

GENEVA 1986

TWENTY-FIFTH
INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE
OF THE
RED CROSS




**TWENTY-FIFTH
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE RED CROSS**

REPORT

**GENEVA, 23-31 OCTOBER 1986
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTRE, GENEVA**

BIBLIOTHEQUE - CICR
19, AV. DE LA PAIX
1202 GENÈVE



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PRELIMINARY CORRESPONDENCE

CONVOCAATION OF AND INVITATION TO MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE (RECOGNIZED NATIONAL SOCIETIES,
GOVERNMENTS OF STATES PARTIES TO THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS,
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND LEAGUE OF THE
RED CROSS AND RED CRESCENT SOCIETIES) AND TO OBSERVERS
(NATIONAL SOCIETIES IN PROCESS OF FORMATION AND OTHER OBSERVERS)

Bern, February 19, 1986

In decision VI the XXIVth International Conference of the Red Cross (Manila, 1981) accepted the invitation of the Swiss Red Cross to hold the XXVth Conference in Geneva in 1986. In agreement with the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross I today have the pleasure of informing you that this Conference will be held

from 23 to 31 October 1986
at the International Conference Centre, Geneva.

It will be preceded by various meetings, the General Assembly of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies as well as the Council of Delegates, from 14 to 22 October.

As you are aware, the International Conference of the Red Cross is composed of delegations:

- from duly recognized National Red Cross or Red Crescent Societies,
- from States parties to the Geneva Conventions,
- from the International Committee of the Red Cross,
- from the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

As customary, observers are also invited to participate in the Conference.

I herewith have the honour of inviting you to attend the XXVth International Conference of the Red Cross, Geneva 1986.

Please find attached to this invitation:

- the list of members and invited observers,
- the programme for the Conference,
- the provisional agenda.

These documents have been drawn up by the Standing Commission in accordance with its statutory mandate.

Also enclosed is an advance notice of participation which you are kindly asked to fill in and return to the Commissioner General of the Conference, Mr. Bénédicte de Tschanner, **before 30 April 1986**. The delegates' manual and forms for registration and hotel reservations will be sent to you in May 1986 on the basis of the advance notices received.

The Swiss Red Cross is looking forward to welcoming you in Geneva in October 1986 and sincerely hopes that the XXVth Conference — which aims at living up to its motto "United for humanity" — will make appreciable headway to the fulfilment of the tasks of the International Red Cross in the spirit of our Fundamental Principles.

Yours faithfully,

Kurt Bolliger
President of the Swiss Red Cross

GENERAL PROVISIONARY PROGRAMME

(as at 9 June, 1986)

MONDAY 13 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. League/ICRC Joint Working Group on the Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross
- 2.00 p.m. League/ICRC Joint Working Group on the Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross

TUESDAY 14 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. League/ICRC Joint Working Group on the Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross
- 2.00 p.m. League/ICRC Joint Working Group on the Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross

WEDNESDAY 15 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. League/ICRC Joint Working Group on the Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross
- 9.00 a.m. Scale of Contributions Commission of the League
- 2.00 p.m. Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace
- 2.00 p.m. Scale of Contributions Commission of the League
- ... Press Conference

THURSDAY 16 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Finance Commission of the League
- 9.00 a.m. Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace
- 9.00 a.m. Disaster Relief Commission
Development Commission
Health and Community Services Commission
Youth Commission
- 2.00 p.m. Finance Commission of the League
- 2.00 p.m. Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace
- 2.00 p.m. Disaster Relief Commission
Development Commission
Health and Community Services Commission
Youth Commission
- 2.30 p.m. Commission for the Financing of the ICRC

FRIDAY 17 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. XVIIIth Session of the Executive Council of the League
- 2.30 p.m. XVIIIth Session of the Executive Council of the League

SATURDAY 18 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Vth Session of the General Assembly of the League
- 2.30 p.m. Vth Session of the General Assembly of the League

SUNDAY 19 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Vth Session of the General Assembly of the League
- 2.30 p.m. Vth Session of the General Assembly of the League

MONDAY 20 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Vth Session of the General Assembly of the League
- 2.30 p.m. Vth Session of the General Assembly of the League

TUESDAY 21 OCTOBER

- ... Special Meetings
- 2.30 p.m. Standing Commission of the International Red Cross

WEDNESDAY 22 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Council of Delegates
- 2.30 p.m. Council of Delegates

THURSDAY 23 OCTOBER

- 3.00 p.m. Opening ceremony of the XXVth International Conference of the Red Cross
- 5.00 p.m. First plenary meeting
- 6.30 p.m. Reception at the Intercontinental Hotel

FRIDAY 24 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 9.00 a.m. Commission II: General Commission
- 2.30 p.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 2.30 p.m. Commission II: General Commission

SATURDAY 25 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 9.00 a.m. Commission II: General Commission
- 2.30 p.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 2.30 p.m. Commission II: General Commission

SUNDAY 26 OCTOBER

Excursions

MONDAY 27 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 9.00 a.m. Commission II: General Commission
- 2.30 p.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 2.30 p.m. Commission II: General Commission

TUESDAY 28 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 9.00 a.m. Commission II: General Commission
- 2.30 p.m. Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
- 2.30 p.m. Commission II: General Commission

WEDNESDAY 29 OCTOBER

No meetings. Day set aside for the preparation of reports

THURSDAY 30 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Plenary meeting
- 2.30 p.m. Plenary meeting

FRIDAY 31 OCTOBER

- 9.00 a.m. Plenary meeting
- 2.30 p.m. Plenary meeting / final meeting
- ... Standing Commission of the International Red Cross

AGENDA

I. COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

1. Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretaries of the Council of Delegates.
2. Adoption of the Agenda.
(Document CD/2/2, P. C.I, C.II)
3. Proposals to be made for the election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary General and Assistant Secretaries General of the International Conference.
4. Proposals for the election of the Drafting Committee of the International Conference.
5. Information on the provisional Agenda of the International Conference as drafted by the Standing Commission.
6. Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace on its activities since the Council of Delegates (1985) and proposals for the future.
(Document CD/6/1)
7. Report on the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute.
(Document CD/7/1)
8. Funds and Medals:
 - Florence Nightingale Medal (including Augusta Fund)
(Document CD/8/1)
 - Joint Commission of the Empress Shôken Fund
(Document CD/8/2)
 - Council of the Foundation for the International Committee of the Red Cross.
9. Other business.
10. Place and date of the next meeting.

II. INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS CONFERENCE

Plenary Meetings

Opening ceremony

Opening addresses

Solemn reading of the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross

First plenary meeting

1. Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary-General, Assistant Secretaries-General of the Conference and of the Drafting Committee of the Conference on the proposals of the Council of Delegates.
(Documents CD/2/2, P. C.I, C.II)
2. Report on the work of the Council of Delegates.
3. Appointment of Conference Commissions:
 - Commission I : International Humanitarian Law
 - Commission II: General Commission
4. Opening of the procedure of the election of the members of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.
5. Report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.
(Document P.5/1)

Second and following plenary meetings

1. Election of the members of the Standing Commission
2. Reports of Commissions I and II and adoption of resolutions and recommendations.
3. Place and date of the Twenty-sixth International Conference.

III. MEETINGS OF COMMISSIONS

A. COMMISSION I: INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

1. Election of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur and members of the Drafting Committee.
2. Respect for International Humanitarian Law:
 - 2.1. Report on the activities of the ICRC including follow-up to the following resolutions of the Twenty-fourth International Conference:
(Document C.I/2.1/1)
 - III: "Application of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949".
 - IV: "Humanitarian activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross for the benefit of victims of armed conflicts".
 - VI: "Respect for International Humanitarian Law and for humanitarian principles and support for the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross".
 - 2.2. Report on signatures, ratifications and accessions to the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions, including follow-up to Resolution VII of the Twenty-fourth Conference.
(Document C.I/2.2/1)
 - 2.3. Identification of medical transport, including follow-up to Resolution VIII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference.
(Document C.I/2.3/1)
 - 2.4. Dissemination of knowledge of International Humanitarian Law and of the Red Cross Principles and ideals, including follow-up to Resolution X and Resolution XI, "International courses on the Law of War", of the Twenty-fourth International Conference.
(Documents C.I/2.4/1, C.I/2.4/2, C.I/2.4/3)
 - 2.5. Torture, including follow-up to Resolutions XIV (Torture) and XV (Assistance to victims of torture) of the Twenty-fourth International Conference.
(Document C.I/2.5/1)
 - 2.6. Follow-up to other resolutions of the Twenty-fourth International Conference, in particular Resolutions V (Anti-piracy efforts), IX (Conventional weapons), and XIII (Disarmament, weapons of mass destruction and respect for non-combatants).
(Document C.I/2.6/1)
3. Tracing and family reunion:
(Document C.I/3/1)
 - 3.1. Information on the activities of the Central Tracing Agency, including follow-up to Resolutions I (Wearing of identity discs) and II (Forced or involuntary disappearances) of the Twenty-fourth International Conference.
 - 3.2. Tracing activities of National Societies.
4. Other business.

B. COMMISSION II: GENERAL COMMISSION

1. Election of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen, the Rapporteur⁽¹⁾ and the members of the Drafting Committee.

(1) Owing to the complexity of agenda item 2, the Commission will be asked to elect a second Rapporteur to deal with this specific item.

2. Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross:
 - 2.1. Draft Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.
(Document C.II/2.1/1)
 - 2.2. Draft Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.
(Document C.II/2.2/1)
3. Revision of the regulations on the use of the emblem (follow-up to Resolution XII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference).
(Document C.II/3/1)
4. Financing:
 - 4.1. Financing of the ICRC by governments (follow-up to Resolution XVII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference).
(Document C.II/4.1/1)
 - 4.2. Financing of the ICRC by National Societies (follow-up to Resolution XVIII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference).
(Document C.II/4.2/1)
 - 4.3. Financing of League programmes by governments through National Societies.
5. The International Red Cross and refugees, including follow-up to Resolution XXI of the Twenty-fourth International Conference.
(Document C.II/5/1)
6. ICRC/League policies in emergency situations:
 - 6.1. Nutrition policy
(Document C.II/6.1/1)
 - 6.2. Medical supplies
(Document C.II/6.2/1)
 - 6.3. Relief operations, including "Principles and Rules for Red Cross disaster relief"
(Document C.II/6.3/1 and C.II/6.3/2)
7. Development of National Societies as a contribution to national development (follow-up to Resolution XXV of the Twenty-fourth International Conference).
(Document C.II/7/1)
8. Report from the League's General Assembly (including follow-up to Resolutions XII, XXIV and Decision IV of the Twenty-fourth International Conference).
(Document C.II/8/1)
9. Follow-up to other resolutions of the Twenty-fourth International Conference, in particular Resolutions XIX (The role of voluntary service in the Red Cross), XX (Joint Commission for National Society statutes), XXIII (Involvement of volunteers in Red Cross community services), XXVI (The role of medical personnel in the preparation and execution of Red Cross emergency medical actions) and XXVIII (International Year of Disabled Persons).
(Documents C.II/9/1 and C.II/9/2)
10. Other business.

LIST OF DELEGATES

(French alphabetical order)

Members of the Conference

AFGHANISTAN

National Society

Head of delegation:

Mrs. SORAYA,
Secretary General

M. Abdul MOMEN,
Président des services sociaux

Government

Chef de délégation:

Dr Ansar SKANDARY,
Président Département plan, finances, commerce,
Conseil des Ministres

SOUTH AFRICA

National Society

Head of delegation:

Mr. Gurth S. WALTON MA,
President

Mr. Norman H. PATTERSON,
Vice-President

Mr. Bongani Aug KHUMALO,
Assistant Regional Director, Southern Transvaal

Dr. John Samuel GRIMWOOD,
Vice-Chairman, National Technical Training

Government (until 25 October)

Head of delegation:

Ambassador Jeremy SHEARAR,
Permanent Representative, Geneva

Mr. Johan RAUTENBACH,
State Law Adviser, Department of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Salmon STANDER,
Red Cross Liaison Officer

Mr. Jacob DU BRUYN,
State Law Adviser, Department of Justice

ALGERIA

National Society

Chef de délégation :

Dr Mouloud BELAOUANE,
Président

M. Ahmed HAMIANI,
Premier Vice-Président

M. Mokrane BOUBRIT,
Secrétaire général

M. Abdelkrim BENDJEBAR,
Directeur des affaires administratives

Dr Ahmed AHRAS,
Président de la Commission nationale du secourisme

Me Driss ALLOUACHE,
Président de la Commission nationale de
l'information

Me Salim DJABALI,
Président de la Commission nationale juridique

M. Abdelhalim SENOUCI,
Président de la Commission nationale des secours

Government

Chef de délégation :

Ambassadeur Kemal HACENE,
Représentant permanent, Genève

M. Boudjemaa DELMI,
Conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève

Mlle Fatiha BOUAMRANE,
Premier secrétaire, Mission permanente, Genève

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

National Society

Head of delegation:

Botho Prinz zu SAYN-WITTGENSTEIN-HOHENSTEIN
President

Dr. Hartwig SCHLEGELBERGER,
Vice-President

Dr. Anton SCHLÖGEL,
Member of the Präsidium (Executive Committee)

Dr. Hermann SCHMITZ-WENZEL,
Secretary General

Mr. Andreas VON BLOCK-SCHLESIER,
Head of the President's Office / Legal Adviser

Miss Birgitta STEINRÜCKEN,
Assistant, International Affairs

Mr. Thomas KLEMP,
Legal Adviser

Mrs. Helga MCGREW-WALTER,
Interpreter

Prof.Dr.Dr. Knut IPSEN,
Federal Dissemination Officer

Mr. Manfred KILL,
Head, Finance Division

Government

Head of delegation:

Ambassador Dr Fredo DANNENBRING,
Permanent Representative, Geneva

Dr. Karl Heinz KUNZMANN,
Head of Division

Dr. Hans Viktor BÖTTCHER,
Ministerialdirigent, Federal Ministry of Defence

Dr. Reinhard HILGER,
Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva

Dr. Dieter FLECK,
Head of Division, Federal Ministry of Defence

Mr. Günther WITTSCHEN,
Regierungsdirektor, Federal Ministry of the Interior

Mr. Peter HÜBSCHMANN,
Oberregierungsrat,
Federal Ministry of Transportation

Mr. Hermann SCHAEFER,
Oberamtsrat, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mrs. Dorothee KALTENBACH,
Interpreter
Mr. Karl SCHWÄGERL,
Attaché, Permanent Mission, Geneva

ANGOLA

National Society

Chef de délégation:
M. Aleixo A. GONCALVES,
Secrétaire général
M. José Luis PASCOAL,
Directeur technique
M. Carlos Fernando SILVA REIS,
Conseiller juridique

Government

Chef de délégation :
M. Carlos Alberto S. DE CARVALHO FONSECA,
Deuxième secrétaire,
Ministère des relations extérieures
M. Julio Manuel VELASCO,
Attaché, Ministère des relations extérieures

KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

National Society

Head of delegation:
Dr. Hamad Abdullah AL-SUGAIR,
President
Mr. Hemdi ABU ZEID,
Vice-President
Mr. Abdullah Moh. AL-HAZZAA,
Director General, Succour and Relief
Mr. Saleem Sulaiman AL-AHMED,
Director of President Office
Mr. Ibrahim Moh. AL-DHUA'YAN,
Director Public Relations

Government

Head of delegation:
Mr. Abdullah ZIDAN,
Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

ARGENTINA

National Society

Jefe de delegación:
Dr. Humberto Luis ADALBERTI

Government

Jefe de delegación:
Embajador Leopoldo H. TETTAMANTI,
Representante Permanente, Ginebra

AUSTRALIA

National Society

Head of delegation:
Mr. Arthur Grahame TAYLOR,
Chairman
Mr. Max BEVILAQUA,
Vice-Chairman

Mr. Leon STUBBINGS,
Secretary General
Mr. Alan L. MCLEAN,
Assistant Secretary General
Mr. David STOREY,
Chairman, New South Wales Division
Mr. Noel David ARMSTRONG,
Public Relations Consultant

Government

Head of delegation:
Ambassador Robert ROBERTSON,
Permanent Representative, Geneva
Mr. Stuart HUME, Minister,
Permanent Representative, Geneva
Mr. Michael SMITH,
Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva
Mr. Peter HUGHES,
Counsellor, Australian Embassy, Rome

AUSTRIA

National Society

Head of delegation:
Dr. Heinrich TREICHL,
President
Mr. Hans POLSTER,
Secretary General
Dr. Roland SIEGRIST,
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Government

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National Society

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Senior Human Rights Officer

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

Ambassador Dr Omar M. MUNTASSER,
Permanent Observer, Geneva

M. Mohamoud Abdi DAAR,
Deputy Permanent Observer

WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME (WFP)

M. Ricardo CUEVA RAP,
Project Management Officer

PUGWASH CONFERENCES ON SCIENCE
AND WORLD AFFAIRS

Miss Peri PAMIR,
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Mrs. Simone EK,
Director International Relations

Mr. Thomas HAMMARBERG,
Secretary General

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

Sir Peter MARSHALL,
Deputy Secretary General

Miss Pera WELLS,
Assistant Director, Head of Human Rights Unit,
International Affairs Division

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF PENAL MILITARY
LAW AND LAW OF WAR

M. André ANDRIES,
Avocat général, Chargé du Service de documentation

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General Secretariat

Mme Sylvia PETER,
General Secretariat

INTER-PARLAMENTARY UNION

Mr. Henry BOGSCH,
Committee Secretary

Mr. Pio-Carlo TERENCE,
Secretary General

Mr. Pierre CORNOLLON,
Deputy Secretary General

UNION OF AFRICAN JOURNALISTS (UAJ)

M. Salah GALAL,
Président

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President of the Swiss Red Cross

Vice-Chairmen:

