost of the Statutes and the rules. They are our binding factors. Subject to these rules and

Statutes, we are entitled to show any sign of universality or any such spirit, but not counter to the rules and Statutes. Then, it goes on:

“and also regardless of all political considerations.....”

I entirely agree that political considerations are undesirable in the sense in which we understand the word “politics”. But I may point out that political considerations are not considerations of items regarding constitutions and the like, which form part of politics, which means, within the purview of the Statutes and rules which we have adopted. We cannot discard them.

MR. MACAULAY—I would invite your attention to paragraph 5 of the Statutes which says that it must not deal with political matters or serve as a forum for political debate.

SHRI KARMARKAR—I entirely agree with you there.

MR. MACAULAY—You are making your observation on the point of order notwithstanding what is contained in paragraph 5 of the Statutes.

SHRI KARMARKAR—If I have erred in any manner, I regret very much. So far as I am conscientiously aware, I am trying to eschew completely the political aspect of the matter. But, Mr. Chairman, politics has two aspects. One is the innocent text of the Constitution. It may not be politics in the sense in which controversial politics is understood, which we have to avoid. But we cannot avoid the constitution of the Red Cross, though we should not like to encourage the use of this platform by the delegates for propaganda.

Coming back to the second paragraph, it begins:

“Reaffirms the general principle that the National Society which offers its hospitality to an International Conference.....”

That is an innocent proposition.

The third paragraph reads:

“Desires that, also in future, the invitations to all International Conferences of the Red Cross be issued in a spirit of broad universality and include in the interest of Humanitarian Law, all Governments exercising authority over territories where the Geneva Conventions are applicable, this regardless of whether these Governments enjoy recognition by other signatories”;

I should like to invite the attention of the Conference to one thing. What the Constitution says is applicable to all States parties to the Geneva Convention. Now, a party to the Convention is something different from the Conventions being applicable in a particular region. The whole relevant question is whether a State is a party to the Geneva Convention and not whether the Geneva Convention is observed in that territory or any part of that territory. Article 1 refers to the political status, what is known as the political entity, namely, the State. Therefore, this paragraph runs exactly counter to Article 1. Article 1 says “delegates of the States parties to the Geneva Convention”. It does not say “all Governments exercising authority over territories where the Geneva Conventions are applicable”. What does this mean? I am sorry that the distinguished delegate who moved the resolution did not exactly know the implication of it. What does it mean? It does not even mean all Governments exercising rightful authority. It does not say even that. If you are to accept it, it will mean all authorities exercising authority, whether rightfully or wrongfully. That is another irrelevant matter. A State can exercise wrongful authority on a territory where the Geneva Conventions are applicable and that would be right because that forms part of a particular State where the Geneva Conventions are applicable. So, this goes exactly counter to Article 1. If, instead of the words “delegates of the States parties to the Geneva Convention”, we use the words “delegates on behalf of Government exercising authority over territories where the Geneva Conventions are applicable”, then this would be in order. Otherwise, with very great respect to you, Mr. Chairman, I am of the opinion that this resolution is not only out of order, but runs exactly counter to the Constitution, because it will include not only Governments which are parties to the Geneva Convention, but it would also include Governments which are not parties to the Geneva Convention but in whose territories the Geneva Conventions are applicable in the sense that these rules apply to them. This is rather a doubtful proposition. So, I very respectfully submit that this resolution is not in conformity with sub-section (b) of Article 1.

Now I come to the Swedish resolution. This resolution reads:

“The Swedish Red Cross delegation moves that the American draft resolution, without being voted upon, be remitted to the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross for its consideration on occasion of future invitations”.

This is entirely in order. This runs counter to no article of the constitution. The matter comes before us. Then we send it back without expressing any opinion. We can allow the Governments to express their opinion on the various resolutions. We can hold that this resolution is in order.

Now, regarding the last resolution by the delegate of the People's Republic of China, this reads:

"Considering that, in accordance with the provisions of Article 1, paragraph 2 of the "Statutes of the International Red Cross" and the second paragraph of the "Conditions for the Recognition of National Red Cross Societies", the local authorities and local Red Cross organizations of any State are not entitled to take part in the International Red Cross Conference. . . ."

Standing as it is, I am afraid that that is out of order, because they say for such and such reasons, the local authorities and local Red Cross organizations of any State are not entitled to sit, including even signatories to the Geneva Convention. I do not know what to call it, but that is certainly something which might create chaotic conditions, if it stands. If something is meant, then perhaps it might be rephrased. That, however, is another matter.

The resolution then reads:

"Resolves that the authorities exercising authority in the Taiwan Province of China and the Red Cross organization there are not allowed to take part under whatever name in the XIXth International Red Cross Conference".

I leave it to you to decide whether in the absence of any motion that such and such a delegation should be accepted, that is in order or not. I very much like to submit that you do not need any aid in this matter, for you are entirely competent to decide this matter. When there is no resolution on the point, when there is no delegate of Formosa coming in or anything like that, unless there is a motion that he be admitted, this resolution, I am afraid, will be premature.

MR. MACAULAY—You have simplified my task very much. I only have one resolution before me now. But, in addition to raising one point of order, you have raised about fifty points of order. I am sure you would not expect me to rule on them one after another.

SHRI KARMARKAR—The only point of order that I have raised is that which concerns the U.S. resolution. But, apart from that, I would just conclude my point by saying that the U.S. resolution and the Swiss resolution in their operative part, in so far as they are not in consonance with the existing Statutes and Articles as they stand at present—until the Statutes and Articles are suitably amended—are out of order.

MR. MACAULAY—In order to simplify this thing, I might say that some of these resolutions might never come up before the meeting, and in that case, I would not have to worry about as to whether they are good or bad. That is the first point.

Perhaps, when we are considering each separate resolution, you might re-state your objections, and the Conference would have your statements in mind at the time they were voting.

I know that it is improper to take a vote on an improper resolution or an illegal resolution. But, nevertheless, if we are going to get on with the business of the Conference, we have to find some shortcut, and notwithstanding the fact that these resolutions are not properly worded or are contrary to some of the rules, we might pass one of these resolutions and in order to make it good, and the International Conference of the Red Cross might have to amend its Statutes in order to fall into line.

But, thank you very much for your comments; and we shall deal with these points of order, if they are satisfactory to you, as the different resolutions are put before the meeting. Now we shall have a recess of 15 minutes for the sake of the interpreters.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I am going to call on the Polish delegate. He is second on the list, but he tells me that he has an engagement. I was going to call on the U.S.S.R. delegate first. But I would like to meet the wishes of the Polish delegate, seeing that he has an appointment.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I apologise that I will not start with reference to the wise and moving statement we have just heard from His Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the great Philosopher and humanitarian. I do not wish to make any reference to it with regret because hardly had the Vice-President finished, and his words still reverberating in this hall and in our minds, when an atmosphere was created which is contrary to the very advice given so generously by the Vice-President.

I admit that I take the floor with regret and reluctance to participate in a debate on this controversial issue. I had the hope, as the U.S. representative expressed it, that animosities were buried and we could proceed in the plenary meetings which are left for the closure of the Conference in the same spirit which prevailed at all Commissions of this Conference.

I however take the floor because I consider the issue to be of extreme importance. It affects all the activities of this Conference, now and in the future. It is an issue whose improper solution may limit both the scope of our work as well as the extent of the implementation of the resolutions which were adopted here.

This is not merely a question of representation of China. This is a question of the proper composition of the Conference from a realistic point of view, so that all the tasks and ideals to which this Conference is devoted can be extended, properly adapted and implemented.

We all remember how the question of the Chinese representation has limited the work of many international organizations, how it brought about a crisis in the United Nations and even today is limiting the scope of its activities. No one can ignore today the role the Chinese People's Republic, the Great Power, is playing in accordance with the U. N. Charter, a basic role in the task of maintaining peace and security and of spreading international co-operation and friendship amongst nations.

We have noted this influence in many international conferences. It helped with other Powers to bring about a lessening of international tension, and those who remember the atmosphere of international conferences years ago and compare it with the present one see how beneficial this, even partial, co-operation has been.

My delegation considers, as it was pointed out by the honourable Chairman of the Indian delegation, Mr. Karmarkar, that *a priori* the issue has been already settled by the adopted Rules and Statutes. In fact, there was no reason or purpose to deal with it again. I know that this solution in the beginning was not satisfactory to us either, but just in a spirit of give and take, in the spirit of promoting understanding, we were prepared to yield on certain points and let the *status quo* exist and continue for the success of this Conference.

We understand that there cannot be any possibility of two Chinese representations, just as there cannot be two representations for any other country, or any representation claiming, contrary to their legal and existing Government, the right of representation. We consider that the Chinese People's Republic is the legal continuation of the Republic of China, the continuation of its sovereignty in accordance with the existing norms of international law and the existing principles of recognition of States. We consider that the comparison which has been drawn here, that some other countries are led by two delegations, is invalid, inapt and improper in this case. The existing two German States were created on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement which created a line of temporary division, setting at the same time certain rules and proceedings for unification. A similar situation exists in Korea. The Charter of the U.N. in its Article 107, excluded from the U.N. organization, those problems which arose directly after the end of the second world war. The question of Viet-Nam cannot also serve as a precedent in this case. It is a result of the Geneva Agreement with the Powers, specially those responsible for the calling of the Geneva Conference, working for the unification of those countries. We consider that an unnecessary political note was interjected into this Conference and we still think that we can avoid it by trying to find a solution which would, on the one hand, guarantee the proper composition of this Conference, and on the other, represent the spirit of compromise. We are prepared to seek in this question an understanding and we believe that the Resolution which has been submitted by Judge Sandstrom opens the way to such an agreement.

I believe, of course, that the fact that the resolution moved by Judge Sandstrom intends only the United States draft resolution to be forwarded to the Standing Commission is merely a misunderstanding due to the fact that the Swedish resolution was moved before any other resolution. I believe that a proper wording of it would be to submit all proposals together with the record of this discussion to the Standing Commission.

May I make then a point on the procedure? I agree with Mr. Karmarkar that the issue which is formulated in the three resolutions has been solved by the existing rules and resolutions previously adopted. I believe that those rules speak in favour of one Chinese representation, that is of the Chinese People's Republic. Yet, I am sure that the Standing Commission has shown wisdom and realism by adopting a much more liberal and further resolution than all the other international organizations prompted by political movements, even though political movements should have been excluded. While taking cognizance of this discussion which intends to rectify its previous decisions, the Conference should eliminate once and for ever the bone of contention by strictly adhering to the existing rules of the Conference for extending the invitation only to the proper Chinese Government and to the proper Chinese Red Cross Society. I believe that the Standing Commission, having the contents of this discussion, will come to that conclusion which was here pointed out so ably by Mr. Karmarkar and will adopt the only proper solution.

With regard to procedure, Mr. Chairman, I believe that according to the existing rules of procedure of every International Conference, and all existing precedents which have been set up at practically every International Conference, the resolution of the Swedish delegation has precedence before any other resolution. The resolution of the Swedish delegation is a procedural motion which does not deal with the very substance of the problem. It is not an expression of attitude toward a particular resolution but it deals with the contents of this debate and all the resolutions in an equal manner and leaves the decision to the Standing Commission. Therefore, being a procedural motion, in my opinion, it has precedence before any motion of substance. And, as I said, in the spirit of compromise and understanding, with such correction as I mentioned, my delegation would be prepared to support this resolution. My delegation regrets to have to oppose the resolution of the United States because we consider it to be contrary to the existing rules of the International Red Cross Conferences, to the existing laws of recognition of States and the principles of International law. We have to oppose with regret the resolution submitted by the delegation of Switzerland, because, in our opinion, it perpetuates the unhealthy and unwise situation created by a previous decision of the Standing Commission which, as I said, while making a very realistic approach did not go far enough to eliminate that problem once and for ever.

We believe, Mr. Chairman, that we can reach an understanding on this question and we would advise this Conference very strongly against listening to any birds around the Ashoka Hotel, whatever language they speak. I do not live in the Ashoka Hotel but I pass the Ashoka Hotel very often and I see many vultures, many rapacious birds and crows and I doubt whether one should take their advice, whether they be small or large. I think the advice to be taken is found in the principles of justice and international law, in the needs of this Conference, from the realism of this situation with a full recognition of existing realities, of existing possibilities in a spirit of understanding and in a spirit of co-operation.

MR. TCHIKALENKO (U.S.S.R., Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Delegates: Many speakers who spoke before me represented Government delegations. I want to tell you that I represent the Red Cross delegation and I am authorized to speak by our Red Cross delegation. It is natural for the representatives of Government to deal with this problem but, I think, it would be advisable for the Red Cross representatives also to have their say in this matter.

First of all, I want to make a few comments on the speech made by the representative of the U.S.A. Government delegation. I want to warn, Mr. Chairman, that with all my respect for him, I am not going to attack any delegate or any representative. The representative of the United States Government delegation referred several times to the speech of the person whom we all respect, to the speech of Vice-President of the Indian Republic, Dr. Radhakrishnan. On behalf of the Soviet delegation I want to say that we followed with great attention the things which had been said here by Dr. Radhakrishnan and we fully share his humanitarian ideas. But I cannot share many of the views expressed here by the American representative. I got the impression, when I was listening to the American representative, that all the ideas which were expressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan had in view the invitation of the Formosan representative to this Conference. It seems to me that it is rather a very broad interpretation of the sentiments expressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan. We who were present there remember the first speech of the American representative at the first plenary session. In his speech on that occasion, he called upon us not to touch and not to deal with political problems. We all remember the speech of the President of the American Red Cross, General Gruenther, when he said that questions of prestige should not interfere with our Red Cross ideals.

With great regret I can only state that this question was put up again for the discussion of this Conference by the American delegation. It can be considered only as a political action. Indeed, as you remember, at our first plenary session, the Hon. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Chairman of this Conference, put an end to the discussion on this issue and the Conference started its work. I cannot understand what other purpose there can be in putting this question again to the Conference if it is not prestige. Here at this Conference, we have been called upon by outstanding leaders of India to discuss and concentrate more on problems that can unite us and not on the problems that can split our movement. Does the American delegation follow this advice? I do not think that this is the case.

Now, I would like to make a few comments regarding the resolutions submitted to us. I do not think that any one of these resolutions can once and for all decide the question as to whom, when and in what capacity we should invite people to our Conference. The development of the events of life create such conditions that very often many cases should be regarded separately and the Standing Commission is called upon to examine, if the necessity arises, each case separately.

I would like to draw your attention to one more point. It is not clear to me, as to us in the Soviet delegation, why we are discussing here problems that are not included in the agenda of the Conference. May be,

Mr. Chairman, you will explain to me to which point on the agenda these questions refer. It seems to me that we do not have any right to include in the agenda of the Conference a new point, following the desire of a delegation, without asking whether the Conference considers it advisable to discuss this problem or not. The usual practice shows that at such a Conference the additional points of the agenda are discussed at the end of the Conference. But since we have already started discussing this problem, and since many delegations have expressed their opinion before me, I would like to express the opinion of the Soviet delegation. I would like to say that we wholeheartedly support the proposal made by the Polish delegation—the proposal that all resolutions should be transmitted for the consideration of the Standing Commission. In making this proposal, we proceed from the belief that the Standing Commission will consider these problems and will adopt a position that will be in full conformity with our Red Cross principles and ideals. I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, that this proposal be put to vote so that in this Red Cross Conference will again triumph the spirit of the Red Cross and the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation.

H.E. MR. RODRIGUEZ JIMENEZ (Venezuela, Government) (original Spanish)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am intervening in this discussion in order to state that the delegation of the Venezuelan Government and the delegation of the Venezuelan Red Cross will support the draft resolution submitted to this meeting by the delegation of the United States Government.

During the plenary meeting held on the morning of October 29 last, I unsuccessfully submitted a written request to the Chairman for an opportunity to speak, in order to express my views concerning the way in which invitations should be sent out. I wanted to say that this should be governed solely by the impartial Red Cross spirit, in conformity with the standards of dignity and respect and without regard to any political considerations, as the Chairman of the Standing Commission has already pointed out and maintained so successfully.

Today this question has again come up for discussion, and after thanking the Chairman for giving me the floor, I should like to state that in my opinion this is an urgent matter which calls for immediate solution. It would not be appropriate to postpone it for future invitations, for this is something which affects the dignity and respect of those who are invited and it therefore requires prompt attention by this assembly.

I have strict orders from my Government to support any action in this sense, that is to say that we should act in accordance with the spirit of the Red Cross and set aside any considerations which are not within its purview. I shall therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us (document P/14 as amended by document P/22) which was submitted by the delegation of the United States Government, to the effect that all parties invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles. The delegate of the Venezuelan Red Cross, Dr. Eduardo Carbonel, who is in this hall, has authorized me to state that the Venezuelan Red Cross supports the opinion of the Venezuelan Government and will also vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the United States of America.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, in the light of the noble, lofty, and, above all, impartial principles of the Red Cross which my country has always supported and defended, Venezuela considers that the form of address used in inviting China to this XIXth International Red Cross Conference should be amended so as to give that country its correct title—the Republic of China.

Than you, Mr. Chairman.

H.E. AMBASSADOR SCILINGO (Argentina, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: If the thesis of the Indian delegate were right in the sense that this Conference is concerned with the political status of the parties to this Conference, surely the matter should have been dealt with before the invitations were issued, not now. I hold that this Conference is not called upon to decide which of the divided countries is a party to the Geneva Agreements. Obviously, that was the assumption of the Standing Commission and of the Conference in issuing the invitation; otherwise we would never have here two Germanys, two Koreas, two Viet-Nams, besides two Chinas. The question arose because in the other cases the parties were addressed according to their own official titles, but not so the Republic of China. We do not confer sovereignty here, nor do we grant recognitions. The Republic of China is just as entitled to be addressed as such as the other parties I have mentioned here. The Statutes or the Rules of Procedure were not invoked in the other cases. Why, then, in this one?

Coming to the American resolution, there is nothing partisan, sectarian or political in it, nor in the words of the American delegation in putting it forward. If we pass it, we neither change anything nor do we fail to conform to precedents. Therefore, the Argentine delegation, on that understanding, will support the American resolution.

SHRI KARMARKAR (India, Government)—Mr. Chairman: I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity, because earlier I addressed myself simply on what you might call the legalistic aspect of the question when I raised a point of order. Now, with your permission, I would like to state in brief the views of the Government of India on the present proposals before you.

We have received several proposals, obviously arising out of the question of Chinese representation to the Red Cross Conference, and we think it is necessary to make our general position clear, as also to indicate our attitude towards the various proposals.

We understand that on the initiative of the Standing Commission invitations were issued on humanitarian grounds to the People's Republic of China and to Formosa. The Red Cross is essentially a humanitarian organization, and we agree that politics should be excluded from it. At the same time, we cannot accept a position in which, as in the case of China, invitations in identical terms can be sent to two different addresses. In our view the People's Republic of China is the only Government of China and, therefore, we cannot accept any invitation being issued to Formosa either direct or indirect.

Now, turning to the resolutions before us, both the Swiss and American resolutions would have been acceptable to us in the normal way. However, we have to read these resolutions in the context of events and circumstances. It seems to us that the intention of the United States resolution is to invite the Formosan authorities immediately as the Government of the Republic of China. This, for reasons already mentioned, we cannot accept. Therefore, we shall vote against this resolution.

Part of the Swiss resolution, that is paragraph 2, is acceptable to us. But, since the effect of paragraphs 1 and 3 would be to accept the invitation to the Formosan authorities, we have to vote against these two paragraphs. If, however, the resolution is put to the vote as a whole—we would suggest that it should be voted separately paragraph by paragraph—we shall abstain.

The Swedish resolution merely remits the problem to the Standing Commission and since this is the normal machinery for deciding these issues, we shall support it. In fact, we would have liked all those proposals to be referred back to the Standing Commission. If, however, there is to be a voting on each separately, we shall, consistently with our attitude towards the problems, support the Chinese resolution.

We are, as I have said before, entirely opposed to the Formosan authorities being represented in this or in other international conferences. Thank you very much.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Mrs. Barry wishes to speak. Now, I remind delegates that I think perhaps this is a matter which has been pretty well exhausted. I think that everything that can be said has been said. We want to get on with other business of the Conference, and if you are going to indulge in repetitions and have nothing very new to add, I suggest that you refrain from asking for the floor.

MRS. BARRY (Ireland, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I do not mean to take up much of your time. In Toronto, when this matter came before the Conference, under the chairmanship of the distinguished person who is also the Chairman now, I was the delegate who asked how each group under discussion was affiliated—under what nomenclature they were addressed. At that meeting it was ceded that the two names were the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China. I have with me, more by accident than by design, the official printed list of delegates and the names of Governments and National Societies present at the XVIIIth Conference, which was issued later. In it, one finds the following names recorded: The Chinese Republic. There were five members from the Government of the Chinese Republic, and two from the Red Cross as observers. From the People's Republic of China, there were seven delegates from the Government and nine from the Red Cross. What has altered the situation agreed upon at Toronto? Has an official decision been made to alter the nomenclature agreed upon at Toronto? I should like to be informed of that. For orderly organization, and until such time as the decision of the Toronto Conference is rescinded by an International Conference of the Red Cross, I must stand on the Toronto decision and so must support the resolution of the United States of America, as I believe the resolution arises out of this alteration of the nomenclature in an unorthodox manner, which were it done for other groups and parties in the same manner, would lead to chaos. I think the United States resolution has nothing in the nature of partisanship or political motions.

H.E. MR. FRANCOIS-PONCET (France, Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I would like first to express the hope that most of you agree with me in thinking that this question of China has already taken up too much of our time. We would have spent less time over it if political passions had not turned it into an unnecessarily spectacular issue. We want to have nothing to do with political passions, for they are a grave menace to the unity and universality which are an essential feature of the International Red Cross.

In accordance with the traditions of the Red Cross and its Statutes and Rules of Procedure, it was certainly essential to invite the governments of what I am compelled to call the two Chinas—the Government of Peking and the Government of Formosa. Why was this necessary? Because, contrary to what an earlier speaker asserted here, the Government of Formosa is a signatory of the Geneva Conventions and it exercises *de facto* authority over a certain territory. The Government of the People's Republic of China also exercises *de facto* authority over a given territory and has signed the Geneva Conventions. Ladies and Gentlemen, if you refer back to the rules of the Red Cross, to the articles which have already been mentioned, and the discussions at the Toronto Conference, which are being repeated today—if you refer back to those discussions and the conclusions reached then, there is no doubt at all that it would have been impossible not to invite the two governments; in our position, everyone would have followed the same course, and if instead of being invited to New Delhi by the Indian Red Cross we had been invited to Moscow by the Soviet Red Cross, then the Soviet Red Cross would also have been obliged by the rules to invite the Government of Peking and that of Formosa. What would have happened if they had not done so? Certain governments which take the side of the Government of Formosa would have refused the invitation; a great many members of the International Red Cross would have been absent from the Conference, and the Conference would have been a failure. In order that that should not happen here, we therefore invited the two governments. As regards the form in which the invitation was sent, the speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum have forgotten one thing: the Rules of Procedure for the International Red Cross Conference make no reference to the form in which governments must be invited. Governments are to be invited if they have signed the Geneva Conventions and exercise *de facto* authority; it is not for us to examine the legitimacy of that authority. But nothing is said as to the manner in which the invitation is to be drawn up. The Standing Commission was therefore free to address governments as it wished. It decided to use the title "Government of Formosa" because that seemed more explicit: in the first place the term "Government of Formosa" indicates clearly that it refers only to the Government which exercises *de facto* authority over the island of Formosa, and, secondly, confusion can easily arise between "People's Republic of China" and "Republic of China".

We therefore used the term "Government of Formosa" because, I repeat, we were absolutely free under the Statutes to use the wording which we thought fit. Moreover, we did so because, as has already been said by other speakers as well as by myself, the Red Cross is not a juridical or political authority; the titles which it uses cannot be considered as establishing authenticity or jurisprudence. In Toronto, we spoke all the time of "Government of Formosa" as you can see for yourselves from the record of the discussions there. For greater clarity of speech and in order to avoid confusion, it is easier to say "Government of Formosa" just as it is easier to say "Government of Peking". This merely achieves greater clarity of speech and avoids confusion for those listening. It so happens that this time the Government of Formosa considered itself insulted because it had not been referred to as the Government of the Republic of China. It so happens that more than ten governments have supported that view and have severely criticized me because the Government of the Republic of China was not addressed by its official title. We were therefore, faced with a danger similar to that to which I referred earlier—that at the beginning of the Conference at least ten governments would make protests implying that if the Government of the Republic of China was not invited under its official title, they would leave the Conference or would not be sure of being able to stay there.

In those circumstances, in the interests of the Red Cross of which I am one of the guardians, and in the interests of this Conference, in order to prevent it from being wrecked before it had even got under way, I considered that it was necessary and that it was my duty to open the door which the Government of Formosa itself had closed and so the door was opened again, the governments did not make protests, and the Conference has taken place. At the present juncture, it has completed the greater part of its work, and the risks are no longer the same as they were at the beginning. That is why I do not regret having acted as I did, even if many of you have not understood my real reasons for doing so.

Now this door which has been unlocked is open; anyone who wishes to pass through it is free to do so and his presence (or in any case the fact that the door is no longer closed to him) seems to be no problem. The discussion is over, we have exhausted the subject. Of course, the fact that a delegate of the Government of the Republic of China may be present in no way implies that that Government is recognized by the others, just as the presence of delegates of the German Democratic Republic does not imply that that Government is recognized by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. On the contrary, the fact that these two governments which do not recognize each other have delegations sitting side by side at this Conference constitutes proof for those who have not yet understood what the Red Cross is, and proves that the honour and the greatness of the Red Cross lie precisely in the fact that countries which do not recognize each other and which strive under the Red Cross banner can sit down beside each other, can respect each other and work together. That is what we must preserve, for that is the privilege of our organization. No other organization in the world can boast

of associating in the same spirit of mutual assistance, mutual esteem and co-operation countries which elsewhere are at odds. We must do everything possible to save the honour of our organization and that is why we are determined to continue our endeavours and the services which we have been able to render it in the past.

We have a number of draft resolutions before us. Perhaps you would like to know what I think of them. Well, you naturally do not expect me to recommend the draft submitted by the Chinese People's Republic. I think that our Chinese colleagues are mistaken, and despite their arguments I consider that our interpretation of the traditions of the Red Cross and its Statutes as reaffirmed at Toronto, are valid until such time as they are modified or amended. According to the present texts, however, there is no doubt at all, and I therefore believe that the Chinese resolution should be rejected. There are three other resolutions: that presented by Sweden, which I must confess to finding rather too cut and dried, since it merely refers the whole matter back to the body in which it originated; the United States resolution, which is not unacceptable, but I must admit that I find the third, the Swiss text, by far the best, because it is more general, more complete, and it covers all the aspects—past, present and future—of this problem and contains nothing to which anyone could take exception.

In any case, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think that we must not allow this discussion to drag on any further and above all we must not permit the destruction of the magnificent harmony which has established itself here and which would be a worthy conclusion for the work of this XIXth Conference.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I still have requests by a few delegates for the floor. But I hope they will reflect overnight and realise that everything that can be said on this subject has already been said and possibly withdraw their requests to speak. I would like to get on with the voting as soon as we reconvene at 10.00 in the morning. In the meantime, we adjourn.

FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

November 6, 1957

SUMMARY:—CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS AND THEIR ADMISSIBILITY—ORDER IN WHICH DRAFT RESOLUTIONS TO BE PUT TO THE VOTE—APPROVAL OF PROCEDURE PROPOSED BY CHAIRMAN—ADMISSIBILITY OF DRAFT SUBMITTED BY SWISS GOVERNMENT DELEGATION—APPROVAL OF CHAIRMAN'S RULING ON THIS POINT—ADOPTION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY SWISS GOVERNMENT DELEGATION—REJECTION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY SWEDISH RED CROSS DELEGATION—SCOPE AND ADMISSIBILITY OF DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DELEGATION.

The meeting was called to order at 10.00 a.m. by Mr. J. A. MacAulay.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I have received requests from more and more people who want to speak. But, as I said to the delegates last evening, perhaps everything that could be said about this matter had been said and I would ask any of the persons who intend to speak, if they feel the material is not entirely new, that they may refrain from speaking in order to save the time of the Conference. I have a motion for closure before me that we will have no more speakers after the following list: Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Republic of Korea, Philippines, U.S.S.R., Democratic Republic of Korea, the President of the Rumanian Red Cross and also the Chairman of the Conference. I have the names of eight speakers. I will take up the motion for closure when those speakers have spoken. The last name in my list is that of the Chairman of the Conference, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. I will now call on the delegate from Czechoslovakia.

DR. J. CECH (Czechoslovakia, Government) (original French)—Mr. Chairman: During the discussion yesterday concerning the draft resolutions submitted by the delegations of the United States, the Swiss Government, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Red Cross, and the motion presented by the delegation of the Swedish Red Cross, we heard a number of assertions which require some clarification.

It appears from the text of the resolutions that the principal issue before us is the participation by delegations of National Red Cross Societies and delegations of States in International Red Cross Conferences; this question is clearly settled by Article I of the Statutes of the International Red Cross, which lays down that as regards States, the International Conference shall be composed of delegations of the States parties to the Geneva Conventions. Now, the Geneva Conventions have been ratified by the People's Republic of China which, as a result of that ratification, is legally a party to the Conventions—a member State. A State becomes a party when it ratifies a treaty, not merely by virtue of signature.

As a Society established on the territory of an independent State where the Geneva Convention relative to the wounded and sick is in force, the National Red Cross Society of the People's Republic of China is an important member of the League and its executive bodies. In the International Red Cross, it has made an active contribution towards strengthening international fellowship. At the same time, it has performed a praiseworthy task in the vast territory of one of the largest States in the world. The contribution of the Red Cross of the People's Republic of China to the work of the Red Cross is indisputable. For these reasons, the delegation of the People's Republic of China rightly takes the view that the province of Taiwan, which is part and parcel of the territory of the Republic of China, cannot meet the requirements laid down by the Statutes.

Mr. Chairman, the draft resolutions submitted to the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross by the delegations of the United States and of the Swiss Government are not in conformity with the Statutes of the International Red Cross. The purpose of the draft resolution presented by the delegation of the United States of America is in fact incompatible with the principles of the Red Cross and in particular with Article II, paragraph 5 of the Statutes. The two draft resolutions constitute amendments to the Statutes and are therefore inconsistent with the Statutes and in particular with Article XIII. That Article states: "The Rules of Procedure of the International Conference shall be adopted in conformity with the present Statutes, by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Conference present and voting and after the views of the International Committee and the League have been ascertained. The Conference, following the same procedure, may amend the present Statutes. Any proposal to revise the Statutes must, however, be placed on the agenda and its text sent to the National Societies, to the International Committee and to the League at least six months in advance".

Mr. Chairman, none of these conditions has been fulfilled and I therefore ask whether it is in order to put to the vote proposals which could actually imply a flagrant violation of the Statutes at present in force. We must have a clear answer to that question. Is it possible to take decisions which may later be considered as null and void? The Czechoslovak delegation considers that such a procedure would jeopardize the accomplishment of the basic humanitarian tasks of the Red Cross.

Mr. Chairman, it is clear from the discussion that the questions at stake are such that they cannot be dealt with in any sweeping manner. In view of the work to be done at this Conference, I should like to raise a point of order regarding procedure. In order to facilitate the work of the Conference during its final stages, the Polish delegation has submitted a motion on procedure relating to the Swedish proposal, which is seconded by the Czechoslovak delegation and, being a question of procedure, should be decided upon before any other matter. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore proposes that all the other draft resolutions be referred, without a vote being taken on them, to the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross for consideration.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—The first point raised is that we begin discussion of Justice Sandstrom's resolution. My view is that we should deal with it and the point of order at the same time. I cannot agree to the suggestion now made about Justice Sandstrom's resolution.

MR. DYMAS FUNES HARTMANN (El Salvador, Government and Red Cross) (original Spanish)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The delegation of the United States Government has presented a draft resolution which states: "The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross resolves, in accordance with the traditional principles of the Red Cross, that it is the sense of the Conference that all governments invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles".

We have listened for a whole afternoon to remarks completely unrelated to the United States proposal. This forum, in which we should respect the spirit of a great man, Henry Dunant, who from being a citizen of Switzerland became a citizen of the world, has been used for the discussion of matters which are completely alien to the interests of the Red Cross. The question of the recognition of governments has been discussed, and such a matter has absolutely nothing to do with our noble and magnificent organization.

The delegate of the Indian Government has spoken twice on the subject of the recognition of governments and in his second statement, yesterday afternoon, he said clearly that he could not recognize the Government of Formosa. The Polish delegate gave us a lecture on treaties and conferences in which the existence of countries with similar names which are present at this Conference was recognized. The purpose of his statement was to consider the question of recognition of certain governments, but this matter is completely out of order. It has been said and repeated that to accept the proposal submitted by the delegation of the United States Government would be a violation of the Statutes of the International Red Cross. In all truth, I cannot see where the violation would lie, because the proposal of the United States says that ALL GOVERNMENTS INVITED TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE ADDRESSED ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN OFFICIAL TITLES. It is not suggested that we should invite this or that country or this or that organization; the draft resolution says that IN INVITING A COUNTRY WHICH HAS THE RIGHT TO BE INVITED, we should use the name which that country has chosen to designate itself.

Ambassador Francois-Poncet is a person for whom I have the utmost admiration and respect, so much that I consider even a greeting from him as a tremendous honour. Unfortunately, I cannot agree with what he said yesterday—that he has the right to address a government by whatever name he may think fit. No, GENTLEMEN, we cannot recognize such a right, just as I have no right to address him as General instead of Ambassador, merely because I might think that the title of General is a greater honour or a higher distinction than the title of Ambassador.

Rights are not something to which we can help ourselves; rights are something that we acquire or which are granted to us. The close friends of Ambassador Francois-Poncet probably address him as "mon cher Francois" but they are persons who have been given the right to address him in that manner. It would be improper for me to take the liberty of addressing him in that way. When at the first meeting of the Medico-Social Commission the Philippines delegation asked that that country should be referred to by its proper name—the Philippines—and not as the Philippines Islands, as had been done, this was immediately agreed to, for no one can deprive a country of the right to insist that it be referred to by its proper name. There have been other similar instances, and this very morning I heard the Chairman of this meeting refer to the DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA by its full name, although it is rather long; it is correct to do so, for the proper names of countries must be respected and NO ONE, ABSOLUTELY NO ONE has the right to change or omit one of the words which comprise the title by which a country calls itself. No, GENTLEMEN, WE DO NOT HAVE THAT RIGHT. Now, Ambassador Francois-Poncet raised another very interesting point: he said yesterday that the Republic of Formosa had been invited because it was a signatory of the Geneva Conventions. I am sorry, Mr. Ambassador, but THERE IS NO REPUBLIC OF FORMOSA WHICH IS A SIGNATORY OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS. There are two countries bearing the name of China, but with a different title of Republic; both have signed the Geneva Conventions, and both are fully entitled to be invited to send delegates to this Conference. During the first plenary

meeting of this Conference, we applauded Ambassador Francois-Poncet warmly when he said in his report that he had invited the Republic of Formosa and we accepted that this Republic, which had been addressed by an incorrect title, was fully entitled to send delegates to this Conference. And now, Gentlemen, a few days later, a series of speakers have come forward to discuss the question of whether or not that country has a legal right to be invited. Frankly, I fail to understand how we can accept the discussion of matters which are purely political in the atmosphere of the Red Cross. This is a deplorable waste of time which we could devote to matters worthy of our organization and which help to give it the necessary prestige, popularity and strength to carry out our mission. I do not want to take up your time, nor to take advantage of your patience in listening to me, but I must mention the tremendous economic sacrifice which my presence at this Conference has meant for the National Red Cross Society of El Salvador and for me personally, and also the risks involved in an air journey lasting more than one hundred hours to come here and discuss matters which have absolutely nothing to do with this institution.