H.R.H. Princess Helen Shah,
Chairman of the Nepal Red Cross Society

Dr. Dmitry Venedictov,
Chairman of the Executive Committee of
the Alliance of Red Cross and
Red Crescent Societies of the USSR

Secretary-General:

Mr. Bénédicte de Tschärner,
Commissioner General of the Twenty-fifth
International Conference of the Red Cross

Assistant Secretaries-General:

Mr. William Cassis,
Head of the Administrative Services
Department of the League

Mr. Jean-Louis Cayla,
Assistant to the Director General of the ICRC

CONFERENCE BUREAU

Mr. Kurt Bolliger,
Chairman of the Twenty-fifth International
Conference of the Red Cross

H.E. Dr. Ahmad Abu-Goura,
Chairman of the Standing Commission of
the International Red Cross

Mr. Alexandre Hay,
President of the International Committee of
the Red Cross

Mr. Enrique de la Mata Gorostizaga,
President of the League of Red Cross and
Red Crescent Societies

H.E. Mr. Alioune Sene,
Chairman of the Commission on International
Humanitarian Law

Dr. Mario Villarroel Lander,
Chairman of the General Commission

Mr. Bénédicte de Tschärner,
Secretary-General of the Twenty-fifth International
Conference of the Red Cross

DRAFTING COMMITTEE

Chairman:

Mrs. Aracelis Mastrapa Melero
(Cuban Red Cross)

Members:

Representatives of the ICRC,
the League, Bangladesh (Red Cross),
Burundi (Red Cross), France (Government),
Mexico (Government), United Kingdom
(Red Cross)

COUNCIL OF DELEGATES BUREAU

Chairman:

Mr. Alexandre Hay (ICRC)

Vice-Chairman:

Mr. Enrique de la Mata Gorostizaga (League)

Secretaries:

Mr. William Cassis (League)

Mr. Jean-Louis Cayla (ICRC)

COMMISSION BUREAUS

A. COMMISSION I — INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

Chairman:

H.E. Mr. Alioune Sene (Government of Senegal)

Vice-Chairmen:

Judge Darrell D. Jones (Canadian Red Cross)

Chief Justice Abdul Hamid (Malaysian Red Crescent)

Rapporteur:

Major Ali Hassan Quoreshi (Bangladesh Red Cross)

Secretaries:

Mr. Dominique Borel (ICRC)

Mrs. Brigitte Lacroix (ICRC)

Mrs. Lucianne Phillips (League)

The Commission elected representatives of Algeria, Denmark, Spain, the USA and the USSR as members of the Drafting Committee

B. COMMISSION II — GENERAL COMMISSION

Chairman:

Dr. Mario Villarroel Lander (Venezuelan Red Cross)

Vice-Chairmen:

Mr. Leon Stubbings (Australian Red Cross)

Dr. Dawit Zawde (Ethiopian Red Cross)

Rapporteurs:

Dr. Mohamed Nesh-Nash (Moroccan Red Crescent)
(for Item 2 - Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and of the Rules of Procedures of the International Conference of the Red Cross)

Mr. Rezső Sztuchlik (Hungarian Red Cross)

Secretaries:

Mrs. Yolande Camporini (League)

Mr. Paul-Olivier Vallotton (ICRC)

Mr. Daniel Kinnear (League)

Mrs. Marie-Jeanne Macheret-Niklev (League)

Miss Florianne Truninger (ICRC)

Drafting Committee:

Dr. Guillermo Rueda Montana
(Colombian Red Cross)

Dr. Qamar Ahmed Khan (Pakistan Red Crescent)

Miss Alina Kusmierczyk (Polish Red Cross)

Mr. Manning G. Warren III (American Red Cross)

COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

Wednesday, 22 October 1986

SUMMARY: Opening of the meeting by the President of the Swiss Red Cross — Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretaries of the Council of Delegates — Adoption of the Agenda — Proposals for the election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and Assistant Secretaries-General of the International Conference — Proposals for the election of the Drafting Committee of the International Conference — Information on the provisional Agenda of the Twenty-fifth International Conference as drafted by the Standing Commission — The Red Cross as a factor of peace: Activities of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace; Implementation of Decisions 1, 2 and 3 of the Council of Delegates (October 1985) — Report on the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute — Florence Nightingale Medal — Empress Shōken Fund — Council of the Foundation for the ICRC — Other Business.

The meeting was opened at 9.15 a.m. by Mr. Kurt Bolliger, President of the Swiss Red Cross.

OPENING OF THE MEETING BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SWISS RED CROSS

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (President of the Swiss Red Cross)
(Original French):

Ladies and Gentlemen, delegates and dear Red Cross and Red Crescent friends, I have the honour and pleasure of opening this meeting of the Council of Delegates of the International Red Cross.

ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARIES OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (President of the Swiss Red Cross)
(Original French):

Article IV of our Statutes requires any reunion of the International Conference to include a meeting of the Council of Delegates. The first item on the agenda is of course to elect the Chairman of our Council. In accordance with a long-standing tradition I should like to propose that you elect Mr. Alexandre Hay, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, as Chairman. *(Applause)*

As you undoubtedly know, Mr. Hay has decided to resign his post as President of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1987. This will therefore be the last time we shall meet under his kindly authority. Your applause shows me that you agree with this proposal. I accordingly invite Mr. Hay to take the Chair.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) *(Original French):*

Dear Red Cross and Red Crescent friends, I send you my cordial greetings and look forward to spending today with you. As President Bolliger has told you, after more than ten years as President of the ICRC I have come to the conclusion that it is time for me to step down and make room for a younger and more vigorous successor. I therefore intend to retire next spring and hand over my post as President of the Committee to Mr. Sommaruga, who has been elected to that post and will come and join us next year. I shall however still be a member of the Committee and I hope still to carry out a number of missions that will keep me in touch with you; for whilst it is impossible to leave a post such as mine without deep regret, I do so with the great privilege of having made many friends whose friendship I hope to be able to enjoy in future.

Today's Council of Delegates is a fairly traditional one lasting only one day, and its purpose will be to prepare for the International Conference that will open tomorrow afternoon. When there is not an International Conference the Council of Delegates has been in the habit of meeting for a longer time and discussing more important questions. But today we have a fairly short agenda, mainly on administrative matters, so that we can prepare the Conference meeting.

I hope we shall be able to get through our work by this evening, for we probably all have a number of things on our

mind before we attend the Conference.

We have first of all to appoint the Bureau of the Council, and with your agreement we shall start by appointing the Vice-Chairman and Secretaries of our Council.

As Vice-Chairman I propose Mr. de la Mata, President of the League. I should be grateful if he would kindly join me on the rostrum.

As Secretaries of our Council I propose that you appoint Mr. W. Cassis, one of the League's Directors, and Mr. J.-L. Cayla, Assistant to the Director General of the ICRC. Both of them are officials of the Geneva institutions who have closely co-operated with the Swiss Red Cross in preparing this Conference and have already discharged that function on several previous occasions. I invite Mr. Cassis and Mr. Cayla to join us. I note that you have approved these proposals.

Having appointed our Bureau, we can now go on to our work. Article IV of the Statutes of the International Red Cross — that is, of the present Statutes, those of 1952, by which our proceedings are still governed — states that the functions of the Council of Delegates shall be:

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

You will also remember that the Council of Delegates is composed of recognized National Societies, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Each of those institutions has one vote when a vote is taken or an election held.

This is an opportunity for me to welcome newly recognized National Societies, i.e. those recognized after our previous Council in October 1985 and admitted to the League. They are the National Societies of Angola, the United Arab Emirates, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Saint Lucia, Suriname and, very recently, Djibouti. *(Applause)*

I extend a very cordial welcome to these new Societies. I am glad to see that, with their advent, our Movement is coming ever closer to universality, and I thank you for your applause.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) *(Original French):*

I should like to ask you whether you have any remarks to make on the draft agenda you have received for our meeting of today.

For the information of the African National Societies, they are invited to take part in a meeting with the Ambassadors of the African countries represented in Geneva, to be held tomorrow morning at 10 a.m. in Hall 4 of this building.

I note that nobody has any remarks to make on the agenda.

PROPOSALS FOR THE ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMAN, VICE-CHAIRMEN, SECRETARY GENERAL AND ASSISTANT SECRETARIES GENERAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We now go on to Item 3. Would Dr. Abu-Goura, Chairman of the Standing Commission, kindly join us on the rostrum and let us know the Standing Commission's proposals.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Standing Commission):

Mr. President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen. Traditionally, the Standing Commission used to submit to the International Conference through the Council of Delegates the lists for the president, vice-presidents, rapporteurs and the drafting committee.

The Standing Commission proposes for the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross as President, Mr. Bolliger, the President of the Swiss Red Cross; Vice-presidents, Princess Shah, the President of the Red Cross of Nepal and Dr. Venedictov, the President of the Alliance of Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; the Commissioner General, Mr. de Tscherner, will be the Secretary-General of the International Conference. And, in accordance with the rules, there should be two assistants to Mr. de Tscherner; those two assistants have been serving the International Conference for a long period of years: Mr. Cassis and Mr. Cayla, who are now sitting on the rostrum.

Mr. President, now I come to the first Commission. We will have two Commissions as you know, the first Commission's Chairman would be Mr. Sene, from the Government delegation of Senegal; Vice-presidents, Mr. Jones, from the Red Cross of Canada and Mr. Abdel Hamid, from the Red Crescent of Malaysia and the rapporteur for the first Commission is Mr. Quoreshi, from the Bangladesh Red Cross.

For the second Commission, where we are going to revise the Statutes of the International Red Cross, which is a very important issue, because the Statutes of the International Red Cross are very old, dating from 1952, and so the Standing Commission proposes: as the President, Mr. Villaroel, President of the Venezuelan Red Cross; as the Vice-presidents, Mr. Stubbings, from the Australian Red Cross and Mr. Dawit, from the Ethiopian Red Cross. For this Commission we need at least two rapporteurs, one for the Statutes of the International Red Cross and one for the other subjects on the agenda of the second Commission. For the first, for the Statutes, Dr. Nesh-Nash, from the Red Crescent of Morocco and for the second, Mr. Sztuchlik, from the Hungarian Red Cross.

PROPOSALS FOR THE ELECTION OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Standing Commission):

For the drafting committee, we propose, because we have three languages in the International Conference, Monaco, Burundi, Mexico, Cuba and the United Kingdom. With this, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I completed my list and I wish those people the very best success in their future activities and for the International Conference as well.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank Dr. Abu-Goura, Chairman of the Standing Commission, and all the members of the Standing Commission, for the difficult work they have done to prepare this Conference. The proposals of the Council of Delegates will of course be passed to the Conference for its final decision.

The Standing Commission suggests that as at previous Conferences the press should be admitted to all plenary meetings and to the meetings of the Commissions, wherever this is at all possible. The Commissions are however free to decide to meet *in camera* if they so wish. Do you approve this suggestion? Thank you.

INFORMATION ON THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AS DRAFTED BY THE STANDING COMMISSION

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Agenda Item 5 states that information will be given on the provisional agenda of the Conference as drafted by the Standing Commission. A preliminary draft agenda was sent to National Societies last year so that Societies wishing to send in their observations would have time to do so. The main result of this consultation was to reduce the number of Commissions from three to two. I would remind you that it is not customary for the agenda to be formally submitted to the Conference for approval once our Council has approved it.

I would also inform you that among the subjects covered by agenda Item 8 of this Council is the report on the Joint Commission of the Shōken Fund, which proposes that the regulations of the Fund should be revised. They cannot be revised except by the Conference, which is the only body competent to do so. It will therefore be proposed at the plenary meeting of the Conference that the revised draft regulations which the Council will pass to the Conference should be adopted. The same procedure is to be proposed for the report of the Council of the Foundation for the International Committee of the Red Cross. We therefore propose to you that these two questions, the Joint Commission of the Empress Shōken Fund and the Council of the Foundation for the International Committee, be added to the provisional agenda of Commission II under its Item 4, which would then become Item 4.4. These are mostly only matters of form and there is no need for long discussion on them.

I should like to add that in the provisional agenda of Commission II, Item 3, we have "Revision of the Regulations on the Use of the Emblem", in pursuance of Resolution XII of 1981. We fully expect that the discussion will be strictly limited to revision of the Regulations and will not extend to the basic problem of the emblem, which is not down for discussion at this Conference. On this item of the agenda we must therefore confine ourselves strictly to the revision of the Regulations. My colleague Mr. de la Mata would even prefer Item 3 of Commission II to be dropped, as the problem of the emblem is at present too delicate for discussion. I presume Commission II will bear that opinion in mind.

THE RED CROSS AS A FACTOR OF PEACE

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION ON THE RED CROSS, RED CRESCENT AND PEACE

IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS 1, 2 AND 3 OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES (OCTOBER 1985)

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We now come to our agenda Item 6, Report by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace on its activities since the previous Council of Delegates in 1985,

and its proposals for the future. I should like to give the floor to its Chairman, Mr. Harald Huber, of the ICRC.

Mr. H. HUBER (ICRC) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, In my capacity as Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace I have pleasure in submitting to you the Commission's report (reference CD/6/1) which was sent to you in September and comprises:

- the Commission's report itself; this is a summary of the proceedings at its two meetings held in October 1985 and April 1986;

annexes comprising the following documents:

- a summary of the National Societies' replies on the implementation of the Programme of Action of the Red Cross as Factor of Peace and of the Aaland conclusions;
- a summary of the National Societies' replies on their activities throughout 1986 in connection with the International Year of Peace (1986);
- a text prepared by the ICRC entitled "The law of neutrality and the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement's Principle of neutrality: similarities and differences".

The Commission has just made a supplementary report which is being distributed to you now. It bears reference No. CD/6/1 bis and is concerned mainly with the discussions held by the Commission and the results achieved at its XXth meeting of 15 and 16 October last.

This report is very short and I shall therefore take the liberty of reading it out to you. It reads as follows:

"Supplementary Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace"

"The present report gives an account of the discussions at the twentieth meeting of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, held on 15 and 16 October 1986, and of the conclusions of that meeting. It supplements the Commission's report on its activities, distributed as document CD/6/1 to the members of the 1986 Council of Delegates.

I. Adoption of the report

The Commission adopted by consensus the text of its report to the Council of Delegates, after having corrected an error in paragraph 16 of the English version of the text: in the list of Societies remaining on the Commission, the third line should obviously read "German Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic" and not "German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany", since the latter is not a member of the Commission.

The Commission then took note of the fact that the Egyptian Red Crescent Society had also sent in a report on its own work to implement the Programme of Action and the Aaland guidelines, thus bringing the number of replies received to 33.

The Commission intends to send another circular letter in the near future to those National Societies which have not yet sent in their replies, requesting them to inform the Commission of their activities to implement those two important documents.

2. International Year of Peace

The Commission decided to withdraw the suggestion it had made in April that the Council of Delegates send the message adopted by the Aaland Conference to the United Nations General Assembly. In fact, the message was already sent with the text of the fundamental guidelines in February 1985.

The Commission therefore decided, by consensus, to propose that the Council of Delegates request the ICRC and the League to send to the United Nations General Assembly — as a contribution by the Movement to the International Year of Peace — a compendium of the main texts on peace adopted by the Movement's various bodies, as well as a bibliography on the subject, together with a covering letter referring to the Aaland message.

3. World Peace Day

The Secretariat of the Commission has written a historical study of the origins of World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day, 8 May. The Commission intends to examine the study at its meeting in April 1987 and to report on it to the 1987 Council of Delegates. The study will be distributed to the National Societies in due time.

4. Composition of the Commission

In its October 1985 meeting, the Council of Delegates assigned itself the task of electing, during its 1986 session, the Commission in its new composition on the basis of proposals from the present Commission. Following up this decision, the Commission agreed by consensus to propose that the National Societies of the following countries remain on the Commission: France, German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Mauritania, Australia and Indonesia. Bearing in mind the principle of fair geographical distribution, it then decided to propose as new members, from among 21 Societies which had stood for election, the Societies from the following six countries: Sweden, Brazil, Colombia, Ethiopia, Benin and Yemen Arab Republic."

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that we propose the Swedish Red Cross as it was a co-organizer of the Aaland Conference. It therefore enjoys special status and could be considered an *ex officio* member of the Commission.

"The geographical distribution of Commission members is therefore as follows:

<i>Re-elected members</i>		<i>New members</i>
	Europe	
France		Sweden
German Democratic Republic		
Yugoslavia		
	The Americas	
		Brazil
		Colombia
	Africa	
Mauritania		Ethiopia
		Benin
	Asia	
Australia		Yemen Arab Republic
Indonesia		

The composition set out in the above proposal was established by consensus. No members were against the motion, but two National Societies' delegations and the ICRC abstained. Having put forward this proposal, the Commission considers that it has fulfilled the mandate entrusted to it by the 1983 and the 1985 Council of Delegates.

The Commission did not confine itself to that mandate, however, having taken note of the wish expressed by several of its members and by other National Societies to raise the number of Commission members. In view of the increase in the number of recognized National Societies since the creation of the Commission in its present composition in 1977, and in view of the growing importance of the Commission's work and the great interest that National Societies show in it, such an increase seems appropriate. On the other hand, an excessive number of members would make consensus — which is already difficult to reach — practically impossible, and could paralyse the work of the Commission.

The Commission debated this question at length and agreed on the following suggestion, also by consensus: in addition to the ICRC, the League and the Henry Dunant Institute, the National Societies of Yugoslavia and Sweden, organizers of the First World Red Cross Conference on Peace and the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace respectively, would become permanent members of the Commission, and would not be subject to election or re-election by the Council of Delegates. The number of National Societies to be elected would thus remain the same, while the total number of National Societies on the Commission would rise from 12 to 14.

In addition to the list of National Societies proposed by the Commission in accordance with its current composition and within the framework of its mandate, the National Societies of Egypt and Jordan would also be proposed.