I should like to appeal to the conscience of all of us to reflect calmly for a moment and to realise that the draft resolution of the United States is no political matter, but simply a motion of order intended to ensure that the elementary rules of conduct or protocol are respected in inviting Governments by using the official title by which they are known.

I believe that this discussion has been excessively prolonged, and if the Standing Commission and Ambassador Francois-Poncet had borne in mind the spirit in which the Vice-President of India spoke yesterday afternoon, all this discussion could have been avoided.

The Vice-President of India showed us by his statement that Rajkumari Amrit Kaur spoke the truth when she told us that she was presenting to us not only a man who fills an important office, not only a man who is known the world over for his career and his knowledge of philosophy, but a wise man, and this wise man said to us "We do not consider that anyone is infallible, because we do not consider ourselves as infallible". If the Standing Commission had taken those words into account when this question came up during the first plenary meeting, they would have said: "Yes, Gentlemen, we have made a mistake and we shall correct it". We should have been able to address ourselves to developing the proper activities of the Red Cross instead of getting involved in a discussion which, I am sorry to say, HAS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS CONFERENCE. The delegation of El Salvador, both Government and Red Cross, therefore, supports the resolution presented by the United States of America, because IT CONSIDERS THAT ITS CONTENT IS IN NO WAY POLITICAL BUT THAT IT REFERS PURELY AND SIMPLY, AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID AND AS I REPEAT, TO THE ELEMENTARY RULES OF CONDUCT AND PROTOCOL.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Every delegate who comes to the rostrum to speak says that we should not take up the time of the Conference with this matter, but I want to remind you that it is the persons who ask to speak who are taking up the time, it is not the Chairman.

The delegate from the Republic of Korea.

MR. HOON KIM (Republic of Korea, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Please allow me to tell you a little story, because I find that, since yesterday afternoon, instead of our hearts getting warmer, our heads, which should be cooler, have become very hot.

A man tried to draw a nice-looking tiger on white paper. When he started he had a very good idea of the tiger, but after several hours of his drawing he found that the figure looked like a little puppy dog instead of a tiger. When we deal with the wonderful principle which the Red Cross has avowed from the beginning and has been following for such a long time up to date, and try to change into something else here or misuse it for some other purpose, I am sure there is something wrong in it. The principle cannot be changed.

At the beginning of this Conference the Chairman and everybody else said that the principle of the Red Cross is not to deal with political problems. That was the first principle laid down.

The second principle of the Red Cross is that it will deal with humanity. Now we have to define humanity very clearly. There are some people in the world using it in some other sense, but my understanding is that by humanity we include all human beings. We deal with human beings and the moral relationships between them. That is what humanity is. But from yesterday speakers have been talking about the principles of the United Nations and the recognition of Governments, talking of the difference between the People's Republic of China and Formosa and so on.

A previous speaker has already stated that we are not coming here to explain how the People's Republic of China feels about Formosa. We are not going to deal with that. If we are going to deal with it, this will not be a Red Cross Conference, but either the United Nations or any other place. If you do not stick to the

original principle, you will not draw a tiger, but you will draw a puppy dog. We want to see that this Conference succeeds in such a wonderful country as India, where Mahatma Gandhi worked all his life for humanity, but still we forget the place where we are. Therefore, as we know the principle of the Red Cross is non-political, let the speakers hereafter not discuss political questions.

Now, let me ask you what change has taken place since the Toronto Conference of 1952 up to this time. According to our understanding, and according to the speaker from Ireland yesterday, we do not see any change since then. If you have not changed any principle, then the person or the organization which sent the invitation by the name of the Republic of Formosa, or whatever it was, violated the principle of the Red Cross. That has got to be modified or changed. We are not going to allow it; just because it is somebody's mistake, we are not going to change our principles. Your forefathers and my forefathers worked for hundreds and hundreds of years to achieve the principle of humanity which is that of freedom of mankind, individual and national freedom, freedom for all men. If we do not keep those principles, we may not be seen in this world any more. Therefore, let us stick to our principles.

In conclusion I wish to say that as we understand it, the resolution submitted by the United States yesterday is nothing except sticking to the principle which we had earlier laid down. We know that in this world there are some people who put down agreements, principles and resolutions on paper and the next day change them into something else. That is the whole trouble with this world. Therefore, once we lay down a principle, let us stick to it. That is why our delegation supports the resolution of the United States, and it is only by sticking to our principles that we can see this Conference succeed.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I suggest to the last speaker and to subsequent speakers that I would prefer if they refrain from casting any aspersions on the host Society.

The next speaker is the Indonesian delegate.

H.E. MR. ABDUL KADIR (Indonesia, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have listened with great interest to the different views expounded by several distinguished delegates in the matter of "two Chinas", before this dignified gathering. There are four resolutions before us. Of these resolutions, the Swedish resolution stands on a footing completely different from, and furthest from the rest in that it proposes to remit the United States resolution for future consideration, and, if combined with the Polish suggestion all the other proposals, for consideration by the Standing Commission. If that is passed there would be no need to put the others to the vote. If that fails, the others may be voted upon. My delegation, therefore, proposes that the Swedish resolution be voted on first.

Thank you.

MR. LYU KI CHOON (Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Government)—Mr. Chairman, fellow-delegates: The present Conference is proceeding with its work on the basis of the spirit of the Statutes of the Red Cross and humanitarianism. The Government and the Red Cross delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea support the proposals made yesterday by the Polish delegate, and will vote for the Swedish resolution proposing not to deal with the question under discussion at this Conference but to remit it to the Standing Commission for consideration there. We hope that the other delegates will do the same.

Thank you.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Yesterday when the representative of the American Government began his speech from the rostrum, I and many other delegates got the impression for a moment that the American delegate was going to withdraw his resolution. His talk was after the address of the Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan (who spoke about peace, about truth and about friendly co-operation) and his talk on this resolution was of a political nature. In a very peaceful manner the American representative spoke about such things which seemed to be acceptable for all of us. But words often differ from actions*.

Why should the representative of Taiwan be allowed to sit here? The American representative has turned our discussion into channels that are foreign to our Conference, because this Conference is not competent to discuss who is and who has the right to represent China. The only purpose of this resolution is to make it possible for the tyrants of Taiwan to be represented at this Conference and to justify their presence here once and for ever. This Conference is attended by legal representatives of the Chinese Republic. They represent

*Passage expunged by order of the Chairman.

600 million of Chinese people and Taiwan is only part of the great Republic of China and is only its province. To impose a decision on us is somewhat strange.

The representatives of the United States ignore the fact that time is changing and events are happening every day and everything in this world is undergoing changes. It seems to me that it may be possible in the future that this Conference has representatives from other planets. We see how techniques and science are developing now. Yesterday, people here spoke about a bird. Yesterday, I in my turn, also met a bird. That bird told me that if the American resolution was lost, then about fourteen delegations intended to leave the Conference. But, I think it is not advisable to listen to birds because it will lead the Conference astray from what it is doing and the responsibility for this will not rest upon the birds but upon the authors of such resolutions.

We have done seven days of fruitful work. We found common ground and we voted unanimously for resolutions that have very important meaning. Why should our Conference fail only because the U.S.A. representatives wanted to see in this Conference hall a representative from Taiwan?

Mr. Chairman, I quite realise the complexity of the situation that has been created and I believe that even your wisdom should be given some assistance. As a representative of the Soviet Government, I would like to give advice not to divide here China into two Chinas: China of Peking and China of Formosa. There was some declaration to this effect from this rostrum yesterday and today. If we want our Conference to be as successful as it has been before, we should not admit that and I believe that we should not discuss the resolution submitted to us here. It is not in our competence. Such resolutions should be discussed in the U.N.O. We should come to the problems that are included in the agenda of this Conference and should ask the President of this Conference, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, whom we honour so greatly, to take the Chair. Mr. Chairman, I beg your pardon for giving that advice to you, but this advice comes from the representative of the Soviet Government. . . . *

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—It is not relevant and I will have to strike out that part because it is political. Similarly, I would like him to be told that I have to strike from the record his reference to the reason given for the introduction of this resolution by the United States. He may also be told that the sooner I can act on his suggestion about the Chairmanship of this Conference, the happier I will be.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—I quite understand, Mr. Chairman, that it is not an easy job to preside over this meeting. Mr. Chairman, I only took your permission to give some advice so that we should be able to put an end to this discussion as soon as possible.

DR. O. BELEA (Rumania, Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am speaking in my capacity as President of the Rumanian Red Cross and in that capacity I should like to present the views of our delegation on the draft resolutions which have been presented to us. I do not want to cause any controversy, and I shall take great care not to violate your procedural ruling, Mr. Chairman; I do not want to speak of birds, whether large or small, even though I live at the same height as the jackdaw.

We are here as representatives of the Red Cross; we may have our own political views which may naturally differ, but that is not a matter for the Red Cross. For instance, I personally, as a politician if you like, consider that it is quite obvious that there exists only one China: the People's Republic of China, which is enormous, and comprises six hundred million inhabitants, representing one quarter of the world.

To fail to take account of that situation is to close one's eyes to reality. That does not mean that reality is changed in any way. Whoever follows this political concept does not see this vast territory with its immense population, but sees only an island which, from the historical and geographical point of view, belongs to the vast territory. He sees eggs bigger than hen. But these are after all political concepts and one should not imagine that reality can be changed thereby.

In the name of the Red Cross, I want to emphasize that it would be unworthy of us to bring outside pressures to bear on this great International Conference of the Red Cross. We think that it is time, if we really want to see the Red Cross prosper and at the same time see true co-operation among us—it is the time to finish once and for all with such demonstrations, which are only intended to hinder our co-operation and create barriers between us.

I believe that those who are responsible in the field of the International Red Cross have no right to forget at any time that it is their duty to fight constantly and devotedly for the purity of spirit of the Red Cross; they have no right to allow themselves to be entangled in political matters which can cause serious prejudice to the

*Passage expunged by order of the Chairman.

whole International Red Cross. In discussing the draft resolution presented by the delegation of the United States Government, several speakers here have pointed out the flaws which underlie it. In the opinion of our delegation, the text presented by the Swedish delegation is a wise one and it was presented well by our eminent colleague Judge Sandstrom.

In my opinion, the essential thing in present circumstances is to defend the purity of this Conference and to study carefully and thoroughly the draft resolutions presented to us in the light of the discussions which have taken place.

Yesterday afternoon, the representative of Venezuela was in a great hurry and asked that the draft resolution presented by the United States delegation be approved without delay. I should like to emphasize that even if the representative of the Venezuelan Red Cross spoke to this little bird to which the representative of the United States Government delegation has referred, and even if he had not been influenced by innocence, the draft resolution presented by the United States delegation and the haste with which it was submitted are a clear indication, to my mind, of political considerations underlying this resolution. In the interests of the Red Cross, I believe that there is no need for haste. The delegation of the Rumanian Red Cross therefore supports the draft resolution presented by the Swedish delegation and requests that it should be put to the vote first and without delay.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I would suggest to other delegates that they should not take up time talking about birds. I think we know all about the birds now.

MR. MELIQUIADES J. GAMBOA (Philippines, Government)—Mr. Chairman, fellow-delegates: Echoing the sentiments expressed by the Vice-President and some of the speakers yesterday, I wish to say, at the outset, that one of the most cherished ideals of the Red Cross is universality. The Red Cross is not an exclusive club, it is not a closed corporation, it is not a clannish group; rather, the Red Cross is an international organization, a universal brotherhood, a world fellowship. It is said that during the last world war, in a certain battle, at a certain sector where soldiers from various countries were participating on one side, as the wounded were being carried from the battle field to the hospital zone, it was very noticeable that the blood that was dropping from all the stretchers was exactly alike in all respects regardless of the race, colour or political affiliation of the wounded soldiers, an eloquent testimony to the oneness of the human race. I am not familiar, Mr. Chairman, with the history of that flag behind you, but I for one would like to think that the red of that Cross symbolizes the blood relationship of all the people of the world, that the background represents the purity, the sublimity, the nobility, of the aims of the Red Cross, and that the four sides of the banner portray the four corners of the globe, thus signifying that the Red Cross embraces the totality of mankind.

Mr. Chairman, the Red Cross spirit transcends all political considerations and all juridical technicalities. It would be incompatible with the spirit of the Red Cross and would violate its principles to deny the admission of the representatives of any qualified group. It would be particularly unfair if the group concerned belongs to a duly constituted state recognized by the majority of the nations and is actually a member of the United Nations as well as all its specialized agencies.

My friends, someone is knocking at our doors on behalf of nine million people. Instead of welcoming them with open arms as we should, we are engaged in an acrimonious wrangling on technicalities. Are we going to disregard the interests of those millions just because there was a difference in the style of names? Brotherly love and mercy recognize no boundaries. And so, we of the Philippines, wish to go on record as being in favour of the proposal embodied in the draft resolution P14 as amended by P22, to the effect that all parties invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles, because, it seems to us that such a procedure is sound, is logical and realistic, and is in accord with common practice and usage.

I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to examine the placards before your Conference delegations. Is each one of us not designated by the appellation that we wish to be known by?

Finally, my friends, ours is not a political body. Therefore, we are completely unconcerned with the question of recognition or non-recognition of Governments or States. The proposal before us deals only with the question of identification. Therefore, it deserves our sympathetic consideration.

The question resolves itself into this. If a man tells you that his name is John Short, you have simply to address him as Mr. John Short. You have no right either legal, moral or social, to call him Mr. Peter Long, even if you feel that that name will suit him better.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—The Chairman of the Conference, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, would like to speak.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (India, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman: I am grateful to you for having officiated for me during the debate on resolutions which, in my humble opinion, have raised political issues which are completely outside the sphere of the Red Cross organization. I am here to place before the Conference some bare facts in the matter of the issuing of invitations to the parties eligible to attend an International Conference and of which the delegates present may not be aware. I am also here to make the position of the host Society perfectly clear in no uncertain terms.

Never in any of the host Society's invitations to the territory of China known as Formosa, and which is today under the control of an authority other than that of the People's Republic of China, has the Indian Red Cross Society addressed them as the Republic of China. The first letter to them was issued to their Government, Taipeh, Formosa, on May 22nd, 1956. They were informed of the postponement of the Conference on December 21st, 1956, and this letter was addressed to the Secretary of the Government of Formosa, Foreign Office, Taipeh, Formosa. At Toronto it was made perfectly clear to them that the People's Republic of China, representing the vast continent of China, were that country's representatives, but because Formosa was not, in fact, under the control of the People's Republic of China the humanitarian ideals of the Red Cross could not eliminate the governing authority of that part of China from within its orbit although—and I want the delegates to understand this—the International Red Cross does not recognize its Red Cross Society, whereas the People's Republic of China is a full-fledged member.

The Standing Commission took its decision nineteen months ago and not one word of objection came from any country until January last when we received a letter from Taipeh (I may say, in all humility, certainly not worded in the spirit of the Red Cross). I immediately called a meeting of the Governing Body of the Indian Red Cross and a reply was sent, stating in absolutely clear language that the position taken by the host Society was in accordance with the decision of the Standing Commission, and that they could come here only as the representatives of Formosa. No reply was received to this letter. In March 1957 they were again addressed by the host society in terms as designated by the Standing Commission, and were informed that the Conference had been postponed to October 1957. In May they wrote a letter, accepting the invitation, without one word of protest as to the address by which the letter had been conveyed to them.

Naturally, the host Society went on with its arrangements, and you can imagine the shock it was to us when, on October 5th, on the eve of the Conference, when all our arrangements were completed, we received a strong protest—again worded in terms of no sort or kind of courtesy to the host Society. I wish to make it perfectly clear that the host Society will be put in a most embarrassing, indeed impossible, position if any resolution is passed which proposes a change in name as far as invitations to this Conference are concerned, at this stage and now sitting, according to a designation which is not acceptable to the host Society. I might say quite frankly that if the matter had been referred to the Standing Commission 19 months ago, as it was the duty of any objecting country to have done, and if the Standing Commission had thereafter seen fit to alter their decision, the host Society would not have accepted the position of issuing invitations to the Formosa authority as the Republic of China and the Conference could then have been held elsewhere. I think it is most discourteous to the host Society to put it now in a position which is wholly unacceptable to them, and if a decision contrary to the spirit in which the host Society issued the invitation in good faith and straining to the utmost their own personal views, the host Society cannot possibly accept this position.

The Society of the host country, as I have said, has gone against its own inner feelings solely in order to maintain the universality of the Red Cross. It can go no further. The Standing Commission's decision, according to the majority of its members, stands, and I humbly submit that the host Society cannot accept any other decision. It is for the Standing Commission to go back on its decision and that is the only position that the host Society can accept.

I wish further to say that if it is sought to impose on the host Society a position that is wholly unacceptable to them, the host Society will not co-operate with the Red Cross Conference. I believe I am right in saying so. I once again plead with this Conference not to spoil the Conference that started on a very high note, not to go against the spirit of universality for which the Red Cross stands and not to bring in Government delegations to speak and hold up the work of the Red Cross Conference, which is a humanitarian organization concerned solely and primarily with the humanitarian work of the Red Cross. Governments are here solely because they are signatories to the Geneva Conventions and as I said, it is completely out of order after 19 months to raise in this conference a question which is undoubtedly going to disrupt it.

I again plead in the spirit of the Red Cross that the Indian Society has gone against its inner feelings in sending an invitation at all to the Formosa authorities. If you ask me as Chairman of that host Society to rescind that invitation now or to accept anything now, I am not going to do it.

LADY LIMERICK (United Kingdom, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In accordance with Article 14, the United Kingdom Red Cross delegation, supported by four other delegations, moves the closure of the debate on this item of the agenda. On behalf of the United Kingdom Red Cross delegation, I am moving this motion of closure of debate on this item, because many of us think that far too much time has already been devoted to this subject when representatives have travelled here from all over the world to discuss issues which are of real importance to the Red Cross. I do not propose to go into the merits or demerits of the case, because every argument has already been advanced. I will confine myself to the one issue, namely, the desirability of bringing this present discussion to a close, so that we can get on with our Red Cross job and dispose of this business in the only way which removes it most effectively and expeditiously from this Conference.

Many speeches have already been given stressing two characteristics of the Red Cross: its universality and the fact that it is not concerned with politics. I suggest here is now our occasion for giving direct proof of our belief in these principles. The Red Cross is not a political unit and it is certainly not an arbiter between nations. Therein lies its strength and the one thing above all others which maintains it in its present unassailable position. We pride ourselves on the universality of the Red Cross; but universality without unity of purpose is valueless. We may well rejoice that in this great gathering, some important difficult and controversial issues in the Commission have already received a unanimous vote. I hope we shall give further evidence of this unity of purpose and prove to the world in the final phase of this Conference that the Red Cross is a great unifying force. It is a great unifying force because the ideals which inspire it spring from a wisdom which is indifferent to the ebb and flow of public opinion and the ideologies of the moment. The ideals have outlived those who created them just as they will survive us. It is for us to ensure that no political dissensions weaken our cause and that the Red Cross emerges from this Conference stronger and more united than ever, to carry on our great task throughout the world.

It is for this reason that I beg to move the closure of the debate on this issue, so that we may proceed with the Red Cross items on our agenda.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Does anyone want to speak against the motion of closure? Only one person is permitted to speak against the motion of closure. There is no one who wants to speak. I will put it to the Conference.

The motion is carried by 105 votes to nil. Before we approach the matter of the resolution, Mr. Boissier, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, would like to say something. I will not rule him out of order because he is not going to speak on the resolutions.

MR. BOISSIER (ICRC) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with considerable emotion that I speak now in my capacity as President of the International Committee of the Red Cross and also in the name of the League of Red Cross Societies, at its express request. I have learned that some delegations intend to leave the Conference if this or that resolution were to be accepted or rejected. In the circumstances, it is my duty to remind you of certain essential principles which are the backbone of this institution:

The institution was founded to help all those who are the victims of armed conflict, and in order to have access to those victims, it must be able to co-operate with everyone, whether friend or foe, in all circumstances and in all countries. Think what a defeat it would be for us if, because of political considerations, some countries were to close their doors to us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the International Committee of the Red Cross is often called the mother of the National Societies. Well, a mother will never agree to let her children be scattered and the family dispersed. I implore you to remain united! Whatever your differences may be, unite under the banner of the Red Cross! Stay here in this meeting hall so that we can accomplish the tasks for which we are responsible not only to our governments or National Societies but above all to future generations. Our International Humanitarian Law Commission has approved an appeal for peace. What authority would we have to make this appeal to the world if we ourselves did not set an example of peace here? I should like you all to remember the cry of the Italian women who gave assistance to the wounded at the battle of Solferino: *Sono tutti fratelli*.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—We will now have a recess for ten minutes.

* * *

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—We have before us four Resolutions: the American Resolution, the Swiss Resolution, the Swedish Red Cross Resolution and the Resolution of the People's Republic of China. Now the American Resolution, the Swedish Resolution and the Chinese Resolution deal with specific matters, whereas the Resolution of the Swiss Government is of a general nature. In my opinion, resolutions of a general

nature are put before resolutions of a specific nature, and in the absence of rules the Conference can adopt its own procedure or, as is sometimes done, it can follow the law of the country where the Conference is being held.

At the Toronto Conference in 1952 in the absence of rules we followed the law of Canada, and I intend here to follow the law of India. I have consulted two or three sources and I think Mr. Karmarkar made the observation yesterday when speaking that resolutions of a general nature are put before resolutions of a specific nature under Indian parliamentary procedure.

In addition the Bureau of the Conference has decided that the Swiss Government Resolution should be put to the Conference first. Perhaps you would say that the Bureau of the Conference has no right to make that determination, but I subscribe to the view expressed by the Bureau and therefore the Chairman rules that we vote on the Swiss Government Resolution first.

The Swedish Resolution is really a point of order arising out of the American Resolution and the Polish Resolution is really an amendment to the Swedish Resolution. So I propose to put the Swiss Resolution to the Conference first and then I would have to put the Swedish Resolution, because it arises out of a point of order; but since the Polish Resolution really constitutes an amendment to the Swedish Resolution, after voting on the Swiss Resolution, we would vote on the Polish amendment or Resolution.

I find that Poland wants to raise a point of order.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I wish to raise a point of order concerning the precedence of the resolutions to be voted upon. First of all let me assure you that I fully uphold the right of the Bureau of the Conference to come to decisions and submit them here, as well as your right to make certain rulings. I do not intend to challenge your ruling and this should not be considered as a challenge to the ruling of the Chair.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I merely want to point out that there are certain procedural matters which have been accepted at all international conferences, and to my understanding are also adopted in the host country, governing international as well as national conferences. I propose the following order of voting. I suggest that the resolutions can be divided into three groups:

- First the procedural resolutions:
- second, general resolutions and
- third, specific resolutions.

With the accepted precedents and rules governing international conferences they should be voted in the manner I have enumerated.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—I beg to submit that in the opinion of my delegation, the resolution which has been submitted yesterday by Poland, and which is an amendment to the Swedish resolution, has precedence before any other resolution, because it is an amendment to a procedural resolution and as such has priority before any other. The Polish motion of order would read:

“The Polish delegation moves that all proposals submitted on this subject without being voted be remitted together with the records of the debate to the Standing Commission for its consideration on occasions of future invitations”.

Should this resolution be adopted, there is no need for any further procedure. It will be up to the Standing Commission, who have at their disposal the records of this debate together with the motions which have been moved, to decide on any future action. If, however, the Polish resolution should not obtain the necessary majority, I suggest that the next resolution to be voted upon should be the Swedish proposal, and then, in accordance with the decision of the Bureau, the general resolution of Switzerland and only if these resolutions did not obtain a majority, we could proceed with the specific resolutions in the order of submissions, namely with the U.S. resolution first and then the resolution submitted by China. This is in my opinion, Mr. Chairman, not only a course which corresponds to normal practice of international conferences, but which will also permit the settlement of this matter to the general satisfaction without causing any delegation the necessity of taking harsh or unnecessary action.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—It was proposed by the Chair that we vote on the Swiss resolution, and then the Polish resolution (which is really an amendment to the Swedish resolution) then, the Swedish resolution and take them in that order from that point on.

I see the name plate of the U.S.S.R. being held up, but only one person can speak to a point of order, and I think perhaps the Polish delegate has covered the matter. However, the Chairman has the right to allow another delegate to speak, and he will allow the U.S.S.R. to speak if he wishes to do so.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman: Once more I take the liberty of appealing to your wisdom. We must all of us fully realise the situation of this Conference. We feel that the Polish proposal be voted first, and this will help to lead the Conference out of the crisis. We cannot ignore the traditional procedure that is used at national and international conferences. Once more I implore you to listen to the voice of wisdom, because the Conference is in a critical situation. I ask you to put the point of order made by the Polish representative to the vote.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I allowed this delegate to speak because I thought he had some suggestion to make.

PROF. MITEREV—I think it is a good proposal.

DR. STANBURY (Canada, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am rising to speak against the point of order raised by the head of the Polish delegation and for this reason. The Swedish resolution deals specifically with the American resolution, and not with the Swiss resolution. Therefore, it seems to us to be perfectly proper to proceed with the general resolution submitted by the Swiss Government, as the procedural difficulty only arises in relation to the American resolution, the Swiss resolution having been specifically designed for that purpose.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—In fact, they cover different subject matter. The Swiss resolution deals with future conferences really.

(The procedure suggested by the Chairman and that suggested by the Polish delegation were then put to vote.

The proposal of the Chairman was adopted by 68 votes, against 34 for the Polish motion.)

The Conference has adopted the procedure recommended by the Chairman by a vote of 68 to 34.

We now proceed to deal with the Swiss Government resolution.

DR. STANBURY (Canada, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the First Plenary Session in which the business of the Conference was discussed, Mr. Paul Ruegger, formerly President of the International Committee of the Red Cross and at present head of the Swiss Government delegation to this Conference, indicated that he would propose a resolution which would deal with the handling of invitations for future Conferences, and that such a resolution if unanimously adopted would give great strength to the future handling of such Conferences and would form part of the International Handbook.

In a general discussion of the resolutions before the Conference, the distinguished leader of the Indian Government delegation and again this morning the head of the Czechoslovak Red Cross delegation have raised points of order in respect of this resolution maintaining that the resolution, as originally drafted, contravened the Statutes of the International Red Cross.

The Canadian delegation has given some thought to this matter and has a number of suggested amendments which would without question bring the resolution within the Statutes of the International Red Cross. I have had the opportunity of discussing these proposed amendments with Mr. Ruegger and he has very kindly suggested that I should present them to the Conference, with his full concurrence. In other words, the resolution as now amended would be the only resolution before the Conference and would be the resolution sponsored by the Swiss Government delegation. Mr. Chairman, I, therefore, read the resolution, pointing out as I go on where the amendments lie.

“The Conference,

Having taken note of the invitations issued according to the Statutes of the International Red Cross, by the Standing Commission, to Governments parties to the Geneva Conventions, to the Red Cross Societies and International Organizations of the Red Cross, as well as to other organizations;

Having noted also the observations made, at its first meeting, on the subject of these invitations:

1. Expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission for having decided to issue the invitations (in accordance with the Statutes) and in the spirit of the universality of the Red Cross and also

regardless of all political considerations which may, under no circumstances, hamper the development of the movement;

2. Reaffirms the general principle that the National Society which offers its hospitality to an International Conference acts in accordance with the Statutes in transmitting the invitations merely as an intermediary and that, therefore, all members must refrain from addressing themselves in this matter to the inviting National Society as such;
3. Desires that, also in future, the invitations to all International Conferences of the Red Cross (continue to) be issued (in accordance with the Statutes and) in a spirit of broad universality and include in the interest of Humanitarian Law, all Governments (considered as parties to the Geneva Conventions) exercising authority over territories where the Geneva Conventions are applicable, this regardless of whether these Governments enjoy recognition by other signatories;

The Conference underlines that, in the field of the Red Cross, the criteria of recognition customary in the intercourse between States do not apply, and that consequently the decisions regarding the invitations to Red Cross Conferences do not and cannot set a precedent in other fields”.

Mr. Chairman, His Excellency, Ambassador Francois-Poncet and the distinguished head of the Swiss Government delegation have pointed out much better than I that the Red Cross Conference is not a Diplomatic Conference and the ordinary criteria of recognition of States are not applicable. If such were the case, as has been pointed out many times during these meetings, we would have nothing today in this room but a Cromwellian Rump Parliament. We meet here as representatives of the Red Cross World in a spirit of impartiality and universality to give aid and succour to all those in need. Let us, therefore, confine our technicalities and matters of protocol to the realms of diplomacy and the halls of the United Nations; and let us return to the basic Red Cross principles which are certainly within the competence of this Conference.

Much time has been spent on these technicalities, and, perhaps, much discussion has served to cloud a basic issue and a basic fact. The basic fact, whether we like it or not, whether it is palatable in the capitals of some of our Nations, is that there are in existence today two sovereign States, irrespective of their designation or irrespective of the areas over which they exercise *de facto* control. The existence of these two sovereign States, both with armed forces and both in possession of an arsenal of weapons of mass destruction which we can only guess, is a threat to the peace of the world and is a threat to humanity at large. I would, therefore, appeal to the Conference and, more particularly, to our friends of the Chinese delegations to give every support to the Swiss resolution.

There are many trouble-spots in the world today, and there is a large powder keg in the Far East which might endanger the Chinese people of the mainland and of the island, to say nothing of humanity as a whole. If a conflagration started in any of these trouble-spots of the world it would not readily be extinguished. It is, therefore, important, that all sovereign States at the very least should be bound by the Geneva Conventions and whatever other humanitarian conventions which might be formulated from time to time. We can extend this even further and hope that under Article 3 of the First Geneva Convention of 1949 that the ICRC will progressively extend the beneficent provisions of the Geneva Conventions in cases of civil conflict. But it is in the interest of humanity that all Sovereign Powers, irrespective of their sovereignty, irrespective of their designation, those Powers in possession of arms and armed forces, should be bound by the Geneva Conventions of which the Red Cross is the guardian. I trust, therefore, that we can vote on this resolution as an impartial non-political resolution in the best interests of the world of the Red Cross. Thank you.

H.E. SERRANO (Chile, Government) (original Spanish)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Since I should like to vote in favour of the Swiss resolution, I would like to suggest the following amendment: that the first paragraph should merely express appreciation to the Standing Commission for the work it has done, the rest to remain unchanged. In that form, my delegation would support the Swiss draft resolution and we should like to be able to do so.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—The U.S.S.R. delegation has a point of order and I have to hear that first.

MR. TCHIKALENKO (U.S.S.R., Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The previous speaker, Dr. Stanbury, who is a good friend of mine, tried to prove here that the Swiss resolution is in conformity with the Statutes. I want to prove that it is not so, even after the amendments that were submitted by Dr. Stanbury. Article 1, paragraph (d) of the Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross Conference determines which States have the right to be represented in the Conference, and it is different from the wording and meaning of the Swiss Government resolution. Then, I want to draw the attention of the delegates to

Article XIII of the Statutes which states in what conditions and how amendments and changes may be made to the Rules of Procedure and the Constitution. It has been said a short while ago that amendments can be made only with a majority of two-thirds present and voting. The same Article says that these amendments can be realised only after the recommendation of the International Committee and the League. Then the same Article says that every proposal to reconsider and change the Constitution should be included in the Agenda, and the text of the proposed amendments should be sent to National Societies and the International Committee and the League six months before the Conference. The Swiss resolution makes us introduce changes and amendments and that is contrary to our constitution and Rules of Procedure.

Yesterday, we disregarded the fact that the amendment should be directed to National Societies six months before it is realized. Are we to disregard that principle and agree to this procedure? Does the Conference agree that we should not wait for the recommendation of the International Committee and the League? Even in that case, the Swiss resolution should be considered to have won only after it gets two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

Besides, as we here are deciding a very important question, a question that may have consequences for the future of our movement, on behalf of the Soviet Red Cross delegation I would suggest that we have a "roll call vote".

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I hold that the resolution as it is does not constitute a variation in the Constitution or Rules of Procedure, and, therefore, I do not agree with the point of order and the Chairman rules otherwise. I take it that the last speaker wishes a "roll call vote" on the resolution itself.

I understand from the Swiss Government delegate, who introduced this resolution, that he has agreed to adopt the proposed amendments by Dr. Stanbury so that they become part of the original motion. Is that agreed? (The Swiss delegate—"Yes"!).

There were some suggestions made by Mr. Karmarkar last evening when he was speaking. He took exception to the resolution. With deference to him, I do not agree that the resolution is not in proper form. But I am sure that he would be satisfied with the resolution as it comes to us now, when it says: "in accordance with the Statutes and in the spirit of universality", and later on that "invitations be sent to Governments considered as parties to the Geneva Conventions". Even without those words the resolution is satisfactory because, if there is an obligation on someone to do something there is a presumption of law, until it is rebutted, that it will be done according to law. However, with these amendments in, it makes it quite clear. It will now read: "Expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission in accordance with the Statutes and in the spirit of the universality of the Red Cross". But we have one amendment. There is the amendment that has been suggested by the delegate from Chile which says: "Expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission for the work it has done". The suggestion is that these words be substituted for the words "having decided to issue invitations".

H.E. MR. SERRANO FERNANDES (Chile, Government) (original Spanish)—Mr. Chairman, I am sorry if I did not make myself clear. My suggestion was to replace the whole of the first paragraph by a single sentence, to read: "Expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission for the work it has done", to be followed by paragraph 2; the sentence I have suggested would form the whole of paragraph 1.

H.E. SAYID IBRAHIM MAHMOOD AL SHABANDAR (Iraq, Red Crescent)—Mr. Chairman: I want only to ask if the adoption of the Swiss resolution will mean that the other resolutions will be dropped.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—That would not be the case. We vote on the Swiss resolution which deals with the general matter, and then we will proceed to deal with the other resolutions in the manner indicated. Now, let us not have as many speeches on this resolution as we had on the merit of the matter in the first instance, because we have other Red Cross work to do.

DR. CECH (Czechoslovakia, Government) (original French)—Mr. Chairman: The Czechoslovak delegation has already had the honour of explaining its opinion in a statement this morning: the draft resolution proposed by the Swiss Government delegation is not consistent with the provisions of the Statutes of the International Red Cross. In order to amend any of those provisions, the procedure set out in Article XIII of the Statutes must be complied with.

The Czechoslovak delegation therefore opposes the decision by the Chair as regards the procedure to be followed. In view of the fact that Article XIII, paragraph 1, states clearly that any amendment to the Statutes (and to the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference) must be adopted by a two-thirds majority, the

provision which I have just mentioned is one of the rules which is binding upon all delegations and the International Red Cross as a whole.

Thank you, Mr. President.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I rule that this resolution in its present form does not constitute a breach of the Rules of Procedure or Statutes of the International Red Cross. The delegate from Czechoslovakia said that he is not satisfied with my ruling and, therefore, I will put that to the meeting. I am now asking you to vote on the Chairman's ruling.

(The ruling was accepted with 83 for and 23 against).

We will now proceed to vote on the Chilean amendment. The amendment is that we substitute for paragraph (1) "Expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission for the work it has done". I now ask you to vote on this amendment.

The result of the voting is as follows :

For the motion:	43
Against the motion:	18

I declare the amendment carried.

We will now vote on the resolution. We will have this vote by roll call. I will ask the Secretaries to take the vote.

Article 18 covers this. "As a general rule, votes shall be taken by a show of hands. The vote shall, however, be taken by nominal roll if five delegations so request". I thought five delegations made such a request, and I am indeed ahead of myself. "In this case, the National Societies shall vote first, then the States, then the International Committee and the League. The names of each Society and each State called upon to vote shall be decided by the drawing of lots".

Did the delegation of the U.S.S.R. mean that they wanted the vote to be taken by a nominal roll instead of a show of hands? Will he come up to the rostrum and please tell us what he intended when he said "by roll call"? According to the procedure, it is nominal roll.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Nominal roll.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—For that, we need five delegations. They should say so before the voting is done. We have only one delegation who has requested. Five delegations have not come forward, and so, in the absence of five delegations, we will proceed to take the vote in the usual way by a show of hands.

MR. KARMARKAR (India, Government)—Abstentions also may be recorded.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Yes. The result of the voting is as follows :

For the motion:	79
Against the motion:	49
Abstentions:	14

I declare the motion carried.

Now, the Polish delegation moves that all proposals submitted on this subject without being voted be remitted together with the records of the debate to the Standing Commission for its consideration on occasions of future invitations.

I might explain this as I did before. We would ordinarily discuss the American resolution now. The Swedish resolution constitutes a raising of a point of order in connection with the American resolution and the Polish delegation's resolution is really an amendment to the amendment submitted by the Swedish Red Cross. We will deal with the amendment to the Swedish resolution and then proceed with this resolution. I should point out that if this amendment to the Swedish resolution is carried, that is the end of the matter. We do not discuss the individual resolutions after that. Some delegations asked me to make that clear, because, if the amendment to the Swedish resolution is carried, we do not vote on the American resolution or on the Chinese resolution.

But there is a little difficulty in connection with this amendment on which I would like the Polish delegate to speak again, and this is the point. He moves that all the proposals submitted on this subject, without being voted, be remitted together with the records of the debate, to the Standing Commission for its consideration on occasion of future invitations. We have now had one removed, because the Conference has adopted it. I

thought perhaps you would like to speak on the matter and indicate whether or not you wish to amend your proposal—so as to read it as “three”—in respect of which we have not voted, “be submitted”. I think the amendment is in order as it stands.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—I think, Mr. Chairman, you are quite right. My amendment is in order as it stands. The word “all” covers the resolutions which have not been voted. When I proposed the amendment, I expected that it might be accepted before the vote on the Swiss Resolution would be taken and so I thought the word “all” would include the Swiss resolution also. But now, as the Swiss resolution has received a majority, it goes automatically to the Standing Commission. Therefore, the word “all” covers those resolutions which have not been voted, because it says “all resolutions without being voted”.

I hope this explanation satisfies the Chair.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I wonder if the Swedish delegation wishes to speak on the matter. No. We will proceed to vote on the Polish amendment. I will read it out again on account of the fact that it is not in a printed form before you. It reads:

“The Polish delegation moves that all proposals submitted on this subject without being voted be remitted together with the records of the debate to the Standing Commission for its consideration on occasions of future invitations”.

I want to emphasise again that if you vote in favour of this amendment, it is tantamount to voting against the American and Chinese resolutions. I put it to the Conference.

There are 45 in favour of the amendment, 53 opposed and 20 abstentions. I declare the amendment lost.

We will now vote on the Swedish resolution which envisages the forwarding of the American resolution to the Standing Commission without being voted.

I am sorry there is some doubt about the number of votes. We are going to take the vote again.

The result of the voting on the Swedish resolution is as follows: 46 for, 57 against and 18 abstentions. I declare that the Swedish resolution is lost.

We will now come to the American resolution.

MR. AITKEN (Canada, Red Cross)—I want the interpretation of one point with regard to the United States resolution. I raise it as a point of privilege. I want a clarification on the meaning of this resolution. If this resolution is carried, will its terms apply to this Conference or merely to future conferences? I would like a clarification.

MR. JAKOVLJEVIC (Yugoslavia, Red Cross)—I want to raise a point of order.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I am asking Mr. McClintock to reply to the first point of order. If you want to raise a point of order, you can do it after this question has been answered.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK (U.S.A., Government)—In answer to the question of the Canadian delegation I may say that the American resolution if it is voted, will be applicable to the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross sitting here now.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Yugoslavia can now raise the point of order.

MR. JAKOVLJEVIC (Yugoslavia, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, there was some hesitation in the announcement of the result of the first counting on the Swedish resolution. There was also some hesitation concerning the second counting. We, therefore, request that a nominal call may be made on the Swedish resolution to make it clear what the exact number is.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Regarding voting, it has already taken place and the result has been announced. We do not have voting twice.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—This is merely a point of order in connection with the proposal made by the Yugoslav delegation on the voting which has taken place. Before we vote on the American resolution, I would like to make an additional point of order. It is merely that I support the demand

of the Yugoslav delegation to repeat the vote by nominal vote. I think there was some mistake in the counting of votes. When the first counting was made, according to the count made by my delegation, the voting was: 50 in favour of the Swedish resolution, 46 against and 16 abstentions. The second voting result was: 46 for, 57 against and 18 abstentions. In other words, in the first voting the total number was 112. In the second counting, the total was 121. There is a difference of 9 votes between the first and the second voting. Therefore, in order not to have any doubt about the result of the voting, we request you, Mr. Chairman, to adhere to the motion of the Yugoslav delegation and have the nominal vote requested.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, I insist that we should take a second voting. We believe you absolutely. But, there is some doubt as to the number of votes between the first and the second voting. So, we ask you to repeat the votes.

Before the American Resolution is to be put to vote, we want to repeat our request to have a nominal roll call and according to Article XIII of the Statute we want to have a qualified majority, that is two thirds of those present and voting. We must not think too much of arithmetic when the further development of the Conference is at stake.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—The delegations had the right in the first instance to request for a nominal roll call; there was no such request made to the Chair. So, we proceeded by show of hands. I shall now ascertain the wishes of the Conference as to whether it wants the nominal roll to be taken. Do you want the vote taken by nominal roll? Those in favour will raise their hands; now, those against will raise their hands.

The result of the voting is as follows. I find 38 in favour of opening the matter up and having a vote by nominal roll, and 74 opposed to it.

We will now proceed to deal with the American Resolution. I presume you want to finish this matter before you go for lunch.

I find Poland wants to raise a point of order.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before a vote is taken on the Resolution submitted by the Government delegation of the United States, we have to decide one more procedural issue, namely, the question raised already by the representative of the Soviet Union that this resolution, being of a certain nature, the addition or amendment to the existing rules of procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross requires in accordance with those rules, a two-thirds majority. I think this is important in view of the consequences of this decision and the precedents that it may set on the question of the discussion as well as of the questions which might arise at future conferences.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that the delegations should be aware of the importance of this resolution and therefore it should be made clear that in voting on this they decide on a matter which may set precedents. I, therefore, request your ruling in accordance with the existing procedure of amendments to the rules of procedure and request a vote be taken by two-thirds.

PROF. STEINIGER (German Democratic Republic, Government) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I must state very briefly in the name of the delegation of the Government of the German Democratic Republic and also on behalf of the Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic that we are in favour of the Polish proposal for a vote by nominal roll and we should also like the Chairman to clarify the question just raised by the Polish delegate.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—This is a very important point, and if there is anything in the point, we want to give effect to it, and so, notwithstanding the fact that we decided to carry on, I am going to adjourn this meeting until 3 o'clock, and the Bureau will meet at half past two to discuss this matter.

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

November 6, 1957

SUMMARY:—CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION ON ADMISSIBILITY OF DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DELEGATION—CHAIRMAN'S RULING ON THIS MATTER—SUSPENSION OF MEETING—POSTPONEMENT OF VOTE ON RESOLUTION TO MEETING FOLLOWING AFTERNOON—RETURN TO CHAIR BY RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR—ITEM 5 OF CONFERENCE AGENDA: REPORT OF ICRC AND LRCS ON ACTION TAKEN ON RESOLUTIONS OF XVIIITH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE—ITEM 6 OF THE AGENDA: REPORT OF COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW.

The meeting was called to order at 3.00 p.m. by Mr. J. A. MacAulay.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—The Delegate from the Federal Republic of Germany wants to speak on a point of order.

COUNTESS ETTA WALDERSEE (Federal Republic of Germany, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I personally think that we all left the meeting this morning with sadness in our hearts. What I want to say now in a few words does not concern the so-called separation of the Conference into two parts after their constructive work of the last week, as we voted more or less unanimously on some very important questions. I do not want to speak of the difference of opinion which was presented this morning; but, what I want to speak about is the very depressing feeling that the decision of this morning has been taken under certain pressure and that we have a feeling—and I spoke with a lot of friends of mine—that the decisions that ought to be taken this afternoon will be under pressure also. So, I feel that we have not in this way been objective as Red Cross people have to be and have not, perhaps, acted in accordance with our free opinions which we as Red Cross people always have done.

I want to suggest to the Chairman of this Conference an interruption of this vote for two hours to give time to the responsible member delegates of this Conference to find a last and constructive decision which could be taken unanimously by the whole Assembly.

Thank you.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as the Chairman of the Conference will speak on the point of order.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (India, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak on the point of order in reference to the resolution that has been put forward by the United States of America.

Last Wednesday when I was in the Chair, the President of the Standing Commission, which is responsible for the agenda and for the invitations to the Conference, presented an extremely long and interesting report and gave in full the details and the reasons why the Standing Commission had come to the decision that it had taken. That report was accepted and received with acclamations in this very House. Now, this resolution seeks to pass a vote of censure on the Standing Commission and thereby go back on a decision that meant the acceptance of the Report.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—On the point of order raised this morning by the Polish delegate, I do not think that taking a vote on the American resolution constitutes a change in the rules of procedure. Therefore, I do not think a two-thirds majority is required. I would like Judge Sandstrom to speak on this point.

JUSTICE SANDSTROM (Sweden, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have tried to study the question whether this falls under the Rules or the Statutes of the International Red Cross, and whether for a change in the Statutes and the Rules of Procedure a qualified majority of two-thirds present and voting is required. I have come to the conclusion that, in this case, it is not a question of the Rules of Procedure. The Rules of Procedure are those, I think, which concern the conduct of the debate and the taking of decisions, and in this case where it is only a question of how a party to the Conference will be invited, and under which name it will be invited and so on, it is not such a rule that requires a qualified majority as in the case of procedure. Here it is not a question of law or a question of Red Cross principle. As I said earlier, it is a question of etiquette or protocol rather. At the most, the question here today is one of interpretation of the Rules. But even if it were so, that would not entail, I think, a requirement for a qualified majority. I must conclude that this rule about modifications of the Rules of Procedure is not applicable in this case.

PRINCE DE MERODE (Belgium, Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The request I have to make is the following: this morning, the Polish delegate stated his views in an eloquent and able manner. Would he be kind enough to explain to the Conference exactly where he considers that there is any incompatibility between the Statutes as they stand and the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation?

You may tell me that each delegation is supposed to have brought at least a copy of the Handbook of the International Red Cross with it, but I have been given to understand that many members have difficulty in consulting it, and I have even been told that because of its weight some delegations did not bring it with them. If we are to reach agreement, it must therefore be possible to compare the two texts, word for word.

That is my request, Mr. President, as a member of the Red Cross who feels, like many others here, that we have spent a lot of time in discussions which I might term Byzantine, or, at any rate, which are outside the normal purview of the Red Cross. When it comes to the Statutes, however, I think we must be particularly careful and that all delegates will be interested in the clear explanation which must be given them because for the members of the Red Cross, the problem is not that of knowing who makes a given proposal, or even whether that proposal has political implications—the question is simply to establish the truth in all conscience.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Does the Conference wish the delegate from Poland to come to the rostrum and go over the ground again as requested by the last delegate? Those who wish to hear him may hold up their hands please.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—Mr. Chairman, on a point of order. My point of order is on the vote which you just intended to take. The delegate of Belgium, Prince de Merode, invited me to come and give some explanations. I think that every delegation has a right to speak and no vote has to be taken if the Conference wants to hear a delegate.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—The reason why I asked the Conference was that you had spoken before on the same matter.

H.E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—If you permit me to speak, I will say that I take the floor with great reluctance. I think we have elaborated on this question quite a long time and—I may say—not in the best spirit of the Red Cross Societies and the International Red Cross Conference. But, I would try to explain once more why I maintain the view that a two-thirds majority is needed on this resolution and why this resolution implies to a certain extent an amendment of the Rules of Procedure.

Mr. Chairman, I have great esteem for the view of Judge Sandstrom with whom I had the great honour and pleasure to co-operate in several other international bodies on important problems of procedure in international conferences and juridical problems of international law. If I dare to come out to this rostrum—I who have learnt lessons of international law from Judge Sandstrom—and present a different view than his, it is because I feel strongly that my view is justified and that he did not pay enough attention to all the implications of that resolution.

The resolution is two-fold and amends both the Statutes Article III and Article IV of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference. Those two articles lay down strictly how the International Conference should be convoked and organized. They state who can be invited, and do not add a qualification that those invited should be called or addressed according to their own official titles.

If we accept this resolution, that would mean an inclusion in the rules of convening the Conference of an additional sentence that the invitations sent under Article 4, basing itself on Rule III of the Statutes, should be addressed to governments or parties according to their official titles. This is a new sentence, and this sentence does not find a place in any part of the Statutes or of the Rules of Procedure for convening the Conference.

In addition, I think that the United States representative has weakened his own point by the explanation which he has given to the question asked by the Canadian delegate. An interpretation, if given by the author of the resolution, must be considered as an authoritative interpretation. It is not an interpretation which some one is giving to the United States resolution, but it is an interpretation which the United States delegation is giving to its own resolution. He pointed out in this interpretation, while answering the Canadian question, that this resolution if adopted should apply herewith to the present Conference.

According to rule 4, invitations should be sent out six months before the convening of the Conference. It is hardly possible that an invitation to this Conference could be sent out even before six days, and if we continue this discussion it may be that not even six hours will be left for sending out the invitation. Secondly, the rules say

that those invited, in the capacity of national societies, international committees or others, shall indicate the names of their delegates before the opening of the Conference. This is also not possible. Therefore for the purpose of this Conference the adoption of the United States Resolution is a violation of the existing rules and an amendment, a correction, to Article IV of the Rules of Procedure.

May I elaborate one point? We have adopted and approved already the report of the Standing Commission. This resolution represents an amendment to the report of the Standing Commission, a report which has already been adopted. It demands a different action than that approved by the majority on behalf of the Standing Commission.

I will elaborate one more point, and I do it really not for the purpose of hair splitting or entering into a legal argument. I do it because I feel the seriousness of the question and, as I said, the implications which the adoption of this resolution may bring. This morning we approved by a great majority—I was against it, but the majority approved it and we yield to the majority—the Swiss resolution which, in my opinion disposes of the matter and gives, let us say, in general terms, a guidance to the Standing Commission, for its future action. In one International Conference you cannot adopt two contradictory resolutions. You can either by a new vote make negative the Swiss resolution, or consider this as a correction or amendment, whatever you may call it, to the Swiss resolution. Again, for this purpose you need a two-thirds majority.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, I would ask one question. In the interpretation of this resolution the question which has been raised has not been explained. This resolution says that the Standing Commission of the Red Cross is not concerned with juridical and political questions regarding the status of Governments. Can we adopt such a motion? If tomorrow someone appears here and says that he represents some part of a country, let us say the Red Cross of Texas or the Government of Texas or any other place, will the United States uphold his views when they say that the Standing Commission of the Red Cross should not be concerned with juridical and political questions in regard to this problem? They say they are against these political questions. But I am sure, Mr. Chairman, you have enough experience, much more than I have, of international conferences, and you know that whenever someone starts his speech by saying that he is against politics, one has to watch for the great political point that he is immediately going to make. This is a political question. This is nothing else but a political question and you cannot avoid it. It is a question which, as I said, to the regret of my delegation, has been introduced at the beginning of this Conference unnecessarily, and we consider that it prevented the smooth running of this Conference.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I presume the United States delegation wants to answer the question or, in any event, wants to speak on a point of order.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK (U.S.A., Government)—Mr. Chairman, I should like to speak on the point of order and to refer to the speech of the Polish delegate who has just submitted his views for, I think, the third time. The Polish delegation made the allegation that the two resolutions which he said were merely contradictory, could not be admitted by this Conference. I refer to my answer of this morning to the Canadian delegation's question; I submit that the principle involved in the United States resolution is the same principle which this Conference has already accepted this morning in the Swiss resolution; the only difference, and this is why I answered honestly to the question put by the Canadian delegation, is that the Swiss resolution applies the same principle to this Conference, and we cannot dodge that issue. This morning Mr. Boissier, in an eloquent speech which we all admired, said that the Red Cross was like a mother who should gather all her children into the family.

The point that the United States is seeking to make in the name of justice is merely that one child in the family shall be called by its baptismal name.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if I may come to the point of order raised by the learned delegate from Poland, whose reputation in the United Nations and elsewhere is indeed great, regarding the reading in fine print of the Rules of Procedure, may I observe that Article II, paragraph 1 of the Statutes reads that "the International Conference shall have power to take decisions within the limits of the present Statutes, make recommendations and express wishes".

Mr. Chairman, may I likewise point out that Article II, paragraph 4, of the Statutes provides that the Conference alone shall be competent to revise and to interpret the present Statutes and Rules of Procedure and to take the final decision on differences of opinion referred to in Article X.

Article X says, as you know,—or lays down—the functions of the Standing Commission and provides in paragraph 4 that the final decision on the acts of the Commission is reserved to the Conference. The same reservation is expressed in paragraph 2 of the same article.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, it is clear that the American resolution is entirely in order in expressing the sense of the Conference in a way which is not subject to misinterpretation, and that is the intent of our resolution. To claim that the resolution requires a two-thirds majority as a revision of the rules, is, I submit, to your sense of justice, entirely unreasonable. It was in consequence that I welcomed your decision, supported by the learned judgment of one of our most eminent jurists, Judge Sandstrom. I should recall to the Conference that on a similar point the Chairman ruled that the Swiss resolution should be submitted to a majority vote, I am confident that the ruling of the Chairman is wise, and I thank him for it.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—As intimated before, after consideration of the representation of the Polish delegate this morning, and the representations of Mr. Karmarkar yesterday afternoon, the Chair rules that the content of the resolution does not amount to an amendment of the rules, and so does not require a two-thirds majority. I do not imagine that you wish to take advantage of the suggestion made by the German Federal Republic, namely, that we adjourn for two hours, because I think we are going to take, and we need, some time for other conference matters.

We now come to vote on the American resolution.

MR. SLOPER (Brazil, Red Cross)—Ladies and gentlemen: In the matter concerning this vote which we are to take and in particular, concerning the remarks made by the Chairman just now, as to the amount of work we have still to do in this Conference, the Brazilian delegation would like to suggest that the questions of our work here at the Conference, and the approval of the reports of these three main Commissions, are extremely important and they are the essence of this Conference. While not wishing to prejudge in any way or to state here any opinion about the American proposal, the Brazilian delegation would like to propose that the matter of the vote be adjourned and put as the last item on the Conference agenda.

JUSTICE SANDSTROM (Sweden, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have come to a point in our debates which is very full of responsibility for the future. The question we have before us is very important, not in itself perhaps, but as to its consequences. Therefore, I think we have every reason to consider very well the proposal made by the representative of the German Federal Republic to take the time that will allow us to go into the many questions involved and enable us to see if we cannot find a solution to this very difficult question. Therefore, I will support the proposal that we take some hours' recess to think about the question.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Is it your idea that we should go on with the other matters of the Conference in the mean time?

JUSTICE SANDSTROM—I think that could be done. Those intimately concerned with this question will anyhow, or some of them will, come together and discuss. I think it would really be up to the Bureau, with the co-operation of Dr. Katz-Suchy, whose co-operation resulted in good proposals on previous occasions, to come to a satisfactory solution of the problem.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—Are you in conflict with the motion put by the delegate from Brazil?

JUSTICE SANDSTROM—I do not think that we should adjourn a decision on this question till the end of the session which would mean that we really do not decide the question because, when we come to the end of the session, the question will have no more importance.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—What adjournment do you suggest so that I can put it to the Conference?

JUSTICE SANDSTROM—At least one hour.

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—I will put it to the Conference. The question is this. The German Federal Republic, supported by the President of the Swedish Red Cross, have intimated that they would like the Conference to adjourn for one hour, and re-convene to continue the work of the Conference. I put it to the House whether it wants to adjourn for an hour now. (Show of hands).

Well, apparently, we have to put the vote again because I am told that some people have indicated that they did not understand the question. The German Federal Republic, supported by the President of the Swedish Red Cross, have intimated that they would like the Conference to adjourn for one hour, in order that we could get away from the tension, if any, of the meeting we had this morning. I think some benefit would

come from such an adjournment. During that period the Bureau of the Conference would also meet. Now will all raise their hands.

The result is 59 for adjournment, and 42 against. So, we will adjourn until 5 o'clock.

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MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—The meeting is now called to order. We now propose to vote on the resolution put forward by Mr. Sloper of the Brazilian Red Cross. The Bureau is of the opinion that there should be no further discussion, no further points of order on this matter. The United States delegation has agreed that this item may be put on the agenda as the last item and that it may be taken up at 4.30 p.m. tomorrow.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R. Government and Red Cross rose to speak).

MR. MACAULAY (Chairman)—We do not want to waste any more of our time. If there is any point of order in this matter, you can raise it tomorrow when the matter is going to be discussed. Does the Conference agree with me? I will not put to vote the resolution put forward by Mr. Sloper that further discussion does not take place and that this matter may come up for discussion at 4.30 p.m. tomorrow or earlier, if the other business of the Conference is completed before that. I reiterate that the United States delegation has agreed to this being done. I will now put it to the vote.

The motion, I declare, is carried by 106 to nil. I find there are two abstentions. I declare the motion as carried.

Now I have much pleasure in asking the Chairman of the Conference to take the chair.

(Rajkumari Amrit Kaur in the chair).

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The next item on the Agenda is item No. 5: Report by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on the action taken on the resolutions of the XVIIIth International Conference. This report has been circulated. I would like to know whether anybody would like to ask any question. Since nobody wants to raise any point, we will pass it with a vote of thanks to the International Committee and the League.

We will now take up the next item on the agenda, item No. 6. Report of the International Humanitarian Law Commission. I shall ask the rapporteur of the Commission, Mr. Beer, to come up and give his report.

MR. BEER (Rapporteur)—Madam Chairman: Before I proceed to read my report, I would like to ask the delegates present to take up document No. P/20 from their dossiers. This document has been circulated yesterday or the day before yesterday and contains the resolutions passed by the Humanitarian International Law Commission.

With your permission, I will proceed to read my report:

I have the honour to present the report of the Commission of International Humanitarian Law.

The Commission sat from Tuesday morning to Saturday afternoon last week. At its first meeting it elected the following officers, proposed by the Council of delegates:

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| Chairman: | Mr. John A. MacAulay, Q.C., Canadian Red Cross. |
| Vice-Chairmen: | Madam Li Teh-Chuan, Red Cross of the People's Republic of China.
Dr. Agustin Inostrosa, Chilean Red Cross.
Justice U Aung Khine, Burma Red Cross.
Prince Frederic de Merode, Belgian Red Cross.
Professor Gueorgui Miterev, Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R. |
| Secretaries: | Mr. R. J. Wilhelm, ICRC
Mr. Ch. A. Schussele, LRCS |
| Rapporteur: | Mr. Henrik Beer, Swedish Red Cross, was on the Chairman's proposal appointed rapporteur. |

On the Commission's agenda, as established by the Bureau of the Conference, was the important question, actually the main theme of the Conference, namely, Protection of Civilians. Owing to the great interest in this question, all delegations, Red Cross and Governmental, were present at the deliberations of the Commission. It does not, therefore, seem necessary to present a long and comprehensive report. It should be emphasised, however, that many matters on the agenda could have been of a controversial nature, had not the Chairman's direction and the goodwill of the delegates present succeeded in creating a Red Cross spirit which gave the tenor to the work of the Commission from the first sitting to the last. In his initial remarks, the Chairman of the Commission emphasized that its task was to examine the questions on the agenda from a humanitarian standpoint only. He stated that the Rules, and the general principles of the Red Cross forbade any discussion of a political nature, and that accusations or allegations by one delegate against the country of another would not be permitted. He expressed the wish that the debate should be dignified and worthy of the high aims of the Conference and the Red Cross.

Due to the unusual ability of the Chairman, the fairness and impartiality of his way of conducting the business of the Commission, the pains he took to explain the complicated procedure and his conviction that the Commission wanted to cooperate with him to reach a positive result it can be stated that the wishes expressed by him at the first meeting were fulfilled. Not only were the debates kept at a high level, but several delegations who had presented resolutions were willing to amend or withdraw them, not without obvious difficulties, in order to help the Commission to reach unanimous decisions. The Chairman paid special compliments to these delegations.

The *second item* on the agenda, after the election of officers, was the proposal of International Regulations concerning protection of civilian population against the dangers of indiscriminate warfare.

The basic document, the Draft Rules and the Commentary to these Rules, had been prepared by the ICRC and distributed a long time before the Conference to the Governments and Red Cross Societies.

The Committee proposed a resolution on the procedure to follow concerning the future treatment of the Draft Rules.

A number of amendments to this proposed resolution were presented by different delegations. Other delegations proposed amendments to the Draft Rules.

Different opinions were offered concerning the procedure to follow. A number of delegations wanted the Commission to study the Rules paragraph by paragraph. Others, among them the ICRC, stated that the final drafting and acceptance was a matter for the Governments and that this Conference should limit itself to a debate of a more general nature. The Chair ruled that a general debate should take place on the ICRC resolution, but every delegate was entitled to present, during this debate, remarks concerning special articles in the Draft Rules.

All that was said should be included in the verbatim reports of the deliberations of the Commission.

The Chair's ruling was upheld by the Commission.

The debate on this item continued for two full days. About fifty delegates took part in the discussion.

As mentioned before, a number of the delegations had presented formal amendments to the Draft Rules, including the German Democratic Republic, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, U.S.S.R., Austria and Poland.

To the resolution of the ICRC, concerning the procedure to follow after this Conference, amendments or alternate resolutions were proposed by the Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Red Cross acting together and by the Polish Government, the Netherlands Red Cross, the Swiss Government and the Brazilian Red Cross.

On two occasions, the Chairman called special meetings to consider informal drafts. The Committees were composed of the delegates who had proposed resolutions and amendments. The final result of these efforts was the resolution you have before you, number 1, page 2 in Document P/20. In view of trying to reach unanimity, the authors of separate proposals who took part in the drafting withdrew their own resolutions. Only one amendment was presented to this final proposal of the drafting committee. The U.S.S.R. wanted the International Committee to produce soonest a new draft on the basis of the present proposed Rules. This was defeated and afterwards, without anybody opposing, the resolution before you was adopted by the Commission. The wording of this resolution indicates that everything said during the debate shall be circulated to the governments, and it would also be communicated to the Red Cross Societies. This, and the fact that all delegations were present, has caused me to refrain from going into details of the debate. All of you have had, or will have, full opportunity to study the very important material brought before the Commission.

With your permission, Madam Chairman, I shall now proceed to read this resolution.

“ The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
convinced that it is interpreting the general feeling throughout the world which demands that effective measures be taken to rid the peoples from the nightmare of the threat of war,
having taken cognizance of the “ Draft Rules for the Limitation of the Dangers incurred by the Civilian Population in Time of War”, drawn up by the International Committee of the Red Cross, following a request by the Board of Governors of the League, meeting at Oslo in 1954,
considers that a set of rules revising and extending those previously accepted is highly desirable as a measure of protection for the civilian population, if a conflict should unfortunately break out,
deems that the objectives of the Draft Rules submitted are in conformity with Red Cross ideals and the requirements of humanity,
urges the International Committee of the Red Cross to continue its efforts for the protection of the civilian population against the evils of war, and
requests the International Committee of the Red Cross, acting on behalf of the XIXth International Conference, to transmit the Draft Rules, the record of its discussions, the text of the proposals, and the submitted amendments, to the Governments for their consideration ”.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—We must thank Mr. Beer for the excellent report that he has presented to us. I attended many meetings of this Commission and the spirit prevailing during the discussions was the real Red Cross spirit. The Yugoslav delegate wishes to speak on this report. Will he please come to the rostrum?

MR. H. BEER (Rapporteur)—May I respectfully mention that I am not yet ready with the report. I am ready with the first resolution and I propose that you will put to vote resolution after resolution.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Supposing any delegate wants any clarification? I shall certainly put the resolution to vote, but in the meanwhile the Yugoslav delegation wants to say something.

H.E. DR. GREGORIC (Yugoslavia, Red Cross and Government)—Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before we approach the acceptance of the resolution concerning the Draft Rules for the protection of civilian population elaborated by the ICRC, permit me to say a few words to explain the attitude of the Yugoslav delegations, whose abstention in the Commission was commented by some delegations as being not understandable.

Permit me to remind you that in the course of the discussion on these Draft Rules, I have taken the floor twice, in the beginning and in the second half. I spoke generally, with great optimism, because frankly speaking, I hoped that this first and important phase in the elaboration of the rules will be overcome with success. The Yugoslav delegations without hesitation have greeted all the initiatives of the International Red Cross in the field of the development of all humanitarian rules, particularly those relating to the protection of the civilian population. We thought that the Geneva Conventions of 1949 have paved the way for further development of such rules. My country, which was the second immediately after Switzerland, to ratify the Geneva Conventions, has always proved to be the supporter of all humanitarian actions and efforts of the International Red Cross. With such thoughts we have come to this Conference expecting satisfactory results.

Unfortunately, I must say that again, we consider that we did not find a satisfactory common language, a Red Cross language, and that with this resolution we fall short of the expectations that have been placed in the Red Cross in this field of action. In our opinion we did not progress but we have virtually let the thing go out of the hands of the International Red Cross. What have we done? We are returning again to the Governments these rules, to which they have had an opportunity to give their remarks in the preliminary phase and on this Conference. Furthermore, we do not foresee what other action is to be taken. That means that we are starting from the beginning, probably because we think this was not a good road which was followed. If that is the case, then we could say that openly.

We also do not understand the reason why we decided to discontinue the traditional way followed in the adoption of humanitarian rules, to entrust the International Committee with further work on the preparation of rules which are so necessary today when the civilian population is exposed to the dangers of modern war.

These were the reasons why the Yugoslav delegations could not vote in favour of the resolution in the Commission. We must say that openly to this high forum.

However, today when we are on this plenary meeting where unanimity of views of all the participants of the Conference is essential, because millions of persons who wish for peace and security expect with impatience the results of this Conference, the Yugoslav delegations are ready to vote in favour of the proposed resolution to show again their willingness to contribute to the unanimity of the Red Cross. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

H.E. MR. RUEGGER (Switzerland, Government) (original French)—Madam Chairman: The Chairman of the International Humanitarian Law Commission, when stating that the meeting of that Commission was closed, was good enough to say that the Swiss Government delegation would be given the opportunity, at the Plenary Session, of defining its attitude concerning the amendment it had submitted. The Swiss Government delegation, like the Brazilian Government delegation, did not wish to insist, during the session of the International Humanitarian Law Commission, upon the discussion of its draft amendment.

Unanimity, so much to be desired, having been reached, thanks to considerable concessions on everyone's part, on the draft resolution before us, there was, and still is, cause for rejoicing that unanimous agreement has been achieved on a certain number of points, i.e. the opinion expressed by the Conference that the Draft Rules drawn up by the ICRC, following the resolution passed unanimously by the Board of Governors at Oslo, are in accordance with the aspirations of the Red Cross; the mandate entrusted to the ICRC to transmit the Draft Rules once more to the Governments (a first draft has already been sent) in order to collect more substantial comments from them, and also—this is new and important—the fact that the ICRC has been asked to transmit to Governments all the proposals, remarks and suggestions made during the discussions of the Conference, and to continue its work for the protection of the civilian population. The Swiss Government delegation understands this to mean that the Committee should continue its efforts with a view to drawing up a code of rules for such protection.

We thank the Rapporteur for alluding, in his report, to the amendments submitted. It seems to our delegation that, although of appreciable value, the points set forth in the resolution on which the Conference is going to vote do not, perhaps, cover all future programmes, or even give the impetus required for appropriate action in future in a field of such vital importance. We realise, however, that a real foundation has been laid for the continuation of the efforts undertaken and wish to express once more our satisfaction that unanimous agreement has been reached.

In voting on the resolution submitted to the Conference, the Swiss Government delegation feels that it is its duty to draw attention to points which have not been given general consideration during the meetings of the Commission, perhaps because they fell within the competence of Governments. Nevertheless, in view of the long time which will elapse before the next International Conference is held, we feel that those points should be discussed here, since the record of our discussions will also be transmitted to the Governments which will be concerned with the matter; the points referred to are—

- (1) The amendment submitted by our delegation—I am not submitting it anew but I wish to stress its aim and scope—was mainly intended to supplement the procedure provided for the consultation of Governments on the subject. This consultation should enable the ICRC to bring together the authoritative opinions of all concerned within, we hope, the shortest possible time. In our opinion it is obvious (although we should have preferred it to be stipulated beforehand) that all steps should be taken in due course to enable rules for the protection of the civilian population to become, as soon as circumstances allow, an instrument of international law. It is only thus that through this Conference—and the impetus given by such Conferences—that a useful, if not important or decisive, stage will have been reached in drawing up rules of international law to protect the civilian population.
- (2) I believe that it is necessary (and this should also be mentioned in the record going to Governments) to make clear the difference between the efforts made by the Red Cross and the discussion in other organisations of certain factors which might, indirectly, lead to the protection of the civilian population by the limitation, so much desired, of the dangers incurred. In this respect, it seems to me that some misunderstanding may have occurred; some eminent speakers have said—and it is true—that the United Nations Disarmament Commission is discussing the matter, previously discussed by the Sub-Committee on Disarmament in London; one of our resolutions expresses the wish of the Red Cross to see all the efforts in this direction crowned with success. It is quite evident, however, that the specific question of the protection of population will not be the first care of official bodies called upon to study and negotiate the limitation of armaments, or other current questions of a particularly topical nature.