The balance between the remaining and the newly-elected members would thus be maintained, and the slight increase in numbers does not seem likely to put the efficacy of the Commission at risk.

According to this second proposal, the members would be distributed as follows:

<i>Re-elected members</i>		<i>New members</i>
	Europe	
France		
German Democratic Republic		
	The Americas	
		Brazil
		Colombia
	Africa	
Mauritania		Benin
Egypt		Ethiopia
	Asia	
Australia		Yemen Arab Republic
Indonesia		Jordan
	+	
	Two <i>ex officio</i> members	
Yugoslavia		Sweden

The two proposals for the future composition of the Commission as set out above have been drafted by the Commission and are being submitted to the Council of Delegates, which may approve one of them."

I take this opportunity of thanking you, particularly on behalf of the outgoing Societies, and also in my personal capacity as retiring Chairman, for the confidence you have shown in us in the last nine years. At the same time I have the honour and pleasure to announce to you that Mr. A. HAY will henceforth take over the chairmanship of the Commission.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank Mr. H. Huber, Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, and all members who took part in its work and discussions, for the report submitted to us. I call up Mr. Moreillon to speak for the ICRC.

Mr. J. MOREILLON (ICRC):

Mr. Chairman, as indicated by the President of the Peace Commission, the ICRC which, together with the League and the Henry Dunant Institute is an *ex officio* member of the Commission, has not expressed itself in the choice of these National Societies considering that it was proper for the National Societies themselves to propose a balanced membership.

This being said, Mr. Chairman, the ICRC would be ready to accept both solutions but given the choice would favour the second one. The advantage of the second solution, Mr. Chairman, is that first of all it permits to enlarge the Commission but at the same time it keeps it to a size where consensus is still reachable; with fourteen National Societies as members of the Commission plus the ICRC, the League and the Henry Dunant Institute, we would have seventeen members of the Commission instead of the present fifteen. Since most delegations are usually composed of two or three persons, seventeen makes a relatively large group but still I would say a manageable one in terms of possibilities of finding consensus.

The second advantage of that solution is that it pays due tribute and honour to those National Societies who have taken it upon themselves to organize a World Red Cross and Red Crescent Peace Conference, Yugoslavia and Sweden (representing both Sweden and Finland). It seems to us, Mr. Chairman, that it is only fair to these National Societies that have made a specific contribution towards our Movement, towards peace, to be *ex officio* members of this Commission.

May I add, Mr. Chairman, that under the proposal of the

Alliance of Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Council of Delegates last year suggested to the Commission that it would consider to create a working group on the question of Red Cross, human rights and peace. The Commission will decide upon this in April next year but I can announce already that, for its part, the International Committee of the Red Cross is in favour of creating such a sub-working group on Red Cross, human rights and peace. The ICRC will propose that the sub-working group include experts from Societies outside the present Commission, and not only from members of the Commission. While not enlarging the Commission, which would stay with its seventeen members, this would give the possibility to interested Societies and individuals to make their specific contribution to the work of the Commission for reporting and proposals by consensus to the Council of Delegates.

As we have to take our decisions on these matters by consensus I would therefore move, Mr. Chairman, in the name of the ICRC, that we adopt the second proposal suggested to us on behalf of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, by its Chairman.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman):

We have just seen arriving in this room Princess Shah from Nepal and we would like to congratulate her because she is proposed by our assembly to be one of the Vice-presidents of the Conference of tomorrow. Mr. de La Mata.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League) (*Original Spanish*):

The League is in a position somewhat similar to that of the International Committee. The League did not form part of the Commission on Peace and was not invited to the meetings in its capacity as the international federation of National Societies. Accordingly it took no part in preparing the proposals that have been submitted to you.

I agree with what Mr. Moreillon has said and I think the second of the alternative proposals should be the one to be approved. There is, however, one point to which I should like to draw your attention; I believe I am obliged to make it as President of the League. You, Ladies and Gentlemen, shall decide.

The Council of Delegates' previous agreement stated that the International Committee would continue to chair the Commission and today it has been announced that its next Chairman will be Mr. A. Hay. It seems to me that the Commission can indeed derive benefit from having Mr. Hay as Chairman and far from opposing this I have every reason to support it. I should like to suggest, however, that the Council of Delegates might consider the possibility of adding to the phrase "The Commission will continue to be chaired by the ICRC" the provision that the League will take the chair, or that the Commission will be chaired by the League, in the subsequent period. I suggest that the chair be taken in rotation, alternately by the Committee and the League. This appears to be a fair solution that strikes a balance between our two institutions, involves both of them and can undoubtedly be of considerable help to the League in its role as a promoter of peace or in its role of helping National Societies in peacetime. Many thanks; this is a suggestion of mine to the Council of Delegates.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank Mr. de la Mata for his contribution which will certainly be borne in mind. Does any other member of this meeting wish to say anything on Mr. Huber's proposals as Chairman of the Commission of the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace? Is there any preference for either proposal? The ICRC has expressed its preference for the second one and so has Mr. de la Mata.

Dr. D. VENEDICTOV (USSR):

Mr. Chairman, I would like to have your guidance. Do you think we should discuss only the proposals about the composition of the Commission or could we comment on

the substance of the Report and the substance of the problem itself? I think some of the delegations would like to express their views at least on the general matters and then decide what should be the composition of this or that alternative and so on. What is your guidance, Sir?

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Mr. President, you are absolutely free to express your opinions on the substance.

Dr. D. VENEDICTOV (USSR):

In that case I would like to make some general points about the problem of this Commission and of the problems which we are facing in the area of peace because we have in front of us the official Report of the Commission; in addition to this Report we have had in the General Assembly also the Report of the Secretary-General about the activities going on in the League and in the National Societies in this Year of Peace, and I think therefore we have in front of us really the problem in its totality: Red Cross and peace, with all its aspects.

And, Mr. Chairman, to speak quite frankly and openly, we do not especially like the document of the Secretariat about the work of the League and the Societies in the Year of Peace which I think mentions the answers of the National Societies and very few things have been done about the activities of the central bodies of the International Red Cross.

And I think we can also, with all respect, make some critical remarks about the Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace which has done a lot, has had a lot of meetings, has made a very good document, and so on, but I think we must remark on the inadequacy of this document as regards the importance and urgency of the whole problem, of the most urgent, the problem number one of the world, of the present: the protection and promotion of peace. And it does not really correspond to the movement, public movements, governmental discussion, you see, United Nations action, in the area of peace protection and promotion.

I will not make it, how to say, secret or it will not be a new thing if I say that we consider that the Soviet Red Cross, and maybe a number of other delegations, consider that this item on the agenda of the whole Conference, the problem of peace, is most important, maybe the most important item. And of course, the biggest bunch of the documents, which we have brought with us, is really devoted to this problem. Because we all say that life is most important, what is existing, human life, human health is basically the prerequisite of life itself, of the work of development of human personality, of human dignity.

Peace, this is most important and if we say sometimes that health is not everything the human being needs in life what, then, apart from health, does he need? And we say peace is the thing without which really nothing else in the world has any meaning. And I have an impression that somehow we are a little bit shy, we are a little bit afraid of talking about peace and maybe we are even self-accusing, or self-restrained; we want to avoid the so-called politization of the Red Cross.

When we discuss peace, also in the *Tribune de Genève* today, I have seen that Red Cross swims in politics as a fish in the water. And I think this is correct: we have been working in the field of politics, being Red Cross, you see for more than a hundred years.

And we have all the reasons for being involved in the peace movement and it is not only those 70 resolutions which have been passed since 1921 and which we have accumulated in the document which has been prepared by the Secretariat just for this Conference, which all is repeated in the *Handbook of the Red Cross*, but I think it goes back to Solferino, it goes to the decisions of the first and second Peace Conferences of Red Cross, it goes to the decision of

the United Nations of the Year of Peace; the whole image of Red Cross is the protection and promotion of peace, alleviation of sufferings and so on. Therefore I think we have the right to fight for peace, to talk about peace and to discuss all the political issues without being accused of politization. We do not need to be shy about that.

We have got used to talk about and to quote Henry Dunant. But Dunant, as well as Pirogov in Russia, as Florence Nightingale in England and other noble men and women who were the founders of the Red Cross Movement, Dunant was great because he looked very far ahead, he did not look only around him, and we are still looking all around us and even we refer to the past. We perhaps are thinking not in the context of the space and nuclear age, we are thinking in the terms at least of the first half of this century which is already past. And if Dunant was not afraid to speak and even to cry in the desert but also to fight for his conviction, and it was very difficult for him, we now speak about Dunant but we remember that he had a lot of difficulties, starvation, you see, financial difficulties; he was not afraid of them.

What we are now afraid of is when we talk about peace. What has changed? The whole condition of the world has changed and the danger of war has increased enormously today. Because war by so-called accident, by the technical and human errors, in our age of these so complicated, so sophisticated weapons, has really increased greatly. And really we are facing now the new era, a new period of arms race, in space and everywhere else.

Because the war has become and will become very short—it will not last years, months or even weeks; it will last maybe minutes before we realize what it means, the thermo-nuclear present stage. And we cannot even imagine the results nor we can imagine that there will be nobody or nothing left on the earth if we let a thermo-nuclear war really happen.

And also we see that there are new steps already in the opposite way in order to stop this process. Look here, peace and disarmament is now the permanent item of the agenda of all international and national organizations. So I have heard some people say this is again the initiative of Russians, of Soviets, to raise the question of peace, and so on; Henry Dunant, perhaps he was, how to say, the hand of Moscow when he promoted his peace ideas more than a hundred years ago.

We have seen now that the discussion was to change the allocation, the money which is spent for nuclear arms and space arms into the development of developing countries with their needs. We have had Helsinki in 1975. Stockholm Conference recently on the confidence measures; we have this Year of Peace, we have a moratorium on nuclear tests for more than a year now. There were meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik, we do not like to talk about super-powers, but there was a meeting on a high level to which all the world looked. And this meeting came very close to changing the process, of starting to diminish nuclear arsenals which have been accumulating and which are so important now.

There is really a new political vision in this space and cosmic age which is important. And in these conditions is it really sufficient what we are doing here in the Red Cross for peace? Are we going ahead of this movement, ahead of the expectations of people or are we inside this gradual process or maybe even lagging a little bit behind?

We even do not carry out our own decisions and resolutions. If you take the Report of the Secretary-General, does the Secretariat need special resources, as it is written here, to write an article about Red Cross and peace in the magazine of peace? Look here, let us be serious. To write an article in our magazine we need extra resources! Was it necessary to wait for one or for more than one year to send the Aaland message to different countries?

Our very noble Commission on the Red Cross, Red Cres-

cent and Peace is very important, but is it really so necessary to discuss its composition, you see, *ex officio*, non official members, how it is composed, that it has its meetings you see, in private, not open and so on. We should not be afraid of the procedures, we should not be afraid of the items, we should not be afraid to disagree, in the beginning, in order to agree at the end of these discussions.

We do not have our plan of action, we do not carry it out although the plan of action for peace was already approved by the Conference in Belgrade and was supported in Aaland. We are not really bureaucrats writing papers but when I read all the resolutions on peace which have been approved by this Movement, when I think what has been written, and what has been done ... let us think about it. Just a few quotes: Council of Delegates in 1983 made a decision, in Resolution 1, "a historical study should be made of Red Cross action to promote disarmament beginning with the resolutions adopted by the various constituent bodies to the International Red Cross. The Henry Dunant Institute might be asked to do it". What has been done? To collect only the resolutions, to publish them, that's all?!

Resolution 2 of the same Council of Delegates "proposes that all National Societies, the ICRC and the League, should use their best endeavours to make the Red Cross members aware of the terrible effects of the use of weapons, in particular of nuclear weapons and the other weapons of mass destruction". What has been done for this?

Resolution 3, again 1983, — I take only one year — recommends the National Societies, the League and the ICRC "to develop educational programmes that will help in the promotion of peace and give information on the terrible consequences of war"; "to promote the activities of the young people of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies which represent a contribution to peace and to make every effort to organize meetings for the purpose of examining and summarizing the experience of the work of young volunteers contributing to the strengthening of peace which could be the basis for identifying new forms and methods of work". What has been done to implement this Resolution? And so on, and so on.

And, by the way, why was the Nobel Peace Prize of 1985 not awarded to the Red Cross? We have already, I think, with the ICRC, four Nobel Peace Prizes, it is very important. But this Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to international physicians for prevention of nuclear war. For what? For information to the people on the consequences of nuclear war, to inform them that there will be no medical service able to deal with the effects of this conflict. This should be the Nobel Peace Prize of Red Cross, it should be our duty and not physicians', as a professional society, to do this. I think, with all due respect to them and I think we have to work with them together, this Nobel Peace Prize should be with us.

Also why do we not have our special Prize, Red Cross Prize for Peace which we will award to the people, to the movements, to the organizations, maybe to the countries, maybe to the governments, maybe to political leaders? The Red Cross recognizes their activities for peace. Would it not be noble, do we not think that really these people will be honoured if the International Red Cross recognizes them? And so on.

Well, Mr. Chairman, all I say is not a criticism only, it is not just to say what we have not done. It is in appeal for action: we can do a lot; in order to do this we have to change our thinking to a new, global thinking of a thermo-nuclear age which would change everything and which is being changed now because we have our definition of peace as not only the absence of war. Remembering that, in the past, the Red Cross meetings were able only after the War to write new Conventions, only *after* the War. And never have we been able to predict or foresee the atrocities of the next war. And now we do not have this choice because it

will not be possible to write anything after the thermo-nuclear war, after the Third World War.

We have to think in advance, we have to change our attitude. We now talk about what will be the contribution of Red Cross to peace: direct or indirect by our common activities and so on. Of course all our activities are devoted to peace, of course we have to continue them. But two things are important: we have to form the public opinion, we have to mobilize public opinion, we have to press nerve centres of the world opinion about the dangers of war and about the necessity of preventing it. Second, we should provide humanitarian expert advice on the issues of human peace. It is the Red Cross, with the amount of knowledge and experience we have, which can do it. We really have to call, we have to appeal to the consciousness, to the intellect of humanity, and it is important to do it now. Clemenceau once said that "War is too serious to be left only in the hands of generals". Today, we must say war is too serious to be left not only in the hands of generals but in the hands of the diplomats; we are going to have our diplomats tomorrow here and obviously we must teach them to speak and to understand Red Cross language. At least we want them to hear, to listen to that view of the Red Cross, that view of humanity.

Mass information media should tomorrow talk, inform the public about our deliberations, about the Red Cross International Conference, what it will be; and it would be a pity if there is only a summary of the main points: The Conference took place, there was so many papers read, and so on. It should be a direct information, not about our meetings, but what we are thinking about.

It is good to quote Dunant. I also want to quote him. On the very last page of his "*A Memory of Solferino*", think how far ahead he was able to look: "If the new and frightful weapons of destruction which are now at the disposal of the nations", — which were *then* at the disposal of the nations, — "seem destined to abridge the duration of future wars," (at the time they spoke the war will be short), "it appears likely, on the other hand, that future battles will only become more and more murderous. Moreover, in this age when surprise plays so important a part, is it not possible that wars may arise, from one quarter or another, in the most sudden and unexpected fashion? And do not these considerations alone constitute more than adequate reason for taking precautions against surprise?"

A hundred years ago he was able to see the problems of today.

Mr. Chairman, in the best traditions of Red Cross, I did not mention countries, I did not mention political leaders, I did not say, — and of course I have my own opinion like everybody else — who is guilty of the arms race. But let us be the men of the Red Cross: we have to understand that we have to come to the consensus and we have to do a lot in order to do something for peace. Yesterday we have had a discussion; more than 23 delegations met in a very small room, in a very hot atmosphere, because the ventilation did not work, to discuss the proposed resolution of peace. Then there were seven people left by this group under the chairmanship of the representative of Red Cross, a very able chairmanship, in order to try to draft a resolution. We were discussing and we talked about this resolution, we even had some, not questions, but suggestions. We wanted, as the Soviet Red Cross, a much stronger resolution. We wanted it to make specifically, or at least to remember to mention the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing that is more than one year old in our country, which may be, or could be, or should be the end of the nuclear testing and nuclear development.

About the new development of space arms, about the systems of international security and political, military, social and economical spheres, we wanted an appeal to public opinion, especially to adopt a position against

nuclear arms, to the leaders of two super-powers, let us call them that, who have met and who have almost reached an agreement. We wanted to talk about the new Conference of peace which we have to conduct in due course. We wanted really to mention it clearly that we have to switch the allocations for military purposes to peaceful purposes and for the Red Cross, and so on.

But we talked and talked and we decided to make a compromise. And it is a great pleasure for me to tell you that we have reached this compromise and I hope we do not miss a chance like in Reykjavik. We have the draft resolution which is not perfect from our point of view and maybe not perfect from others' points of view. But this is what it says: it states a few general points in the preamble about the situation, about the Peace Year, about the convictions of the Red Cross and reinforcing our decisions and so on. About our deep concern about the unrest and military conflicts everywhere and so on. And then we suggested that the International Conference of the Red Cross repeats its appeal to humanity, its message to the world community, which originated at the Aaland Conference. But it should be the message of today, not simply the Conference of the Aaland appeal. The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, Sir, should make a new appeal to governments, recalling all these ideas that have been incorporated in these documents.

Well it is a compromise, but I think it is already a stronger compromise that even two years ago, and with regard to the Conference, Mr. Chairman, I think we all understand: this is the most important issue on our agenda, the biggest contribution the Red Cross ever can make for the alleviation of human suffering, for promoting peace and lasting co-operation.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for this interesting appeal.

I have on my list Australia, Bulgaria, the United States of America, Romania, France, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Hungary, Mexico, Mongolia, Colombia, and Bangladesh. With your agreement I shall give the floor to the representative of the Australian Red Cross Society.

Mr. L. STUBBINGS (Australia):

Like all other Societies, along with the ICRC and the League, that are in the room today I think our delegation places as much importance on peace as the previous speaker and I say this because, Mr. Chairman, all of us have, as part of our Red Cross experience, the Programme of Action from Belgrade and the mandate for further action from the Aaland Peace Conference. May I say, Sir, that the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace has applied itself to all elements of peace and Red Cross and peace, particularly in accordance with the Red Cross principles. I believe that that is our mandate. It is not possible for the Red Cross as a Movement to remedy all the ills of the world. We believe that it is essential that we know clearly what is the role of the Red Cross and with that clear in our mind it is important that we apply ourselves to our task.

For National Societies to create, devise and develop action programmes based on Belgrade and Aaland takes a considerable amount of time, and I think there are documents that we have not yet had time to read; but once read and really analysed, all of us here will become aware that there are many Societies that are applying themselves very seriously to the application of what they have been asked to do. But I would like to stress here that I think it is deplorable that many very important documents only reach our hands on the day on which we are to discuss them and this does not enhance the quality of our discussions.

But I think, Sir, when we meet together like this, it does reveal a weakness for all of us. We expect to be able to make or to see dramatic results from what has gone in the past

and I do not think that that should be our purpose at all. We have always felt that from Belgrade and Aaland there have been enough ingredients there for us to digest that we should not, simply because we are all here together, in a big forum, expect to either make dramatic statements or see dramatic and spectacular results from what has gone before. We, as I say, in our Society, are applying ourselves with diligence, with enthusiasm and I think quite modestly we are making a little progress. Reference has been made to the effect we have on public opinion.

Once again, without expending a lot of finance, when one applies oneself to this task, we in Australia realize that it has to be a slow but steady progression and through youth programmes, through our universities, through our own Red Cross members and through the public, we are endeavouring to do what we can to put a practical element on what was decided at the two Peace Conferences.

Whilst I have the floor, Sir, may I also take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Huber for his wonderful leadership in the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace over the past years. He has dedicated himself to this extremely difficult task in a magnificent manner and I think we, as a Movement, should appreciate all that he has done.

Dr. K. IGNATOV (Bulgaria):

Thank you for giving us the floor to express the opinion of the Bulgarian Red Cross on such an important issue as peace and the work done by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, and as the document states, its future.

First of all, we should like to express our satisfaction with the work being done by the Commission and to express our hope that, in the future, the Commission will more actively instruct the National Societies in their future work in the struggle for peace.

We have right now listened to the very eloquent explanation of Dr. Venedictov concerning our Red Cross work in the area of peace. I would just like to say that our delegation fully shares his concern and his hope that in the future the Movement will be more and more actively involved in the struggle for peace because we think it is an irreversible task of our Movement and it is only under conditions of lasting peace and a world with no wars that we shall be able to execute our mission to serve humanity.

The numerous resolutions adopted from the very beginning of our Movement and the Programme of Action adopted in the First Peace Conference in Belgrade and the documents which were adopted in Aaland, in Stockholm, are important documents on the basis of which the National Societies carry out their increasingly wider activities in favour of peace. And I would just like to inform the august assembly here that our National Society, the Bulgarian Red Cross, has translated all the documents and has widely distributed them among our members as an educative material for young people and all our activists. Well it is all in favour of humanism.

The Commission is the co-ordinating and advisory body giving recommendations and suggesting initiatives. Bearing this in mind, Mr. Chairman, in our daily struggle for peace, we are aware, and it is quite natural, that the Commission cannot be temporary but should be a permanent body under the Council of Delegates. We understand that the Commission will be elected for another period of four years and then again and again. We would like just to state our opinion that it is a Commission which should be a permanent organ and furthermore that its deliberations and discussions be open for all of us when discussing peace issues within which we have the right to express our opinion because it was very widely expressed here: peace is for us. It was mentioned that a group on human rights and peace may be formed within the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace. If it is so, we strongly support it and will work for it.

Dr. Venedictov was introducing the resolution which we got and read very carefully. I would like to express the opinion of our delegation that we fully support the resolution and we will vote for its adoption.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we would like to assure you that the Bulgarian Red Cross, our Society, will continue to support the Commission in every way for the realization of its activities.

Mr. R. SCHUBERT (United States of America):

With all due deference to our distinguished most eloquent colleague from the Alliance, I would propose a somewhat different perspective. Mr. Chairman, our Movement must continue to be most sensitive in respect of how we express our earnest commitment and conviction in support of peace, that we not violate our principles of impartiality and neutrality.

The prospect of politization is not an idle or an unnecessary concern. We have been, now are, and must be constrained in the future, because we need to be. We are properly shy about destroying our uniqueness. We are not another peace organization, or even another international organization, and we cannot afford to be. We are different, we are unique and that is the reason for our existence and the reason for the support of 250 million people around this globe. We are not another United Nations body, however important, relevant and significant those bodies are.

I would suggest that we must indeed be committed and continue to be to the prospects of making our contribution to peace. It is a different kind of a contribution and must always be.

I continue to look forward to the leadership of the ICRC that they were sure that we maintain and walk the very fine line, the balance that provides and protects our uniqueness. For the record, we support the larger group, we support the contribution that has been made by this Commission and we support the resolution that was so industriously drafted and developed yesterday afternoon.

Mrs. Dr. V. CIOBANETE (Romania) (*Original French*):

The report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace and the Commission's supplementary report are important documents in our activities for the promotion of peace.

The traditional national and international activities of the Red Cross of the Socialist Republic of Romania are constantly aimed at increasing its contribution to an atmosphere of worldwide confidence, co-operation and peace. Concern for this has become a real necessity, for the international situation is steadily deteriorating because of the accumulation and continuing production of new rockets and nuclear weapons, and their installation in Europe and other parts of the world.

The fundamental question of our time is therefore to stop the dangerous course of events towards a nuclear disaster, and to switch over to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, so as to ensure peace and the supreme right of all peoples to a free and independent life.

Taking these situations as his starting point, in Romania our President Nicolai Ceaucescu is perseveringly and constructively doing much to bring about a radical change in the international situation. The danger of nuclear war is nowadays a threat to the whole of humanity, in whatever part of the world States are located and whatever their social, political and economic structure. Romania has taken the initiative of making a five per cent unilateral reduction in its armaments, military forces and military defences this year and has appealed to the countries of Europe, and to the United States and Canada, to do likewise without waiting for a general disarmament agreement.

This would be a first real step towards disarmament and

would express their wish for it. In this atmosphere of constant concern for the security of the people of the world, and in the spirit of active foreign policy promoted by the State of Romania, the Romanian Red Cross is on its own initiative doing much to contribute to the development of international co-operation, friendship and peace, and to consolidate trust, friendship and peace between peoples of the world.

The Romanian Red Cross calls untiringly on the Red Cross to take direct and real responsibilities to promote peace. But there are very many ways of making international public opinion aware of the dangers of the propagation of nuclear weapons.

In our age the humanitarian Movement of the Red Cross cannot possibly take up a wait-and-see attitude towards a problem that is vital to the very existence of the human race. Obviously, safeguarding humanity from a nuclear disaster is a task of the very greatest importance. The very mission of our Movement is very firmly linked to eliminating the danger of nuclear weapons and armaments in general.

The Romanian Red Cross has celebrated the International Year of Peace, which is an event of exceptional significance in international life. The traditional events, such as World Red Cross Day and Red Cross Week, took place this year in our country under the aegis of the International Year of Peace. The latter event took place under the slogan "The Red Cross for Peace and for Mankind".

Very special attention was given to educational and publicity events such as symposia, colloquiums, Round Tables and talks presenting Romanian Red Cross activities as a factor helping to the promote Romania's foreign policy of peace, understanding and co-operation.

Events were attended by a large audience of members of the Romanian Red Cross and other workers from all branches of activity.

All these activities show the Romanian Red Cross contribution to intensifying efforts to defend and preserve world peace. As is well known, our Society works in a spirit of co-operation in organizing special lectures to consider ways and means for international bodies and National Red Cross Societies to contribute to general efforts to establish and consolidate peace throughout the world.

The Romanian Red Cross attaches very great importance to the final documents of the two World Red Cross Conferences on Peace, namely the Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace, adopted by the Belgrade Conference, and the Fundamental Guidelines adopted at Aaland. We are constantly concerned to apply the measures recommended by these documents and do so in our daily activities, which take place in harmony with the priority tasks incumbent on the country in its economic and social development.

We give every priority to organizing programmes on health, young people, social and humanitarian problems, disaster preparedness and contribution to the implementation of national development programmes, and we are convinced that each National Society's contribution is determined by the degree of development of its country and by the material and spiritual level of its population.

The stronger each National Society is, the more powerful the International Red Cross Movement will be as a factor of peace and the more it will be listened to. That is why the Romanian Red Cross feels that the promotion of peace is one of the essential tasks enshrined in its Statutes, whose guiding line is to contribute to the cause of peace, and to develop and strengthen international co-operation, the humanitarian spirit, solidarity, and respect and understanding between the peoples of the world, in accordance with the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross.

We attach very special attention to the education and

training of our young members so that they shall become defenders of peace and promoters of understanding and friendship with the peoples of all parts of the world. The increase in 1986, the International Year of Peace, of activities for young people is a natural way of striving for the goals of peace expressed in 1985, International Youth Year.

Our Society is constantly working to intensify and diversify ways and means of co-operation in Red Cross activities with the National Societies of the Balkan countries and other parts of the world. The creation of non-nuclear areas in the Balkans, in the north and centre of Europe and in other parts of the world would be of notable importance. The Red Cross is by definition a humanitarian organization and is therefore not indifferent to activities connected with preparations for chemical warfare or the further development of chemical weapons. We believe that the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and each National Society in particular should act with the greatest determination to stop the production and further development of chemical and biological weapons and to prevent a war in which these weapons of mass destruction would be employed.

By action such as this the Red Cross would accomplish one of its great humanitarian missions, namely the defence of the life of the inhabitants of our planet. As we have already said, the supreme deliberative authority of our world Movement, namely the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, is by a happy coincidence meeting in the International Year of Peace, and the Romanian Red Cross Society believes that the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement should take this opportunity of giving work for peace a new dimension. The Romanian Red Cross accordingly considers it necessary to convene a third World Red Cross Conference on Peace and to institute a World Red Cross Peace Day of a kind likely to stimulate the traditional activities of our world Movement.

We also propose that the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross should send the 41st session of the United Nations General Assembly a special resolution in order to intensify efforts to stop the armaments race and consider practical measures of disarmament, first of all in nuclear weapons; to forbid nuclear tests, stop all militarization of space, eliminate all threat of force in international relations and encourage the exclusively peaceful settlement by negotiation of disputes between States.

The Romanian delegation fully supports the draft resolution on "The International Year of Peace 1986".

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I still have on my list of delegations who have asked to speak the representatives of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of France, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Hungary, Mexico, Mongolia, Colombia, Bangladesh, Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, and Viet Nam. I should be obliged to you if you would as far as possible not make your speech too long and if you would stick to essentials and not repeat yourselves.

Mr. F. de ROSE (France) (*Original French*):

I should like to deal with points of procedure and one point of substance in my speech. We have heard various proposals for the future of the Commission apart from those mentioned in the report, namely that certain of our colleagues consider that the membership of the Commission should be enlarged, even to the extent of including all members and all Societies wishing to be included, and that others of our colleagues wanted the Commission to become a permanent body

I believe the problem of how to settle these questions has been solved by the decision of the 1985 Council of Delegates, point 7 of which reads that Council of Delegates "requests the Commission to submit an interim report to the 1987 Council of Delegates and a final report to the 1989

Council of Delegates, with proposals relative to its possible future, its mandate and its duration, for acceptance by consensus by the 1989 Council of Delegates". Consequently all these questions can be dealt with by the Commission on the Red Cross and Peace, and I have no doubt that the Commission has in mind all the proposals and speeches that have been made.

I should like to say a word about the statement by Mr. de la Mata, President of the League, that the League was not invited to take part in the meetings of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace. Personally, I am convinced that this statement is the result of a misunderstanding; somehow papers or communications may not have circulated properly between the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace and the President of the League or the League itself. I can hardly believe this, bearing in mind the circulation given to the announcements of meetings, and to the minutes of meetings, which always show the date of the next meeting. I do not, however, know exactly what happened. Our Council should be told, and Mr. Huber should give us such information as he has on this matter, when he sees fit.

I now come to the problem of substance. I shall not take up much of your time, Mr. Chairman, because this is a matter of conversations and exchanges of views that we have been having for a very long time, and the arguments put forward on either side are fairly well known to everyone who has taken part in our previous meetings. The question of substance before all of us is: "What can the Red Cross do to promote peace in the world?" and the subsequent question, which was asked by our Soviet colleague: "Should the Red Cross enter politics or not?"

It is ultimately on this point that opinion in our Movement is divided. In our view the Red Cross is a universal movement and a movement unique in the world because of its universality and because whatever part of the world we come from and whatever the social or political structure of our society, we all observe the same principles and all invoke it. No other Movement in the world has this community of principles that enables us to act unequivocally and all together in the service of the same ideal. This is the greatest asset of the Red Cross. But the question we ask ourselves, and that we are asked, is whether that asset, these unique and universal characteristics of the Red Cross would survive if our Movement were to enter politics, for we know perfectly well that in politics, governments have different points of view for which they are responsible only to their own people. There is consequently a grave danger. I would say that to use language sometimes employed in this kind of conversation on security and disarmament, one has to strike a balance between the risk and what we stand to gain, and measure the cost-effectiveness of the decisions that we would be led to take.

We therefore still think that our Movement must be very prudent before entering politics.

I shall end by saying that yesterday, as the Chairman of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR stated, we did indeed have a meeting at which we studied a text proposed by the Chairman of the Soviet Society, and we agreed it would be very interesting and important for this text to be circulated above Council of Delegates level and be sent to the Conference, which includes governments, so as to get them to endorse the results of the Conference that we had two years ago at Aaland. Thus this text, which has been distributed to you all, springs from the idea that for the status of our proposals, it would be extremely important for them not to remain purely and simply a dialogue or monologue within the Red Cross but to reach government level. It would be very important for this text to be approved by the International Conference. This is the reason for the form of the recommendation submitted to you, and we therefore very much hope that all the Societies here which approved the Aaland programme two years ago will be able

to persuade their Government delegation to adopt it also.

I would add that the Aaland text includes — and this is one of the points alluded to by our Soviet colleague — the Red Cross Movement's definition of the ideal of peace and contains passages on Red Cross hopes for disarmament and the abolition of weapons of mass destruction.

I would merely add that of the two proposals submitted by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, the French delegation approved the second one at the Commission's meeting. We are now in a position to say that the French Red Cross as a whole, with the authority conferred on it by its Council of Administration, approves it and hopes it will be approved and adopted.

Mr. H. HUBER (ICRC, Chairman of the Commission of the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace) (*Original French*):

Mr. de Rose has asked me to make a brief declaration on the matter of the League's being invited to our meetings, but I think that in view of the importance of the main subject it is preferable for me to revert to this at the end of the discussion.

M. M. BUDISAVLJEVIC (Yugoslavia) (*Original French*):

The Commission's report has clearly shown that our humanitarian Movement has very well realized the importance of peace. The Movement contributes to peace by its goals and principles, and in a world of increasing violence it is necessary to intensify efforts for peace.

Everyone must and can have a role in support of peace, for peace concerns us all, and not only governments. The Red Cross and Red Crescent have followed this trend. The Movement's attitude to peace has been defined, and so has its role as a factor of peace. The Movement's tasks and its components' tasks have been clearly stated and elaborated.

The documents of the two Red Cross and Red Crescent Conferences on Peace held in 1975 and 1984 are a solid basis for the National Societies' work for peace. The in-depth proceedings of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace chaired by Mr. Huber have explored subjects relating to the Movement's role as a factor of peace and its proposals have been approved by the Council of Delegates. Accordingly the Movement's continuing attention to the question of peace has become an important characteristic of its activities in our time. That attention makes it necessary that the Movement's role and task in promoting peace should be examined from time to time.

The two World Conferences have laid down this policy: so long as peace remains an aspiration of the human race, the Movement should periodically examine its own role in the pursuit of peace. Consequently it is necessary to convene world conferences on peace of the kind just mentioned. A third World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace should therefore be envisaged and nine years should not be allowed to elapse between two Conferences. The idea of the Third Conference was supported this year in several meetings.

During the present International Year of Peace, new initiatives have been taken within the Movement. Several examples could be quoted without exhausting the subject; the Red Cross of Yugoslavia proclaimed 11 June, the day on which the first World Conference on Peace began in 1975, as the Red Cross of Yugoslavia's Peace Day. On this occasion a meeting was held in Belgrade in which the most important personalities of the Red Cross and Red Crescent world took part. The idea of proclaiming an international Red Cross and Red Crescent Peace Day, put forward in 1985 by a group of Arab National Societies and backed by many other Societies, was supported at that meeting.

At Verona, Italy, the Italian Red Cross organized an international event, also on peace. The fourth Mediterranean Conference held at Istanbul in September supported the proposal to convene a third World Conference on Peace and

the proposal to proclaim a World Red Cross and Red Crescent Peace Day.

We consider that in the present International Year of Peace, the highest bodies in our Movement should express their support for peace. The United Nations and the general public should be informed of the contributions to peace made by all the components of the Movement, and an appeal should be sent to the United Nations and to States, invoking humanitarian principles and calling for greater efforts in support of peace. This International Year should not go by without the Movement's saying what it feels on this subject.

For these reasons we support the proposed resolution on peace and the report by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace.

Brigadier B. WALLBERG (Sweden):

I think I want to start by thanking the Commission for the Report presented to us and also I want to express our thanks to Mr. Huber for the good co-operation, the close co-operation we have had during this year.