As regards the protection of the civilian population, the Red Cross will, and should, continue to have its say, whatever the means chosen (development of the law embodied in the Hague Conventions, or of the Geneva Conventions) to ensure, increase and strengthen the protection of the civilian population.

My speech has been rather long, Madam Chairman, but for the reasons I have stated it was necessary to stress—rather for the benefit of the Governments which will read our documents than for the Conference—the words intended for Governments and in particular those who will be called upon when the time comes to give full support to the attempts to transform into a rule of international law the lofty programme outlined in the documents submitted by the ICRC. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Does any other delegate wish to speak on this resolution? If nobody wishes to speak, we shall vote on it.

(The vote was taken. The resolution was adopted by 110 votes without opposition or abstention).

MR. SIORDET (Vice-President of the ICRC) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The International Committee notes the resolution which has just been unanimously adopted and accepts the double mandate which you have entrusted to it, i.e. to transmit the resolution to Governments, with the record of the discussions and the proposals made; to continue its efforts for the protection of the civilian population against the evils of war.

I should like to assure the Conference that the International Committee, conscious of its solemn duty and the realities with which it has to deal, will continue its work with all the careful attention required and will, in particular, continue to make it a joint task. It thanks in advance the National Societies which will give it their co-operation, as they have done with such valuable results hitherto.

In this connection, I wish to say, on behalf of the International Committee, how greatly we regret the loss of Surgeon-General Costedoat, who passed away so suddenly at the beginning of the Conference. It is our duty to pay a tribute to his memory since, as one of the experts delegated to Geneva by the National Societies, he played a considerable part in our work, giving us the benefit of his great intelligence, good-fellowship and keen awareness of the difficulties we had to overcome. The International Committee of the Red Cross feels that it cannot record the result of the vote just taken without paying homage to one who may be considered as a co-author of the Draft Rules. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—We now proceed to the second resolution and I shall ask the Rapporteur of the Commission to speak on it.

MR. BEER—Point 3 of the Agenda was the “ Role of National Red Cross Societies in the sphere of civilian protection ”. The reports on the subject had been circulated before the Conference, one by the International Committee proposing directives and programmes for the Red Cross Societies, and one by the League which has summarised the present activities of particular societies in civil defence in a guide for the Societies in this field. A resolution was proposed by the Swiss Red Cross. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Commission. You will find it in your document P/20 on page 3. With your permission, I proceed to read this resolution.

“ The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

Having noted the reports on the role of National Societies in the sphere of Civilian Protection submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies,

Accepts these reports and thanks their authors,

Reaffirms that it attaches great importance to the adoption of all necessary practical measures for the protection of the civilian population,

Invites Governments to give their most careful attention to such measures,

Requests National Societies to act in accordance with the directions and operational programmes proposed by the International Committee of the Red Cross in its report and by the League of Red Cross Societies in its Guide, so that the civilian population may be assured of the assistance which it is entitled to expect of the Red Cross ”.

Madam Chairman, I beg to move the adoption of this resolution.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Is there any delegate who would like to speak on this resolution?

I find there is nobody. I will now put it to vote.

(The resolution was carried with 106 votes for and none against.)

MR. BEER—Point 4 on the Agenda—The Geneva Conventions—included three sub-titles:

- (a) Ratification, diffusion and application.
- (b) Application to Police Officers of the Provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention.
- (c) Proposed resolutions of the Syrian and Lebanese delegations on freedom of practice of Medicine in time of international conflicts. (Addition to Article 3 of the Geneva Convention).

On point (a), ratification, diffusion and application of the Conventions, a report previously circulated was presented by the ICRC.

During a short debate, some delegates commented on the importance and technique of the diffusion of the Conventions. A representative of the World Medical Association gave a statement on the studies on medical ethics in time of war and on the proposed special emblem for the designation of medical personnel not specially protected by the Red Cross Conventions. The Commission's resolution on this point covers also point (b). I, therefore, proceed with the report on this item.

On this point of application of the Fourth Geneva Convention to members of the police force placed on the agenda by the French Red Cross, a comment was given by a representative of the ICRC, a chapter on this subject being included in the Committee's report on point 4 in the agenda. During the debate on this point (b), it was suggested that this question needed further study and that it was more prudent not to take a definite position at this stage. The Commission adopted a resolution covering (a) and (b) under point 4 and I shall proceed to read this resolution.

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

Having received the report on the Geneva Conventions of 1949 submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross,

accepts this report,

thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for having submitted it.

Takes note of the declaration relating to the application to members of police forces of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, as quoted in the report”.

I move that the resolution be adopted.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Does anybody want to speak on this resolution?

I shall now put the resolution to the vote.

(The resolution was adopted by 96 votes in favour and none against.)

MR. BEER—The Syrian-Lebanese resolution under No. 4 on the protection of the medical personnel during internal conflicts and free circulation of medicines caused discussion during which some delegates pointed out that difficulties could arise from the actual text of the resolution with relation to international legislation in several countries. It was suggested that the resolution be referred to the Medico-Social Commission for further studies by the medical experts present. The proponents of the resolution pointed out, however, that their proposal was mainly concerned with the legal aspects of the matter and they insisted on having it voted. This opinion was upheld by the Commission, it being understood that the proposal should be studied by the International Committee of the Red Cross. The resolution was adopted with 64 votes in favour and 22 against. I shall now proceed to read the resolution.

“The XIXth International Conference of Red Cross,

Considering the efforts already made by the International Committee of the Red Cross to minimize the suffering caused by armed conflicts of all types, expresses the wish that a new provision be added to the existing Geneva Conventions of 1949, extending the provisions of Article 3 thereof so that:

- (a) the wounded may be cared for without discrimination and doctors in no way hindered when giving the care which they are called upon to provide in these circumstances,

- (b) the inviolable principle of medical professional secrecy may be respected,
- (c) there may be no restrictions, other than those provided by international legislation, on the sale and free circulation of medicines, it being understood that these will be used exclusively for therapeutic purposes,

Furthermore, makes an urgent appeal to all Governments to repeal any measures which might be contrary to the present Resolution”.

I move the adoption of the resolution.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Does anybody want to speak on this resolution? Apparently there is nobody. I shall now put the resolution for adoption.

(The resolution was adopted by 83 votes in favour and one against.)

MR. BEER—Point No. 5 on the agenda—Legal Assistance to Foreigners.

The report circulated by the International Committee of the Red Cross was presented to the Commission and without debate the Commission adopted the following Resolution:

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
 having received the reports on Legal Assistance to Foreigners submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross,
 accepts these reports,
 thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for having submitted them”.

I now move the adoption of the Resolution.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Does anybody want to speak on this resolution? Nobody. I shall now put it for adoption.

(The resolution was adopted by 94 votes in favour and none against.)

MR. BEER—Now we come to point 6 of the Agenda—Eventual prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. This item was included in the Agenda on the demand of the Japanese Red Cross, which had circulated a memorandum and a text of a proposed resolution to the members of the Commission. A revised version of this resolution from the Japanese Red Cross was circulated in New Delhi, taking the place of the earlier document. Alternate resolutions on this subject were proposed by the Soviet delegation, the Indian Red Cross delegation and the Czechoslovak delegation.

This question was discussed during two sessions. More than 30 delegates spoke during the debate. All speakers taking part in the discussion expressed sympathy with the general humanitarian ideas of the Japanese resolution. The majority were of the opinion that the Indian text was so worded that it could meet with unanimous approval. It was said that this resolution corresponded both to the spirit and competence of the Red Cross as a moral force and it did not enter into details of questions which were now discussed by the Governments in the United Nations. Even the advocates of resolutions which demanded a definite stand from the Conference on the questions of prohibition of nuclear tests and banning of nuclear weapons stated that they were in agreement with the principles of the Indian resolution. A general spirit of conciliation prevailed and it was clear that the Commission wanted to try all possibilities of reaching a common solution.

In this spirit, the authors of the Japanese, U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovak resolutions, withdrew their proposals and were thanked by the Chair for their loyalty.

Two ways of procedure were suggested: one to nominate a Drafting Committee, the other to rally without further discussion behind the Indian resolution in its present state.

The proposal to nominate a Sub-Committee was lost with a majority of three votes.

An amendment to the Indian resolution was presented by the U.S.S.R., asking for immediate discontinuance of atomic tests, or at least the suspension of such tests.

The amendment was lost, and thereafter the Commission adopted the Indian resolution unanimously which reads as follows:

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
 considering that the Red Cross has always striven and continues to strive to relieve human suffering whether in peace or war,

considering that it has always stood for the cause of world peace,
hereby recalls the resolutions adopted by the XVIIIth International Conference at Toronto in 1952, and also by the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies at Oslo in 1954,

appeals once again to all the countries of the world,
to accept the principle that war is no solution to any problem and thereby pledge themselves to renounce it,
to intensify their efforts to bring about general disarmament,
particularly to adopt measures which will at all times effectively protect humanity from the terrible consequences of the use of incendiary, chemical, bacteriological, radioactive or other such agents”.

Madam Chairman, I beg to move the adoption of this resolution.

MR. TCHIKALENKO (U.S.S.R., Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Fellow delegates: As the Rapporteur of the Commission on International Humanitarian Law pointed out, the question that was included in the Agenda of our Conference was formulated in the following manner: “Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon Tests”. But to our great regret we must state that in the resolution submitted to this Conference there is not a single word to the effect that our Conference is in favour of the prohibition of such tests, and it is this problem, exactly, that seems to us to be the central and most vital problem of our time. This is the problem that causes concern among millions of people in the world, and in my opinion—and here I want to express the opinion of the Soviet delegation—the Conference has no right to keep silent on this problem.

We know that throughout the world a movement has been developing for the prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapon tests. The parliaments of a number of countries and the governments of so many countries have declared themselves in favour of the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests. If all the people who are present here remember how the discussions in this connection are developing, they will realise how many speakers expressed their sympathy for the resolution of the Japanese delegate, the object of which was prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests.

The Japanese delegate in his statement, presented at the sitting of the Commission, gave us a number of facts and cited a number of examples showing the dreadful consequences resulting from the atomic and hydrogen weapon tests. As we all know, the main principle of the Red Cross Organization is to give assistance to all people, to mitigate human suffering irrespective of all considerations. We know that many people suffer from the tests of nuclear and hydrogen weapons which are being continued. And once more, I want to state here that it is our duty to delcare ourselves for the prohibition of such tests, so that we can put an end to the suffering of the people. If our Conference does not take a definite stand, if it does not declare itself for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, it will unwittingly take the side of those states and governments who proceed from different considerations, and do not want to introduce the immediate prohibition of such tests without a number of stipulations.

Proceeding from its past statements, the Soviet delegation wants to submit to the Conference once more the amendment which was already submitted by it to the Humanitarian International Law Commission. We hope that this amendment will have your support. We propose that the resolution should be concluded by the following words :

“ to agree on the immediate discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests or at least on suspension of such tests ”.

Our stand is clear to everybody and if we add this amendment to our resolution, 100 million of the rank and file of the members of the Red Cross will understand that in taking such a stand we want to put an end to innumerable sufferings the people have to undergo as a result of such tests. Thank you.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—May I have a copy of the amendment or would you be good enough to read it here; does anybody else want to speak?

PROF. MEVORAH (Bulgaria, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The other day we voted in favour of the resolution submitted by the U.S.S.R. delegation; we shall do the same now, and I hope to be able to persuade you that this amendment should be accepted; I hope so, but I am constantly aware of some bitterness which makes me feel that my hope is somewhat vain. Nevertheless I shall try. Why is this resolution so difficult for us to accept? What are we actually trying to do? Merely to add a word of appeal to governments to reach agreement on banning tests of nuclear weapons. What arguments

have been adduced against this proposal? We have simply been told that this is a matter which verges on politics. But Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, we have been here for a long time and over a period of several days we have seen that we cannot divorce ourselves entirely from politics; to a greater or lesser extent we are bound to be involved in them, but of course I shall not engage in any propaganda; of course, I will not say that one political system is better than another, but when I say that nuclear weapon tests should be forbidden, well then I am verging on the political field. We are told: "Leave questions of politics for the United Nations". That, of course, is a much more appropriate forum, and I do not deny that the United Nations has the right to discuss, to strive and to endeavour to come to some agreement, but I should like to suggest that this Conference should assist the United Nations in its efforts by making an appeal, an appeal by mankind to those institutions to act quickly and to act in a positive manner, because we are weary of these negotiations which have been going on for years, while the atmosphere continues to be poisoned more and more every day.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the second objection which has been addressed to us is that we are meddling in matters which do not concern us. I would then say, why do you agree to paragraph 5 or 6, which states that we are appealing for an intensification of efforts to achieve general disarmament? Is that not a matter for the United Nations or its specialized agencies? Is that not a matter of politics? What we are asking for is the same thing on a much larger scale—we propose that the National Societies should be urged to intensify their efforts to persuade the governments to listen to the voice of mankind so that they may realize that it would be far better to hasten disarmament, for the burden begins to be too heavy for the population and, as you know, guns which are loaded tend to go off of their own accord. If we can ask all the Societies to intensify their efforts, then why cannot we also ask the same Societies to make urgent appeals to all governments to cease nuclear weapon tests which could do incalculable damage. (I do not know whether or not the Japanese delegate is right, but he has told us that he is not absolutely certain that the atmosphere would become poisoned, but that in any case it is dangerous.) Well, I will say: "It is dangerous" and I do not want my children and grandchildren to be poisoned by this atmosphere which I should like to remain as pure as it has been so far in this Conference.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

MR. INOUE (Japan, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I should like to clear up one point concerning the reason why the Japanese delegation withdrew its draft amendment with a view to obtaining unanimous approval for the Indian proposal. The reason is that in our opinion the Conference and this decision are not in themselves objectives, they are means to an end and if this resolution is to carry any weight, it is essential that it be adopted unanimously. The question is not whether or not we are completely satisfied with the Indian resolution; it is that the resolution, even if it is limited in scope, should be made effective and implemented, that it should be seriously taken into account by the governments. That is the point I wanted to make.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Now there is an amendment to the resolution also. Does anybody else want the floor?

(The Ecuador delegate held up his hand.)

Then, I think we can carry on the discussion tomorrow morning. We adjourn till 10.00 a.m. tomorrow.

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

November 7, 1957

SUMMARY:—REPORT OF COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW (CONTINUED)—ITEM 7 OF AGENDA: REPORT OF MEDICO-SOCIAL COMMISSION—STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF MILITARY MEDICINE AND PHARMACY—ITEM 8 OF AGENDA: REPORT OF GENERAL COMMISSION—ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS CONTAINING VOTES OF THANKS BY THE CONFERENCE TO THE INDIAN AUTHORITIES AND INDIAN RED CROSS.

The meeting was called to order at 10.00 a.m. by the Chairman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—When we adjourned yesterday, we were on the question of the sixth resolution which had been placed before the Conference, and to which the delegate of the U.S.S.R. had submitted an amendment.

I believe the delegate from Ecuador is the next speaker on the list. I would like to appeal to all delegates who want to speak on this resolution to be as brief as possible, and I think there will come the time when I shall have to close the discussion, because this matter was thoroughly talked about in the Commission on International Humanitarian Law.

DR. MERINO GRIJALVA (Ecuador, Government) (original Spanish)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I did not imagine at the end of our work in the Commission that any delegation would submit to the plenary meeting an amendment which might re-open the debate on a matter which had already been discussed at such length by the International Humanitarian Law Commission. When the question of the protection of the civilian population was discussed, all arguments were exhausted, and we would therefore have thought that this matter had already been examined to the full.

I would ask, Madam Chairman, that the discussion of this matter should not be prolonged any further because otherwise we shall devote as much time again—or perhaps even more—to this question in plenary session. I believe that we have come to the end of our patience, tolerance and eloquence, and we should be more practical, more sincere and more truthful in speaking of Red Cross matters.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

H.E. MR. PAN TZU-LI (People's Republic of China, Government)—Madam Chairman, Fellow-Delegates: We consider that the Indian draft resolution from the Humanitarian Law Commission on the protection of civilian population is a contribution to peace. However, in order to make this draft resolution more complete, we consider that it is necessary to have a resolution on the prohibition of the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

As a humanitarian organization, the Red Cross has a responsibility not only to alleviate the suffering of mankind but also to try its utmost to prevent all possible sufferings. The prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons is not only necessary for protecting the health of our generation and the next generation from suffering from the harmful effects of radioactivity, but it is also an important step in defending world peace. Therefore, the Red Cross Societies have the responsibility of urging their respective governments to stop or suspend the testing of such weapons.

The Chinese delegation entirely supports the amendment submitted by the Soviet delegation on this resolution, and hopes that the Conference, in order to satisfy the desire for peace on the part of the members of the Red Cross Societies of the various countries, will pass the Soviet amendment.

MAJ. GEN. RAO (India, Government)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the delegation of the Government of India, I would like to say that we are in agreement with the substance of the Soviet amendment. On the other hand, the original resolution was passed unanimously by the Commission, and it will, therefore, be more appropriate, if the Soviet amendment were moved as a separate resolution. We, therefore, suggest to the Soviet delegation that they might consider this proposal even at this late stage.

H.E. MR. SCILINGO (Argentina, Government)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The resolution which is now under discussion, that is to say, to which the Russian delegation has submitted an amendment,

was discussed at great length, thoroughly thrashed out and was finally adopted unanimously. As a matter of fact, it was rightly interpreted as representing a great step forward in the sense of a collective understanding.

The resolution adopted covers everything. So I plead with the Soviet delegation not to plunge us into a sterile discussion, and to withdraw the proposed amendment.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I am not going to allow any more speakers on this resolution. I will put the amendment of the Soviet delegation to the vote: May I read it out as it has not been circulated? The amendment is to add another paragraph after the resolution as it stands:

“ And agree to the immediate discontinuation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests or at least on suspension of such tests ”.

Will those in favour of this amendment please raise their hands?

Twenty-seven delegations raised their hands.

Will those against the adoption of the amendment please raise their hands?

Sixty delegates raised their hands.

Abstentions?

Eleven delegates raised their hands.

The amendment is lost.

I now put the resolution as it stands, to the vote.

(*The resolution was carried unanimously with none against and no abstention.*)

MR. BEER (Rapporteur)—Madam Chairman, for technical reasons, point 8 on the agenda of the International Humanitarian Law Commission, the Argentine resolution on distribution of relief, was presented to the Commission before point 7.

The representative of Argentina informed the Conference that his first resolution had been revised by his delegation, in collaboration with the Haitian, Chilean, Peruvian, Ecuadorian and Uruguayan delegations.

This resolution was adopted by the Commission without opposition. I now proceed to read it.

“ The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
considering it necessary to ensure maximum efficiency and equity in the distribution of relief supplies in the event of internal disturbances,
declares that relief supplies of all types must be distributed equitably among the victims by the National Red Cross Society, without hindrance on the part of the local authorities;
considers that, in the event of the National Red Cross Society being unable to come to the assistance of the victims, or whenever it may be deemed necessary or urgent, the International Committee of the Red Cross should take the initiative of distributing relief supplies, in agreement with the authorities concerned,
requests authorities to give the Red Cross every facility in carrying out relief actions ”.

I beg to move the adoption of this resolution.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—There are 113 votes for the adoption of the resolution, none against and no abstentions. *The resolution is carried.*

MR. BEER—The last day of the Commission's activities was devoted to point 7 on the agenda “Reunion of Families.” A resolution covering the general aspects of this subject had been proposed by the Canadian Red Cross. Another resolution of a general nature, concerning the possibilities for persons living in foreign countries to return to their homeland was tabled by the Japanese Red Cross. Resolutions concerning specific subjects under this heading were tabled by the Hungarian Red Cross delegation and the delegation of the Red Cross of the Republic of Korea.

On point 7a, the Canadian resolution, the Canadian delegation reminded the Commission of the resolution of the Toronto Conference on reunion of families, separated by the last world war. The Canadian delegate has had the personal satisfaction to follow many cases with several Red Cross Societies, especially in Central and Eastern Europe which had made great efforts to show that they wanted to act on the resolution. These Societies were thanked by the Canadian delegate, who then proceeded to state the reasons for the need of a new resolution.

Several delegates spoke in favour of the Canadian proposal, among those the representative of the British Red Cross, who offered an amendment in order to make the special interest of the minor child one of the main

reasons for the decision as to where it should be permanently settled. After a discussion, it was suggested that this amendment might make it more difficult to reach a unanimous decision, and the British delegate withdrew her amendment.

Previously the Japanese delegate had withdrawn his resolution on the understanding that the Canadian resolution covered what he had wanted to express. The resolution was adopted without opposition. I will now proceed to read this resolution :

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that as a result of war, internal conflicts and other events a large number of persons, both adults and children, are still separated from their homes and from their families which have been dispersed, and

whereas much human suffering has been caused as a result of such separation, and

whereas the XVIIIth International Conference of the Red Cross meeting in Toronto in 1952, by Resolution No. 20, has already recognized the National Societies of the Red Cross, as "natural intermediaries with their respective Governments to facilitate to the greatest extent the liberation of these persons, to seek information concerning the fate of such persons and to facilitate the despatch to them of material relief"

reaffirms the principles enunciated in this resolution,

urges all National Societies and Governments to intensify their efforts in these matters and, in particular, to facilitate by every means the reunion of persons, both adults and children, with their families in accordance with the wishes of such persons, and in the case of minor children in accordance with the wishes of the recognized head of the family no matter where domiciled.

Madam Chairman, before I move the adoption of this resolution which I do now, I want to inform the delegates that I am going to treat in the final part of my report the questions under point 7b and 7c on the agenda, the resolution of the Red Cross of the Republic of Korea and the Hungarian resolution. This part of the discussion should, therefore, in my opinion, cover only the Canadian resolution and I now beg to move its adoption.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Is there anybody who wants to speak on this resolution?

As there is nobody, I will put the resolution to the vote.

The resolution was carried with 106 in favour, none against and 6 abstentions.

This brings us to the last of the resolutions adopted by the Commission on International Humanitarian Law.

MR. BEER—Now, I will take up the other portions of the report.

Item 7b, the question of repatriation of Hungarian children, was introduced by the delegate of the Hungarian Red Cross. During this presentation of a question of specific interest for one country, the Chairman, recalling his initial remarks, stated that this Commission was not a court of justice, and could therefore not accept evidence from any party. He also repeated that he would rule out all political matters introduced in the debate.

During the following discussion the Hungarian delegate amended his resolution in order to make it more acceptable to the Commission. It was, however, rejected (37 votes against, 27 for and 21 abstentions).

Item 7c on the agenda was the resolution presented by the Red Cross of the Republic of Korea on repatriation of Korean civilians.

After the presentation of the resolution by the representative of the Red Cross of the Republic of Korea, a statement was given on the matter raised in the resolution by the delegate of the Korea Democratic Republic. In the ensuing discussion, where a representative of the ICRC informed the Commission of his organization's efforts to obtain results in this question, the Chairman, supported by several delegates, expressed the wish that the two Societies should get together, taking advantage of the good offices of the International Red Cross Committee.

In view of the discussion, the Red Cross of the Republic of Korea withdrew its resolution, it being understood that its general aims were covered by the Canadian resolution already accepted by the Commission.

The delegate from the Japanese Red Cross mentioned in this connection that his Society, for special reasons, would also like to take part in these discussions.

The Chairman concluded the matter by expressing his personal opinion that difficulties between two Red Cross Societies should always be solved by direct contact between the parties concerned, and he hoped that such discussions could take place during the present Conference.

This was the last matter on the Commission's agenda.

The Ethiopian delegate finally asked for the floor and thanked the Chairman on behalf of the Commission for his excellent manner in leading the debate and for his fairness and friendliness which had created the spirit of unity prevailing during the Commission's meeting.

The Chairman, in his final remarks, thanked the Vice-Chairmen of the Commission, the Secretaries, the rapporteur and all delegates for their interest and loyalty and stated that the Red Cross spirit he had felt during the meetings would be one of the greatest and most positive memories from his work in Red Cross.

This, Madam Chairman, concludes the business of the International Humanitarian Law Commission.

MR. SLOPER (Brazil, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In moving the adoption of the whole of the report of the Commission on International Humanitarian Law, I wish to express the satisfaction of my Society which, I am sure, is shared by all delegates present at this Conference at having given a unanimous expression of the will of the Conference in voting the resolution on the draft rules without a single dissenting voice. This was the most important point on the agenda of our Conference and I wish to associate myself with the words of Ambassador Ruegger, Head of the Swiss Government delegation, expressing the earnest hope that the Governments will give their careful and urgent attention to these draft rules. I also express the confidence that certain omissions in this draft will be met with in practice on the basis of answers received and work done by the International Committee; and we hope all Governments particularly interested in humanitarian law will be able to second the efforts of the Red Cross, in order that these Rules may be submitted to a conference of Governments, so that an international instrument can be prepared and signed at the earliest possible moment. We earnestly hope that this will take place before our next International Conference of the Red Cross. I formally propose the adoption of the whole of the report of the Commission which has been so ably and clearly put before this Conference by Mr. Beer.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The adoption of the report has been moved and I take it that the Conference is unanimously in favour of the adoption of this report.

MR. KYU HA CHOI (Republic of Korea, Government)—Before adopting the report which was compiled by the Humanitarian Law Commission, my delegation wishes to express its thanks to the Chairman of the Commission and the Fellow-delegates for their joint efforts to make these fine reports.

However, taking this opportunity, I would like to make it clear that my delegation wishes to reserve certain rights on certain problems. My delegation is generally in favour of voting for the adoption of this report which is now before this Conference. That is, the matter regarding paragraph 2 of page 8 of the document before us. It is quite true that the representative of the Red Cross Society of the Republic of Korea withdrew its draft resolution on the problem of repatriation of certain Koreans, who are not in the southern part of Korea. When the delegate of the Korean National Red Cross Society withdrew his draft resolution, if my memory is correct, the leader of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross made it clear that she withdrew it on the specific understanding that what was contained in the Korean draft resolution was generally and clearly covered by the Canadian resolution which was previously adopted by the Humanitarian Commission.

Therefore, I would like to make it clear once again that the main reason why the Republic of Korea National Red Cross Society withdrew the resolution was because of the specific understanding that the Korean resolution was fully covered by the Canadian resolution and also because of the remarks made by certain delegates—Japan and other delegations—that it does not have any effect on the future action of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross Society. I would like to have this point placed in the record of this Conference. With this understanding, my delegation would like to support this report.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I will ask the Rapporteur to reply to the point raised by the delegate from the Republic of Korea.

MR. BEER—Madam Chairman: We have heard during the five days of discussion about two hundred speeches in the Commission on Humanitarian Law. The contents of these speeches are in the report before you—eight pages. It is, therefore, natural that we have not been able to cite word for word what was said by these 200 speakers. We have in this case even mentioned the resolution withdrawn and the main reason why it was withdrawn. We have also stated that not only have verbatim reports been taken of what was said during the

Commission—but all that has been said has also been taken down on tape records and will be available for final transcripts. We have also had the advantage of having the Press present at the Conference making a complete coverage of what happened during the Commission's work. I, therefore, think that what is mentioned in the report covers what the representative of the Republic of Korea has said. What was said now and what was said by his colleagues during the debate will all be covered by the verbatim reports. I, therefore, think that the matter is covered by the procedure we have followed both here and during the Commission's work.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I hope that satisfies the delegate from the Republic of Korea. I now take it that the report is adopted unanimously.

The report was adopted unanimously.

We now go on to the next item—No. 7. The report of the Medico-Social Commission. I will ask one of the three Rapporteurs to come to the floor.

DR. FLORELIUS (Rapporteur)—The Medico-Social Commission held seven meetings on the 29th, 30th, 31st of October and 1st and 2nd of November.

The first meeting was called to order on 29th of October at 10.00 a.m. The election of the Chairman, five Vice-Chairmen, three Rapporteurs and four Secretaries gave the following results:—

Chairman:	Dr. Irene Domanska	(Poland)
Vice-Chairmen:	Sir Peter MacCallum	(Australia)
	Dr. Ibrahim Shawky	(Egypt)
	Prof. G. Ferri	(Italy)
	Dr. Octavian Belea	(Rumania)
	Prof. A. von Albertini	(Switzerland)
Rapporteurs:	Dr. Sten Florelius, Chairman of the Health Advisory Committee of the League of Red Cross Societies	(Norway)
	Dr. Abbas Naficy	(Iran)
	Dr. E. M. Alip	(Philippines)
Secretaries:	Dr. Z. Hantchef, Director of the League's Medico-Social Bureau	
	Miss Yvonne Hentsch, Director of the League's Nursing Bureau	
	Mr. Charles Schussele, Director of the League's Junior Red Cross Bureau	
	Mr. Melchior Borsinger, Representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross	

A Drafting Committee was set up with the following members :

The Chairman, the three Rapporteurs and the four Secretaries.

Representatives from the following countries took part in the meetings of the Commissions :

Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, People's Republic of China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Ghana, Germany (Democratic Republic), Germany (Federal Republic), Haiti, Holy See, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Korea (Democratic Peoples Republic), Korea (Republic of), Laos, Lebanon, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Malaya, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, Thailand, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, U.S.A., Viet-Nam (Democratic Republic), Viet-Nam (Republic of), Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Moreover, representatives of the following international organizations also took part :

International Council of Nurses, World Health Organization, International Committee of Military Medicine and Pharmacy, World Medical Association and the International Standardization Organization.

The daily average of attendance at the meetings ranged between 70 and 80 people, representing 45 to 50 countries at each meeting.

1. *The draft agenda* was unanimously approved as follows :

- (1) Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Rapporteur and Secretaries.
- (2) Report of the International Commission for Medical Equipment.
- (3) Role of the National Red Cross Societies as auxiliaries to the public authorities in time of peace and in time of war.

- (a) Medico-Social Field (first aid, establishment of hospitals, blood transfusion, maternity and child welfare, public health education, nutrition, etc.)
 - (b) Nursing (organization, recruitment and training of professional and auxiliary personnel etc.)
 - (c) Junior Red Cross (organization—development of health and protection of life and health programme training of future Red Cross leaders—collaboration with educational authorities, etc.).
- In addition, the Commission appointed a Drafting Committee composed of the Chairman, the three rapporteurs and the four Secretaries.

2. REPORT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

The joint report from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on this subject covering the period since the XVIIIth International Red Cross Conference was unanimously approved, and the Medico-Social Commission decided to recommend a draft resolution to the XIXth International Red Cross Conference. Both the report and the draft resolution were supported by the representative of the International Standardization Organization.

3(A) ROLE OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETIES AS AUXILIARIES TO THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES IN TIME OF PEACE AND IN TIME OF WAR

Introducing the matter the Chairman asked the Director of the League Medico-Social Bureau, Dr. Hantchef, to give a short exposé of what has been achieved by the League in this field. Dr. Hantchef referred to the Commentaries of the League of Red Cross Societies on Items on the Agenda of the Conference, pages 12-35 (English Edition) concerning the Medico-Social field (first aid, establishment of hospitals, blood transfusion, maternity and child welfare, nutrition, public health education).

In their remarks many delegates laid particular stress on the important part played by their respective National Societies in maintaining health, by instructing the public in the protection of life and health, in first aid training, including accident prevention, and in elementary nursing care. Dr. Florelus pointed out the interest of the various reports presented and requested the Delegates present to send their reports to the Secretariat of the League, unless the information contained therein had already been published in the reports submitted by the National Societies members of the League, to the XIXth International Red Cross Conference.

In the discussion about first aid, the representative from the U.S.A. drew the attention to the so-called "mouth to mouth" method of artificial respiration, particularly efficient when used on children between 0 and 4 years, and suggested that the Secretariat of the League inform National Societies of the technical and scientific development of this and other methods of artificial respiration, and to request National Societies to report to the Secretariat of the League on their experiences in this field.

Under the discussion on blood transfusion services, the Netherlands Red Cross Society was thanked for the generous gifts of dried plasma made through the League to sister Societies. The Commission appealed to National Societies producing plasma to follow the outstanding example of the Netherlands Red Cross Society and place at the disposal of the League dried plasma from surplus stocks. The representative of the Swiss Government expressed willingness to do so. Several delegates supported the remarks made by the American Red Cross delegate on the fact that old people in the future will make up a considerably higher percentage of the population. Considering this, it was suggested that National Red Cross Societies be aware of this problem when planning their future work, both as regards old people in institutions and service to them in their homes. Social welfare work for old people should, it was thought, include services to and by the ageing thus enabling them to contribute to community service. Service to the mentally ill, inside and outside hospitals was also referred to as a very important activity for National Societies.

The Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R. laid particular emphasis on the important role which National Societies could play in maternal and child welfare and this was supported by other delegates and by the representative of the International Union for Child Welfare.

The Danish Red Cross delegate pointed out the advantages of the use of the *flannellograph* in various educational programmes and announced that a copy of the Danish Red Cross flannellograph material dealing with nutrition was on show at the Conference Exhibition. Copies in English could be ordered through the Danish Red Cross.

A number of delegates stressed the importance of the general public being *educated in first aid* and on other aspects of health, to the effect that they should be able to take care of themselves and of each other. Many delegates agreed with the point of view expressed by the Yugoslav representative underlining the important role that was being played by the National Societies in the field of *health education*.

It was stressed on many occasions during the meetings that all the above suggestions should be considered in close co-operation with local health authorities.

Considering the difficulties for various Societies in getting enough funds for carrying through special activities, the Swedish delegation suggested that experienced Red Cross Societies "adopt" sister Societies with a view to helping them in general or in special activities—for instance by placing experts at their disposal for initiating pioneer projects or by offering hospitality to study visitors from sister Societies.

General F. Daubenton, Medico-Social Advisor to the League Secretariat, addressed the meeting in a most inspiring way, outlining the future development of the Medico-Social activities of the League and of National Societies. General Daubenton was requested to publish his comments and to distribute same to the Societies.

Col. Brig. Meuli, delegate from the Swiss Government reported that his Government distributes to every soldier a pamphlet on first aid and health. This pamphlet also includes a summary of the Geneva Conventions and of the Red Cross principles.

The booklet is handed out in 30,000 copies every year and will be of the greatest importance for the education of the public in first aid and in spreading knowledge about the Geneva Conventions and the Red Cross. It is reckoned that in a few years' time all families in Switzerland will possess a copy of this pamphlet, and thus also a synopsis of the Geneva Conventions.

The delegate from India recalled the basic principles adopted by the Board of Governors of the League in 1950 concerning Red Cross activity in the field of public health, stressing that such activities should (a) not overlap with other similar activities, (b) be "pilot" or pioneering projects which could be later handed to governmental authorities; (c) be undertaken only if they can be maintained at a high standard.

The representative of the World Health Organization drew attention to the interest which his organization took in the work of the National Societies in preventive medicine. He was convinced that the success of any programme in this connection depended on enlightened co-operation on the part of the public, which the Red Cross was particularly well placed to secure.

4. The Medico-Social Commission had before them a draft resolution from the Cuban delegation concerning mental health programmes suggesting "To set up within the League a coordinating section or commission for the promotion and encouragement of mental health work by the member societies".