I want to thank the Council and the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace for the confidence we understand that you are going to place in us and that you placed in the organizers of the Peace Conference that we had two years ago, the Swedish and the Finnish Red Cross Societies. This demonstrates the appreciation you are going to show for the work we have performed. We were two Societies to arrange the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace. Our Societies are both working very hard in the peace activities and we plan to do it in the future too. Red Cross work is one of the most eminent but also one of the most difficult to perform when it comes to the peace area.

We all have access to the guidelines, to the message from the Aaland Conference and we can easily find out that a lot of the activities that we were in full agreement with to implement have not yet been implemented.

The seat proposed is an honour bestowed upon the organizers of the second Peace Conference. The Swedish Red Cross therefore has the intention, if the Council now decides, according to the proposal, to share this *ex officio* seat with Finland on a rotation basis. We will report to the Council and in the Commission itself that Finland will take the *ex officio* seat for the next consecutive four years.

As I have the floor, may I take the opportunity to also say a very few words about the proposal we have in front of us concerning peace. As one of the organizers of the Peace Conference and pointing out again the guidelines and what we decided there, it is really important for us that the results and the message from that Conference become more officially known and adopted, and that they not only start to be implemented: a lot of the activities agreed upon there have not been fulfilled.

The draft resolution presented to us by the President of the Alliance is based completely, without additions or changes, in its essential part on the whole document on which we all had a consensus and I want to remind you that the whole Conference was an extraordinary meeting of this Council here.

The composition of the working group, yesterday, has not been mentioned; I think it could be worth mentioning to see that we have representatives from different corners of the world. They were, apart from the Soviet Union and the ICRC: Zimbabwe, Libya, Finland, Yugoslavia, France and representatives from our Society. The preamble of that draft resolution, in our opinion, only brings the situation up to date — referring to what has been achieved and what has not been implemented, and pointing out too the necessity to take on the responsibility for the decisions we made two years ago. And, Mr. Chairman, against that background, we

of course not only support the draft resolution presented by the Soviet Alliance, but also recommend it. It is a necessary follow-up, in our view, to the guidelines. We really recommend the Council to stand firm and united behind that proposal.

We also have presented a resolution of our own; I want to ask you to let Mr. Wijkman to say a few words about it.

Mr. A. WIJKMAN (Sweden):

Mr. Chairman, under this item of the agenda, the Swedish Red Cross has also worked out a draft resolution with the title "The Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace". This draft resolution was presented to the Council of Delegates a little bit earlier this morning. Unfortunately, an error was made; so it is only the first page that was distributed. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I would ask you kindly to return to our draft resolution when the final draft resolution has been distributed in the assembly.

Dr. J. HANTOS (Hungary):

On the basis of the results of the first and second Peace Conferences and the Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, the question can be raised in this International Year of Peace if our international humanitarian Movement is able to do more for safeguarding peace. Can it do more to protect people from human violence? Considering the future of our Movement, the role it plays in today's world, its impact on people, I wonder if the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement could play a more constructive role in the prevention of the regretfully frequent conflicts, in the elimination of their causes, in order to avoid them. As armed conflicts qualify as human violence, is it possible to take a more active role in containing human violence?

I will try to answer these questions with reference to our Fundamental Principles. And I do it this way because the Fundamental Principles are an expression of the philosophy of our Movement, and their application is a guarantee for its unity. The Fundamental Principle of humanity stipulates that the purpose of the Red Cross is to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being. I wonder what "protection of life" can mean for the Red Cross and Red Crescent? Further to the constraints of biology what else can threaten life more or, to be more precise, what human need causes most danger to human life? I do not think one can question that the greatest threat is the risk of armed conflicts, a risk demonstrated by armaments, the production and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction which make the earth almost like a powder-barrel and whose deployment threatens the annihilation of mankind — a risk that becomes very real.

Are we incapable to act against these increasing risks? Is it correct to consider that safeguarding peace is only a government's responsibility? If we accept that the objective of our Movement is the protection of life and if we consider the consequences thereof, then we have to act to achieve this objective. And it is beyond doubt that the protection of life and respect for the human being can only be realistic objectives if the basic conditions of life are ensured.

Therefore I consider that, in shaping our programme, in planning our practical activities, we should not only be guided by the noble idea of giving indiscriminate relief to those in need, but we also have to deal with the possible ways and means of preventing harmful events.

I agree with Dr. Venedictov that it is not the number of our statements that I regard as insufficient. Since 1921, when the ICRC and the League appealed to the world public to encounter the spirit of war threatening the world, there have been really many appeals, and resolutions that we adopted most recently at the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace. What I ask you is to think it over if our whole Movement is fully penetrated with the concern of protection of life.

Our second motto "Per humanitatem ad pacem" is an expression of this concern, but is this motto fully reflected in our practical work? To examine this is a task that I suggest the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace deal with in the future, so that by its thoroughly elaborated proposals it could promote the best possible application of the most universal human right in the world today, the right to peace.

It is my conviction that the prestige and influence of our Movement could only gain if it did more for the prevention of armed conflicts threatening life in the most extreme way for the safeguarding of lasting peace.

On this basis, I suggest we recognize the positive elements of the work of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, and that its mandate be changed into a permanent one for the future.

Mr. Chairman, I also express my support for the draft resolution on the International Year of Peace 1986.

Mrs. R. M. QUIJANO DE MENDEZ (Mexico) (*Original Spanish*):

I shall try to make my speech a very short one. I shall speak on behalf of the Inter-American Regional Committee of the Red Cross. I hope you all have the text of this draft resolution.

(*See the Resolution submitted by the Inter-American Regional Committee of the Red Cross (CORI) "The Movement as a Factor of Peace."*)

We consider that this draft resolution is an important and practical instrument to help promote peace in Central America, which is so important.

We support the draft resolution presented by the Commission and congratulate it on its work. Also, we wish to propose Mexico City as the venue of the Third World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace in three years' time, if this is possible and if you see fit.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

There is just one thing I should like to ask: the draft resolution says that it is for the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross; this text should accordingly be passed to the Conference for final adoption.

Mrs. R.M. QUIJANO DE MENDEZ (Mexico) (*Original Spanish*):

That is our intention: that this Council of Delegates should approve it for it to be passed to the Twenty-fifth International Conference.

Dr. G. RUEDA MONTANA (Colombia) (*Original Spanish*):

The Colombian Red Cross Society expresses its gratitude for having been included in the new Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace and believes that this is in recognition of the constant efforts of our Red Cross Society in Colombia to defend and promote peace.

We have a Peace Prize which is awarded at regular intervals to the person or institution making an effective contribution to the maintenance of peace. This Prize is greatly appreciated and its presentation is widely reported in the media. I believe that the inclusion of Colombia in this Commission has taken place at a really significant moment, for today voices have been raised here asking, demanding, almost begging that the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement should go on from its abstract and often metaphysical position to action and concrete proposals; that we should echo the anguish of people all over the world who have lost hope and need to find a channel or system by which they can communicate their anguish to world leaders,

and who have obliged us to think unceasingly of peace, although we are ostensibly at peace.

We therefore believe that it would be a very good thing for the Council of Delegates to take advantage of this opportunity to send to the illustrious Conference that will start tomorrow a draft invitation to governments to lay the foundations of a great meeting, the great, majestic, supremely important meeting of the International Red Cross, by virtue of which the efforts, money and research devoted to new means of destruction will be used to improve living conditions, combat despair, and combat the lack of peace.

In this way, from now on, the emblem will no longer be the old Latin tag "Si vis pacem para bellum" but "Si vis pacem para pacem" — not "If you want peace, prepare for war" but "If you want peace, prepare for peace". The state of peace at the present time requires a certain spiritual consent, a certain adjustment of sentiment, and if the International Red Cross Movement does not adopt this flag, despair will not disappear from the face of the earth. In our view the best proof that we are working for peace that we can give the National Societies is to bring about in our countries, in our States, an atmosphere favourable to the flowering of peace, so that instead of those who govern us, our politicians, fighting to win power as such, as old-style political science ordains, we in the Red Cross shall have the policy of striving for power, but for the power to live at peace.

Dr. J. LUVSAN (Mongolia):

I am speaking on behalf of the Chairman of the Mongolian Red Cross Society, Mr. Njamdorj. I would like to thank the President of the Commission for his Report.

Our Society has been taking part in the national measures for the International Year of Peace. The Mongolian Red Cross has organized the propaganda and information work on the dangers of nuclear war and its disastrous consequences in close cooperation with the Committee of the Mongolian physicians for the prevention of nuclear war. The decisions and the materials of the First and the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conferences on Peace and of congresses of the international physicians for the prevention of nuclear war have been widely disseminated.

So the public in our country, in particular the members and the activists of the Mongolian Red Cross, have heartily welcomed the decision of the Soviet Union extending again its unilateral moratorium on the nuclear tests and we fully support it.

We firmly believe that the priority of our humanitarian work in the field of peace should be given to the prevention of nuclear disasters. So our Society expresses a serious concern over the material preparation for nuclear war. We consider that rendering assistance to the victims of possible nuclear war in future is senseless. So, in our opinion, the only alternative for the Red Cross is to actively participate in the peace movement. The Red Cross Movement lacks material resources for its humanitarian needs. But we cannot tolerate that astronomical resources be spent on the arms race. These resources should be used for existing unmet humanitarian needs. Our delegation attaches great importance to the preventive activities of our Movement so that war, especially nuclear war, will never be fought. These activities should be strengthened as never before.

Our Society welcomes all the initiatives in the efforts made by our sister Societies for a consolidated and lasting peace and so we express our solidarity with all of them. We are of the view that there is a possibility for the Red Cross to participate in settling disputes by peaceful means, and spreading knowledge of the disastrous consequences of a nuclear war among the population.

So we fully support the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Red Cross on the International Year of Peace 1986; we hope that this draft resolution will enjoy the unanimous support of all the delegates.

Maj. Gen. A. H. QUORESHI (Bangladesh):

At the outset I would like to join all the others who have congratulated the Commission on Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace on its very excellent Report. Our delegation fully endorses the Report.

I note that, pursuant to the third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble to the 1983 Council of Delegates' resolution No. 4, under Red Cross and human rights, the ICRC and the League's Secretariat have prepared a working document which is under the consideration of the Commission. Mr. Moreillon, of the ICRC, has informed us, a little while ago, that the ICRC is in favour of constituting a group of experts on human rights made up of representatives of the Commission and of National Societies.

While recalling that the question of whether the Red Cross should involve itself in questions of human rights or not has been debated in the past, our delegation suggests very strongly that this Commission should complete its studies on this matter as soon as possible so that the Council of Delegates in its 1987 meeting can take a decision on this question which has been on our minds for quite some time.

As to the implementation of the Belgrade Programme of Action and of the Aaland final document, I am sure many National Societies, other than those 33 who had sent in their replies, have undertaken activities in some form or other in this regard as has been done in my Society. Apart from disaster relief activities, training of disaster relief personnel, and developmental work, the Bangladesh Red Cross has conducted seminars on peace, peace rallies by youth, youth camps, dissemination of international humanitarian law and wide dissemination of the Aaland message and guidelines.

To my mind, Mr. Chairman, the most appropriate and relevant contribution the National Societies can make in furthering the cause of peace is the establishment of solidarity through humanitarian work and development. Development tends to remove inequality, a potential cause for tension and hence it can improve the quality of life and contribute towards lasting peace.

As to the composition of the Commission, and pending the final decision to be taken by the 1989 Council of Delegates, I would endorse the Commission's second proposal. It is however understood that the Commission's composition and distribution of its membership will be changed in 1989 following the adoption of the final Report as to its future mandate and duration.

I take this opportunity of thanking the six out-going member Societies for having successfully completed their mandate and I particularly thank its Chairman, Mr. H. Huber, for his dynamic role, valuable contribution and leadership during this long period of his chairmanship. The incoming Chairman, Mr. Alexandre Hay, has the confidence and support of the whole Movement. In this connection I will support the League President that the Commission's chairmanship should be rotated between the ICRC and the League.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League):

Thank you for your confidence. Now my proposal was that of course the chairmanship of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace should rotate between the League and the ICRC. It means that one of our Presidents of National Societies should be the successor to Mr. Hay because Mr. Hay will be appointed, not as President of the ICRC, but in his personal capacity. Thank you very much for having given me the opportunity to clarify this matter.

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Morocco) (*Original French*):

Practically everything has been said, but I should now like to say that the meeting of 20 October 1986 of the League General Assembly reaffirmed the attachment of National

Societies to peace by showing a spirit of tolerance, brotherhood and understanding when considering a seriously conflictive situation. We in Africa and the Middle East are suffering, just as the peoples of Central America are suffering, from the consequences of armed conflicts and violence of all kinds by means of destruction not produced by our countries.

During the two conferences on peace we made enough recommendations, proposals and programmes of action for the Red Cross and Red Crescent to act as factors of peace, but the speeches by Mr. Venedictov and Mr. Schubert make me doubtful about the horizon they are revealing to us. It is therefore important to think over and thoroughly explore the limitations and potentialities of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement as a factor of peace.

I think the Commission should investigate this and tell National Societies how they should act and until when they should act, and what its own possibilities are, for it seems from what we have heard that there are implications that may escape us.

Since Manila the ICRC has been chairing this Commission extremely well, as it does everything it chairs. Moreover, I very well understand that in a commission composed of 14 nationalities the ICRC is comparatively in a minority. I also think that President de la Mata's proposal is fair and that in four years' time a League President, the League President to be elected three years hence, will be able to chair this Commission.

I should like to remind you on this occasion of the role played by President de la Mata in the historic meeting between North and South Korea to promote family reunification. This is one example of many to show that the League can also take part in a very important activity for peace. Finally, I choose the second of the proposals by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

In the words of Mr. de la Mata, it is not necessarily the President of the League or the President of the ICRC who will chair the Commission, but it may be a member of the League or ICRC.

Mr. U. SOMUNCU (Turkey):

Over the years there have been discussions on the Red Cross and Red Crescent approach to peace. We have asked ourselves: should the Movement concentrate on developing its indirect contribution to peace by increased emphasis on the fact that its traditional activities all have the purpose of promoting peace? Should it concentrate its peace work on educational programmes aimed directly at teaching peace and values associated with it? Or should it take direct action for peace, and if so, what type? Or should it use all these approaches at once?

I think this is the opportune moment to express the views of this delegation. In our view there seem to be real limits to what the Red Cross and Red Crescent can do directly and effectively for peace. On the other hand, it is still an open question as to what the Movement can do for peace *indirectly*. In the pursuance of its Fundamental Principles, as well as the definition of peace agreed upon in the World Conferences on Peace, and with its international attributes as a Movement and as a network, the Red Cross and Red Crescent now further contribute to the development of international co-operation, particularly in the field of humanitarian protection, assistance, health and welfare activities. The Movement can and should continue to revise its relief and development programmes with a view to eliminating the unfavourable feelings emanating from the present dependency relationship between the receivers and the donors, which is hardly conducive to peace, and improve them in terms of helping National Societies to develop, thus reducing the gap between the rich and poor which is seen as a source of tension.

The settlement of the awesome issues threatening peace require understanding, tolerance and dedication to the humanitarian values and principles, and respect for the dignity of the human being and human rights. Through education, our Movement can raise the consciousness of people concerning peace factors.

On the other hand it cannot do much about the highly complex and sensitive political and military problems which are closely connected with the security of States. On the wider issues endangering the peace or the survival of mankind it can and should express its concern, of course. Or it may appeal to governments and exhort them to step up their efforts to find peaceful solutions to these questions. However, in doing so, the Movement should take utmost care not to damage the protection and assistance activities of Red Cross and Red Crescent, because an action which may be incompatible with the Fundamental Principles of the Movement will not be viewed as non-political, impartial, neutral and humanitarian. In considering direct action in support of peace the Movement must therefore take due account of its competence, capability and the limits of its actions.

The Turkish Red Crescent, being the National Society of a country with foreign policies based upon the principles of peace at home and peace in the world, will certainly continue to do its utmost within this context in contributing to the promotion of mutual understanding, friendship, co-operation and peace in its region and in the world at large.

Mr. Chairman, may I take this opportunity also to associate ourselves with the previous speakers in commending the work of the Commission they have done so far. Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to express the support of this delegation for the draft resolution submitted on the International Year of Peace 1986.

Dr. S. MOKADDEM (Tunisia) (*Original French*):

The problem of preserving and consolidating peace is at the heart of our Society's concerns and our public opinion. Our country, like all developing countries, has to meet a major challenge, that of promoting the economic, social and cultural development of our people. It cannot do this unless there is an international environment of peace, understanding and concord.

In our Mediterranean region, we see that extremely serious tension is threatening peace and international security, and I should therefore like to emphasize that the Conference of Mediterranean Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies held at Istanbul last September discussed the preservation of peace in the region at length and gave this problem great prominence in its final declaration.

Similarly, on our African continent, there is serious tension, particularly in southern Africa, as a result of the latent conflicts that are the cause of so much bloodshed in that region, and above all as a result of the ignominious policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa.

For all these reasons, we in the Tunisian Red Crescent hope that the Commission will be able not only to carry on its activities but to extend and strengthen them and thereby make an important indirect contribution to promoting and preserving peace in that region. We therefore support the draft resolution on the International Year of Peace.

Sir L. FIGG (United Kingdom):

I have only four points which I can make quite quickly. First, as regards the contribution which the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement can make to peace, I think the delegate from Bangladesh gave a very good definition and we support it.

Second, as regards membership of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, we also support the second proposal.

My third point: we support wholeheartedly the resolution put forward by the delegate of the Soviet Union; it is encouraging for those of us, as Mr. Wallberg recalled, who were at Aaland. We think that the hard work we put in there can continue in this way.

My fourth point is simply that as regards the chairmanship of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace we think that the present arrangements should continue.

Mr. TRUONG XUANNAM (Viet Nam) (*Original French*):

I shall be brief. Our motto "Per humanitatem ad pacem" makes it our imperative duty to enlist all the energies of our Movement to safeguard world peace at any price and to establish an age of mutual trust and of friendship and brotherhood between the peoples of the world. Let us unite our efforts to save humanity from a worldwide holocaust.