Since no Cuban delegate was present, the Chairman asked Dr. Florelius to submit to the Commission the said draft resolution. Dr. Florelius explained that to create the suggested "section" or "commission" would seem unnecessary. Resolution No. 18 from the Board of Governors' meeting in Monaco in 1950 and Resolution No. 32 from the XVIIIth International Red Cross Conference at Toronto as well as the Medico-Social work carried out by the League since the Board of Governors' meeting in Oslo in 1954 were recalled, and the Commission was reminded that the Chairman of the Health Advisory Committee of the League, in co-operation with the League Secretariat, may call upon specialists in different fields of medicine as consultants. The Commission agreed that in this way assistance to National Societies in the mental health field was sufficiently taken care of, and appealed to National Societies to intensify their activities in this field.

At the end of the meeting, and in thanking the Chairman for her conduct of the Commission's deliberations, Sir Peter McCallum representing the Australian Red Cross, commented on the procedure of the meetings of the Medico-Social Commission. Sir Peter made several constructive suggestions with a view to organizing the said Commission's work at the International Conference of the Red Cross in a way that would allow for real discussion on the items of the agenda and for fewer statements describing the various activities of National Societies, which in any case appeared in the reports submitted to the Conference. Sir Peter's remarks are annexed to this report.

On the basis of the reports from the different countries, upon the discussions at the meetings of the Medico-Social Commission, and upon the various appeals and proposals made by representatives from different countries, I have the honour, on behalf of the Medico-Social Commission, to present to the XIXth International Red Cross Conference nine draft resolutions concerning the Medico-Social field as considered under point 3(a) of the Agenda.

May we go with the resolutions at once, or shall we proceed with the other two sections of the Medico-Social Commission's report?

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—You may propose the resolutions now.

DR. FLORELIUS—The International Commission for Medical Equipment: I beg to move:

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken cognizance of the joint report of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on the International Commission for Medical Equipment, considering that these two Organizations have reached the conclusion that whilst the work of this Commission had proved extremely difficult in the past, this is no longer the case, other specialized organizations now being in a better position to undertake these tasks,

recommends that the Commission be dissolved,

further recommends that the International Committee and the League continue to follow problems connected with medical equipment for civilian and military use and inform National Societies of progress in these fields, at the same time remaining in close contact with the competent international technical organizations and national health authorities.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

TECHNICAL AID

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

taking note of the report from the Medico-Social Commission requests the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies,

to study the reports from the National Societies sent to the Conference and also the remarks made during the Medico-Social Commission's meetings by various Societies upon their activities in the sphere of medico-social, welfare, nursing and Junior Red Cross work,

to urge National Societies to continue reporting to the League Secretariat upon experience gained in this field,

to intensify the technical assistance programme of the League through the planning, within the framework of financial possibilities, courses or seminars on special activities suitable for pioneer work or pilot projects in those Societies which need and request them, request those National Societies which already may have gained experience in a particular field, to help through the League Secretariat other Societies where the said activities are under development through receiving study visitors or sending out instructors and field workers for guidance,

requests the League Secretariat to continue distributing information and directives for work in special fields either spontaneously or upon request, in order that the League Secretariat may remain an effective intermediary and service body to National Societies—keeping in mind the universality of the Red Cross principles.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

RED CROSS RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES, GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MEDICO-SOCIAL FIELD

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering with satisfaction the development over recent years of the working relations between the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies, the World Health Organization, and other governmental and non-governmental international organizations,

recognizing the importance of these contacts in bringing about coordination of activities and in making the best use of the available resources,

recalling the terms of the resolutions adopted on this point by the Board of Governors of the League in 1946 and by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross in 1948,

recommends the development of existing links between the League and these organizations on both the international and the regional level,

suggests to National Red Cross Societies

I. to develop their relations with the regional and national offices of these organizations in order to ensure that the best possible use is being made of Red Cross resources in terms of personnel, professional and auxiliary, as well as of equipment, and that the largest possible participation be encouraged of Red Cross volunteers of all categories in carrying out medico-social activities of particular interest to the area under consideration,

II. to make contact with the competent government services in order to ensure closer co-operation on the national level and thus coordinating the programme of activities.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

BLOOD TRANSFUSION

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
considering the increasingly important role of transfusional therapy in medical and surgical practice,
considering that blood requirements impose new burdens on the community, hence the necessity for an ever-increasing number of blood donors,
recalls the Resolutions concerning this subject adopted by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross at Stockholm in 1948 (Resolution No. 47) and by the 21st Session of the Board of Governors of the League at Monte Carlo in 1950 (Resolution No. 15),
considering the recommendations of the meeting organized by the League in 1956 between various international organizations interested in problems of blood transfusion on the standardization and inter-changeability of material, biological standardization, stocking of equipment, training of staff and recruitment of blood donors,
welcomes the actions undertaken by National Societies in regard to the development of blood transfusion services and the establishment of reserves of dried plasma and blood protein fractions for use in the event of epidemics, disasters or conflicts,
emphasises the importance of close cooperation on the national level between the Red Cross and the authorities in the organization of blood transfusion services,
confirms the desire that the principle of the free gift and receipt of blood be as far as possible universally applied,
calls upon National Societies to continue to draw public attention to the importance of this medico-social problem and to contribute to the civic and humanitarian education of the community in this connection,
requests the Secretariat of the League to continue to encourage and to assist the National Societies in their blood transfusion and blood donor recruitment programmes, by making available information based on the experiences of sister Societies, and by encouraging mutual assistance and the exchange of technicians and scholarship holders between National Societies.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
considering the growing number of accidents at home, in schools, at sports, on the streets and at work, which are tending to become an increasingly important cause of death and disablement amongst adults and children,
noting the work of the Health Advisory Committee and of the Junior Red Cross Advisory Committee, as well as the publications issued by the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies,
bearing in mind the importance of coordinating the activities of adult and Junior Red Cross,
welcomes the numerous initiatives taken in various countries to prevent accidents, by the public services and specialized bodies, as well as by the National Red Cross Societies and their Junior Sections,
draws the attention of Governments and National Societies to the urgent need for measures to decrease the causes of accidents and for education of the public in general, and young people in particular, in order to promote a greater safety consciousness on the part of the trained first aiders and the general public,
requests the National Societies to study means whereby practical co-operation with public or private bodies concerned with accident prevention may be undertaken or developed, specially in educational institutions,
requests the League Secretariat to continue its work on the prevention of accidents in order usefully to advise National Societies.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

HEALTH EDUCATION

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
recalls the basic principles adopted by the Board of Governors of the League in 1950 at Monte Carlo, recommending that National Societies undertake activities which can be

considered either as pilot or pioneering projects or that are necessary to fill gaps in the existing public health services,

reaffirms Resolution No. 15 adopted by the 23rd Session of the Board of Governors of the League in 1954 at Oslo,

draws the attention of National Societies to their responsibilities in the field of health education and to the need of pioneer work or pilot projects:

- (a) to develop health education as an essential component of all Red Cross medico-social and educational activities
 - (b) to promote health education pilot projects in hospitals, outpatients clinics, health centres, blood donor centres, nursing services, etc.
 - (c) to utilize home nursing courses as a medium through which to foster health education
 - (d) to use fully the many possibilities offered by the Junior Red Cross to put health education into practice through the health and service programmes
 - (e) to undertake preparation, testing and evaluation of visual teaching aid material adapted to meet local habits and customs
- emphasises the value of carefully-planned field studies, research and experimental programmes,

stresses the need for National Societies to employ, whenever possible, full-time health education specialists (medico-social workers):

- (a) to give technical leadership and coordinate these various Red Cross activities in the respective countries
- (b) to supervise the training in the principles and methods of Red Cross work with professional and auxiliary health workers, school teachers, etc., to keep the standard as high as possible

requests the League Secretariat to give technical help to National Societies in the planning and expansion of their health educational programmes and within the framework of financial possibilities to organize international and regional seminars bringing together representatives of National Societies from various professions and promoting the exchange of tested health education materials.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—There will be the usual ten minutes adjournment now for people to have a little refreshment.

After recess.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The meeting is now called to order. I will ask the rapporteur to continue reading the resolutions.

VOLUNTARY AUXILIARY RED CROSS PERSONNEL

DR. FLORELIUS (Rapporteur)—I beg to move the following resolution:

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that one of the fundamental responsibilities of National Societies is to supplement governmental action by providing authorities with additional qualified staff, professional and auxiliary:

underlines the need for establishing the closest possible co-ordination between National Societies and the competent authorities in planning and conducting in each country the activities necessary for the maintenance of health in that country;

invites National Societies to increase their efforts in encouraging a wide participation of voluntary auxiliary personnel in the various Red Cross activities such as first-aid, disaster relief, health education, nursing, blood transfusion, care of the handicapped and old people, mental health services, nutrition, fight against alcoholism and social welfare, particularly in the field of mother and child care;

invites National Societies to ensure that the training of all their voluntary and auxiliary personnel includes not only the necessary technical instruction but also detailed information about the Red Cross, its means of action, nationally and internationally, and the rights and obligations of its members,

underlines particularly the need for National Societies to train auxiliary personnel for work in disaster relief operations, such training to stress the importance of the human factor in

the relations between Red Cross workers and the public and to include some knowledge of the psychological and social factors liable to influence such relations,

recommends that governments consider the efforts of the Red Cross, taking into account its experience on the international level, and encourage its pioneer work as well as its traditional activities and relief work, whilst respecting its guiding principles of impartiality and independence.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Since nobody has raised any objection, I take it that this resolution is passed unanimously.

Now we proceed to the report of the Medico-Social Commission on nursing. I will ask Dr. A. Naficy to come up to the rostrum and present his report.

H. E. DR. NAFICY (Iran, Red Lion and Sun) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honour to submit the second part of the report of the Medico-Social Commission, relating to item 3b of the Commission's agenda: "Nursing (organization, recruitment and training of professional and auxiliary personnel, etc.)".

The Medico-Social Commission devoted its fourth meeting on 30th October, 1957, more particularly to the consideration of Nursing from the aspect of the role of National Societies as auxiliaries of the Public Health authorities in time of peace and in time of war. At the request of the Chairman, Miss Yvonne Hentsch, Director of the League of Red Cross Societies' Nursing Bureau, introduced the subject by drawing the delegates' attention to the working documents distributed to them, namely the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the commentaries of the League on the questions on the Conference's Agenda, and the document on 'Home Nursing', prepared by the League. These documents, which had been prepared in agreement between the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League, had been drafted prior to the most recent session of the League's Nursing Advisory Committee in June 1957. Miss Hentsch emphasized that at that session the Committee had taken up certain matters of interest to the Medico-Social Commission, in particular health education and the participation of nursing personnel in disaster relief operations. The National Societies would find the recommendations formulated on this subject in the Report of the Nursing Advisory Committee approved on 25th October last by the Executive Committee of the League. As to the document on 'Home Nursing' it should be considered as an initial attempt to establish a comparative table of the activities of National Societies in this connection. It is suggested that National Societies send to the League Secretariat additional information or corrections to this document. Miss Hentsch's remarks gave rise to many favourable and very justified comments on the excellent work performed by the Nursing Bureau and particularly by its Director.

The general discussion on item 3(b) of the Commission's agenda was opened by Miss Anny Pfirter, Head of the Medical Personnel Section and of the War Disablement Section of the International Committee of the Red Cross. In submitting the International Committee's report, Miss Pfirter reminded the Commission that one of the Committee's duties explicitly stipulated in its Statutes is "to contribute, in view of conflicts, to the preparation and development of medical personnel and medical equipment, in co-operation with the Red Cross organizations, the medical services of the armed forces, and other competent authorities". In order to help the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out this task, Miss Pfirter asked the members of the Commission to furnish the Committee with any relevant information as to the manner in which it could assist National Societies, especially as regards the organization of voluntary medical services in time of war, and the recruitment and training of the different categories of professional and auxiliary personnel required. Miss Pfirter raised the question as to whether the assistance of the ICRC should take the form of the despatch of delegates to the spot, or of the organization in Geneva, of a course for leading members of the National Societies' voluntary medical personnel, where general questions relating to such personnel could be studied. Several delegates, after having reminded the Commission that the organization of Red Cross voluntary medical services in time of war was dependent on agreements concluded with the military authorities of each country, proposed that each National Society be requested to examine the matter with these authorities. It was also stressed that if courses or seminars were to be organized to study this question, they would have to consider the problem in the light of needs both in normal times and in time of war. For this reason, the Commission finally decided in favour of seminars, to be organized in Geneva by the League of Red Cross Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Many delegates emphasized the important role played by their National Societies in the training of nursing personnel of various categories. From their statements it appeared that while only some National Societies themselves run nursing schools, many of them take an active part in the training of voluntary auxiliary nursing personnel, such as, for example "Rural Nurses" in Bulgaria, "Active Health Workers" in the U.S.S.R. and "Volunteer Nurses Aides" in the U.S.A.

The delegate of the American Red Cross submitted a proposal urging National Societies to work in close collaboration with their respective national nursing organizations with a view to assisting in the recruitment of well-qualified nursing students, to contributing generally in interpreting to the public the need for standards in nursing and in inviting professional nurses to take an active part in the training and organization of volunteer auxiliary nursing personnel as recommended by the League Advisory Nursing Committee.

The representative of India, in referring to the recommendations of that Committee, expressed her satisfaction that the League of Red Cross Societies was endeavouring to maintain close relations with the Florence Nightingale International Foundation. She also stressed, as did in fact many other delegates, the importance of 'Home Nursing' instruction as an efficient means of health education.

Several delegates declared themselves in favour of an exchange of nursing personnel amongst National Societies, and furthermore requested that the number of visits to National Societies by League delegates be increased, so far as the financial means available allowed thereof.

At the end of the discussion on Item 3(b) of the Agenda, concerning 'Nursing', the Commission adopted an important resolution which I have pleasure in submitting for the approval of the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recognizing that nursing is essential to the development of health programmes; that various types of nursing personnel are needed to ensure the quantity and quality of nursing services required to meet the needs in any country;

recommends that National Societies offer to their nursing personnel of all categories, professional and auxiliary, the necessary basic and continued preparation to enable each category to render optimum service in their respective responsibilities;

stresses in particular the need for such preparation to include detailed instruction on the rights and obligations of nursing personnel who, in time of conflict, enjoy the protection of the Red Cross emblem, as provided for in the Geneva Conventions;

further recommends that agreements be concluded between the National Societies and the civilian and military authorities, laying down in advance the respective responsibilities of each in the training of voluntary health personnel and in the organization of the necessary health services in time of conflict or of natural disaster;

expresses the hope that seminars be organized in Geneva under the sponsorship of the League of Red Cross Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross where those in charge of organizing voluntary Red Cross health services for emergency work may receive special instruction from the two international organizations of the Red Cross, on the matters with which each is competent to deal;

furthermore, bearing in mind the recommendations of the Nursing Advisory Committee of the League, and recognizing the great opportunity for National Societies to assist in raising the standards of nursing through close collaboration with national nursing organizations;

recommends that National Societies assist in the recruitment of well qualified nursing students; that they contribute in making known to the public the need for professional standards in nursing as set up by the International Council of Nurses; and help with the selection of qualified candidates who can receive scholarships with a view to preparing themselves for leading work in various aspects of nursing education and service;

recognizing also that professional nurses have been of great assistance in helping to develop programmes for volunteer nurses' aids; invites National Societies to request the active participation of professional nurses in decisions regarding the needs for volunteer nurses' aids, as well as in defining the functions they should perform in setting up training courses for the instructors with the assistance of the Nursing Bureau of the League; and giving continued guidance to and supervision of the programme;

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—*The Resolution is adopted unanimously*, I will now ask Dr. Alip to present the third part of the report.

DR. ALIP (Rapporteur)—As your Rapporteur and delegate from the Philippine Red Cross, I have the honour to present the Report of the Medico-Social Commission on item 3c—Junior Red Cross.

The Medico-Social Commission, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Domanska (Polish Red Cross), devoted its 5th meeting on October 31, 1957, and part of its meeting on the following day, to a study of the programme of activities and organization of the Junior Red Cross from the aspect of the general theme of the XIXth

International Conference of the Red Cross, and the general questions submitted for the Medico-Social Commission's attention.

While regretting that no Junior Red Cross Commission had been established at the present Conference, it was all the more encouraging to note that over 80 delegates and numerous observers took an active part in our discussions. Among them were seven directors of national Junior Red Cross sections and several officials within our movement, who gave a lively and optimistic tone to our discussions.

The Medico-Social Commission noted with satisfaction the work accomplished by the League's Junior Red Cross Advisory Committee at its meetings held in 1953, 1955 and 1957, which covered the basic problems of the organization and the programme of activities of the Junior Red Cross, and therefore approved the proposal submitted by Mr. Schussele, Director of the League Junior Red Cross Bureau, to confine the present meeting to two main questions:

1. The Junior Red Cross and the dissemination of the Geneva Conventions.
2. Welcoming of former members of the Junior Red Cross into the adult Red Cross which for several years has been called the problem of "bridging the gap".

After these few preliminary remarks, I should like to say that the very active Director of the League Junior Red Cross Bureau immediately revealed new horizons in his introduction by stating that he was acting in full agreement with Mr. Louis Verniers, Adviser, and Dr. Fehr, Chairman, of the League Junior Red Cross Advisory Committee.

In his speech, which showed both feeling and vigour and which met with the unanimous approval of our Commission, Mr. Schussele laid stress, in particular, on the following points:

Whereas the Red Cross was born on a battlefield, the Junior Red Cross was born in the calm of peace; it was a permanent manifestation of peace and the true ideal of mutual understanding and peace.

At first sight it seemed paradoxical to assume that the Junior Red Cross could be associated with an essential activity of the Red Cross in time of war, the "Protection of the Civilian Population".

Nevertheless, the young people of 1957 who live in an era of the greatest technical progress the world has ever known—who also live in a world with which they are becoming increasingly familiar and who are the first to be affected by a universal state of anxiety and unrest—wish to be more closely associated with the whole of the work and the major problems of the Red Cross in time of peace as in time of war.

Article 144 of the Fourth Convention of Geneva (1949) makes it incumbent on the Governments that have ratified it to spread knowledge of the spirit and letter of the Conventions amongst the population of which obviously young people form a large category. There is of course no question of including instruction in the provisions of all the Geneva Conventions in the school curricula—the aim is to teach and spread the spirit of these Conventions. The programme of the Junior Red Cross adapted to present day needs and interests of young people, can be the instrument for the achievement of this aim.

Finally, young people are burning with the desire to serve the Red Cross ideal more efficiently; they are longing to devote their time and energies to it, whether it be a question of local community, national or international service. Confidence must be shown towards them and they must be increasingly associated in all Red Cross activities and responsibilities. It was in this positive attitude that an extensive discussion took place amongst the delegates of the National Societies of the following countries:

Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Chile, Republic of Korea, Denmark, Germany (Democratic Republic), Germany (Federal Republic), Great Britain, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Italy, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia.

Their reports and observations included among others the following points:

recent and original activities of National Junior Red Cross Sections in the three spheres of: protection of health and life, service and international friendship;
participation of the Junior Red Cross in relief actions of the adult Red Cross, including in time of war:

diffusion of the Geneva Conventions amongst young people;
establishment of a 'bridge' between the Junior Red Cross and the Adult Red Cross.

This exchange of views enabled the Commission to examine the two main questions mentioned above with full knowledge of all pertinent facts.

1. THE JUNIOR RED CROSS AND THE DIFFUSION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS

The Commission unanimously adopted two draft resolutions, on the basis of Mr. Schussele's report and

after further study of matter. The first, which was in general terms, is more particularly intended for the Governments, the Ministries of Public Instruction, the teaching profession and educators in general.

The second, which is addressed to the National Societies, sets forth the practical means suggested by the Commission to ensure wide publicity to the Geneva Conventions and above all to cultivate a spirit of compassion and humanity in young people.

These two draft resolutions are sufficiently explicit and do not need explanation as to their background and their details. I should like simply to emphasise the vital and educational character of these proposals.

2. WELCOMING OF MEMBERS OF THE JUNIOR RED CROSS INTO THE ADULT RED CROSS

An extensive discussion took place on this problem of the "bridge" which the various bodies of Red Cross have been concerned with for over 20 years, but on which no really satisfactory results have been achieved. It is for this reason that in a brief, but pressing, draft resolution the Commission once again draws the attention of the National Societies and the League to this basic problem, which might be summarized in the following query: "Does the Red Cross desire to preserve the confidence, enthusiasm and active cooperation of the young generation?"

In response to a moving appeal by Mrs. Indira Gandhi (National Union of Child Welfare) in favour of millions of children in distress, the Commission submits a draft resolution inviting the National Sections of the Junior Red Cross to intensify their service actions for children in distress to a large extent on the local, national and international levels.

Finally the Commission expresses its satisfaction of the very active work carried out by the League Junior Red Cross Bureau, especially in so far as concerns the expansion of international study centres, technical missions and study visits, and the assistance furnished to new National Sections of the Junior Red Cross.

It is in this atmosphere of hope and confidence that I have the honour to submit for your consideration and approval the following four draft resolutions unanimously adopted by the Medico-Social Commission.

YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that Article 144 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 makes it incumbent on the Governments which have ratified that Convention to make known the letter and the spirit thereof to the whole population;

considering that it is urgent to educate the young generation in the spirit of the Geneva Conventions, and recalling in this connection Resolution No. 9 of the XVth International Conference of the Red Cross held in Tokyo in 1934;

considering that the National Societies and their respective junior sections should take an active part in publicising the Geneva Conventions,

considering that the essential aim of the Junior Red Cross programme is to promote a spirit of peace and understanding and to inculcate in children and adolescents respect for human dignity;

Recommends:

- (a) that the National Societies approach their respective Governments in order that the Junior Red Cross may be considered by the Ministries of Education and Public Instruction as one of the most efficient means of publicising the Geneva Conventions amongst children and adolescents;
- (b) that in negotiations with the Governments, the National Societies endeavour to obtain space in the school curricula for the history and aims of Red Cross and for the basic principles of the Geneva Conventions;
- (c) that the League of Red Cross Societies, in agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross, take the necessary steps with UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, which jointly organise annual conferences on Public Instruction, with a view to the question of "The School and the Publicising of the Geneva Conventions" being included on the agenda of one of the next Conferences on Public Instruction.

PRACTICAL MEANS OF SPREADING KNOWLEDGE OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that there is an urgent need to cultivate in the younger generation the ideal of peace and respect for others;

considering that the Geneva Conventions constitute a sound basis for social education; invites National Societies to examine the possibilities and to take—as a matter of urgency — practical action to achieve this aim;

recommends in particular, that in National Junior Red Cross Section publications and in the “Junior Red Cross News Letter”, published by the League of Red Cross Societies, a column be permanently devoted to the history of the Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions;

that radio and television broadcasts dealing with the same questions be regularly organized;

invites the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to examine, with National Societies, the possibilities of producing one or more films for Juniors covering the history, subject matter and aims of the Geneva Conventions;

recommends that a future International Red Cross Day have as its theme “Youth and the Geneva Conventions”;

recommends that International Junior Red Cross Study Centres be used, on an experimental basis, for studying this question;

recommends that the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies issue informative publications suitable for children and young people, dealing with the history of the Red Cross and the fundamental principles of the Geneva Conventions.

JUNIOR RED CROSS ASSISTANCE TO CHILDREN IN DISTRESS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross, recalling Resolution 27 adopted by the XVIIIth International Conference of the Red Cross held at Toronto in 1952;

regarding with the deepest concern the acute distress of millions of children and young people;

recommends that National Societies invite their respective Junior Sections to intensify their mutual service activities at the local as well as at the national and international levels;

invites the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies to suggest programmes along these lines to National Societies and to supply them with the maximum information with a view to ensuring the success of such activities.

WELCOMING OF YOUNG PEOPLE INTO THE ADULT RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross, recalling Resolution No. 11 of the XVth International Conference of the Red Cross held at Tokyo in 1934 and Resolution No. 40 of the XVIIIth Conference held at Toronto in 1952;

recognizing that it is imperative that former Junior Red Cross members be enthusiastically welcomed into the ranks of the adult Red Cross;

aware that action in this respect has been inadequate and has not met with the success anticipated;

considering that National Societies must enlist the younger generation in order to ensure the success of their work, and that young people are capable of assuming wider responsibilities;

recommends:

- (a) that National Societies, as a matter of urgency, examine ways and means of solving the problem;
- (b) that the League of Red Cross Societies give wide publicity to all initiative taken by National Societies which is likely to improve this situation.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I shall now put these Resolutions to the vote.

The four resolutions were then adopted unanimously.

We now have two general resolutions which have been put before us, and I will ask Lt.-Gen. F. Daubenton to speak.

LT.-GEN. DAUBENTON (League of Red Cross Societies)—The remarks I am going to make on the two resolutions from the Medico-Social Commission that remain are based on what I said at the meeting of the

Commission which, as you have seen in the report of Dr. Florelius, will be published as soon as possible probably in a series of documents.

As regards the first draft resolution No. 13, I might mention two corrections to be made in the French and English texts. Instead of the words, "Requests the Secretary-General of the League", it should be "Requests the League". A similar correction has to be made in the French text. I think the resolutions are clear and they speak for themselves.

As mentioned in the last paragraph, the first effort must be made by the Secretariat to obtain the assistance of the National Societies. The second one is that before any request is made, a proper plan of operation must be drawn up and submitted to one of the international organizations that exist, and if the international organizations and Foundations could give large contributions to this kind of work, then the new Societies will be greatly benefited. The new Societies are in need of funds for both secretarial staff and expert staff, among their own nationals, and it will be of great help to the new Societies, if they can have visits from experts of the League or from other such experts bodies.

As for secretarial staff, that is certainly a question where we have to approach the national Societies. Generally speaking, the Foundations do not give funds for the development of the secretarial staff, particularly paid staff. As for the second group, that is, experts to train people not only in first aid but in other activities also, which aim at improving the health conditions in the country, there these new Societies have got the possibility of receiving assistance from these international Foundations. This also applies to medico-social activities, nursing and Junior Red Cross activities.

The younger Societies have requested more than once, that some of their nationals should be trained in Red Cross/Crescent work and therefore should visit as "stagiaires" the League and other National Societies. Good candidates are often available but the financial facilities for such training are lacking (travel etc.).

I have in mind that the funds requested from these Foundations, should be particularly earmarked for the carrying out of such projects.

This appeal applies equally to Medico-Social, Nursing and Junior Red Cross activities.

In order to save time, I feel that these remarks would be sufficient.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—May I take it that the Conference is in favour of this resolution on Special Financial Aid to National Societies? I take it that it is unanimously passed*.

LT.-GEN. DAUBENTON (League of Red Cross Societies)—I do not think it is necessary to refer to the resolution passed at Toronto in connection with the moral and spiritual efforts that the Red Cross is expected to make towards international fraternity etc. To save time, I shall take that for granted.

We have left out in the draft resolution the words "cold war" and "tension", which I had mentioned also in my address to the Commission. We all know that a great deal of the cause for any tension is in the medico-social sphere. We also know that the U.N. realises this, and for this purpose, it has set up international organizations to fight against these causes.

I may perhaps add that at many of the Conferences of these international bodies, the League was represented on behalf of the societies. And particularly, during the last few years, I had the honour to represent the League at meetings like the ECOSOC, including the sections on Technical Assistance, Human Rights, Social and Economic Conditions.

We have the feeling, which has been expressed specifically in certain of their resolutions, that the U.N. and their official organizations request more and more the assistance of non-governmental organizations. Speaking of non-governmental organizations, I think, in the first place, of the League of Red Cross Societies and the National Societies in general. The International Red Cross has one of the most important positions in this respect.

Some time ago the Secretary General made a statement at the N.G.O. Conference for the Eradication of Prejudice and Discrimination, where he declared that there was no necessity for the League to vote, as the fundamental principles and the very existence of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies were based on non-discrimination.

We should put ourselves at a level above any other International Organizations, be supra-national, excluding the possibility that any politics could creep in.

At the opening of this Conference Pandit Nehru asked us: "What are you doing in times of cold war !".

* See resolution 33, p. 161

In 1950 we passed a resolution "to work actively for the maintenance of an enduring peace", and in 1952, to be "not only a material force serving humanity" but above all, a moral and spiritual force uniting the world in a common spirit of brotherhood.

We have the resolutions—but mere resolutions are not enough.

Perhaps, it is better to show that we have extended our medico-social work in the field of mental health.

Therefore, I make the appeal that not only should we participate in this fight against hunger, malnutrition, alcoholism, unsanitary housing and other social evils, but we should also start work in the field of individual and social mental health, which includes a campaign against very many misunderstandings mostly based on ignorance.

The result of this ignorance is prejudice, discrimination and completely out of date ideas about races. I fully realise the difficulties that there are in connection with this fight for mental first aid. Some 40 years ago I started to assist in physical first aid. Many had in those days the feeling that it would be impossible, even doctors. Now that we have seen the success of those efforts, also amongst thousands and thousands of people very often illiterate—now that we have been able to talk to them about blood corpuscles, blood circulation, respiration etc.—it must be also possible for us to talk to the world about the out-of-date ideas of blood and race, and to give them some idea of genes and genetics.

As regards physical first-aid, physical prevention of accidents, we have different patterns in different Societies, and the League is always willing to co-ordinate and make information available for anybody who wants to know what a sister Society does. We have no definite patterns, we only have to study at League headquarters the work done in the National Societies. But it must be possible to draw up in different parts of the world booklets for mental health as well as has been done for the physical first-aid and which have been improved continuously with very great success up to now.

At the same time, we should not forget that there are victims of these evils and they should be particularly treated and helped by appropriate Red Cross methods.

I suppose, Madam Chairman, I have covered the subject.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Does any delegate want to speak? Nobody wants to speak.

Do I take it that the Resolution is adopted unanimously?

*The Resolution is unanimously adopted.**

General Dr. Voncken, Secretary General of the International Committee of Military Medicine (*Observer*) wants to say a few words.

DR. VONCKEN (International Committee of Military Medicine and Pharmacy) (original French)—Madam Chairman: I would like to thank you for the great honour which you have conferred upon me in authorising me to say a few words from the rostrum of the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in my capacity as Secretary General of the International Committee of Military Medicine and Pharmacy, it is a pleasant duty for me to express my gratitude for the tangible results which your work has had for our activities. In particular, I would like to thank the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has given us constant support and fruitful co-operation. In a most pertinent resolution, you have emphasized in the report of the Commission on International Humanitarian Law the importance which you attach to the independence of the medical profession and thereby you have acknowledged the need for an international medical code. No one realises better than a medical officer in the armed forces that this independence of action by the medical profession is an essential condition for helping the wounded. It is with the sole purpose of ensuring assistance in all circumstances for the victims of conflicts that we doctors insist on having the unconditional right to perform our duties. Ladies and Gentlemen, you have adopted a text relating the free exercise of the medical profession, and this is perhaps the most essential chapter of the international medical code now under consideration in our great organizations, the World Medical Association and the International Committee for Military Medicine and Pharmacy. In the name of the latter, which I have the privilege to represent here, I should like to express my gratitude and also the hope that, through our combined efforts, we shall succeed in persuading States to recognize the necessity of proclaiming and ensuring respect for the independence of action by the medical profession, particularly in time of war.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Now we have finished consideration of the report presented to the Conference by the Medico-Social Commission, and it has been adopted after consideration and passing of

* See resolution 34, p. 161

resolutions. We now go on to the report of the General Commission and I will ask the rapporteur, M. Vaillancourt, to come up to the rostrum, and present his report. I understand the report has not been able to be circulated to the delegates, but you have a list of resolutions, and you will listen to the report as it is read by the rapporteur.

MR. VAILLANCOURT (Rapporteur) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honour to present the report of the General Commission. I would like to draw your attention to document P 24 which contains the list of the resolutions submitted by the General Commission for approval.

Election of the Bureau:

Chairman: General A. E. Martola, Finnish Red Cross
Vice-Chairmen: Countess of Limerick, British Red Cross
Mr. J. T. Nicholson, American Red Cross
H. E. A. A. Hekmat, Red Lion and Sun of Iran
Lt. General A. G. Van der Kroon, Netherlands Red Cross
Col. Soemarno Sosroatmodjo, Indonesian Red Cross

The Commission completed its Bureau as follows:

Secretaries: Mr. Henry Dunning, for the League
Mr. Pierre Gaillard, for the ICRC

Rapporteur: Mr. Paul Vaillancourt, Canadian Red Cross

The General Commission held three meetings: two on October 29, and the last on the morning of October 30. The Chairman read the provisional agenda of the Commission, which was adopted.

Reports by National Societies: the Commission unanimously decided to take note of these reports, and I would refer you to resolution No. 1.

REPORTS BY NATIONAL SOCIETIES

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross, having taken note of the reports submitted by National Societies on their work, receives these reports, directs that they be filed, thanks the National Societies which submitted them.”

Madam Chairman, I move that this resolution be adopted.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—The first resolution is before the Conference. I take it there is no objection to it and *it is passed unanimously*.

MR. VAILLANCOURT (Rapporteur)—Madam Chairman, I would like to move for the adoption of Resolution No. 2:

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross, having received the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its work from 1952 to 1957, accepts this report, thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for having submitted it.”

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

Now, I move for the adoption of Resolution No. 3.

REPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross, having received the report of the League of Red Cross Societies on its work from 1952 to 1956, accepts this report, thanks the League of Red Cross Societies for having submitted it.”

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

Now, I move for the adoption of Resolution No. 4.

REPORT OF ACTION TAKEN ON THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE XVIII INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League
of Red Cross Societies on the action taken on the Resolutions of the XVIII International Con-
ference of the Red Cross,
accepts this report,
thanks the International Committee and the League for having submitted it.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

Now I move for the adoption of Resolution No. 5.

EMPRESS SHŌKEN FUND

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report of the Empress Shōken Fund presented by the Joint Commis-
sion of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies,
considering the proposal submitted to it by the Joint Commission in the annex to its report,
accepts the report,
thanks the Joint Commission for its administration of the Fund,
Decides to amend the Regulations of the Fund as follows:

1. Addition of the following sentence to Article 2, paragraph 1, after the second sentence:
“ The institution from which the Chairman is drawn shall also provide the Com-
mission’s Secretariat for that same year ”.
2. Addition of a new article 5-a as follows:
“ National Red Cross Societies which feel obliged by circumstances to put the alloca-
tions received to uses other than those specified in their applications for grants under
Article 4 must ask for the Joint Commission’s approval before doing so ”.
3. Addition of a new Article 5-b as follows:
“ The National Red Cross Societies shall send to the Joint Commission, in due time,
a report on the use of the allocations received ”.
4. Amendment as follows to paragraph 1 of Article 8 of the Regulations:
“ Article 8.—The Joint Commission shall present to each International Red Cross
Conference a report on the financial situation of the Fund, the allocations which
have been made since the preceding Conference and the use made of those alloca-
tions by the National Societies. ”.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

I now move for the adoption of Resolution No. 6.

AUGUSTA TRUST FUND

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report on the Augusta Trust Fund submitted by the International
Committee of the Red Cross,
accepts this report,
thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for its administration of the Fund.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

I now move for the adoption of Resolution No. 7.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE MEDAL

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report on the award of the Florence Nightingale Medal submitted
by the International Committee of the Red Cross,

accepts this report,
thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for its administration.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

I now move for the adoption of Resolution No. 8.