There have been many changes in the face of the world. Scientific and technological progress has made modern war much more lethal than any war in history.

What is at stake is whether life itself is to be blotted out. Solferino made a deep impression on Henry Dunant and he is the founder of our Movement. But since Solferino in June 1859, the world has seen the sickening and painful sights of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, and now there is talk of Star Wars. How can we Red Cross and Red Crescent activists who are working to prevent and alleviate human suffering imagine the fate of our children and ourselves if we allow the threat of nuclear war to persist? Our younger generation and we ourselves must be the most vigorous and ardent defenders of peace. Only then can our Movement have any reason for existence. We believe that without peace our Red Cross activities would be limited indeed. We must not wait for conflagrations to be started or ended before helping victims. Prevention is better than cure. What have we done, and what will we do, to safeguard peace? The International Year of Peace 1986 confronts our conscience with these vitally urgent questions.

The two World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conferences on Peace, held in 1975 in Belgrade and 1984 at Aaland, prove that we have adopted the spirit of peace.

We must, however, confess that we still have a long way to go to spare humanity a nuclear war that would be an unprecedented disaster. The sword of Damocles hangs over the heads of thousands of millions of the inhabitants of our world. We expect new moves from this assembly, and wise resolutions such as will help to protect human life.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Red Cross of Viet Nam supports the declaration and suggestions of the Soviet Union and the draft resolution it has submitted to our assembly.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I still have on my list of speakers the representatives of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Libya, China, Pakistan, Lebanon, Sweden, the ICRC, and finally Dr. Abu-Goura.

Dr. I. HATIAR (Czechoslovakia):

I was inspired by the speech of Dr. Venedictov. It seems to me correct that the Red Cross and Red Crescent bodies use the various international occasions for proposing ways of safeguarding peace.

As you know, the World Peace Congress took place recently in Copenhagen, attended by delegates of different organizations that undertake activities for peace. I would like to ask the Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, whether our Movement sent a delegate to put forward the Movement's standpoint regarding peace? Our delegation is convinced that it is unacceptable for us as a Movement to classify the question of peace

as a political one without stressing that our struggle for peace has a highly humanitarian character. The general public should be regularly informed in order to understand fully the Red Cross role in the hard fight for peace.

Mrs. M. D'ACHE ASSUMPÇÃO HARMON (Brazil):

I would like to begin by thanking the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace for including the Brazilian Red Cross as one of the two Societies from the Americas in the next Commission. I would also like to say that we support the second proposal which encloses the host Societies of the first and second Peace Conferences.

I would like to remind you that some developing Societies do not have the translators, nor the clerical help, to be able to send reports to the League; some of our Societies do not appear in the general Report of the League because we do not speak the official languages of the Conference or of the General Assembly. But that does not mean that many Societies present here today are not active in education for peace.

I would also like to draw your attention to the CORI resolution which was presented by Mrs. Mendez, of Mexico. The situation in Central America is a very serious one, especially when the National Societies of Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and others, like El Salvador, are under tremendous pressure, especially their first aiders, working under internal conflicts. And now El Salvador, as you know, also suffers the effects of a very severe earthquake.

When we talk about peace, we believe that peace begins within ourselves and we can only transfer to our volunteers, to our population or to our Government the spirit that we have within us. I would go along with Mr. Wallberg when he says that yesterday we had a meeting where that spirit of peace and compromise and friendship was very much apparent, and I would like to propose, as some others have suggested, that we come united to the International Conference and that the resolution which was originally proposed by the Soviet Alliance and now has been signed by more than 23 National Societies should be adopted unanimously by the International Conference.

In closing, I would like to say to Dr. Linas, who spoke so eloquently, that I would like to make his words mine and add that if we prepared for peace, as he said, life then would be worth living for all of us.

Dr. A. A. EL SHERIF (Libya):

For many years now we identified peace as one of our main preoccupations and that we are all for peace. As a result of this conviction, we offer to the international community valuable documents on our concepts and work for peace as produced by the first and second Peace Conferences.

At this stage, I believe that we can further our commitment for peace. I know this is a delicate issue, but I believe that there is no reason not to make an attempt to explore further areas where our Movement's moral powers and potential could be exerted.

As far as the Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace is concerned, we thank very much the Commission, headed by Mr. Huber, for its excellent Report. We are in favour of the second option as far as the membership of the Commission is concerned. We have also great sympathy for the proposal made by Mr. de la Mata to have the chairmanship rotate between the League and the ICRC. I have no doubt in my mind that the Commission would cope with any difficulty, and I invite the Commission to explore areas that may further our Movement's interests in peace.

In the international situation, as I see it today, as far as peace is concerned, there are those who desperately need peace, but cannot afford its price; and those who want

peace, but they are not quite understood; and those who could make a substantial contribution to promote peace, but it seems that they are still hesitant to make the move, for reasons we understand.

I think we have yet another chance to make our voices heard again and win support of the governments in the International Conference; the draft resolution proposed here seems to be well-formulated and balanced, and I hope we can work together to make it pass unanimously in the International Conference.

Mr. TAN YUNHE (China) (*Original French*):

After prolonged meditation on very painful experience, we are all aware today that peace and development are the two problems that most concern the peoples of our planet. The previous speakers who have all dwelt on the importance of peace are a convincing proof of this.

As you know, the Chinese people are concentrating all their efforts on modernizing their country. It therefore needs international peace more than ever. To achieve this, what matters most, at least in our opinion, is not words but deeds, which is why we join the other speakers in congratulating the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace on its work, in suggesting that the Commission should become a permanent body, and in proposing that a Third Conference on Peace should be convened at a suitable opportunity.

Lastly we would emphasize that to achieve the noble aim of safeguarding world peace, which is a matter of vital interest to all humanity, the Red Cross Society of China is always ready to join in the efforts made by sister Societies.

Syed W. ALI SHAH (Pakistan):

Mr. Chairman, I have the honour to say something which may not be in line with what I have heard since this morning.

Our discussion of peace has taken place in the perspective of the super-powers which hold the arsenals of the weapons of destruction. Constant negotiations are going on in the world as to the quantum that each super-power should possess. We, the majority of my colleagues sitting here, are at the receiving end. We look to providence and pray in the hope that the settlement as to the quantum reduction of these destructive armaments should soon take place to give us peace of mind.

To us, peace means peace of mind, more so than anything else; I do not know why we in our Movement, like other organizations in the world, involve ourselves in this struggle: who should possess what and where? It is my appeal, my hope and my prayer that a settlement of peace, with the reduction of these armaments, should take place soon, so that this body at least, which includes a few people who possess, or who have the intention of possessing destructive arms, should at least turn their attention to alleviate the suffering of those who only pray for their life to be saved from these destructive armaments.

Mrs. N. SLIM (Lebanon) (*Original French*):

One thing is certain, that human beings are atavistically inclined to violence, and have been ever since the first man had the unfortunate idea of saying "That belongs to me". It matters little whether he was claiming a tree or a grain of wheat. Since that time how many days of peace has the world known? Certainly very few. The situation is steadily getting worse, and we as a humanitarian international movement, we the Red Cross and Red Crescent, and indeed the whole international community, have to face up to our responsibilities by limiting this ancestral tendency to violence that is growing alarmingly all the time.

How can we discourage the tendency to violence? By forbidding the use of weapons that nevertheless go on being invented, improved, produced, bought and sold at the expense of infinitely more vital necessities such as basic needs

for survival. This prohibition may of course prove useful, but is it enough? By your leave, I doubt it.

In my National Society and certainly in many others, we experience every day essentially similar situations arising from inextricable armed conflicts; and so we fully realize that we have to tackle the evil at its roots to get out of the vicious circle.

We should therefore like to see our Movement concentrate more on education and training, and try to eliminate the need for violence created and encouraged by the production of films, songs and slogans invented to excite hotheads and to cause the subconscious mind of young people to surround puppet heroes of violent, hard and aggressive demeanours with a halo of admiration and, indeed, reverence.

We should like to see another sort of production get under way, the production of peaceable and constructive matter. You may say, as so many other people have said, that this is a very long-term project. I would reply that if we want peace to come one day we must start right now, especially as the project is a long-term one. I don't know whether there is still time to propose a text to this effect as an addition or supplement to the draft submitted this morning, which we fully support, just as we support any proposal that may promote peace.

If it is too late to introduce such a text, perhaps the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, which we thank for all the work it has done, will be good enough to look into this and give it thorough study in its forthcoming proceedings.

Once more I thank the Commission, all the National Societies and all bodies that have worked, or attempted, to bring about a lasting peace, and the National Societies that are still working to this end.

Mr. M. CARMONA JIMENEZ (Costa Rica) (*Original Spanish*):

Really and truly, after deliberating here until 10.30 p.m. and hearing people speak on such an interesting subject as discrimination, and since ours is such a small country, one in which bayonets and tanks are unknown but pickaxes and spades to till the ground are well known (for to make things you need ingredients), Costa Rica, as a small country, has no objection to talking to anybody, and here we have heard about the great powers from magnificent orators; but if we want peace Costa Rica can offer part of the ingredients I have just mentioned.

You, Mr. Chairman, have been to my country; so have you, Mr. de la Mata, President of the League. We have a Peace University, at which many young people are studying. Mr. Christophe Swinarski of the International Committee has just visited our Human Rights Institute, improving a superb library to be of use to other countries where there is violence such as that we have described and discussed here. We cannot return to our country without being motivated to achieve such successes with the help of international solidarity.

It is so happens that I have talked to my colleague Dr. Ramirez about our Societies being able to alleviate suffering, and we shall soon be holding meetings near our borders on the subject: the relief of suffering, above all among the civilian population, which is the most seriously affected group in our region.

We appreciate what the orators of such important countries have said, but we very much hope, Mr. Chairman, that there will not be only words. My country achieved neutrality by decree and incurred a great deal of criticism as a result throughout the world, especially in Europe. I avail myself of this forum to show you that Costa Rica is not what it is represented to be. Its neutrality is a living one, and we have all that is needed to be able to serve and contribute to the solidarity called peace.

Dr. H. MERINO GRIJALVA (Ecuador) (*Original Spanish*):

I thought that because I come from a small country my request to speak had been passed over. The world now knows that we small countries too can say great things and that what matters is not size, area or riches but lofty thought.

I have listened very carefully to the speeches on peace. I mean, I may be a dreamer or a romantic, but we are going the wrong way. Men who are preparing for war every day should not be the ones who should talk about or discuss peace. They have always been trying to develop their weaponry.

The world we live in has a very serious problem called injustice and poverty. We cannot talk about peace without limiting the power of our armaments. We must talk to philosophers, romantics and ideologists; they are necessary in a world as highly developed as this one.

If we want to tame wild beasts we must do so when they are very young. In that way we can really modify their destructive instincts. We should not try to get rid of lions by killing them, but by appeasing their hunger. A wild beast whose hunger is satisfied does not want to attack. We cannot say this about war, because the answer would be to feed war and thus make war. The important thing is to give spiritual health.

I was pleased to hear what the representative of Costa Rica said about the Peace University. If we start by educating children, and young people, we shall be training future leaders who will forget "might is right" and remember that right is mighty. What I mean, Mr. Chairman, is that what makes the world go round is greed and passion on a grand scale; there is much talk of justice but no intention of applying it. What people want most is the most efficient means of extermination. The reason why there is so much pain, cruelty and anguish is that we are not beginning to get rid of our faults or to think of purity of spirit.

We must make this Conference a down-to-earth, practical one. It has produced many lyrical statements, but the real crux of the matter seems to me to lie deeper. The Red Cross must say where it stands and define its philosophical position and its potential for action. Henry Dunant, having conceived the idea at Solferino, said "Why should we not set up a national Society in each country to alleviate the suffering caused by war?" Do not war and modern times, Mr. Chairman, make it our duty to teach our first-aid-workers how to handle a stretcher, how to give mouth-to-mouth artificial respiration, and how to handle resuscitation apparatus? But when and to what purpose if we are on the verge of atomic, bacteriological or chemical warfare? What will our first-aid-workers themselves do?

Our attitude must be that the Red Cross will continue its efforts, drawing inspiration from the principle of caring, because we have done this rather well; the countries are satisfied with our work and ask for the services of our relief workers. But also, Mr. Chairman, people very often appeal to us to fight harder and better for human dignity and human freedom and to prevent injustice. Without justice there will be no peace, and peace will come only when we have satisfied needs and not when we try to limit wars. Let us be practical; let us say that the Red Cross will either carry on with its work as a quack and a gravedigger or turn itself into a leader of a new movement that strives constructively for peace. Shall we merely timidly put our feet into the water, afraid to dive into the stream that we are already in, or have we made up our minds to fight for human dignity?

Ladies and Gentlemen, let us make a promise; namely, that there shall be peace in the world and bread for all. Let there be freedom, let there be justice, and above all, let human dignity be respected.

Miss A. KUSMIERCZYK (Poland) (*Original French*):

Our delegation joins in the congratulations addressed to the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace and to its Chairman, Mr. Huber, to thank them for their difficult and assiduous work accomplished in so important a domain as promoting peace and strengthening the part played by our Movement in that connection.

The opinions expressed today agree that Red Cross work for peace is one of our Movement's most important tasks. We believe that this work should be carried on unceasingly and should always be present in everything we do and in all we undertake, and particularly in education and training.

Today's debates must doubtlessly inspire the future work of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, which in our view should guide us more actively so that our Movement is more efficient and so that its reaction to events is an operational one. There is no question more important to the survival of humanity than the preservation of peace.

Our country was the first to experience the suffering brought by the Second World War and did so in a particularly painful manner. We therefore support all action that could strengthen our Movement's role in that domain and we support the idea of convening a third Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace. We propose that this great event should be in 1989, the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War. At the same time we express our firm support for the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Red Cross. We regard that resolution as an important step towards consolidating the work for peace of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

Dr. M. BELAOUANE (Algeria) (*Original French*):

I want to start my speech by saying "Peace be with you". In our country we are used to hearing and saying this notion of peace, and the word peace, every day.

I should like to bring to your minds all those countries that are in the habit of saying "Peace be with you" and that are now bombarding each other with shells that certainly carry no message of peace. I have listened to many speeches and read the resolutions submitted to us. They shed quite a special light on our debates. For my part, I should like to begin by quoting to you a few things that turn up at practically every conference, and that, if we are not careful, will end up by meaning nothing at all. We have talked about disarmament, the atomic holocaust, and the resulting apocalypse. All that is true, but between ourselves, who would be responsible? Who would fall a victim to it? We would; we small countries with development problems, struggling to overcome unemployment and famine. Don't expect us to refine uranium or plutonium or to manufacture cobalt bombs, H-bombs or hydrogen bombs. Don't expect us to talk about Star Wars; first of all, the stars are a long way off, and anyhow, what can we do about it? Will anybody listen to us? Certainly not, and even if they did, we would wake up one fine morning only to be told that the next war will be a war of galaxies or perhaps of the entire cosmos.

Let's be realistic and keep our feet on the ground. There is this alarm bell to warn us of a danger that may never happen - for we have after all to trust in the wisdom of our leaders; also, there are today more than 30 countries engaged in conflict. There are by definition at least two parties to a conflict; therefore practically 60 communities are tearing each other to pieces at this moment. Those are the facts. We ought not to politicize our debates, that achieves nothing. We have done so and it has achieved nothing at all. It seems to me that if we are going to condemn all destructive weapons, all pathogenic weapons, be they bacteriological or chemical, it is not for us to pronounce our opinion; we condemn them on principle because that is part of our ideals; it is the whole Movement that protests

and opposes any attempt at destruction.

But we should not obscure the real problems, the daily ones of individual and national development, the development of the peoples of the world, and of Red Cross development. That is what should matter to us. I am glad to see that all these ideas have been collected into a document that is given to us to ponder over, and having looked at it, I can say that it is a very fine piece of work on which I can only congratulate its author.

Accordingly, whilst we support the various proposals that have been made, let us try our hardest to overcome our differences, talk about problems that concern us, and point out that there are other fora in which politicians and experts of all kinds can argue with each other. We have been working for peace for more than a century. The Red Cross was founded before the Nobel Peace Prize and I very much regret that it has no prize of its own. Are there no men of peace that the Red Cross can reward? Can we not propose introducing a Red Cross Peace Prize or Peace Medal to reward a man of peace or a Society that has shown hope and has set examples for the reign of peace in this world? I think every one of us feels the lack of one and thinks that the time has perhaps come to supply it. I therefore make this request publicly. I would like the Red Cross distinction to be a richly deserved distinction, for we all know how some prizes are handed out. But the Red Cross is a family. I am convinced that very high standards will be set for the award of a Red Cross Peace Prize. I am convinced that the ICRC, the League and the whole Movement will not be indifferent to this appeal.

One of the first statements made at this meeting was that we should not become politicized. I completely agree. The time has come to make a real separation between what is humanitarian and what is not, even although prerogatives and terms of reference may sometimes overlap. But on the grounds of keeping clear of politics, we must not deny the everyday facts of life. Careful reading shows that wars happen above all where there is underdevelopment and failure to recognize the realities of this world, and where there is poverty and want, all of which are factors of war. I could even see aggression against the environment as a possible factor of aggression against peace. All that is obvious and I too should like to make an appeal, which is that our objective should always be to preserve peace, that we should strive with all our might and all the means in our power for lasting peace in this world, and that we should help everyone whose formidable task is to see that the principles of peace be respected. We should encourage and help these institutions, and I think every one of us will recognize that what I am saying is what he or she feels.