FOUNDATION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report on the Foundation for the International Committee of the Red Cross submitted by the Council of this Fund,
accepts the report,
thanks the Council for its administration.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

I move for the adoption of Resolution No. 9.

COMMISSION FOR THE FINANCING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
whereas the Commission set up by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross in its Resolution No. 8 has concluded its work and submitted its report,
whereas, according to this report, a number of National Societies have made regular voluntary annual contributions to the International Committee and whereas the continuation of this support and contributions from all National Societies are desirable, justified and necessary,
whereas, also, appeals are made by the International Committee to Governments which are members of the International Conference of the Red Cross in accordance with the Resolution of the Diplomatic Conference held in Geneva in 1949 and the participation of National Societies in passing on and supporting these appeals varies of necessity from country to country according to national custom,

decides:

that the report of the Commission set up by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross in accordance with the above mentioned Resolution is approved,

that each National Red Cross Society accepts its obligation as a member of the International Red Cross to pay regular, voluntary, annual contributions to the International Committee,

that each National Red Cross Society will continue to take such steps as it considers advisable with regard to financial appeals made to Governments by the International Committee in accordance with the above Resolution of the 1949 Diplomatic Conference.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

I move for the adoption of Resolution No. 10.

SPECIAL FACILITIES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
considering the situation of National Societies which have not been granted adequate facilities by their Governments to accomplish their missions such as:

- (a) the granting of rapid visas and travel facilities to Red Cross personnel going on official duty in a foreign country with the agreement of the National Society of the country concerned;
- (b) rapid transfer from one country to another of funds for Red Cross work;
- (c) rapid movement free of charge of Red Cross medical and other relief supplies for disaster needs;
- (d) exemption from custom duties and other duties on Red Cross relief supplies;
- (e) exemption from taxes on fund-raising schemes in aid of disaster relief;

urges National Societies once again to bring this matter to the notice of their Governments indicating to them benefits already granted to a large number of National

Societies and to request from their Governments that similar facilities be accorded to enable the Societies effectively to discharge their duties in disaster relief.

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

ADOPTION OF RUSSIAN AS A WORKING LANGUAGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS

The U.S.S.R. delegation in proposing a modification of Article 16 of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross, introduced the subject as follows :

“ As you know, in many international organizations, the United Nations included, Russian is a working language on the same level as English and French. In this connection, it may be considered that to recognize Russian as a working language of the International Conference of the Red Cross would be of great practical advantage. It would greatly facilitate the work of several Red Cross organizations and we wish to ask you to study the question of amending Article 16 of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross with a view to the Russian language becoming a working language for the sessions of the Conference ”.

The Swedish delegation, while recognizing that delegates not speaking one of the official languages of the Conference found themselves at a disadvantage, nevertheless thought that the adoption of an additional language involved many practical considerations of which there should be a thorough investigation, and it therefore proposed that the question be referred to the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross for study.

The Indonesian delegation thought that National Societies requesting the use of an additional language should bear the cost thereof.

The Chinese delegation supported the Soviet proposal.

The delegations of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, India and Iraq supported the Swedish proposal.

The Soviet delegation proposed a vote on the principle of accepting Russian as a working language when funds could be found to finance the additional cost; the Soviet delegate stated that there was no question of translating documents into Russian.

When the Chairman put these two proposals to the vote, there were 8 votes in favour of the Soviet proposal and 19 in favour of the Swedish proposal. The latter was adopted and the question is therefore referred to the Plenary Meeting with the recommendation that it be submitted to the Standing Commission for investigation.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—There is no resolution on this item—adoption of Russian as a working language of the International Conference of the Red Cross. I would like the Chairman of the General Commission to give some suggestions to the Conference for their consideration.

GENERAL MARTOLA (Finland, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman: The General Commission did not consider itself able to take a final decision on this matter and it therefore submits the following recommendation to the Conference :

“ The question of Russian as a working language of the Conference should be referred to the Standing Commission for studying all the implications and costs of adding this additional language to the present working languages of the Conference ”.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Will the Conference accept that suggestion? I hope there will be unanimous acceptance of it.

Accepted unanimously.

MR. VAILLANCOURT (Rapporteur) (original French)—Appeal on behalf of Algerian refugees :

On behalf of the delegations of Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Syria and Iraq, the Tunisian Red Crescent presented a resolution asking for material assistance to be given to Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco. After adoption of the amendments proposed by the French delegation, which were accepted by the sponsors of the draft resolution, and with the support of the delegations of Syria, Tunisia, China, the I.C.R.C., Egypt and France, the resolution was unanimously approved.

I must point out that one word has been changed in this resolution, in paragraph 4: the word “ declares ” should now read “ considers ”. Shall I read the resolution, Madam Chairman?

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I think it would be better if you will be good enough to read the resolution.

MR. VAILLANCOURT (Rapporteur) (original French)—

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that a large number of Algerians, the majority being composed of women, children and aged persons who, fleeing from events in Algeria, have taken refuge in Tunisia and Morocco;

considering that the majority of these refugees, whose numbers are increasing daily, are absolutely destitute; that the approaching severe winter in North Africa will render still worse the living conditions of this mass of human beings who are already homeless, undernourished, without sufficient clothing and deprived of all means of resistance against illness,

considering that the assistance given by the Tunisian and Moroccan Governments, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Tunisian Red Crescent as well as other associations animated by the Red Cross spirit, is not sufficient to prevent the serious danger which threatens the existence of these innocent victims of the war:

considers that only an effort of an international and universal nature would be able to meet the immense resources required to give assistance to these hundreds of thousands of human beings,

guided by the humanitarian spirit which the associations composing it have so frequently shown during recent similar situations,

makes an urgent appeal to the world for similar efforts to be made on behalf of the Algerian refugees”.

Madam Chairman, I beg to move that this resolution be adopted.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I find that the delegate from Syria wants to speak. I may inform the Conference that the Chinese delegate also wanted to speak on this resolution, but he has been good enough to say that in order to save time he will not speak.

DR. CHATTY (Syria, Red Crescent) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the name of Syria, which is familiar with the work of the I.C.R.C. and sees, in the world of birds to which reference has often been made here, the International Committee as a dove, but the dove about which Irving Washington the great American author wrote—the dove which succeeded in uniting the hearts of an Arab prince and a Spanish princess—I should like to express our thanks to the I.C.R.C. for its peace-loving and reassuring activities in all the events which are taking place in Algeria and which we are all following with great concern.

Thank you Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I take it that the Conference adopts unanimously this Resolution.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

MR. VAILLANCOURT (Rapporteur) (original French)—Autonomy of the National Red Cross Societies: The Argentine delegation, seconded by the delegations of Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Uruguay submitted the following resolution:

“The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross reaffirms the principle of the independence of all National Red Cross Societies from all State or Government control or interference”.

In presenting this resolution, the Argentine delegation stated that, while it was desirable to have close co-operation between a National Red Cross Society and its Government, which could provide certain facilities for the National Society in accomplishing its Red Cross duties, a National Society should be autonomous and free of government control as to its governing body and also the collection and utilization of funds. The Argentine delegation urged the adoption of this resolution. Several delegations questioned the necessity of restating an accepted Red Cross principle; the Egyptian delegation proposed that the resolution be amended by adding “within the framework of national legislation”. The British delegation objected to any change in the existing regulations and proposed that the phrase referring to State or Government control or interference be replaced by “in conformity with Article 4 of the Conditions for the Recognition of National Red Cross Societies”, which had been adopted by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross. Article 4 specifies that a National Red Cross Society must “be an institution whose autonomous status allows it to operate in conformity with the fundamental principles of the Red Cross, as formulated by the International Red Cross

Conference". The Argentine delegation having agreed to this amendment, the Commission adopted the following resolution:

"The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
reaffirms the principle of the autonomy of all National Red Cross Societies in conformity
with Article 4 of the Conditions for the Recognition of National Red Cross Societies".

Madam Chairman, I beg to move the adoption of this resolution.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I take it that this resolution is unanimously passed? (*Applause.*)

MR. VAILLANCOURT (Rapporteur) (original French)—In concluding this report, I wish to underline the excellent atmosphere which prevailed throughout the discussions in the General Commission. The fact that unanimous agreement could be reached on certain delicate matters is a satisfactory proof of the comprehensive and harmonious attitude adopted by all the delegations. Finally, I wish to remind the plenary session that we have submitted to it twelve draft resolutions which have been adopted, and also two recommendations; the first concerns the retention and membership of the Commission for the Financing of the I.C.R.C.; the second relates to the referral to the Standing Commission for further study of the question of the adoption of Russian as a working language of the Conference.

Thank you Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—It only remains for me to thank all the Presidents of the Commissions and the Rapporteurs for having done such a fine job of work under such very great pressure, and in such a way that all resolutions have been adopted unanimously.

We have now just two minutes before we adjourn for lunch. I understand that a number of resolutions of thanks have already been submitted by various delegates and circulated. Because we are pressed for time, I wonder whether you would all be agreeable to take all these resolutions as passed.

The Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Before we adjourn, the President of the General Commission has a proposal to put before you.

GENERAL MARTOLA (Finland, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman: As you have just heard from the Rapporteur, the General Commission decided to recommend to the Plenary Session that the Commission for the Financing of the I.C.R.C. be maintained. I should like to ask you to put this proposal to the vote.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Have the delegates understood the proposition and will they accept it? (*Applause.*)

GENERAL MARTOLA (Finland, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman: After the adoption of this proposal I should like now to speak as representative of the Finnish Red Cross. The General Commission did not consider that it was its duty to make proposals for membership of this Commission. As a delegate for Finland, however, I have had several conversations with some delegations, and I should like to propose that this Commission, whose maintenance has just been agreed upon, should be composed of the representatives of the Red Cross of the following countries: Czechoslovakia, India, the Netherlands, Mexico and Great Britain.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I hope the Assembly is agreeable to the Committee being composed of the members from those five countries.

The motion was agreed to.

There is one announcement to make before the delegates disperse for lunch. The Red Cross Exhibition, organized on the first floor of this building, will be closed tonight. Today is the last chance for those who wish to see it. The Societies represented in it are requested to please contact the P.R.O. in Room No. 102 and make the necessary arrangements regarding the packing of their exhibits.

We adjourn now and I would like the delegates to be here punctually in their seats by five minutes to 3 O'clock, so that the session may begin punctually, because we still have a great deal of work to be done.

The Conference adjourned till 3 O'clock.

SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

November 7, 1957

SUMMARY:—ITEM 11 OF CONFERENCE AGENDA: PLACE AND DATE OF XXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE—ITEM 10 OF AGENDA: ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF STANDING COMMISSION—ITEM 9 OF AGENDA: RED CROSS AS A FACTOR FOR WORLD PEACE—SUSPENSION OF DISCUSSION—VOTE BY SECRET BALLOT ON DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DELEGATION—CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION OF ITEM 9—ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULT OF SECRET BALLOT—WITHDRAWAL OF DELEGATIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND RED CROSS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA—WITHDRAWAL OF INDIAN RED CROSS DELEGATION AND HANDING OVER OF CHAIR TO PRINCE DE MÈRODE—WITHDRAWAL OF A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS—ARRIVAL OF DELEGATES OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA—ON POINT OF ORDER, VOTE APPROVING PRESENCE OF THESE DELEGATES—CONCLUSION OF DISCUSSION ON POINT 9—CLOSING STATEMENTS BY A NUMBER OF SPEAKERS AND PRINCE DE MÈRODE—CLOSURE OF CONFERENCE.

The meeting was called to order at 3.00 p.m. by the Chairman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I want just to make one or two announcements. First of all, there is a fair amount of work left which has to be done before half past four when the vote on the American resolution that was transferred from yesterday to today comes. So, I want to get through the important items on the Agenda before that resolution comes up at half past four.

I would suggest taking up item 11 on the Agenda, the place and date of the XXth International Red Cross Conference: Prof. Albertini of the Swiss Red Cross would like to have the floor.

PROF. VON ALBERTINI (Switzerland, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: With your permission, I should like to make some proposals on behalf of the Swiss Red Cross, concerning the date and place of the next International Conference of the Red Cross. In full agreement with the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Chairman of the League, we propose that the next Conference should be held in 1963 at Geneva. The reasons for making this proposal are the following: we believe that it would be sufficient if the next International Conference of the Red Cross were held in six years' time. At its meeting the day before yesterday, the Board of Governors declared itself in agreement with our proposal to celebrate the centenary of the founding of the Red Cross in 1863, the centenary of the 1st Conference which was convened on a proposal by a citizen of Geneva, Henry Dunant. This commemoration should in any case take place at Geneva, the historic city where the Red Cross movement was born. Thanks to the spirit of universality of its founder, the Red Cross movement has not been limited to the city of Geneva; its humanitarian ideas have conquered the whole world and have gained international recognition.

Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in the name of the Swiss Red Cross, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies, I ask you to support my proposal. The centenary of the foundation of the Red Cross must be marked by a special manifestation which should give a new impetus to our work and help to spread the ideals of the Red Cross ever more widely throughout the world.

Thank you Madam Chairman.

MR. DE RHAM (Switzerland, Government) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: As you know, in 1963 we shall celebrate a centenary which concerns both Switzerland and the whole International Red Cross movement. It was in 1863 that, on the initiative of a group of eminent Swiss citizens, who were inspired by the generous ideas of Henry Dunant, the founder body of the Red Cross was established. This was an historic moment of particular importance for it enabled the translation into positive action of principles and ideas which until that time had been confined to religion and morals. In that year, on the initiative of the Committee of Five which was the forerunner of the I.C.R.C., delegates of National Societies and government experts were convened to meet in Geneva in order to examine the advisability of adopting new international rules and regulations. In 1963 we shall therefore celebrate the centenary of International Conferences of the Red Cross as you know them today. It will be a double anniversary—for the Red Cross throughout the world and also for my own country. We believe that there is no more fitting manner of celebrating this occasion than to allow us to welcome you to Switzerland in 1963 for the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross. In the name of the Swiss Government and by way of confirming the invitation which has just been extended to you, I therefore wish to state that, without wishing to prejudice the final decision to be taken by this Conference

as regards the place and date of the next International Conference of the Red Cross, the Swiss Government would be very happy to welcome you to Geneva.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I believe there is an invitation from the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R. for the next International Conference to be held in Moscow.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Fellow-delegates: My Government has authorised me to make an invitation for the next International Conference to be held in Moscow—I mean the next regular Conference.

The two speakers who spoke before me suggested that the next Conference should be held not in four years as our statute lays down but in six years, so that the next Conference will be in 1963, and that is the Jubilee Conference. Of course, if we have our next Conference in six years, it will be only natural that the place of the next Conference will be Geneva, because Geneva has more right to offer us hospitality for that occasion and we, the Soviet delegation, will have to wait for the next ordinary Conference in order to invite you to Moscow.

Of course, it is for the Conference to determine the time when the next Conference will be held. If we decide to have the next Conference in four years, and to have a Jubilee Conference separately, then we would be very happy to offer you hospitality in Moscow in four years' time.

Thank you.

JUSTICE SANDSTRÖM (L.S.C.R.)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The League is among the Red Cross organizations which are behind the invitation for a conference in 1963 in Geneva; the reason for which is quite independent of the celebrations in 1963. In my opinion, these international conferences occur a little too often and there could be a greater interval between them. Therefore, I think it is desirable that perhaps a little longer time than four years should pass. Here we have an excellent opportunity to disperse the conferences over more time. Therefore, on behalf of the League, I support this idea of holding the conference in Geneva in 1963.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Does any other delegate want to speak? It seems nobody else wants to speak. There are two proposals before the House. As you know, the International Red Cross Conference is held ordinarily every four years and the Alliance of the Red Cross and Red Crescent of the U.S.S.R. has invited us, and is in favour of holding the next International Red Cross Conference in Moscow. The other proposition is that the time between the International Conferences should be increased to six years and therefore, the next conference shall be held in Geneva in 1963.

MR. BOISSIER (I.C.R.C.) (original French)—Madam Chairman: I think that it would be preferable first to take a decision regarding the advisability of holding the Conference in 1961 or 1963; only after a decision has been taken as to the date of the Conference can we decide as to the place, for I would not wish to establish any competition which in fact exists neither in our own minds nor in that of Professor Miterev, a kind of competition between the great capital of Russia and the modest city of Geneva.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Of course, there cannot ever be any competition as to where we hold our conference. But this is definitely a new suggestion that we should have the conference at an interval of six years not only this time, but always in future. I understood from Judge Sandstrom, that he really wanted the time between the international conferences to be increased to six years.

JUSTICE SANDSTRÖM (Chairman, L.S.C.R.)—Madam Chairman: I only spoke about the next conference. I think it is a question that might be taken up later at what intervals the conferences might be held in the future or other changes that might be made in the statutes of the International Conference. I think it is too early to take up these questions now.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—We shall then vote on the question as to whether the next International Conference shall be in 1961 or in 1963.

The voting is as follows: in favour of holding the next International Conference in 1963: 65, against holding it in 1963: 20, abstentions: 7. So the resolution in favour of holding the Conference in 1963 is carried. I take it that the majority of members of the Conference are in favour of holding the Conference in 1963 and in Geneva.

The next item on the Agenda that I am going to take is the question of election of members of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross. According to tradition, I am going to ask the Secretariat to read out the names that have been proposed by the Bureau.

MR. PILLOUD (Assistant Secretary General) (original French)—The Bureau has asked me to read out the list of the five persons whose election is proposed as members of the Standing Commission for the period between the end of this Conference and the opening of the XXth International Conference. In alphabetical order, they are: Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, H. E. Mr. Francois-Poncet, General Gruenther, Professor Miterev and Mr. Sloper.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Is there any other name which any delegate would like to propose? Since there are no other names, I take it that these names have been accepted by the Conference. The new members of the Standing Commission are as follows: myself, Ambassador André Francois-Poncet, General Gruenther, Prof. Miterev and Mr. Sloper.

Before I go on to the last but one item on the Agenda—Red Cross as a factor in world peace—I would just like to say that whatever happens, the voting on the American resolution has to take place at 4.30 p.m. whether any other business is left or not. There will be no speeches on that resolution. I have had a requisition for a secret vote to be taken on that resolution and that will be taken the moment it comes. There is also the Chinese resolution that has to be taken up. I will ask two speakers to speak in favour of the Chinese resolution and two speakers to speak against it and the vote will be taken after that.

We will now take up the item—Red Cross as a factor in world peace.

MR. BODMER (I.C.R.C.) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honour to present to you the draft text on point 9 of the agenda and the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on "The Red Cross as a factor for world peace". This report was circulated to you one year ago; it is therefore in the hands of the members attending this Conference. There are no comments to be made on this report, for peace is not a matter for command—it speaks for itself. I should, however, with your permission, like to add a few remarks. As shown in the report, the Red Cross is by its very work a factor for peace, but at the opening of the Conference the Prime Minister of India made a pressing appeal for the Red Cross to try to make an even greater contribution to peace, and particularly to peace in the minds and the hearts of people. The International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies greatly appreciate this appeal, all the more so since it corresponds to the measures proposed by certain National Societies during the period between the two world wars with a view to maintaining a peaceful state of mind in the event of international tension.

The I.C.R.C. convened Red Cross experts with a view to limiting the evils caused by war. Why should the Committee and the League not do the same in order to find out whether by means of concrete and practical measures the Red Cross could contribute still further to peace? Any idea relating to the development of our movement must be carefully considered, particularly when it comes from the Prime Minister of the great country which has given us such a splendid welcome. Lastly, I should like to submit to you a draft resolution which is presented jointly by the International Committee and the League of Red Cross Societies. It reads as follows:

"The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
confirms its previous Resolutions for peace,
considering the unique character of the membership represented by the 110,000,000 men, women and children united in 80 countries by the National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, which in turn are grouped together in the League of Red Cross Societies,
whereas the numerous moral and material demonstrations of fellowship by the Red Cross on the international level, without discrimination and to the exclusion of all political consideration, represent a most efficacious contribution of the Red Cross to peace among the nations,
expresses the heartfelt desire that by the maintenance of peace humanity may be spared from new and incalculable suffering,
exhorts the governments to neglect no endeavour to settle their disputes in a pacific manner and in all their acts to obey the ideal of human fellowship and the humanitarian principles recognized by all nations,
recommends the National Societies,

to cultivate their mutual relations, in order to develop the understanding and agreement indispensable for the elimination of discord among themselves and, through their intermediary, among the nations, to increase the number of their actions for mutual assistance, in order that these may contribute to strengthening their solidarity, without respect to frontiers, and thus keep alive amongst all people the ideal of peace, which humanity cannot and must not cease to make its goal”.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I have to interrupt the speeches on the Red Cross as a factor of world peace for a moment. The delegate from Argentina wishes to place a resolution paying homage to Mahatma Gandhi before us.

MR. REYNALDO PEROTTO (Argentina, Red Cross) (original Spanish)—Madam Chairman, Fellow-delegates: The Argentine Red Cross delegation, speaking in its own name, is certain that it is interpreting the feelings of all the delegations present in submitting the following draft Resolution for the consideration of the Conference :

“ Considering that the philosophy of Gandhi rejects the very idea of war and that the reason for the existence of the Red Cross as a movement and as an organization, is to alleviate the suffering caused thereby,

Whereas the present Conference is being held in the capital of a country to whose foundation he contributed in preaching and practising the doctrine of non-violence,

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross pays tribute to the revered memory of Mahatma Gandhi, father of the Indian Union,

The figure of Mahatma Gandhi, the shining example of his action and his life, his very death, identify him with and incarnate the immortal principles of the Red Cross. Gandhi in his creed of non-violence sums up the whole spiritual tradition of India from Asoka to the present day. He followed this tradition, which he practised with evangelical and apostolic zeal, never resorting to any other weapon in the great fight to free his country than the irresistible force of the rejection of force.

Gandhi who knew neither hatred nor resentment with his almost mystical love for his neighbour, will remain for all time the symbol of peaceful action as an instrument for the solution of human conflicts”.

Madam President, Gentlemen, allow me to propose the adoption of this draft Resolution by acclamation, and to invite you to rise to your feet as a tribute to the revered memory of Gandhi (*Applause*).

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman) *The Resolution is unanimously adopted.*—

Now we proceed to the Draft Resolution on the Red Cross as a factor for world peace. The delegate from Czechoslovakia wanted to speak.

DR. JANOUGH (Czechoslovakia, Red Cross) (original French)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is particularly appropriate and at the same time symbolic that the question of the Red Cross as a factor for world peace should have been placed on the agenda as one of the principal items for consideration by the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross which is being held in India, a country which has justly earned the reputation of being one of the foremost defenders of peace. It is not by chance that the highest representatives of India have referred to the tasks regarding peace in their speeches at the opening of the Conference. One might say that they have posed the following question in the name of all mankind: What is the International Red Cross doing and what will it do in future in this period of cold war which conjures up the nightmare of a future war, against the wishes of the immense majority of mankind? Will the Red Cross become one of the fundamental forces of peace which reflect the most intimate and sincere desires of mankind? Will it as part of its humanitarian mission help to stave off the nightmare of war which torments humanity with the threat of destruction?

The agenda for the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross contains three very important questions: the question of the Draft Rules; the question of the prohibition of tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons; and this third question now before us which, in the opinion of the Czechoslovak Red Cross, is not merely a complement to the other two questions I have mentioned. All these questions represent a whole, a triangle in the question of peace—the base or the summit, as you prefer. This question is of interest not only to the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross but also to all mankind. The decision adopted by the Conference on this matter will have repercussions throughout the world.

There is still time to preserve mankind from the immense suffering and bitterness which would be caused by a new war. The Red Cross is an institution whose principal task is to eliminate the suffering caused by war; in the first place it should try to prevent war and only then try to prevent the suffering caused by war. It is the responsibility of the Red Cross to preserve mankind from disease, epidemics, accidents, etc. There is therefore all the more reason why it should be able to protect mankind against mass injury and mutilation, and above all to protect human life against a death which is not the normal conclusion of human life, but which is absurd, violent and barbarous, the result of the monstrous abuse and deformation of scientific achievements in the event of war.

During this Conference many Government and Red Cross representatives have drawn attention to the opinions expressed by scientific and even military authorities, warning us of the terrible consequences of any reckless unleashing of these new destructive forces. These speeches were received with unanimous concurrence.

In comparison with the situation prevailing at the time of the XVIIIth International Conference of the Red Cross at Toronto, when the resolution condemning bacteriological warfare was adopted unanimously, the present situation presents a far greater and ever-increasing danger for humanity and calls more urgently than ever for the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross to make a clear and decisive declaration regarding the stand of the Red Cross in the matter of the protection of mankind against weapons of mass destruction whose effects are infinitely more deadly than those referred to in the Toronto resolution, and in regard to the preservation of peace in the world as mentioned by an earlier speaker.

At the present time, the mission of the International Red Cross is to declare more urgently and more clearly than in the past what practical measures must be taken immediately so that mankind may be protected from fresh suffering. The Czechoslovak Red Cross therefore welcomed the initiative of the International Committee and the League and has studied the proposed resolution with great interest. The principles contained in this resolution concord fully with the humanitarian ideals of the International Red Cross. If these principles are declared once again, they will help to strengthen peace. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak Red Cross, however, this resolution does not lay sufficient emphasis on the need for the International Red Cross, the International Committee, the League of Red Cross Societies and all the National Societies to participate in the daily struggle for peace.

The draft amendments submitted by the Czechoslovak Red Cross to the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross are based *inter alia* on the commentary of the International Committee of the Red Cross concerning the rules, the Genocide Convention negotiated in the United Nations, and resolution No. 41(I) of the United Nations General Assembly.

In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, it is inconceivable that the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross should not draw attention to the consequences of a future war and to the possible means of protecting mankind against the horrors of war. Our delegation is aware of the feeling which has been expressed during this Conference; the delegations have expressed agreement with the idea of pursuing all efforts towards disarmament and the prohibition of tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons; our delegation therefore considers that this position should be stated still more plainly in the draft resolution now before the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross.

The resolution should mention the principal practical measures which could contribute to lessening the danger of war. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation suggests that the resolution should also make a clear reference to the suppression of war propaganda and urge the National Red Cross Societies to consider co-operation with the organizations endeavouring to safeguard peace as a daily task of the greatest importance.

Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, there can be no doubt that the peoples who are eagerly awaiting a statement which can help to strengthen peace will assess the results of our Conference from the point of view of what they expect and from that of their hopes and aspirations.

The Czechoslovak Red Cross calls on all the delegations here at this Conference to support the Czechoslovak proposal to make an addition to the draft resolution submitted jointly by the International Committee and the League, so that the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross may adopt a text worthy of its ideals, its mission, and the authority which the International Red Cross should and does enjoy throughout the world.

Thank you Madam Chairman.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Fellow-delegates: Twelve years have passed since the end of the second world war, but we cannot forget the suffering and the terrible damage caused by it. That is why we all feel that a new war should be prevented at any cost. This is the desire

and the demand of all nations. I know that we may find Red Cross leaders who will be inclined to belittle the possibilities of the Red Cross in this respect. Unfortunately there exists the belief that the Red Cross should keep aloof from the problems directly connected with the prevention of war for it is said that these are political matters which should be settled by the Governments.

All the delegates to this Conference are responsible people and we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the race of armaments in general and nuclear weapons in particular and the continued atomic and hydrogen weapon tests create a great threat to humanity, a threat of mass destruction of the people. The Red Cross position in regard to these problems was clearly and definitely formulated in the decisions of the sessions of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies held in Monaco and Oslo, and the XVIIIth International Red Cross Conference in Toronto. In these decisions the International Red Cross calls upon the Governments to come to an agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons and establishment of control over this prohibition.

Madam Chairman, Fellow-delegates, our delegation wholeheartedly supports that part of the draft resolution presented by the League and the International Committee which proposes to confirm these decisions. Our delegation wholeheartedly supports that part of the draft resolution which says that the numerous moral and material demonstrations of fellowship of the Red Cross at the international level represent the most efficacious contribution of the Red Cross to peace among nations. But we feel that the drawback of the draft resolution submitted by the League and the International Committee lies in the fact that the urgent problems of the present day are not mentioned here.

In this respect, all the previous resolutions on this question, and the Oslo resolution of the Board of Governors in particular, were more concrete and were in greater accord with the spirit of the times. That is why our delegation suggests a small amendment to the draft resolution of the League and the International Committee of the Red Cross, an amendment which follows from the previous decisions, and which reflects the Red Cross position on such important questions as disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons etc. We suggest that in document P-17, in paragraph 5, after the words "exhorts the Government", the words "neglect no endeavour" should be replaced by the words "to make new endeavours", and a new paragraph should be added at the end of paragraph 5 as follows: "Invite the Governments in the first place to come to an agreement on the prohibition of the use of all forms of nuclear weapons and on general disarmament".

So, I want to emphasise it would be of great importance if our Conference voted unanimously on the problem of the role of the Red Cross in the promotion of peace among the nations, and we sincerely hope that other delegations will support our amendment to the above resolution.

MRS. LI-TEH-CHUAN (People's Republic of China, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, and Fellow-delegates: The Chinese Red Cross Society basically agrees to the draft resolution entitled "The Red Cross as a factor for world peace" submitted jointly by the League of Red Cross Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

To our mind, the Red Cross is essentially a peace movement. Its principle of humanitarianism calls for all nations to live together in peace and renounce war as a means of settling their disputes, so as to preserve world peace and save humanity from the calamities and sufferings of war. The Red Cross Societies thus make an important contribution to world peace through their practical activities in promoting friendly co-operation between peoples, and in clearing up misunderstandings.

The Chinese Red Cross Society considers that the League of Red Cross Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross have done much work which is beneficial to friendly co-operation among peoples. The past experiences have proved that the International Conferences of the Red Cross, and the co-operation in the daily work of the national Red Cross Societies are helpful to the understanding and friendship of the peoples of all nations. This would help to achieve greater unity of action among the national Red Cross Societies in the humanitarian cause; thereby making greater contributions to the defence of world peace.

On this basis, therefore, I basically agree with the draft resolution of the League and the I.C.R.C., as it seems to me to have reflected the will of the one hundred million peace-loving Red Cross members. However, in order that the draft resolution may more explicitly express the common aspirations of the national Red Cross Societies to defend peace, and to urge the Governments of all countries to live together in peace, the Chinese delegation supports the amendment proposed by the Soviet delegation to the draft resolution, and hopes that this Conference will accept the amendment of the Soviet delegation.

MR. BAI DONG KEN (Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman and Fellow-delegates: We have during almost 15 days discussed many questions useful to the cause of humanitarianism. Some differences of opinion have been expressed in the course of discussion, but thanks to the conciliatory

spirit displayed by many delegates on the basis of the principles of the Statutes of the Red Cross and the universality of the Red Cross, such differences have been coordinated to no small extent.

As is well known, delegates from over 80 countries with differing social and political systems have assembled here. It is most obvious that the difference of systems cannot constitute an obstacle to the carrying out of the cause of peace and humanitarianism which is the guiding idea of the Red Cross. That is precisely the reason why the International Red Cross has also expressed on several occasions its desire to contribute towards peace. Today the Red Cross calls for carrying out more concrete tasks so as to be able to make practical contribution to peace.

The genuine humanitarian activities of the Red Cross are beneficial to peace. It is out of a sincere desire for thoroughly safeguarding peace against war that the Red Cross insists upon settling disputes among nations by means of peaceful negotiation.

Under the present circumstances, mutual contacts between nations are of great importance in eliminating distrust and establishing confidence among nations and in easing international tension.

Likewise, the facilitating of mutual contacts and co-operation between Red Cross Societies is of great importance not only in promoting friendship and understanding between them but also in developing their humanitarian services in the interests of peace.

In fact, the Red Cross has long since made repeated appeals for peace and offered humanitarian services which saved innumerable human lives from numerous disasters.

We, however, can never be content with this. The danger of war has not yet vanished from this world and the Red Cross should at this serious juncture make further contribution to the cause of peace. We must, therefore, go far towards peace not by mere words but with actual deeds.

In order to play its part as a factor for peace, the Red Cross should resolutely condemn all kinds of attempts to intensify the danger of war, continue to make appeal beneficial to peace, and give due support to, and show its sympathy for, the movements of progressive mankind throughout the world for the preservation and consolidation of peace.

With a view to producing an ever-increasing effect on the cause of peace and making direct contribution to it, mutual relations between all national Societies should first be developed.

The draft Resolution submitted jointly to this Conference by the I.C.R.C. and the League of Red Cross Societies also recommends all Governments and Red Cross Societies to promote mutual understanding and strengthen their relations.

The Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that this recommendation reflects the demands of the present situation to a definite extent and is conducive to peace. The strengthening of mutual relations will be beneficial to enriching and popularising the humanitarian work of the Red Cross in favour of peace.

As is well known, each National Red Cross Society guided by the common ideal of the Red Cross is performing various kinds of activities in conformity with the actual realities of its own country.

It is self-evident that the excellent experiences gained in these activities can serve as a useful reference for the activities of all the Red Cross Societies.

In order to consolidate peace and the relations between all Red Cross Societies, the Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea favours the exchange of visits by the representatives of Red Cross Societies and will welcome such visits to our country.

Fellow-delegates, as you are well aware, the Korean people fall behind none in their aspiration for a durable peace. The Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea gives full support to the consistent efforts of our Government toward the preservation of peace in Korea and peaceful unification of Korea. This is by no means a fortuity.

The peace-loving measures taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fully accord not only with the national aspiration of the Korean people to unify their country peacefully but also with the preservation of peace in the Far East and the idea upon which the Red Cross is based.

As is known to all, our country has long since been divided into the North and the South. The artificial division of the country over a long period, not only poses a serious hindrance to the rapid development of Korea but further aggravates the unnatural barrier between the North and the South. And owing to the division of the country, the misfortune of numerous Korean families has not yet been eliminated.

Under these circumstances, the Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that practical measures should, first of all, be rapidly taken to bring about understanding and confidence between

the two Societies. By holding direct meetings between the Red Cross Societies of the North and the South, and promoting understanding, we can bring happiness and joy to the unfortunate Korean families divided into the North and the South and, furthermore, make actual contribution to preserving peace in Korea.

The establishment and promotion of relations between the two Red Cross Societies in North and South Korea are, indeed, of tremendous significance.

Since our two Red Cross Societies are guided by the idea of peace and humanitarianism, there is no reason why they cannot facilitate mutual understanding and promote mutual contacts in order to materialise their lofty ideals and fulfil their moral obligations.

All the delegates assembled here have supported our just opinion. All the delegates attending the Human Rights Commission on November 2 recommended that the delegates of the two Red Cross Societies of the North and the South hold direct negotiations on questions of mutual concern during the present conference.*

MR. KYU HA CHOI (Republic of Korea, Government)—On a point of order, Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to make a few representations in connection with the remarks made by the person from the Northern part of Korea.

As you and I know very well, the subject on the Agenda is "Red Cross as a factor of Peace". However, it is regrettable that the person from North Korea referred to a matter which has already been disposed of in the morning session.

He has also referred to the matter of a sort of a political question on the re-unification of Korea. Of course, people from the Republic of Korea are also anxious to re-unify their fatherland. However, this is not the place for taking up a very political problem of unifying a divided country. I am sure that all of you will support my idea in this connection because our argument and deliberations should be limited to the specific items on the Agenda. I do not see any reason why the matter which has already been disposed of should be referred to again. There are also some matters which belong to the political side and I see no reason why they should be mentioned at this forum of the Red Cross Conference. I, therefore, have the honour to humbly request, honourable Madam Chairman, to rule out the remarks made by the gentleman from North Korea in connection with the points which I raised just a few minutes ago.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—It has more than once been ruled from this Chair that nothing shall be said in speeches that impute motives to Governments or persons. I shall order what he has said and what is not in conformity with that ruling, to be expunged from the speech. I shall ask him now to proceed and to make no further reference to South Korea and talk only with reference to the resolution which is before us.

MR. BAI DONG KEN (Contd.)—In concluding, on behalf of the Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I support the amendment proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union to the Draft Resolution jointly submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. Thank you.

DR. KOLAROFF (Bulgaria, Government and Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has become a good tradition to discuss at each of our Conferences the question about the role of the Red Cross as a factor of peace. This is a very important question because it is in the spirit of the grand principles of humanitarianism which overflow the hearts of all Red Cross members. The Red Cross represents a great moral force which has always stood for peace and it is a great force working today persistently for the preservation of peace, and the alleviation of countless sufferings of humanity from the horrors of a new war which, owing to the existence of modern weapons of great destructive power, threatens the destruction of humanity and the advance of modern civilisation.

At the present moment when humanity is faced with the danger of a war, the Red Cross and all of us should exert our efforts for the preservation of peace. We address all the countries in the world and their Governments not to ignore every opportunity of peaceful settlement of the disputed questions among them. Let us create such an atmosphere in which an aggressive war will be illegal and a criminal act from the point of the great humanitarian principles of the Red Cross—a criminal act which must be condemned at all costs.

I really take pleasure in reporting that as regards the questions of peace, the Bulgarian Red Cross members have found full understanding and support on the part of their own Government which is pursuing consistently a peaceful policy and stands firmly for the solution of all questions through peaceful understanding among nations.

* Passage expunged by order of the Chairman.

Expressing the will and the wishes of the Bulgarian people, an Act has been passed in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in defence of peace, thereby rendering punishable war propaganda and actions aimed at whipping up war. The Bulgarian delegation, expressing the aspirations and feelings of more than one million of its own members, expects that the XIXth International Red Cross Conference will make an efficient contribution to the cause of peace all over the world.

In this connection, we consider that it would be of great use of humanity if our Conference addresses a new convincing appeal to the Governments of all countries for doing away with the contradiction among States along the road of peaceful solution for working for general disarmament, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the termination of nuclear tests, for establishment of lasting peace among States and calm among the people.

The Bulgarian delegation is ready to support every proposal which will be submitted in the interests of the consolidation of peace. The Bulgarian delegation will vote for the resolution submitted by the International Committee with the amendment made by the Red Cross of the Soviet Union.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Since there are four more speakers who have sent their names on to me to speak on this resolution, and there are also two amendments to this resolution, I will ask the delegates—as there are only three minutes to 4.30 when we promised to vote on the American Resolution—discussion on which was stopped yesterday—to be prepared to exercise their votes on the American Resolution. As I have said before, votes will be taken by secret ballot.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK (U.S.A., Government)—I wish to raise a point of order. According to the Rules of Procedure of this Conference, a secret ballot can be taken only when requested by ten delegations; I wonder if the Chairman would ask those ten delegates to hold up their hands in order that the Conference may know who have requested the secret ballot.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I have already got written requests signed by representatives of 14 delegations to have a secret vote. I do not consider it necessary for them to hold up their hands and show who they are, when I have received a signed document.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK—Can we know which of the delegations have requested?

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—All the delegations whose representatives have signed have requested a secret vote.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK—Can we have the names?

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—Why do you want to know the names?

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK—It would be of interest to the American delegation. Would you mind reading out the names?

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I do not consider it necessary for me to give the names. I give the ruling that 14 delegations have asked for a secret ballot and that it should be enough for you.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK—I accept the Chairman's ruling.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I would like the delegates please to pay attention to what is going to be read out now, in order to be absolutely accurate as far as voting is concerned. This applies to delegates both of the Red Cross Societies as well as Governments.

MR. PHILLIPS (Assistant Secretary General)—In the case of votes by secret ballot, the National Societies will be called upon to vote first, then the States, then the International Committee and the League. The vote will be taken by secret ballot as the Chairman has already told you. The ballot papers are now being distributed. When the distribution is completed I shall read out first the list of Red Cross Societies present here to come up and place their ballot papers in the box, then the list of Governments and then the International Committee and the League. In the case of one delegate representing both the Government and the National Society, he will please fill up two papers, bringing one to the ballot box for his Government and one for his Society.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I hope that is clear now. I should like to suggest that we appoint two scrutators. I suggest the names of Prince de Mérode of Belgium and Prof. Dr. Nissim Mevorah of Bulgaria to act as scrutators. I hope these two delegates will be kind enough to act as scrutators. I request them to come up to the rostrum.

I understand that some of the delegates are not clear on what they are voting. The vote that is to be taken now by secret ballot is on the resolution presented by the United States of America yesterday in regard to the procedure of invitations that have to be issued to Governments in the future. Now, have you got that all right?

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK—(U.S.A., Government)—That this will apply to the present Conference may be made clear.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—It will be made clear to the Government delegate of the United States that this resolution of theirs will apply to this Conference, that is to say, that the moment the resolution is passed, then, they will insist on the delegate from Formosa, as had been invited by the host country, taking his seat in this Conference, as representative of the Nationalist Republic of China. Now, is that quite clear? First of all, the Red Cross Societies will come and vote, and after that, the Government delegate of the countries that are represented here will vote. After that, the International Committee and the League. I hope that is quite clear. Has everybody got their voting papers and are you clear what you have to vote for and what you have to vote against? Please see that there is no mistake.

Now, I will read to you the resolution on which you are voting :

“ Having in mind the report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission,
Confirming the statements of the Chairman of the Standing Commission that the Red Cross is not concerned with juridical and political questions regarding the status of Governments,
Resolves in accordance with the traditional principles of the Red Cross, that it is the sense of the Conference that all parties invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles ”.

That is the resolution on which you are voting and please remember that if it is passed, its contents are applicable straightaway.

Voting by secret ballot then started.

MR. PHILLIPS (Assistant Secretary General)—A list of the Red Cross Societies is to be read by alphabetical order and as each name is read, the delegate concerned will please come and place his ballot paper in the urn :

Albanian Red Cross; Argentine Red Cross; Australian Red Cross; Bulgarian Red Cross; Austrian Red Cross; Brazilian Red Cross; Burma Red Cross; Canadian Red Cross; Ceylon Red Cross; Chilean Red Cross; National Red Cross Society of China; Cuban Red Cross; Czechoslovak Red Cross; Danish Red Cross; Ecuador Red Cross; Egyptian Red Crescent; El Salvador Red Cross; Ethiopian Red Cross; Finnish Red Cross; French Red Cross; Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Germany; Red Cross of the Federal Republic of Germany; Greek Red Cross; Haitian Red Cross; Hungarian Red Cross; Indian Red Cross; Indonesian Red Cross; Iranian Red Lion and Sun; Iraqi Red Crescent; Irish Red Cross; Italian Red Cross; Icelandic Red Cross; Japanese Red Cross; Jordan Red Crescent; Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Korea; Red Cross of the Republic of Korea; Red Cross Society of Laos; Lebanese Red Cross; Liechtenstein Red Cross; Luxemburg Red Cross; Mexican Red Cross; Monaco Red Cross; Netherlands Red Cross; New Zealand Red Cross; Norwegian Red Cross; Pakistan Red Cross; Panama Red Cross; Peruvian Red Cross; Philippines Red Cross; Polish Red Cross; Portuguese Red Cross; Rumanian Red Cross; San Marino Red Cross; Spanish Red Cross; Sudanese Red Crescent; Swiss Red Cross; Syrian Red Crescent; Swedish Red Cross; Thai Red Cross; Tunisian Red Crescent; Turkish Red Crescent; South African Red Cross; Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R.; British Red Cross; American National Red Cross; Uruguayan Red Cross; Venezuelan Red Cross; Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Red Cross of the Republic of Vietnam; Yugoslavian Red Cross.

If there is any National Society whose name has not been called, please stand up.

I shall now call upon Governments :

Governments of Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Albania, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, France, Democratic Republic of Germany, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana,

Greece, The Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jordan, Democratic Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Lebanon, Libya, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Malaya, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Republic of Vietnam, Yugoslavia.

Has any Government delegation not been called? International Committee of the Red Cross, League of the Red Cross Societies. The list is now completed.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—While the counting of votes is going on, I should like to give the floor to the delegate from Chile, who would like to come and speak on the resolution that has already been passed. It is a vote of thanks to the press. Perhaps, he will come and speak now.

H. E. MR. SERRANO FERNANDES (Chile, Government) (original Spanish)—This resolution is a vote of thanks to the Press for the impartial manner in which it has given coverage to the Conference, thus contributing to the progress of our work. In presenting this resolution, I should like to recall to you the name of my friend, Mr. D. Gandhi, the son of Mahatma Gandhi, who was a journalist all his life and died this year as editor of "Hindustan Times".

The draft resolution reads as follows:

"Considering that the Indian Press has given full and impartial coverage to all the discussions which have taken place during the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross in New Delhi,

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requests the Chairman to transmit its sincere congratulations and gratitude to the appropriate authorities of the Indian Press".

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I think the counting of votes will take a little more time. So, I request the Philippine delegate to come and speak on the peace resolution.

MRS. PECSON (Philippines, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman: Please permit me to express here my deep and warm admiration for Mr. Miterev, who is the worthy representative of the Government of the U.S.S.R. I have noticed that he is a persistent worker, ever alert for opportunities for his country's voice to be heard here. However, Madam Chairman, although I admire him and he is such a good friend of mine, I am constrained to remind him that his proposed amendment to the Resolution on the Red Cross as a factor for World Peace has been exhaustively discussed here from all angles for many days, on several occasions, in connection with different resolutions to which he had presented the same amendment. I believe that the members of this Conference are all already decided on this matter, as shown by the fact, that after the proposals of Mr. Miterev had been disposed of the resolutions were approved unanimously. In view of this and because there cannot be a change of opinion on the part of the Conference within the few hours since the last amendment of Mr. Miterev was dealt with, and since there has been no sudden development anywhere in the World to justify the consideration again of this subject, I respectfully move in the name of the Philippine National Red Cross, that the consideration of this matter be now put to an end, and quickly, so that we can move forward for, as you have stated, we have yet much to do with very little time left at our disposal.

Needless to say, Madam Chairman, the Philippine delegation is in favour of the resolution on the Red Cross as a factor for World Peace. Thank you.

H. E. AMBASSADOR SCILINGO (Argentina, Government)—Madam Chairman and friends: This Resolution can be divided into two parts. The first part "exhorts the Governments to neglect no endeavour to settle their disputes etc." The second part invites the Governments in the first place to come to an agreement on the prohibition of the use of all forms of nuclear weapons and on general disarmament. That, I think, is covered by the resolutions passed elsewhere. Rather than that I would suggest some reference to the United Nations or something to the following effect may be added after the paragraph "Exhorts the Government to neglect no endeavour, etc."

"And in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

As regards exhortations to peace by previous speakers I am sure we all join in them. Most of those who came to the rostrum spoke of peace. In any case we all have peace in our hearts. By all means let the world know that we urgently desire peace. But then I think the Red Cross has already made its message of peace known to the world by some of the historic resolutions it has passed. No further additions are needed. Let us

all disperse from this Conference in true Red Cross friendship, united in the resolve to work for peace for ourselves, for our children and for our children's children.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—May I ask the delegate of Argentina whether he has any definite amendment to make? There are two amendments already here. Would he make an amendment? In the meantime, Mr. Sloper wishes to speak.

MR. SLOPER (Brazil, Red Cross)—Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: You have been kind enough to allow me to speak on another subject now. I am sure I am voicing here the feelings of many of my fellow-delegates in extending our thanks to the Alliance of Red Cross, and Red Crescent Societies of U.S.S.R. for their invitation which was very much appreciated, and to say that this Conference has taken with gratitude note of that invitation for the future (*Applause*). This morning we also voted somewhat hurriedly the motions of thanks. I am not going to repeat them here, but I know that you all join me in expressing our thanks to those people whom we mentioned in those motions, the President and the Vice-President of the Republic, the Indian Government, the Prime Minister, and the Indian Red Cross Society, in particular, for the most remarkable banquet which they gave us yesterday, so many people of the Junior Red Cross, the many Indian families, and last but not the least our Chairman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, thanking whom I should leave to better speakers than myself. Thank you.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I have just received the result of the voting on the United States Resolution.

In favour	62
Against	44
Abstentions	16

The Resolution is carried.

I now give the floor to the Government delegate from the Peoples Republic of China who wishes to make a statement.

H. E. MR. PAN-TZU-LI (People's Republic of China, Government)—Madam Chairman, Fellow-delegates: The Chinese delegation holds that the United States proposals just adopted by this Conference is in violation of the Statutes of the International Red Cross.*

And now we declare that we withdraw from the XIXth International Red Cross Conference.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Chairman)—I rule that the words with reference to the United States be expunged from the records.

I would also like to make a statement and that is to this effect. I spoke yesterday with a very full heart. This Conference has a right to vote and accept any Resolution and it is the duty of the Members of the Red Cross Societies and the Government delegates to abide by that decision. But I cannot help but protest that it was not given to the host Society of the Red Cross to have any choice in the matter of the issuing of invitations by the designation that has now been accepted by this Conference.

I would recall to your mind that the United States of America Red Cross having invited the International Conference to meet there, at the last moment refused to have it there, because they were unwilling to invite a certain Red Cross Society to take part in those deliberations and the Conference was transferred to Toronto. I humbly submit that had I been given the same opportunity, the Conference would not have been held here. I consider that the way that this Resolution has been introduced at the last moment, is—if I may say so in all humility—grave discourtesy to the Indian Red Cross Society.

The only protest I can make is to leave this Conference Hall. I do it with regret. I do not do it in any spirit of antipathy or antagonism to the Red Cross movement. Of that I have been a soldier all my life, and I shall continue to be that soldier. I would thank all the members of all the delegations here for the warmth of affection and the gratitude that they have expressed on various occasions to the Indian Red Cross for having invited them here. I am very glad that the work of the Conference, at any rate, has proceeded smoothly. I will ask now Prince de Mérode to take the Chair in my place.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and the Indian Red Cross Society delegation then left the Conference Hall.

Prince de Mérode then took the Chair.

* Passage expunged by order of the Chairman.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French) (speaking to Prof. Miterev)—Excuse me but I have not received a request from you, and other speakers are already on the list for the question on the agenda.

Professor Miterev asks for the floor on a point of order. I give him the floor.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R. Government and Red Cross)—I want to speak to a point of order.

Fellow-delegates, taking into consideration the circumstances, taking into consideration the fact that the Chairman of this Conference has left the Conference and the Indian delegation has also left the Conference, we declare on behalf of the Soviet delegation that the Conference cannot proceed with its work now. An impossible situation has been created and the whole work of the Conference has been brought to nothing, I think that the Conference should be declared over.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel that the Conference should be consulted as to whether or not the work of this Conference should be ended at this point. Will those in favour of closing our work and discussions kindly raise their hands?

Will those who are against this proposal kindly raise their hands?

There are 65 votes in favour of continuing our discussion, 38 against, and 5 abstentions. The Conference has therefore decided to continue its work. There is another point of order, I believe.

PROF. MITEREV (U.S.S.R., Government and Red Cross)—On behalf of the Government of the U.S.S.R., on behalf of the Government of the Byelorussian Republic, on behalf of the Government of Ukraine and the Alliance of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the Soviet Union, I want to make the following statement.

We consider it impossible for us to stay at this Conference. The majority of the delegates supported the resolution which had political motives, and we consider that it is impossible for us to continue to participate in this Conference, and the responsibility for the fact that this Conference was disrupted rests with the representative of the American Government. We are leaving the Conference.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—Does the Czechoslovak delegate wish to speak on a point of order?

DR. CECH (Czechoslovakia, Government) (original French)—Mr. Chairman: In the name of the Czechoslovak Government and the Czechoslovak Red Cross Society, I declare that the resolution which has been passed was intended to undermine the successful conclusion of the Conference, despite the fact that yesterday the Czechoslovak delegate drew attention to the fact that this resolution and the arrangements to which it might give rise would be null and void.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak Government and the delegation of the Red Cross consider it impossible to remain in this hall and they are leaving the Conference.

Thank you.

DR. BELEA (Rumania, Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the name of the Rumanian delegation, we express our indignation at the manoeuvres in which the United States delegation has engaged in order to have its draft resolution passed, which is of a political nature and is contrary to the Statutes and principles of the Red Cross. These manoeuvres constitute a serious prejudice to the Red Cross emblem. In these circumstances, we shall leave the Conference.

DR. KOLAROFF (Bulgaria) (Government and Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the name of the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian Red Cross, I feel that this resolution is null and void because it is in flagrant contradiction with the resolutions adopted three days ago, that is to say, the Swiss resolution which stated that "having taken note of the invitations issued, according to the Statutes of the International Red Cross, by the Standing Commission...."; another resolution has now been passed which states that we should act in a completely different manner. In these circumstances, we cannot remain at this Conference.

DELEGATE OF HUNGARY (original French)—Mr. Chairman, in the name of the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian Red Cross, I declare that it is impossible for us to remain at this Conference because of the political questions which have been the subject of discussion and decisions here.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—There are still several speakers who have asked for the floor on points of order; I would merely ask them, if they cannot make a joint statement, to be extremely brief.

MR. NISHOVA (Albania, Government and Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, in the name of the Albanian Government and the Albanian Red Cross, I am leaving the Conference because it is impossible to continue our work in view of the manner in which the United States have imposed their own aims.

MRS. MATERN (Democratic Republic of Germany, Government)—Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen: We are in full agreement with the spirit in which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has spoken and acted. We agree entirely with the statement of the Soviet delegation, that it was a matter of political decision involving a violation of the Statutes which makes invalid the following decisions of the Conference. The delegations of the Government and of the Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic therefore are also unable to take part in this Conference any longer.

DELEGATE FROM DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA—Mr. President and Fellow-delegates: The Government and Red Cross delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who are working for the cause of the Red Cross and humanitarianism consider that this Conference has adopted a resolution which has a political character. So, our delegations cannot stay at this Conference, and we are leaving this Conference.

PROF. TON THAT TUNG (Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Government and Red Cross) (original French)—We regret to have to leave this Conference, but it is impossible to work in such a political atmosphere. These are no longer Red Cross matters, these are political questions.

H. E. DR. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland, Government)—Mr. President, Fellow-delegates: It is with great regret that my delegation sees the crisis created in this Conference. In spite of many warnings sounded by the President of this Conference, by the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and by many who spoke from this rostrum, and who behind the scenes tried to prevent the crisis in the name of the proper working of this Conference, a deadlock was created. This is no more the Red Cross Conference which we opened a few days ago. The President of this Conference has left.

The host society of this Conference has left.

The representatives of the Chinese People's Republic representing 650 million people, nearly a whole continent, were forced to leave.

Speaking on behalf of the Government delegation of Poland and the Polish Society of the Red Cross, I must state that in the situation in which the President was forced to resign and to leave, in which the host Society of this Conference was insulted, we think no work can be continued in a Conference which does not correspond to the realities of the world and therefore, in solidarity with the President of this Conference, we have with great regret to leave the hall and not to take any further part in the work of the Conference.

DR. GREGORIC (Yugoslavia, Government and Red Cross)—Fellow-delegates, the Yugoslav delegation voted against the Resolution of the United States for purely practical reasons, as they foresaw such an end if it were adopted. I ask you fellow-delegates what we have gained by adopting the American Resolution and what we have lost now? We are depriving the largest organization of the Red Cross in the world, the Chinese Red Cross, and the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, from representing one quarter of the population of the world in this Conference. Does this not mean a breach of the principle of universality—a universal Red Cross Conference which does not include 25 per cent of the world's population. Therefore, we cannot participate in the Conference any longer.

THE HON. MR. McCLINTOCK (U.S.A., Government)—Mr. Chairman, and Fellow-delegates, when this Conference opened the great Prime Minister of India expressed the hope that the ills of the cold war would not be visited upon this Conference. This week the great Vice-President of India, tracing the long struggle of humanity to achieve a greater degree of grace, a greater degree of moral self-discipline, a greater degree of virtue in application of man to man, laid down certain precepts which in the last 20 minutes have been notably violated. In the days of the great Emperor Ashoka, when the word of Lord Buddha was heard in this land, you will recall that he said: "Sorrow, I teach, sorrow, the uprooting of sorrow". I believe that this Red Cross need not feel ashamed of its action in defence of principle and that this Red Cross Conference in maintaining principle can, at the same time feel sorrow that certain delegations devoted to politics above principle, to the application of their own political ends above the ends of this great humanitarian body, have decided to walk out.

Mr. Chairman, as this is the land of Ashoka, this is the land where in the Terai the Lord Buddha was born, this is the land where Mahatma Gandhi preached *ahimsa*, we of the American delegation feel no rancour. We

feel a sense of sadness that in violation of the will which an overwhelming majority of this Conference expressed for a certain principle not only of law but of equity and of humanity, the principle which we stood for—of universality and of Red Cross membership—these delegations have walked out.

Mr. Chairman, I say I speak with sorrow. I also speak with hope because the Red Cross Conference today in reaffirming that principle is more sacred than mere expediency, gives hope for the morrow, and if the Lord Buddha said: "Sorrow, I teach, sorrow and the uprooting of sorrow" we of the United States delegation pledge our continued faith in allegiance to the Red Cross and its noble work for the uprooting of sorrow.

COL. DR. SOEMARNO SOSROATMODJO (Indonesia, Red Cross)—Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Indonesian Red Cross delegation, I am compelled to state here that as the host Society is absent, it is my moral duty as guest to leave the Conference.

Mrs. ABOU RICHEL (Syria, Red Crescent) (original Spanish)—In the name of the Syrian Red Crescent, I believe that it was a lack of courtesy on our part to adopt this proposal, knowing what the consequences would be. I do not speak because I was against the proposal, but for reasons of courtesy I would have hoped that the matter could have been referred to the Standing Commission in Geneva and thus we could have avoided entering into political matters. Since the purpose of the proposal was to admit another country to the Conference and it has gained admission, let it come in for a few minutes. In the name of the Syrian Red Crescent, we withdraw from the Conference.

DR. ROY (Haiti, Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Fellow-delegates: After expressing my own gratitude and that of all of us for the way in which we have been received here by the Indian Red Cross, the time has come, and perhaps gone, to express my sadness and also my astonishment at the turn the discussion at this Conference has taken in the past few days and the storm which has just broken.

I represent a small Red Cross Society and a small country which is itself torn by painful and regrettable internal differences; I came to this Assembly thinking that it would be a haven in which all discord and especially all hatred would be eliminated, particularly those of a political nature. During this fortnight, we were to set aside all questions of race, class, colour, religion, political affiliation and nationality, as well as considerations of political or regional blocks, in order to co-operate in searching for a solution to the multiple problems of human, physical and moral suffering which, in this year of grace 1957, still affect more than two thirds of mankind and almost three quarters of the world's children. And yet, from behind the men whom we would like to be and who all understand the gravity of the situation and the consequences of any rigid attitude, nationality—or rather national susceptibility, that is to say the least beautiful aspect of nationalism—has re-emerged together with what we believe to be the prestige of each of our countries; and above all we have been faced with the instructions given to each delegation before coming to this meeting hall, instructions based on purely political considerations which we consider completely irrelevant to the present discussion. The result of all that is catastrophic: irreparable loss of time, mutual lack of understanding; countries like mine which suffer had hoped that this Conference would achieve a great deal, but the work has been held up.

Just as in the case of a family when neither husband nor wife is prepared to make concessions, even for the well-being of the children, so one might say that there is only one solution—divorce, a word which should never exist in the Red Cross vocabulary. Delegations like mine, which did not receive such instructions, are directed only by their Red Cross spirit, their concern and their humanitarian feelings in appealing to everyone here to make a minimum concession which would have enabled our work to be concluded in an atmosphere of cordial understanding that might have been restored even at the last minute.

In practical terms, it would have sufficed for the United States to agree that their draft resolution should apply only to the next Conference, since the present one is almost over.

In parallel, the Democratic People's Republic of China might have accepted the principle that every party to the Geneva Conventions should be allowed to take part in Red Cross meetings, regardless of political or diplomatic considerations.

In the meantime, in the competent organizations other delegations acting according to other ideals and other instructions would in turn carry out their responsibilities before our next Conference. But today, we should have tried to finish well a task which began so propitiously.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—I would remind you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that you have decided to continue our work and that the only item still outstanding on our agenda is the resolution on world peace. Any delegate who wishes to speak on this resolution may have the floor.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in that case, I think that we should take a decision on the resolution on world peace. It seems to me that the establishment of peace is no easy matter and that the number of supporters of that peace has dwindled singularly. In view of the fact that the authors of the amendments which have been presented are no longer with us, it is my duty to present this draft resolution to you in its original form. Those in favour of the resolution on peace?

The delegate of Argentina asks for the floor.

H. E. MR. SCILINGO (Argentina, Government)—Mr. Chairman: Before the word “recommend”, I move that the words “in accordance with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations” be added.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman)—Those in favour of the Argentine amendment may please raise their hands.

Two delegates came and occupied the seats marked “Rep. of China”, at this stage

An amendment is therefore proposed and I shall put it to a vote if there are no other speakers. Will those in favour of the amendment proposed by the Argentine delegate please raise their hands? Would the delegate for Argentina kindly come back to the rostrum to read out the exact text of his amendment?

First of all, however, I shall give the floor to the Indian delegate on a point of order.

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR (India, Government)—Mr. Chairman, on a point of order. The resolution that this House passed just a moment ago specifically said that the Governments invited or the parties invited be addressed by their official title. The parties invited are not the persons that are supposed to represent the Government. What it says in the procedure is that a party can either be a Government or a non-Government organization. Now, if an occasion arose to address a party, the American resolution says, not that the delegate be admitted immediately but that the particular party which was wrongly addressed should be rightly addressed.

I think, the right procedure for this Conference was not to have allowed the delegates to come in but to correct the mistake which was originally made, that is to say, that a certain party was addressed by a certain title. That party is the Government in Taipei. Unless the delegate holds credentials, not only to represent his Government in this Conference but also to receive all communications addressed through official channels that ought to be addressed to Taipei, and unless that Government is addressed and that Government says that these are our delegates on behalf of the Republic of China in consonance with the invitation, it is not proper. Today the invitation does not stand to Government of the Republic of China. Now, after this proposal when the delegation was admitted, they have been admitted without any correct invitation addressed to the Republic of China which is functioning in Formosa. So, the logical thing, in consonance with the resolution should have been this. As soon as that resolution was passed and the Conference was authorised to do so formally, they should have addressed a certain Government like that and not to have admitted the delegates immediately.

They cannot do that. That is my point of order. First, there should have been a new telegram on behalf of this Conference: “In view of this resolution, will you please send your representatives”? What you have done is a short-cut and I believe, on a point of order, that that short-cut is wrong.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, the situation that has now arisen is really a difficult situation. It is obvious that the Indian Red Cross delegation against its own will had to express disapproval of the resolution as passed. Now the position is really extraordinary. No one in this Conference, I suppose, has ever advocated the existence of two Chinas. All that they have advocated—I mean the advocates on both the sides, the United States delegation as also the delegations who opposed—is that they recognize only one China. We have an extraordinary position in this Conference of having recognized “two Chinas”. Let us be clear about that. You may call one the People’s Republic of China and the other the Republic of China. But as our proceedings last time show, and which proceedings are clear on the point, the XVIIth Red Cross Conference recognized only one China. That is clear from the proceedings.

Apart from that, whereas we have every sympathy with the walking-out from this Conference of the Indian Red Cross delegation, and also other delegates who have followed it in sympathy—we have every sympathy with their decision—it has not been the practice in the Government of India to leave conferences whenever anything that meets with their disapproval happens. Therefore, it is only because of that reason that we believe in sitting in a Conference which passed proposals which we do not like; otherwise, we have the fullest sympathy with the Indian Red Cross delegation as also other delegations which have left the Conference in sympathy.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, I should like to have a ruling on the point of order that I have raised.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—I think that the Conference should decide on the point of order just raised: whether the delegates of the Republic of China should continue to sit in the places they now occupy. Will those in favour of an affirmative answer please raise their hands? Will those against now raise their hands? There are 51 votes in favour of the delegates of the Republic of China sitting among us, 31 against, and 18 abstentions. The Conference has therefore decided that these delegates should sit among us here. I consider that it is now time to put an end to these discussions. I shall give the floor to the delegate of Argentina, after which the list of speakers will be closed and you will be asked to vote on the resolution on world peace, whether or not amended.

H. E. MR. SCILINGO (Argentina, Government)—Mr. Chairman, the amendment I moved was this: after the paragraph:

“ Exhorts the Governments to neglect no endeavour to settle their disputes in a pacific manner and in all their acts to obey the ideal of human fellowship and the humanitarian principles recognized by all nations ”,
to include this:

“ And, in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations ”.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—I think that everyone has understood the present text of this amendment and I therefore put it to the vote. Will those in favour of the Argentine amendment please raise their hands? Will those opposed to it please raise their hands? No votes against the resolution. Are there any abstentions? Five abstentions. The Argentine amendment is therefore adopted by 56 votes in favour and none against, with 5 abstentions.

Now I shall put to the vote the draft resolution on world peace as just amended. Will those in favour of the resolution please raise their hands? Those against? The resolution is adopted unanimously.

Ambassador Francois-Poncet has an announcement to make concerning the Standing Commission, and I therefore give him the floor.

H. E. MR. FRANCOIS-PONCET (France, Red Cross) (original French)—Mr. Chairman: I merely want to remind the Conference that life goes on and is not interrupted by such regrettable incidents as these. If I dared, I would say that this is not the first time.

At Toronto, the same thing happened. The incident took place at the beginning of the Conference and ended in the withdrawal of the representatives of the Republic of China. This time, it has happened at the end of the Conference and has led to the withdrawal of the People's Republic of China. After Toronto, life continued nevertheless. The Red Cross has many great achievements to its credit, and believe me, however deplorable this episode may be, it should not impede our efforts to re-establish unity, fellowship and friendship between the members of the Red Cross and the different Societies; for that is our principal objective. For the moment, I repeat, life goes on and in accordance with the Statutes, the Standing Commission which you have re-elected must meet immediately after the last meeting of the Conference—that is to say, either later today in the offices of the Bureau of the Conference, or tomorrow morning. I remind the members of the Commission of this, so that before going away they will not forget to apply faithfully the rules which we must all or should all observe.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—I will make an exception—but this is the last—in favour of the Egyptian delegate, who wishes to speak briefly on a point of order.

MR. EZZ EL DIN EL SYED ISSA (Egypt, Government)—Mr. Chairman, Fellow-delegates: I would like to say that this Conference, as I felt, has been diverted from its humanitarian objectives and went into purely political channels. So, the Egyptian delegation withdraws.

MR. BOISSIER (I.C.R.C.) (original French)—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is not the time for eloquence. We have already expressed our gratitude to the country which has been our host, to our Chairman and to all those who have organized this Conference so well. The time has come, however, to look at the balance-sheet of what this Conference has achieved, and first of all at the credit side. We came to India with a feeling of deep respect for this country and its people, and we leave with, in addition, a sincere and respectful affection for a nation and people which have won our hearts. That is already a spiritual gain for us. We have unanimously adopted a number of important resolutions, including those on the Draft Rules for the protection of the civilian population, the autonomy of the Red Cross and the medical profession, and the appeal in behalf of Algerian refugees.

This Conference entrusted important tasks to us, and now we must carry them out. Lastly, we have met old friends again and have made new ones; I hope we shall see them all in Geneva in six years' time.

Now let us turn to the debit side of our balance-sheet—the incident which has just occurred and in which we all took part in one way or another. However deplorable this incident may be, we must not let ourselves be discouraged by it. On the contrary, it should make us see ourselves as we are and understand our duties and responsibilities. Our responsibilities are increased because, as men among men, we have taken part in their fears, their lack of mutual confidence, and their differences of opinion. If we want to remain worthy of our noble mission, we must in future be inspired more by our ideals and must serve them better so that they may prevail. Long live the Red Cross.

H. E. MR. RUEGGER (Switzerland, Government) (original French)—Mr. Chairman: It is useless to try to hide the emotion which we all feel. I will add very little to what has already been said so well by the Chairman of the Standing Commission and the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

In the name of the Government which is the depositary of the Geneva Conventions, I would have liked to make an urgent appeal for the work of the Red Cross to continue in all circumstances. That is the desire of our eminent Chairman, who remains in office until the end. We bowed with respect before the sadness of our dear and eminent Chairman, who will always remain the great woman Chairman of the New Delhi Conference, under whose direction we have adopted resolutions of lasting value which will be known as the Delhi resolutions. That is the most important thing, and we are happy that under her direction the Conference has accomplished its task and that her name is attached to all that is positive and lasting in the decisions taken here. She has handed over to you, Mr. Chairman, the heavy responsibility of acting in her stead, and in so doing, she acted as a woman of the Red Cross. You accepted that responsibility, and we are grateful to you. It was and is essential to carry on, and because we continued our work, an important resolution was adopted only a few minutes ago. And I would like all those who, like you, like all of us, remain devoted to the task to do their utmost so that the ties may be restored as soon as possible.

PRINCE DE MÉRODE (Chairman) (original French)—Ladies and Gentlemen: Now that the discussion is over and we have come to the end of our agenda, there is little to be added to the statements just made by some eminent speakers, and I am thinking particularly of the moving words of the President of the International Committee a few minutes ago. I believe in the Red Cross, and I am convinced that these incidents, however regrettable they may be, cannot shake that faith in the Red Cross ideals which we must all keep enshrined in our hearts.

I am convinced that this faith exists in the hearts of those who have left this hall as well as in the hearts of those who are still here; it will enable us to accomplish the noble task for which we met here and for which we have worked with a single heart over the past weeks.

After Mr. Boissier and the other eminent speakers whom you have heard, may I also cry "Long live the Red Cross". I declare the meeting closed.

PART IV
RESOLUTIONS

(English text as approved by the Drafting Committee of the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross.)

RESOLUTIONS

(*Adopted by the XIXth International Conference*)

I

REPORTS BY NATIONAL SOCIETIES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having taken note of the reports submitted by National Societies on their work,
received these reports,
directs that they be filed,
thanks the National Societies which submitted them.

II

REPORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its work from 1952 to 1957
accepts these reports,
thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for having submitted them.

III

REPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report of the League of Red Cross Societies on its work from 1952 to 1956,
accepts this report,
thanks the League of Red Cross Societies for having submitted it.

IV

REPORT OF ACTION TAKEN ON THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE XVIIIth INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on the action taken on the Resolutions of the XVIII International Conference of the Red Cross,
accepts this report,
thanks the International Committee and the League for having submitted it.