To conclude, and with apologies for talking so long, I should like my proposal to institute a Red Cross Peace Medal to be considered and submitted to all delegates. I should also have liked more information on certain points—for example, in which countries conflicts are now taking place. I am sure none of us can say. We know three or four of them — we all know those that are going on in our own region. Are we a worldwide Movement? A Movement that must inquire every day into what a sister Red Cross or Red Crescent Society is doing? I am ashamed to say that apart from a number of long-standing conflicts, I do not know all thirty of them. What are these thirty conflicts now going on and threatening world safety? Thirty conflicts means many victims, and a lot of bloodshed; many dead and much suffering. These are problems that should have our fullest attention, and we shall leave it to the experts, the people concerned, to face up to their responsibilities. We ask them to think of the day when, for one word too many or too few, a holocaust is unleashed on the world. Anyway, whatever happens, we can only be lookers-on.

I have spoken at length of this problem of peace, and I should like to read out to you a few of the notes I have taken. I have taken a note of the neutron bomb because apparently

it is a clean bomb — it kills but does no damage to buildings. What arrant cynicism! I was very glad to see that the intention of producing such bombs had been abandoned; but very unfortunately another highly civilized country has taken it up again. There is talk of clean and dirty bombs; but, you know, whether you die cleanly or dirtily, you still die. These again are problems that do not concern us; they concern what are called the great powers, I could even say the super powers. So let us stay in our Red Crescent world and see what problems we can settle, only little problems of course, those of first-aiders and relief workers, because first-aiders and relief workers will still be doing a useful job. There will be problems of development and hunger, for we have not learned the lesson of the Sahel. The Red Cross had been in existence for over a hundred years, but it still could not cope with a disaster situation, with a drought such as the Sahel drought. Those are the problems that concern us.

Our Movement's philosophy should not be diverted from its first direction, the one Henry Dunant gave it. If our motto is to be "Let us unite and give a hand to each other", well and good, but on a scale we can manage, for things that we can achieve. But if you please, let us not get out of our depth. At this meeting, we should look at the problems of peace in a genuinely Red Cross spirit and nothing more, and leave other problems to the people responsible for them.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I think the idea you have put forward will be examined by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace in due time and place.

Dr. E. GUTIERREZ SANCHEZ (Cuba) (*Original Spanish*):

I intend to be very brief, first because that is what you have asked for, and secondly because other speakers have dealt eloquently and ably with some of the subjects we wanted to cover in this Council of Delegates.

I should first like to say that my delegation, and I believe all delegations here present, feel honoured that you, Mr. Chairman, who are reaching the end of your term of office as President of the ICRC, should be taking the chair at this Council of Delegates.

Of course, we are fully in agreement with the draft resolution proposed by the Chairman of the Soviet Red Cross. I think it is a step forward in the unceasing fight for peace and we have no objection to approving it in the form in which it was presented.

I want to add that we have no objection to approving one of the two proposals by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace that Mr. Huber presented to us in his report, but we should like the second alternative to be approved, because we believe that the Commission will thereby be better and more widely represented.

I take this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, of making a few remarks on the fears expressed by some of the previous speakers because the Red Cross (and by Red Cross I also mean Red Crescent) is openly taking sides and openly promoting action for peace. I agree; the Red Cross certainly is a unique organization, with very special features. It is more than that; I could even say that the Red Cross is one of the few organizations that has maintained and counted on high prestige in the world community for many years; not only, I believe, because it is based on sound principles, but also because its history records an impressive sum of work for mankind. But I believe that this very principle of the Red Cross, this privilege that the international community accords it by regarding it as a great organization, obliges it to assume a moral commitment to humanity.

In Cuba we say: "Silence gives consent". If today we are silent, if we do not say no to warmongers, if we do not say

no to those who do not strive for peace, we are acting as accomplices of the warmongers.

Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be an accomplice of warmongers or of people who are not for peace. I believe that the Red Cross cannot and must not be their accomplice either; I may be mistaken. I see no danger for the Red Cross in our openly taking a position and looking for practical ways of promoting peace. I think that if we take such action the Red Cross, the whole Red Cross Movement, will be fulfilling a great moral duty towards the whole of mankind.

Mrs. A. A. MIVENDOR (Togo) (*Original French*):

It is an honour for Togo to add its contribution, its voice, to those of previous speakers, in recognizing the high quality of the report presented by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace and in congratulating the members and Chairman of that Commission.

As you know, Togo has been at peace for nearly 20 years. Unhappily as you have learned, it was recently the victim of certain assailants who caused some loss of life in the civilian population. We do not want to say too much about this, but since we know what peace is, we want to support the draft resolution presented by the Soviet Red Cross, and all resolutions that talk of peace, because we appreciate peace and want it to last and be understood by the entire human race.

Hon. Justice J. A. ADEFARASIN (Nigeria):

I want to join those who have commended the work, effort and Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace.

Peace, to my mind, is so easy to speak about, yet so hard to achieve. I wish, for my part, that it were possible for the world of the Red Cross to get hold of those involved in the arms race, or shall I say the rat race, lock them up in a room, and refuse to open the door until they come out with an acceptable, unanimous formula for world peace.

I want at this stage to commend the efforts of those Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies who have been in the forefront of the action to bring peace, as seen by the Red Cross Movement, to the world. If at first you do not succeed, try again.

I also want to say that due to the vision, the courtesy and the initiative of Mrs. Fanfani, the Vice-President of the League and of the Italian Red Cross, I was in Solferino early last month. I felt so tall in my shoes to see Solferino, to capture the feeling of peace, to recapture the feeling and the vision of Henry Dunant, a man of peace, the man who founded our Movement. And to think that that peace and the solace to the injured, for which he fought, has become a delusion, is a matter that agitated one's mind. But believe me, I think all of us have, at one time or the other, to go to Solferino, to rededicate ourselves to the cause of peace.

The world is moving fast against peace; we can only do what we can; it eludes us for now, but I am sure that the world powers, who themselves speak of peace, even if their hearts are away from peace, will come to see the wisdom of having peace.

One last word, and it relates to you, Mr. Chairman, it is with a great degree of sadness that we note that you are about to leave your position as President of the International Committee. When I was the President of the League, you gave me tremendous support and there was also a tremendous rapport between the League and the ICRC. We see you as a man of peace, gentle in character, forceful, as far as your work and your mission are concerned, and a man of good heart. I can assure you that we shall miss you. We have no doubt that you will be succeeded by a worthy man like yourself but believe me, all of us in the League, and in various National Societies around the world, will always remember your great attributes, your gentle way of ap-

proaching delicate matters, your wisdom, your vision and your humanity.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman):

I can only reciprocate concerning the time when you were chairing the League but, as I say, it is not a final departure; I hope that even as a member of the Committee I will still maintain contact with you.

I think that we have closed the list of the first speakers; now I will give the floor to two or three who have asked for a second very brief reply.

Brigadier B. WALLBERG (Sweden):

Since 1984, Mr. Chairman, two noble sentences have entered our vocabulary almost daily and are inspiring the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The first one embodies the very essence of our basic ideals: "Through humanity to peace". The second one has a much more matter-of-fact direction: "Prevention is better than cure", and this was the outcome of a study on man-made and natural disasters. With that study as a platform, our Society and many sister Societies had since 1984 not spared any efforts to point out the possibilities of our Movement to reduce tension and help the victims of disasters in a more permanent way by engaging itself also in long-term development programmes, particularly related to the protection and rehabilitation of the environment.

The message of prevention being better than cure has had a great impact in many international and national fora. We have found an immediate response from the general public when we have been able to outline the causes and effects of those disasters that have been analysed.

It is in our view important that the Council of Delegates reaffirms that our Movement has a great potential to reduce tension by contributing towards a more just and humane society through development efforts. This is the brief background behind the resolution on the Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace, submitted by the Swedish Red Cross and co-sponsored by our sister Societies in Bolivia, Ethiopia, Nepal and Yugoslavia.

We ask the Council of Delegates to support this resolution and, after endorsing it, to present it to the Twenty-fifth International Conference.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We will take this matter afterwards.

Mr. F. de ROSE (France) (*Original French*):

I wish to make clear, and add to, something I said this morning. I said that in the opinion of the French Red Cross the 1985 resolution of the Council of Delegates fixing the powers of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, and the questions of its composition and whether it was to be a permanent or non-permanent body, were a matter for the Commission. I also meant that other questions raised here were matters for the Commission, including whether there should be a third Red Cross Conference on Peace, and who should chair the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace.

On the latter point, that Commission has so far, as we all know, been chaired by the ICRC, and we believe there are two reasons for this. The first is that the International Committee of the Red Cross personifies more than any other Red Cross organ or institution the ideals of neutrality and impartiality that are absolutely necessary to chair debates on the Red Cross and Peace. The second is that the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace was formed by the Council of Delegates, the body whose meeting we are now attending, and that the Council of Delegates is always chaired by the ICRC. It therefore seems natural to us that a body formed by the Council should be chaired in the same way as the Council. Long-standing

custom has confirmed the merits of the present situation, for this is the way it has worked for more than 10 years. To our mind, it is a logical approach and conducive to the Commission's work. We therefore see no need to depart from it today.

I should like to add a last word: our colleague from the Algerian Red Crescent has proposed that a Red Cross Peace Prize be instituted. We are happy to support the proposal he has made that the Commission should study this subject.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Jordan):

I am speaking in my capacity as President of the Jordan Red Crescent Society. First of all I would like to thank Mr. Huber for his Report and for the activities he carried out during the past few years.

At the last meeting, on 25 October 1985, a draft resolution was submitted for a Day of Peace, following an appeal by the International Committee of the Red Cross, called an Appeal for Humanity. I believe that appeal should have carried the name "An appeal for Peace".

Reading this appeal, dated 10 January 1985, it was clear that the international situation had deteriorated; it was not improving. Now we know that our Movement's motto is "Through Humanity to Peace". What we do, what we render, what we offer to the people, are activities for peace, but because of the present international situation, I do not think that this is enough. We have to start educating people, we could start giving the people ideas about the meaning of the activities of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. It is not only alleviating the sufferings of the people; we should think how to increase our activities for the future to approach and achieve peace.

I will not take a long time in discussing this because it has been discussed last year thoroughly. But I would like the Council of Delegates to take a decision about this resolution.

Mr. J. MOREILLON (ICRC):

I should like to briefly state the position of the ICRC on the various draft resolutions and other proposals put to us today.

I address myself first to the draft resolution presented by Dr. Venedictov and several other Societies. The ICRC co-sponsors this draft resolution because it considers it proper that the International Conference should not only receive a message from this Council of Delegates but also make such a message its own and forward it to the world.

As to the draft resolution presented by the Swedish Red Cross accompanied by the Bolivian, Ethiopian, Nepalese and Yugoslavian Red Cross we very warmly support it. We think indeed that this is the direction which we should take tomorrow. As many speakers expressed themselves today, particularly our distinguished friend Dr. Belaouane from Algeria, the relationship between development and peace is an essential one. And I will remind you that in our definition of peace, we have introduced the notion of a fair and equitable distribution of resources. The development of National Societies is part of the global development of all countries and there is undoubtedly a direct link towards a better development and more peace. We should in the future look into that direction and we think that the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace should make it one of its main purposes.

(Original Spanish):

I should now like to speak to our friends from the Inter-American Regional Committee of the Red Cross (CORI) about their resolution which we are asked to submit to the International Conference. Naturally the ICRC is very much in favour of that resolution and it naturally proposes that this Council of Delegates should approve it by consensus. There is just one point I should like to make, and I leave the matter for our friends from CORI to consider; I ask

them whether they think it is absolutely necessary and appropriate for this resolution to be approved by the International Conference or whether the Council of Delegates would not suffice. It is a resolution presented by National Societies; it mentions other sister Societies, the League and the ICRC but requires no commitment whatever from governments.

Now the problem, if I may say so, is that with governments present at the Conference that will start tomorrow, not all the people present are peaceable, and not all the peaceable people are present. It is just a little (I beg your pardon, interpreters) like the situation in a madhouse: Everyone there is mad, and not all mad people are there. Thus there is in my view a risk that this proposal might perhaps result in something rather different from what you anticipate. If after considering this point you want to send the draft to the Conference, we have no objection; we only leave you to think it over, and naturally we propose that this Council of Delegates should approve it by consensus, as it is an excellent resolution.

(Original French):

I now address you, Mr. Chairman, in your dual capacity as Chairman of this Council of Delegates and future Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace. You have heard many very good proposals, and the debate has been particularly valuable, as is very often the case in the Council of Delegates. We have discussed the Commission's terms of reference. There have been some very good substantive ideas, there has been discussion on whether the Commission should or should not be permanent, whether it should be open to everybody, and whether it should be chaired alternately by the ICRC and the League; we have talked about a third World Conference, about a Peace Day and about a World Red Cross Peace Prize.

The ICRC is open to any suggestion; the important thing is that we should give ourselves time to find the consensus that is the very expression of peace within the Movement. Having myself followed this question for over ten years, in the Movement and on behalf of the ICRC, and since I have spent perhaps one-third of my time on it for the last ten years, I have become convinced — having to a great extent learned this from Mrs. Spiljak, President of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia — that it is worth while taking time for dialogue so as to reach consensus and that where peace is concerned only decisions taken by consensus have the weight that the whole Movement has to give them.

Mr. Chairman, paragraph 7 of the resolution of the 1985 Council of Delegates requests the Commission of which you will be Chairman to submit an interim report to the 1987 Council of Delegates and a final report to the 1989 Council of Delegates, with proposals relative to its possible future, its mandate and its duration, for acceptance by consensus by the 1989 Council of Delegates. We have noted with tremendous interest and great care all the proposals made during this exceptionally fruitful day. All of them without exception will have to be discussed by the Commission. If in 1987, in one year's time, the Commission is in a position to make an interim report to you, as it is asked to do, and to take a number of decisions, it should do so. Then in 1989—since there will not normally be a Council of Delegates in 1988 — it will indeed be time for a decision on its possible future, its mandate, its duration and all other longer-term questions.

In conclusion, I am glad to see that as suggested by the ICRC all speakers have supported the second alternative proposed to you by the Chairman of the Commission, on its behalf.

Dr. K. PHIMPHACHANH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) *(Original French):*

I should like to contribute to this debate by talking about the Red Cross and Peace. Our country has suffered years of war and is still suffering from their consequences. For

that reason our Society has always worked, and will continue to work, for peace, for it is only in an atmosphere of general world peace that the development and reconstruction of our country can be accomplished.

Our delegation accordingly supports the draft resolution presented by the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

If you agree, we shall now adopt the various resolutions, and I propose beginning with the text of the resolution submitted by the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR and elaborated on by very many Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. I have not heard any criticism of it, and we can therefore adopt this resolution by consensus, that is by applause, if you agree. (*Applause*)

The resolution is therefore adopted by the Council of Delegates and will be passed to the International Conference of the Red Cross that begins tomorrow.

I now propose to take the draft resolution submitted to us by the Inter-American Regional Committee of the Red Cross (CORI) unless any one of the Red Cross Societies which are members of CORI wants to answer the question raised by Mr. Moreillon, which was whether we did not want to keep this resolution in the Council and give up the idea of passing it to the Conference. Have you an opinion on that question?

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Morocco) (*Original French*):

It may surprise you that the Moroccan Red Crescent should speak on a resolution that concerns the CORI, but I took part in the meeting of the Inter-American Committee and saw how intensely the National Societies of that region care about peace, saw their love of peace, their solidarity and unity, and their faith that the Movement would help them to alleviate the suffering of their peoples.

I completely share the opinion of my friend Mr. Moreillon: this resolution is addressed to the Movement's components, to us here. After consulting my friends in the National Societies present, which include some Latin American Societies, I think they support it and want to make it a resolution of the Council of Delegates.

Mr. M. CARMONA JIMENEZ (Costa Rica) (*Original Spanish*):

Dr. Moreillon's remarks are indeed very pertinent, but there is also room for a question from friendly countries, CORI members: where it says "region of the world" could we add "and governments" so that it can be sent to the Conference? If so, we should prefer it to be sent to the Conference; otherwise we agree with our friend from Morocco.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League) (*Original Spanish*):

I think that if the resolution makes any reference to governments it cannot come from the Council of Delegates. It would have to be submitted to the Conference with a request that the Conference should include governments in it.

There is however an intermediate solution, which is that anything approved here in accordance with the powers of the Council of Delegates be submitted to the Chairman of the Conference in the report of the work done by the Council of Delegates, and the Conference then has to approve it, as it is to some extent bound to do with texts sent to it by the Council of Delegates.

Consequently, either way, whether it is required to be formally and directly expressed to the Conference or whether it appears in the Council of Delegates' report, if the Council of Delegates approves it, it goes to the Conference. If the Conference approves the Council of Delegates' report, that means it also approves or involuntarily takes part in this resolution, which expresses a wish by the National Societies and the Red Cross and Red Crescent institutions.

We cannot place any obligation on governments and we cannot explain anything to them; but we can tell governments what the Red Cross expects of them. But the resolution imposes no obligation. Therefore, I can tell CORI that there are two ways of reaching the Conference; either by asking the Conference to give its express approval to a concrete resolution or by asking the Conference to endorse something already approved by the Council of Delegates, which in actual fact includes this proposed resolution.

Mr. J. MOREILLON (ICRC) (*Original Spanish*):

I think this resolution would have to be approved here as a resolution of the Council of Delegates, and afterwards, when the report on the Council of Delegates is sent to the Conference and will of course be applauded by the entire Conference, note will be taken of the wish of the entire Movement, of all its components, to work for peace in the region. In that way there will be a moral obligation on the Conference, so to speak. This seems to me a perfect solution.

Mr. M. CARMONA JIMENEZ (Costa Rica) (*Original Spanish*):

In view of the explanations given by Mr. de la Mata and Mr. Moreillon, we accept.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you. I therefore understand that this resolution is adopted and will be referred to in the report to the Conference on the work of the Council of Delegates.

We now come to the draft resolution on development and peace presented by the Swedish Red Cross and sponsored by several other National Societies. I suggest you adopt it by consensus. (*Applause*)

This resolution is accordingly adopted by the Council of Delegates and will be passed to the Conference.