V

EMPRESS SHŌKEN FUND

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report of the Empress Shōken Fund presented by the Joint Commission of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies,
considering the proposal submitted to it by the Joint Commission in the annex to its report,
accepts the report,
thanks the Joint Commission for its administration of the Fund,
decides to amend the Regulations of the Fund as follows:

- (a) Addition of the following sentence to Article 2, paragraph 1, after the second sentence:
“The institution from which the Chairman is drawn shall also provide the Commission's Secretariat for that same year”.
- (b) Addition of a new article 5a as follows:
“National Red Cross Societies which feel obliged by circumstances to put the allocations received to uses other than those specified in their applications for grants under Article 4 must ask for the Joint Commission's approval before doing so”.

(c) Addition of a new article 5b as follows :

“ The National Red Cross Societies shall send to the Joint Commission, in due time, a report on the use of the allocations received”.

(d) Amendment as follows to paragraph 1 of article 8 of the Regulations :

“ *Article 8.*—The Joint Commission shall present to each International Conference of the Red Cross a report on the financial situation of the Fund, the allocations which have been made since the preceding Conference and the use made of those allocations by the National Societies.”

VI

AUGUSTA TRUST FUND

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report on the Augusta Trust Fund submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross,
accepts this report,
thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for its administration of the Fund.

VII

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE MEDAL

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report on the award of the Florence Nightingale Medal submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross,
accepts this report,
thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for its administration.

VIII

FOUNDATION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report on the Foundation for the International Committee of the Red Cross submitted by the Council of this Fund,
accepts the report,
thanks the Council for its administration.

IX

COMMISSION FOR THE FINANCING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
whereas the Commission set up by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross in its Resolution No. 8 has concluded its work and submitted its report,
whereas, according to this report, a number of National Societies have made regular voluntary annual contributions to the International Committee and whereas the continuation of this support and contributions from all National Societies are desirable, justified, and necessary,

whereas, also, appeals are made by the International Committee to Governments which are members of the International Conference of the Red Cross in accordance with the Resolution of the Diplomatic Conference held in Geneva in 1949 and the participation of National Societies in passing on and supporting these appeals varies of necessity from country to country according to national custom,

decides:

- (a) that the report of the Commission set up by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross, in accordance with the above mentioned Resolution is approved,
- (b) that each National Red Cross Society accepts its obligation as a member of the International Red Cross to pay regular, voluntary, annual contributions to the International Committee,
- (c) that each National Red Cross Society will continue to take such steps as it considers advisable with regard to financial appeals made to Governments by the International Committee in accordance with the above Resolution of the 1949 Diplomatic Conference,

- (d) that a new Commission shall be appointed consisting of the National Societies of Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, India, Mexico and the Netherlands.

X

SPECIAL FACILITIES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering the situation of National Societies which have not been granted adequate facilities by their Governments to accomplish their missions such as:—

- (a) the granting of rapid visas and travel facilities to Red Cross personnel going on official duty in a foreign country with the agreement of the National Society of the country concerned;
- (b) rapid transfer from one country to another of funds for Red Cross work;
- (c) rapid movement free of charge of Red Cross medical and other relief supplies for disaster needs;
- (d) exemption from custom duties and other duties on Red Cross relief supplies;
- (e) exemption from taxes on fund-raising schemes in aid of disaster relief;

urges National Societies once again to bring this matter to the notice of their Governments indicating to them benefits already granted to a large number of National Societies and to request from their Governments that similar facilities be accorded to enable the Societies effectively to discharge their duties in disaster relief.

XI

ALGERIAN REFUGEES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that a large number of Algerians, the majority being composed of women, children and aged persons who, fleeing from events in Algeria, have taken refuge in Tunisia and Morocco;

considering that the majority of these refugees, whose numbers are increasing daily, are absolutely destitute; that the approaching severe winter in North Africa will render still worse the living conditions of this mass of human beings who are already homeless, under-nourished, without sufficient clothing and deprived of all means of resistance against illness,

considering that the assistance given by the Tunisian and Moroccan Governments, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Tunisian Red Crescent as well as other associations animated by the Red Cross spirit, is not sufficient to prevent the serious danger which threatens the existence of these innocent victims of the war;

considers that only an effort of an international and universal nature would be able to meet the immense resources required to give assistance to these hundreds of thousands of human beings,

guided by the Humanitarian spirit which the associations composing it have so frequently shown during recent similar situations,

makes an urgent appeal to the world for similar efforts to be made on behalf of the Algerian refugees.

XII

AUTONOMY OF NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

re-affirms the principle of the autonomy of all National Red Cross Societies in conformity with Article 4 of the Conditions for the Recognition of National Red Cross Societies.

XIII

DRAFT RULES FOR THE LIMITATION OF THE DANGERS INCURRED BY THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN TIME OF WAR

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

convinced that it is interpreting the general feeling throughout the world which demands that effective measures be taken to rid the peoples from the nightmare of the threat of war,

having taken cognizance of the "Draft Rules for the Limitation of the Dangers incurred by the Civilian Population in Time of War", drawn up by the International Committee of the Red Cross, following a request by the Board of Governors of the League, meeting at Oslo in 1954,

considers that a set of rules revising and extending those previously accepted is highly desirable as a measure of protection for the civilian population, if a conflict should unfortunately break out,
deems that the objectives of the Draft Rules submitted are in conformity with Red Cross ideals and the requirements of humanity,
urges the International Committee of the Red Cross to continue its efforts for the protection of the civilian population against the evils of war, and
requests the International Committee of the Red Cross, acting on behalf of the XIXth International Conference, to transmit the Draft Rules, the record of its discussions, the text of the proposals, and the submitted amendments, to the Governments for their consideration.

XIV

ROLE OF NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES IN THE SPHERE OF CIVILIAN PROTECTION

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having noted the reports on the role of National Societies in the sphere of Civilian Protection submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies,
accepts these reports and thanks their authors,
reaffirms that it attaches great importance to the adoption of all necessary practical measures for the protection of the civilian population,
invites Governments to give their most careful attention to such measures,
requests National Societies to act in accordance with the directions and operational programmes proposed by the International Committee of the Red Cross in its report and by the League of Red Cross Societies in its Guide, so that the civilian population may be assured of the assistance which it is entitled to expect of the Red Cross.

XV

THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF 1949

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the report on the Geneva Conventions of 1949 submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross,
accepts this report,
thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for having submitted it,
Takes note of the declaration relating to the application to members of police forces of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention 1949, as quoted in the report.

XVI

LEGAL ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGNERS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
having received the reports on Legal Assistance to Foreigners submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross,
accepts these reports,
thanks the International Committee of the Red Cross for having submitted them.

XVII

MEDICAL CARE

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
considering the efforts already made by the International Committee of the Red Cross to minimize the suffering caused by armed conflicts of all types, expresses the wish that a new provision be added to the existing Geneva Conventions of 1949, extending the provisions of Article 3 thereof so that :

- (a) the wounded may be cared for without discrimination and doctors in no way hindered when giving the care which they are called upon to provide in these circumstances,
- (b) the inviolable principle of medical professional secrecy may be respected,

(c) there may be no restrictions, other than those provided by international legislation, on the sale and free circulation of medicines, it being understood that these will be used exclusively for therapeutic purposes,

furthermore, makes an urgent appeal to all Governments to repeal any measures which might be contrary to the present Resolution.

XVIII

PROTECTION OF POPULATIONS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that the Red Cross has always striven and continues to strive to relieve human suffering whether in peace or war,

considering that it has always stood for the cause of world peace,

hereby recalls the resolutions adopted by the XVIIIth International Conference at Toronto in 1952 as also by the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies at Oslo in 1954,

appeals once again to all the countries of the world,

to accept the principle that war is no solution to any problem and thereby pledge themselves to renounce it,

to intensify their efforts to bring about general disarmament,

particularly to adopt measures which will at all times effectively protect humanity from the terrible consequences of the use of incendiary, chemical, bacteriological, radioactive or other such agents.

XIX

RELIEF IN THE EVENT OF INTERNAL DISTURBANCES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering it necessary to ensure maximum efficiency and equity in the distribution of relief supplies in the event of internal disturbances,

declares that relief supplies of all types must be distributed equitably among the victims by the national Red Cross Society, without hindrance on the part of the local authorities;

considers that, in the event of the National Red Cross Society being unable to come to the assistance of the victims, or whenever it may be deemed necessary or urgent, the International Committee of the Red Cross should take the initiative for the distribution of relief supplies, in agreement with the authorities concerned;

requests authorities to grant the Red Cross every facility in carrying out relief actions.

XX

REUNION OF DISPERSED FAMILIES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that as a result of war, internal conflicts and other events a large number of persons, both adults and children, are still separated from their homes and from their families which have been dispersed, and whereas much human suffering has been caused as a result of such separation, and,

whereas the XVIIIth International Conference of the Red Cross meeting in Toronto in 1952 by Resolution No. 20 has already recognized the National Societies of the Red Cross, "as the natural intermediaries with their respective Governments to facilitate to the greatest extent the liberation of these persons, to seek information concerning the fate of such persons and to facilitate the despatch to them of material relief".

reaffirms the principles enunciated in this Resolution,

urges all National Societies and Governments to intensify their efforts in these matters and, in particular, to facilitate by every means the reunion of persons, both adults and children, with their families in accordance with the wishes of such persons, and in the case of minor children in accordance with the wishes of the recognized head of the family no matter where domiciled.

XXI

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken cognizance of the joint report of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on the International Commission for Medical Equipment,

considering that these two Organizations have reached the conclusion that whilst the work of this Commission had proved extremely useful in the past, this is no longer the case, other specialized organizations now being in a better position to undertake these tasks,

recommends that the Commission be dissolved,

further recommends that the International Committee and the League continue to follow problems connected with medical equipment for civilian and military use and inform National Societies of progress in these fields, at the same time remaining in close contact with the competent international technical organizations and national health authorities.

XXII

TECHNICAL AID

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,
taking note of the report of the Medico-Social Commission,
requests the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies:

- (a) to study the reports from the National Societies sent to the Conference and also the remarks made during the Medico-Social Commission's meetings by various Societies upon their activities in the sphere of medico-social, welfare, nursing and Junior Red Cross work,
- (b) to urge National Societies to continue reporting to the League Secretariat upon experiences gained in this field,
- (c) to intensify the technical assistance programme of the League through the planning, within the framework of financial possibilities, of courses or seminars on special activities suitable for pioneer work or pilot projects in those Societies which need and request them,

requests those National Societies which already may have gained experience in a particular field to help, through the League Secretariat, other Societies where such activities are under development through receiving study visitors or sending out instructors and field workers for guidance,

requests the League Secretariat to continue distributing information and directives for work in special fields, either spontaneously or upon request, in order that the League Secretariat may remain an effective intermediary and service body to National Societies—keeping in mind the universality of the Red Cross principles.

XXIII

RED CROSS RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES, GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MEDICO-SOCIAL FIELD

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering with satisfaction the development over recent years of the working relations between the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies, the World Health Organization and other governmental and non-governmental international organizations,

recognizing the importance of these contacts in bringing about coordination of activities and in making the best use of the available resources,

recalling the terms of the resolutions adopted on this point by the Board of Governors of the League in 1946 and by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross in 1948,

recommends the development of existing links between the League and these organizations on both the international and the regional level,

suggests that National Red Cross Societies,

- (a) develop their relations with the regional and national offices of these organizations in order to ensure that the best possible use is being made of Red Cross resources in terms of personnel, professional and auxiliary, as well as of equipment, and that the largest possible participation be encouraged of Red Cross volunteers of all categories in carrying out medico-social activities of particular interest to the area under consideration;
- (b) make contact with the competent government services in order to ensure closer co-operation on the national level and thus coordinating the programme of activities.

XXIV

BLOOD TRANSFUSION

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering the increasingly important role of transfusional therapy in medical and surgical practice,

considering that blood requirements impose new burdens on the community, hence the necessity for an ever-increasing number of blood donors,

recalls the resolutions concerning this subject adopted by the XVIIth International Conference of the Red Cross at Stockholm in 1948 (resolution No. 47) and by the 21st Session of the Board of Governors of the League at Monaco in 1950 (resolution No. 15),

considering the recommendations of the meeting organized by the League in 1956 between various international organizations interested in problems of blood transfusion on the standardization and interchangeability of material, biological standardization, stocking of equipment, training of staff and recruitment of blood donors,

welcomes the actions undertaken by National Societies in regard to the development of blood transfusion services and the establishment of reserves of dried plasma and blood protein fractions for use in the event of epidemics, disasters or conflicts,

emphasises the importance of close cooperation on the national level between the Red Cross and the authorities in the organization of blood transfusion services,

confirms the desire that the principle of the free gift and receipt of blood be as far as possible universally applied,

calls upon National Societies to continue to draw public attention to the importance of this medico-social problem and to contribute to the civic and humanitarian education of the community in this connection,

requests the Secretariat of the League to continue to encourage and to assist the National Societies in their blood transfusion and blood donor recruitment programmes, by making available information based on the experiences of sister Societies, and by encouraging mutual assistance and the exchange of technicians and scholarship holders between National Societies.

XXV

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering the growing number of accidents at home, in schools, at sports, on the streets and at work, which are tending to become an increasingly important cause of death and disablement amongst adults and children,

noting the work of the Health Advisory Committee and of the Junior Red Cross Advisory Committee, as well as the publications issued by the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies,

bearing in mind the importance of coordinating the activities of adult and Junior Red Cross,

welcomes the numerous initiatives taken in various countries to prevent accidents, by the public services and specialized bodies, as well as by the National Red Cross Societies and their Junior Sections,

draws the attention of Governments and National Societies to the urgent need for measures to decrease the causes of accidents and for education of the public in general, and young people in particular, in order to promote a greater safety consciousness on the part of the trained first aiders and the general public,

requests the National Societies to study means whereby practical cooperation with public or private bodies concerned with accident prevention may be undertaken or developed, specially in educational institutions,

requests the League Secretariat to continue its work on the prevention of accidents in order usefully to advise National Societies.

XXVI

HEALTH EDUCATION

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalls the basic principles adopted by the Board of Governors of the League in 1950 at Monaco, recommending that National Societies undertake activities which can be considered either as pilot or pioneering projects or that are necessary to fill gaps in the existing public health services,

reaffirms resolution No. 15 adopted by the 23rd Session of the Board of Governors of the League in 1954 at Oslo,

draws the attention of National Societies to their responsibilities in the field of health education and to the need of pioneer work or pilot projects:

- (a) to develop health education as an essential component of all Red Cross medico-social and educational activities,
- (b) to promote health education pilot projects in hospitals, outpatients clinics, health centres, blood donor centres, nursing services, etc.

- (c) to utilize home nursing courses as a medium through which to foster health education,
- (d) to use fully the many possibilities offered by the Junior Red Cross to put health education into practice through the health and service programmes,
- (e) to undertake preparation, testing and evaluation of visual teaching aid material adapted to meet local habits and customs,

emphasises the value of carefully-planned field studies, research and experimental programmes, stresses the need for National Societies to employ, whenever possible, full-time health education specialists (medico-social workers):

- (a) to give technical leadership and coordinate these various Red Cross activities in the respective countries,
- (b) to supervise the training in the principles and methods of Red Cross work with professional and auxiliary health workers, school teachers, etc., to keep the standard as high as possible,

requests the League Secretariat to give technical help to National Societies in the planning and expansion of their health educational programmes and within the framework of financial possibilities to organize international and regional seminars bringing together representatives of National Societies from various professions and promoting the exchange of tested health education materials.

XXVII

VOLUNTARY AUXILIARY RED CROSS PERSONNEL

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that one of the fundamental responsibilities of National Societies is to supplement governmental action by providing authorities with additional qualified staff, professional and auxiliary;

underlines the need for establishing the closest possible coordination between National Societies and the competent authorities in planning and conducting in each country the activities necessary for the maintenance of health in that country;

invites National Societies to increase their efforts in encouraging a wide participation of voluntary auxiliary personnel in the various Red Cross activities such as first-aid, disaster relief, health education, nursing, blood transfusion, care of the handicapped and old people, mental health services, fight against alcoholism, nutrition, and social welfare, particularly in the field of mother and child care;

invites National Societies to ensure that the training of all their voluntary and auxiliary personnel includes not only the necessary technical instruction but also detailed information about the Red Cross, its ideal, its means of action nationally and internationally, and the rights and obligations of its members;

underlines particularly the need for National Societies to train auxiliary personnel for work in disaster relief operations, such training to stress the importance of the human factor in the relations between Red Cross workers and the public and to include some knowledge of the psychological and social factors liable to influence such relations;

recommends that governments consider the efforts of the Red Cross, taking into account its experience on the international level, and encourage its pioneer work as well as its traditional activities and relief work, whilst respecting its guiding principles of impartiality and independence.

XXVIII

NURSING

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recognizing that nursing is essential to the development of health programmes;

that various types of nursing personnel are needed to ensure the quantity and quality of nursing services required to meet the needs in any country;

recommends that National Societies offer to their nursing personnel of all categories, professional and auxiliary, the necessary basic and continued preparation to enable each category to render optimum service in their respective responsibilities;

stresses in particular the need for such preparation to include detailed instruction on the rights and obligations of nursing personnel who, in time of conflict, enjoy the protection of the Red Cross emblem, as provided for in the Geneva Conventions;

further recommends that agreements be concluded between the National Societies and the civilian and military authorities, laying down in advance the respective responsibilities of each in the training of voluntary health personnel and in the organization of the necessary health services in time of conflict or of natural disaster;

expresses the hope that seminars be organized in Geneva under the sponsorship of the League of Red Cross Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross where those in charge of organizing voluntary Red Cross health services for emergency work may receive special instruction from the two international organizations of the Red Cross on the matters with which each is competent to deal;

furthermore, bearing in mind the recommendations of the Nursing Advisory Committee of the League, and recognising the great opportunity for National Societies to assist in raising the standards of nursing through close collaboration with national nursing organizations;

recommends that National Societies assist in the recruitment of well qualified nursing students; that they contribute in making known to the public the need for professional standards in nursing as set up by the International Council of Nurses; and help with the selection of qualified candidates who can receive scholarships with a view to preparing themselves for leading work in various aspects of nursing education and service;

recognizing also that professional nurses have been of great assistance in helping to develop programmes for volunteer nurses' aids;

invites National Societies to request the active participation of professional nurses in decisions regarding the needs for volunteer nurses' aids, as well as in defining the functions they should perform in setting up training courses for the instructors with the assistance of the Nursing Bureau of the League; and in giving continued guidance to and supervision of the programme.

XXIX

YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that Article 144 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 makes it incumbent on the Governments which have ratified that Convention to make known the letter and the spirit thereof to the whole population;

considering that it is urgent to educate the young generation in the spirit of the Geneva Conventions, and recalling in this connection Resolution No. 9 of the 15th International Conference of the Red Cross held in Tokyo in 1934;

considering that the National Societies and their respective junior sections should take an active part in publicising the Geneva Conventions;

considering that the essential aim of the Junior Red Cross programme is to promote a spirit of peace and understanding and to inculcate in children and adolescents respect for human dignity;

recommends

- (a) that the National Societies approach their respective Governments in order that the Junior Red Cross may be considered by the Ministries of Education and Public Instruction as one of the most efficient means of publicising the Geneva Conventions amongst children and adolescents;
- (b) that in negotiations with the Governments, the National Societies endeavour to obtain space in the school curriculae for the history and aims of Red Cross and for the basic principles of the Geneva Conventions;
- (c) that the League of Red Cross Societies, in agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross, take the necessary steps with UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, which jointly organize annual conferences on Public Instruction, with a view to the question of "The School and the Publicising of the Geneva Conventions" being included on the agenda of one of the next Conferences on Public Instruction.

XXX

PRACTICAL MEANS OF SPREADING KNOWLEDGE OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that there is an urgent need to cultivate in the younger generation the ideal of peace and respect for others;

considering that the Geneva Conventions constitute a sound basis for social education;

invites National Societies to examine the possibilities and to take as a matter of urgency—practical action to achieve this aim;

recommends in particular, that in National Junior Red Cross Section publications and in the "Junior Red Cross News Letter", published by the League of Red Cross Societies, a column be permanently devoted to the history of the Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions,

that radio and television broadcasts dealing with the same questions be regularly organized;

invites the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to examine, with National Societies, the possibilities of producing one or more films for Juniors covering the history, subject matter and aims of the Geneva Conventions;

recommends that a future International Red Cross Day have as its theme " Youth and the Geneva Conventions ";

recommends that International Junior Red Cross Study Centres be used, on an experimental basis, for studying this question;

recommends that the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies issue informative publications suitable for children and young people, dealing with the history of the Red Cross and the fundamental principles of the Geneva Conventions.

XXXI

JUNIOR RED CROSS ASSISTANCE TO CHILDREN IN DISTRESS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution 27 adopted by the XVIIIth International Conference of the Red Cross held at Toronto in 1952,

regarding with the deepest concern the acute distress of millions of children and young people,

recommends that National Societies invite their respective Junior Sections to intensify their mutual service activities at the local as well as at the national and international levels;

invites the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies to suggest programmes along these lines to National Societies and to supply them with the maximum information with a view to ensuring the success of such activities.

XXXII

WELCOMING OF YOUNG PEOPLE INTO THE ADULT RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution No. 11 of the XVth International Conference of the Red Cross held at Tokyo in 1934 and Resolution No. 40 of the XVIIIth Conference held at Toronto in 1952;

recognizing that it is imperative that former Junior Red Cross members be enthusiastically welcomed into the ranks of the adult Red Cross;

aware that action in this respect has been inadequate and has not met with the success anticipated;

considering that National Societies must enlist the younger generation in order to ensure the success of their work, and that young people are capable of assuming wider responsibilities;

recommends,

- (a) that National Societies, as a matter of urgency, examine ways and means of solving this problem,
- (b) that the League of Red Cross Societies give wide publicity to all initiative taken by National Societies which is likely to improve this situation.

XXXIII

SPECIAL FINANCIAL AID TO NATIONAL SOCIETIES

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering the importance of the development of new and of recently recognized National Societies, particularly as regards their medico-social activities,

acquainted with the request from these Societies for financial aid in order to be able to send members of their staff to other Societies for study tours in connection with physical and mental health education of the public, youth activities, relief actions and other similar activities, and also to provide for visits from League experts to these Societies,

realising that the League budget does not provide sufficient funds for this purpose,

requests the League to continue its efforts to obtain from one of the generous humanitarian Foundations special funds in order to enable new Societies to obtain the financial support for the further training of staff urgently required for the execution and further development of the many humanitarian activities under consideration,

insists that such funds only be requested after all efforts have been made to obtain maximum aid from other National Societies and after a specific project with a well prepared plan of operation has been submitted in each case.

XXXIV

CAMPAIGN AGAINST PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

conscious of the deplorable differences in the living conditions of two-thirds of the world population as compared to the other third and the responsibilities of the Red Cross in this connection,

convinced that many causes of this potentially dangerous inequality lie within the medical social field, aware of the fact that large and powerful International Organizations have undertaken to study and to endeavour to solve this problem,

recalling that on several occasions, International Conferences where the Red Cross was represented have requested the cooperation of non-governmental organizations of which the Red Cross is one of the oldest and has the largest number of members,

requests all National Societies to examine carefully how they can effectively participate in campaigns against hunger, mal-nutrition, alcoholism, lack of and insanitary housing and other social evils,

strongly appeals to these Societies not only to continue their activities regarding the promotion of physical health, but also to make special efforts to plan well conceived campaigns in the field of individual and social mental health against prejudice, discrimination and racialism and to extend aid to the victims of these evils in accord with the humanitarian traditions of the Red Cross.

XXXV

PROCEDURE FOR INVITATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken note of the invitations issued, according to the Statutes of the International Red Cross, by the Standing Commission, to Governments parties to the Geneva Conventions, to the Red Cross Societies and International Organizations of the Red Cross, as well as to other Organizations;

having noted also the observations made, at its first Meeting, on the subject of these invitations;

expresses its thanks to the Standing Commission for the work which it has accomplished,

reaffirms the general principle that the National Society which offers its hospitality to an International Conference acts in accordance with the Statutes in transmitting the invitations merely as an intermediary and that, therefore, all members must refrain from addressing themselves in this matter to the inviting National Society as such;

desires that, also in future, the invitations to all International Conferences of the Red Cross be issued in a spirit of broad universality and include in the interest of Humanitarian Law, all Governments exercising authority over territories where the Geneva Conventions are applicable, this regardless of whether these Governments enjoy recognition by other signatories;

underlines that, in the field of the Red Cross, the criteria of recognition customary in the intercourse between States do not apply, and that consequently the decisions regarding the invitations to Red Cross Conferences do not and cannot set a precedent in other fields.

XXXVI

INVITATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having in mind the report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission,

confirming the statement of the Chairman of the Standing Commission that the Red Cross is not concerned with juridical and political questions regarding the status of governments,

resolves in accordance with the traditional principles of the Red Cross that it is the sense of the Conference that all parties invited to attend the Conference be addressed according to their own official titles.

XXXVII

THE RED CROSS AS A FACTOR FOR WORLD PEACE

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

confirms its previous Resolutions for peace,

considering the unique character of the membership represented by the 110,000,000 men, women and children, united in 80 countries by the National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, which in turn are grouped together in the League of Red Cross Societies,

whereas the numerous moral and material demonstrations of fellowship by the Red Cross on the international level, without discrimination and to the exclusion of all political consideration, represent a most efficacious contribution of the Red Cross to peace among the nations,

expresses the heartfelt desire that by the maintenance of peace humanity may be spared from new and incalculable suffering,

exhorts the governments to neglect no endeavour to settle their disputes in a pacific manner and in all their acts to obey the ideal of human fellowship and the humanitarian principles recognized by all nations,

in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

recommends the National Societies,

to cultivate their mutual relations, in order to develop the understanding and agreement indispensable for the elimination of discord among themselves and, through their intermediary, among the nations,

to increase the number of their actions for mutual assistance, in order that these may contribute to strengthening their solidarity, without respect to frontiers, and thus keep alive amongst all peoples the ideal of peace, which humanity cannot and must not cease to make its goal.

XXXVIII

HOMAGE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that the philosophy of Gandhi rejects the very idea of war and that the reason for the existence of the Red Cross as a movement and as an organization, is to alleviate the suffering caused thereby, and

whereas the present Conference is being held in the capital of a country to whose foundation he contributed in preaching and practising the doctrine of non-violence,

pays tribute to the revered memory of Mahatma Gandhi, father of the Indian Union,

the figure of Mahatma Gandhi, the shining example of his action and his life, his very death, identify him with and incarnate the immortal principles of the Red Cross. Gandhi in his creed of non-violence sums up the whole spiritual tradition of India from Asoka to the present day. He followed this tradition, which he practised with evangelical and apostolic zeal, never resorting to any other weapon in the great fight to free his country than the irresistible force of the rejection of force,

Gandhi who knew neither hatred nor resentment with his almost mystical love for his neighbour, will remain for all time the symbol of peaceful action as an instrument for the solution of human conflicts.

XXXIX

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

appoints as members of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross for the period 1957-1963:—

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (India)

His Excellency Ambassador A. Francois-Poncet (France)

General A. M. Gruenther (U.S.A.)

Professor G. A. Miterev (U.S.S.R.)

Mr. T. W. Sloper (Brazil)

XL

PLACE AND DATE OF THE XXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

gratefully accepts the invitation of the Swiss Red Cross, the International Committee and the League to hold the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross in Geneva in 1963, the year of the centenary of the Red Cross.

VOTES OF THANKS

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

tenders its most respectful thanks to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India and of the Indian Red Cross Society for honouring the Conference with his gracious inaugural address and reception to the delegates.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

records its sincere thanks to the Vice-President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, for his address to the Conference.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

records its deep appreciation and thanks to the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, for addressing the opening session and for voicing his whole-hearted support to the great humanitarian mission of the Red Cross.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

votes its sincere thanks to the Government of India for its generous financial assistance towards the expenses of the Conference and for giving numerous valuable facilities as tangible gestures of support to the cause of the Red Cross.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

places on record its deep appreciation and gratitude to the Indian Red Cross Society for the efficient assistance rendered by its management members and staff towards the smooth running of the Conference, for arranging most interesting study visits and sight-seeing programmes in various States and for its warm hospitality and cultural entertainments.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

thanks the Delhi Branch of the Indian Red Cross Society for its cordial reception at a dinner and other State Branches which welcomed groups of delegates for study visits, sightseeing and entertainment to their respective areas.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

expresses its thanks to the many Indian families for welcoming delegates to their homes.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

deeply appreciates the services rendered by the volunteers of the Indian Junior Red Cross, St. John Ambulance Brigade and ladies and gentlemen from Indian families and thanks them for their efficient work.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

thanks the Sangeet Natak Academy and Bharatiya Kala Kendra for their artistic performances which were highly appreciated.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

thanks Messrs. Gestetner Duplicators Private Ltd. and Messrs. Lion Pencils Private Ltd. for the facilities and contributions offered by them.

The XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that the Indian Press has given full and impartial coverage of all the discussions which have taken place during the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross in New Delhi, requests its Chairman, to convey its sincere congratulations and gratitude to the appropriate authorities.

PART V
RECEPTIONS & ENTERTAINMENTS

RECEPTIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

THURSDAY, 24TH OCTOBER

10.00 p.m. Film Show, Janpath Hotel.

FRIDAY, 25TH OCTOBER

10.00 p.m. Film Show, Ashoka Hotel.

SATURDAY, 26TH OCTOBER

9.30 p.m. Red Cross Ball (arranged by Delhi Branch), National Sports Club of India, followed by Punjabi folk dances (Bhangra) and other entertainments.

SUNDAY, 27TH OCTOBER

8.30 to 12 noon Sight seeing around Delhi, the Red Fort, Kutub Minar, Chandni Chowk, Humayun's tomb, etc.

1.00 p.m. Lunch in Indian homes by special invitation.

MONDAY, 28TH OCTOBER

4.30 p.m. The President's At Home, Rashtrapati Bhavan.

6.30 p.m. Special film show: "Mission of Mercy" and a documentary in colour, Vigyan Bhavan.

TUESDAY, 29TH OCTOBER

8.15 p.m. Delhi Red Cross Banquet—Imperial Hotel.

WEDNESDAY, 30TH OCTOBER

10.00 p.m. Film Show, Ashoka Hotel.

THURSDAY, 31ST OCTOBER

7.00 p.m. International Committee of the Red Cross and League of Red Cross Societies Reception at Delhi Gymkhana Club.

FRIDAY, 1ST NOVEMBER

10.00 p.m. Film Show, Ashoka Hotel.

SATURDAY, 2ND NOVEMBER

6.30 p.m. Music and Dance Recital at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Hall.

SUNDAY, 3RD NOVEMBER

Visit to Agra.

MONDAY, 4TH NOVEMBER

9.30 p.m. Heer Ranjeh—a Punjabi Musical Folk Opera—at the All-India Fine Arts & Crafts Hall.

TUESDAY, 5TH NOVEMBER

7.00 p.m. Reception by H. E. Count Stanislas Ostrorog at the French Embassy.

10.00 p.m. Film Show, Janpath Hotel.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH NOVEMBER

8.15 p.m. Banquet by the Indian Red Cross at the Ashoka Hotel.

1. 關於本會之組織及業務範圍，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府及有關機關，准予備案外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之組織及業務範圍，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予備案。

2. 關於本會之經費來源，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之經費來源，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

3. 關於本會之辦事處，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之辦事處，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

4. 關於本會之業務範圍，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之業務範圍，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

5. 關於本會之組織，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之組織，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

6. 關於本會之經費，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之經費，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

7. 關於本會之辦事處，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之辦事處，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

8. 關於本會之業務範圍，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之業務範圍，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

9. 關於本會之組織，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之組織，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

10. 關於本會之經費，業經本會臨時總會決議，除函請各縣市政府，准予撥款補助外，並請各縣市政府，將本會之經費，分別函請各該管縣市政府，准予撥款補助。

PART VI
LIST OF DOCUMENTS

NOTE

The following abbreviations have been used:

C=Chinese; E=English; F=French; G=German; I=Italian; K=Korean;
P=Portugese; R=Russian; S=Spanish. Asterisks (*) indicate printed documents,
while other documents were submitted in mimeographed form.

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International Committee of the Red Cross and League of Red Cross Societies

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Joint Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on action taken on the Resolutions of the XVIIIth International Conference of the Red Cross (Toronto, July-August, 1952)	F.E.S.
Report of the Joint Commission of the Empress Shōken Fund (Item 5 of the Agenda of the General Commission)	F.E.S.
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International Commission for Medical Equipment (Item 2 of the Provisional Agenda, Medico-Social Commission)	F.E.S.

*Printed documents

International Committee of the Red Cross

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The Geneva Conventions—Ratification, Dissemination, Rules of Application, etc. (Item 4 of the Provisional Agenda—Human Rights Commission)	F.E.S.
National Red Cross Societies and Civil Defence (Item 3 of the Provisional Agenda of the Human Rights Commission)	F.E.S.
Nursing duties: organization, enrolment and training of professional and auxiliary personnel for their duties in time of war (Item 3b of the Provisional Agenda of the Medico-Social Commission)	F.E.S.
Legal Aid to Aliens (Item 5 of the Provisional Agenda, Commission on Humanitarian Law)	F.E.S.
Annex Document to the above Report: Fifth International Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations interested in migration—Legal Assistance to Migrants (in English, doc. D 377b)	F.E.
Legal Aid to Aliens—Supplementary Note (Item 5 of the Provisional Agenda, Commission on Humanitarian Law)	F.E.S.
Draft Resolution for the New Delhi Conference: Legal Aid	F.E.S.
The Red Cross, A factor of Peace throughout the World (Item 9 of the Provisional Agenda, General Commission, Plenary Session)	F.E.S.
Foundation for the International Committee of the Red Cross (Item 7 of the Provisional Agenda, General Commission)	F.E.S.
Florence Nightingale Medal (Item 6b of the Provisional Agenda of the General Commission)	F.E.S.
Augusta Fund—Ninth Distribution of Income (Item 6a of the Provisional Agenda of the General Commission)	F.E.S.
Report of the Commission for the Financing of the International Committee of the Red Cross (Item 7a of the Provisional Agenda of the General Commission)	F.E.S.
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Summary Report 1952-1956.	F.E.S.G.
Provisional Report (January 1 to June 30, 1957)	F.E.S.G.
Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross relative to Relief distributed or transmitted by the I.C.R.C. from January 1, 1952 to December 31, 1955 (Item 8 of the Agenda of the General Commission)	F.E.S.

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Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross and their Application	E.F.S.
Model Statutes	E.F.S.
Commentary of the League on different points on Agenda of Conference	E.F.S.
The League of Red Cross Societies, its Foundation, its Programme, the action of its Secretariat	E.F.S.
Do you know the Red Cross?	E.F.S.
The League of Red Cross Societies and the World Humanitarian Problems	E.F.S.
International Volunteer Manual	E.F.S.
Guide for National Red Cross Societies on their role as Auxiliaries of the Army Medical and Civil Defence Services	E.F.S.
The Red Cross Protects You	E.F.S.
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