It now only remains for us to take a decision on the proposals by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace on its future composition. The great majority of speakers so far are in favour of the second proposal — in any case I have not heard any contrary opinion — which is that the membership of the Commission should be raised from 15 to 17 and comprise 14 National Societies instead of 12. (*Applause*)

That proposal is adopted. Thank you.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Jordan):

Mr. Chairman, when I raised the question about the Peace Day I said the resolution, which was submitted last year, was sent to the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace to be studied and to be commented on. I do not see any comment in the Report of the Commission.

Anyhow, I asked for the consideration of that resolution by the Council of Delegates.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman):

Before we discuss it we will ask Mr. Huber if there is any reason why we did not consider this matter.

Mr. H. HUBER (Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace) (*Original French*):

If I understand him rightly, Dr. Abu-Goura is referring to the question of World Peace Day. I would draw your attention to Item 3 of the Commission's supplementary report, which I presented to you today. The Secretariat of the Commission has compiled an historical study on the origin of the World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day (8 May). The Commission proposes discussing this at its April 1987 meeting and reporting on its discussion to the 1987 Council of Delegates. The study will be sent to all National Societies in due course.

The Commission has not yet dealt with this historical

study, having taken cognizance of it only a few days before its meeting. I myself think the study is very interesting and shows that originally World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day was a day dedicated to peace, a Peace Day. In any case the Commission will discuss this and report on the matter to the next Council of Delegates.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Jordan):

I do not like to take the floor so many times; I also do not like to repeat what I said last year, in the last Council of Delegates of 25 October; I took from the Appeal for Humanity, which I said could be an appeal for peace, in accordance with the deteriorating situation in the world and the increased conflicts and the violation of the Geneva Conventions and the non-respect of international humanitarian law and the increased number of the people in the field serving humanity and alleviating the sufferings of the people.

Because of all these things, and because we know also that this year is the Year of Peace, and there are also many appeals for peace, I do not think that it is necessary to send it back once again to the Commission to be studied. I think it is very clear; it is a plea for a decision for an International Peace Day where we can speak to the people, remind them of peace, teach them, educate them, tell them about the consequences of war, tell them what we can achieve by peace. I think every individual on this earth would like to live in peace. And yet we postpone the matter from one year to another. The subject was discussed at the World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace in Aaland-Stockholm, and it was postponed; and last year it was postponed and now again I see some sort of postponement.

I do not think this is wise; I hope that the Council will take a decision about this draft resolution.

Mr. J. MOREILLON (ICRC) (*Original French*):

I must give a few explanations on this point. We carried out the study, which took some time, and found something we did not know before, namely that the League's Executive Committee, in its report to the XXth Session of the Board of Governors in Stockholm in 1948, had chosen 8 May as the date on which to celebrate International Red Cross and Peace Day.

On 14 March 1949 the Secretary General of the League sent all National Societies a letter asking them to celebrate 8 May and turn it into a day to promote the Red Cross and the ideal of peace. The study shows that as a result of several decisions, in particular that of the Board of Governors at Stockholm at its XXth session in 1948, it was decided to continue working for peace and to encourage National Societies to suggest to their authorities that a Peace Day should be organized. In other words, Red Cross Day and Peace Day were the same.

The study is not altogether complete, as it has not been possible to find exactly when the word "Peace" was dropped from the title of this day and when Red Cross and Peace Day became Red Cross Day; but we did ascertain that this was really a very old idea going back to a proposal by the Czechoslovak Red Cross in 1921 that the Red Cross should institute a Day for the "Truce of the Red Cross". As early as 1921 the International Conference, following the example of the Czechoslovak Red Cross, recommended consideration of the possibility of instituting a three-day truce of the Red Cross during which the entire country would give active publicity to public health, relief operations and the protection of children.

I shall spare you the details. There were study commissions and discussion at the International Conferences of 1930, 1934 and 1938. They led to the adoption of resolutions inviting National Societies to employ the methods already put to the test by the Czechoslovak Red Cross to celebrate the truce (it was not yet called "peace"), which would be fixed for the spring of each year. This is a trifle curious

because spring does not come at the same time in the southern and northern hemispheres, but at all events the truce was fixed to take place then.

The idea of truce changed into the idea of peace just after the Second World War, and the notion of peace was very much to the fore in the minds of all those who wanted 8 May to be not only Red Cross Day but Red Cross and Peace Day.

I admit that I was completely ignorant of all this. Therefore, before making proposals the Commission wants to be able to think over the matter. I can most solemnly assure Dr. Abu-Goura that there is no intention of postponing examination of this question; it is merely that we need to think over more carefully the new information that we ourselves discovered only recently.

This, Mr. Chairman, is why we would like to give ourselves time for thought. It seems certain to me that we shall have the makings of a reply by the time the next Council of Delegates is held, and I hope you will regard this as evidence of our firm resolve to deal with the matter, and not in the least of any desire to equivocate.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Jordan):

Thanks to Mr. Moreillon for having given us this brief history about the Day of Peace. I would also like to remind you that there was a decision which was taken by the Board of Governors for a Day of Peace in 1948.

Anyhow, I do not want to create an obstacle in this meeting; I do accept that the idea has to be studied but I would like to have a definite answer in 1987.

Mr. H. HUBER (Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, may I say a few words more. At the end of this discussion on the new composition of the Commission and on certain questions that were raised, in reply to a question from the delegation of the Czechoslovak Red Cross, I might say that it would be highly desirable to give the public more information on Red Cross work for peace. I am convinced that the Commission will see to this, just as it will see to the other suggestions made.

I was asked for information in connection with President de la Mata's remark about inviting the League to the meetings of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace. Ever since the Commission was formed all its members have always been convened to meetings in the same way. At all meetings of the Commission there has been an item on the agenda to fix the date of the following meeting, and the minutes of the meeting have always stated the date and place of the following meeting.

Members have been sent all documents containing information on the date and place of the next meeting. There may have been some misunderstanding by President de la Mata. This was not an invitation in the technical sense of the word, but a notification to all members of the Commission. This system has always worked very well. The League was informed in the same way as were other members and took part in our proceedings on many occasions.

Documents have always been prepared jointly with the League or drafted with League staff, some of whom belonged to the Secretariat. Admittedly, the League was not represented at the last meeting of the Commission, and we regretted this.

Apparently there was, as I just said, a misunderstanding, not by the Commission or the Council of Delegates, but by the League, which as you know provides the Secretariat of the Commission. I take this opportunity of thanking Mrs. Camporini, who has been an exemplary secretary and has rendered us many services. She is responsible for sending information documents (I repeat, it was not an invitation)

to the members of the Commission so that they can attend its forthcoming meetings.

I would ask President de la Mata to inquire in the League if there really was a misunderstanding (which I regret) that led to his absence. We should certainly have been very glad to see the League President in the Commission.

This automatically leads me to inform all members of the new Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace that we shall be having a meeting tomorrow morning at 9 a.m. It will not be a long one, and it will fix the date of the Commission's next meeting.

In conclusion, I thank all the speakers for their kind words about the Commission. I thank the Council of Delegates for accepting the Commission's second proposal. I am convinced that this proposal and this decision by the Council of Delegates will enable the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace to continue its work to good effect.

Finally, and above all, I thank all the participants whose speeches have brought us such important ideas. I am sure these will have a great impact on the work for peace of the Commission and the Movement in general.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League) (*Original Spanish*):

Yes, Mr. Chairman, I must take the floor. I must say something not because of what has happened, but because of what will happen in the future; and I hope that when you are Chairman of the Commission you will manage this matter better than your predecessor. Do not get angry, Mr. Huber, one can speak the truth, absolutely nothing happens. You have made a mistake and that's all there is to it. Nothing is happening.

You have not read the League Constitution, you did not listen when it was pointed out, and now you come here putting the blame on the unfortunate secretary of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace. This is truly absurd, but it cannot be helped. I hope the Chairman will take effective steps to remedy past errors. But, just to let you know, so that you get your ideas clear, the League is the international federation. The League Secretariat is not the League. The League Secretariat does not represent the international federation in the Commission on Peace. If you want to send an invitation, and you have been told to do so, you must send the invitation or, as you say, the information to the person who represents the League, and the person who represents the League is, according to the League Constitution, the President; and according to what has been agreed by the General Assembly, the persons who represent the League are its President, Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer General. Do you understand? Good, because it is so easy; you could have avoided this by paying attention to the recommendations made to you in the past. There would then be no need for you to come here today giving an irritable explanation and putting the blame on an unfortunate lady who really and truly does everything possible to look after us all. The next time your Commission wishes to convene the League it should send its formal invitation to the President, and not an invitation at a few hours' notice saying that the Commission on Peace has to meet the following day. It is the responsibility of the Office of the Chairman of the Commission on Peace to convene the meeting. The Chairman issues the invitation, and of course, it is the Secretary who sends them out. But the responsibility is obviously the Chairman's. I hope the new Chairman will discharge it better than you.

Mr. H. HUBER (Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not carry on this discussion any longer for I regard it as ridiculous. President de la Mata's observation that he had not been invited was brought to my attention for the first time three or four days ago,

after our Commission had met. Information on the Commission's meetings has always been received and passed on within the League. If it was not on this occasion it is not the fault of the Commission or its Chairman. But I think the Council of Delegates has heard enough of this; I hope that in future everything will be for the best.

Mr. G. WEBER (Canada):

You may be aware that the Canadian Red Cross has voluntarily withdrawn from membership of the future Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace and I think it would be remiss of us if we did not take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. Huber, for your years of service as the first Chairman of the Commission. We, in particular, appreciated your firm, yet fair stewardship of the Commission over the years, since its creation, and we feel in particular that the Commission has made significant achievements and we want to wish you all the very best in the future.

Mr. A. HAMIANI (Algeria) (*Original French*):

I did not want to interrupt the explanation just given regarding the invitation either made or not made to the President of the League, but I should like to go back a little to the discussion of the new composition of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace. Algeria would like to be a member of the Commission. That is the first point I wished to make.

The second point is about the proposal that the international Red Cross should award a Peace Medal or Peace Prize. I thank the representative of France for kindly supporting our project and I submit the following for your kind consideration:

- "considering all the efforts made by our Movement to contribute to peace;
- considering that we should, in the present International Year of Peace, celebrate it by decisions in line with the Principles of our Movement;
- considering that our Movement's contribution to peace is not confined to the present International Year of Peace;

the Council of Delegates institutes a Red Cross distinction for peace in the form of a Prize or Medal. This prize or distinction is intended to reward a person or organization that has done good work to promote peace."

We should like the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace to study this proposal. The Commission would give it tangible form and we should particularly like the International Conference to be informed of the proposal, for it to see that we are very attached to peace. That is why I am speaking; we should like Algeria to be part of this Commission because we are very interested in peace, and we should also like the Red Cross Movement to show its interest in peace and reward those who work for peace.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We note that Algeria would like to be a member of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace when the opportunity arises, but we have just decided by applause on the new composition of the Commission. We therefore cannot go back on it. As regards your proposal to institute a Peace Prize, I think you should submit it to Mr. Huber who will ask the Commission to examine it. Evidently we cannot discuss it here because we cannot deal with a text that is not in writing and is not front of us.

Mr. H. HUBER (Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace) (*Original French*):

I greatly regret that the Algerian Red Crescent did not announce its candidature before, as on 19 November 1985 we sent all National Societies a circular letter asking them to submit their candidature to the Commission if they so

wished. We had no reply from the Algerian Red Crescent. We had eight candidates from Africa but the Algerian Red Crescent was not among them. I think, as our Chairman, Mr. Hay does, that if the Algerian Red Crescent is a candidate on a future occasion it has every chance of being accepted.

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE HENRY DUNANT INSTITUTE

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I propose that we go on to the next item, Item 7, on the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute. I give the floor to Mr. Aubert, who is the new President of the Henry Dunant Institute.

Mr. M. AUBERT (President, Henry Dunant Institute) (*Original French*):

I have no intention now of repeating what the report says about the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute. I will however make one point, namely that the feasibility study decided on at the end of last year has been extremely stimulating.

I had the privilege of being present at the League General Assembly's discussion of its budget. I was then extraordinarily pleased to see that the National Societies are very interested in the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute. Consequently, on its behalf, I thank you now for the financial efforts you have made for 1987. It will of course be for the League to decide, when it assesses the Institute's work, to maintain or even increase that contribution. I want to thank on your behalf Mr. Meurant, here present, who was the Institute's Director until the end of June.

Mr. Meurant, we have much appreciated your very great intellectual abilities and especially the very high quality publications we owe to you. We thank you for the work you have done.

Mr. Toman has been Acting Director since July, and he has given entire satisfaction in these duties. In looking for a new Director we have made a special effort to get as many candidates as possible. I have as President been in touch with about twenty people who were interested in the post. After studying very thoroughly nine files, the Selection Committee, composed of one representative of each of the institutions concerned (the League, the Swiss Red Cross and the ICRC) unanimously gave preference to one candidate. The General Assembly of the Henry Dunant Institute, which is the Institute's supreme body and has power under the Statutes to appoint the Director, must be unanimous in its decisions. The Swiss Red Cross and the ICRC spoke in favour of appointing Mr. Jean Hoefliger Director. The League President, however, Mr. de la Mata, whilst not opposing the choice made by the Swiss Red Cross and the ICRC, has made a reservation which he has asked me to pass on to you. He recognizes the personal qualities of Mr. Jean Hoefliger, but because of the principle of distribution of nationalities, would have preferred the Director of the Henry Dunant Institute to be a national of a State other than Switzerland. Also he urges — and here I agree with him — that the Henry Dunant Institute's main efforts should be to assist in improving training, particularly in the new National Societies, and in the development of National Societies needing it. Mr. de la Mata points out that the League would of course be entitled to decide within the next few years whether it wished to maintain its contribution or not. I therefore wish to make clear that there is of course no obligation on the League to make this contribution, and no guarantee that it will do so.

As you can see from the memorandum I have just sent you, it is mainly in this direction that the Henry Dunant Institute will employ the resources made available to it. Our ideal of humanity is to serve people in need, and I can give

you my personal assurance that I shall do my utmost to make the Henry Dunant Institute into a tool for all of you to achieve that ideal.

Even more than in the past the Henry Dunant Institute will be an effective point of support which, to the extent its resources allow, will consolidate the solidarity that is the strength of our Movement.

I am sure that you will find Mr. Jean Hoefliger, who is at present an ICRC delegate-general, to be an experienced Red Cross man, and indeed many of you already know him. I am also sure that he will entirely fulfil the mission entrusted to him. Mr. Hoefliger, I congratulate you on your appointment

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to submit to you a draft resolution on the development of the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute. Its acceptance would of course be a token of confidence and encouragement for the Institute and all those who support it.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I too congratulate Mr. Hoefliger on his appointment. I presume you have had time to acquaint yourselves with the draft resolution on the development of the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute. Can we approve this draft resolution by acclamation?

Mr. C. VANDEKERCKHOVE (Belgium) (*Original French*):

The Belgian Red Cross noted with very great satisfaction the draft resolution concerning the Henry Dunant Institute. Our National Society wishes to express its admiration for the work done by the Henry Dunant Institute in the past, bearing in mind the means at its disposal. The Belgian Red Cross has for several years closely co-operated with the Henry Dunant Institute and has tried to support it to the greatest possible extent, by making trainees available to it and awarding scholarships to participants coming from Third World sister Societies to attend the annual training course.

The future of the Henry Dunant Institute was a matter of great concern to us and we accordingly followed with great interest the debates on its future in the League General Assembly. We were very glad indeed to learn the Assembly's decision to increase the League's contribution to 300,000 Swiss francs. This will mean that the ICRC too will increase its contribution.

We thank and heartily congratulate the ICRC and the League on this considerable effort, for their support undoubtedly was and still is vital to the Institute's future existence and development.

The Institute truly has an international vocation as an instrument of research, study and training on behalf of and conducive to the entire Movement, and for this must necessarily have the support of all components of the International Red Cross and especially all the National Societies. We sincerely believe that the National Societies could and should be more active in guiding the Institute, particularly by suggesting subjects for research to it and sending it trainees.

I take this opportunity to make a pressing appeal to sister Societies that can afford to finance study grants to young leaders of developing Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Mr. Aubert, President of the Henry Dunant Institute, has just informed us of the appointment of Mr. Jean Hoefliger as Director of the Institute. The Belgian Red Cross congratulates Mr. Hoefliger and wishes him every success. It assures him and the President, Mr. Aubert, of its support, and promises him its co-operation in all the activities of the Institute, which other institutions envy us.

Major Gen. B. EGGE (Norway):

The Norwegian delegation would like to give its full support to the resolution which is proposed. We badly need a centre of reflection in our Movement and I will just remind you about the fact that the General Assembly unanimously voted for the theme of development for the Red Cross Day in 1987. We need intellectual backing, we need some reflections about that.

And, Mr. Chairman, if you allow me just briefly to mention, in the proposed resolution submitted by the Soviet delegation about Red Cross and Peace, there was one important sentence that did not get into the new resolution text, and I quote: "initiating new ways of thinking and new approaches in devising non-military means of settling disputes". I think it is about time to remind ourselves that it is not only the weapons we have to defeat, we have to defeat the old-fashioned way of thinking about how to resolve our conflicts. The famous scientist Albert Einstein said: "We now have developed everything new; there is nothing left of the old world but the old way of thinking". We do have to concentrate on new ways of solving our problems without killing each other. That is one of the reasons we, from the Norwegian delegation, strongly support the Henry Dunant Institute where we can develop, together with the other sister Societies from all over the world, a new way of thinking.

We congratulate Mr. Hoefliger on his appointment as the Director of the Institute and we are looking forward to successful co-operation with him. We will give our full support to the proposed resolution.

Miss A. KUSMIERCZYK (Poland) (*Original French*):

May I start by giving the warmest possible thanks on behalf of my National Society to the competent team that for many years has guided the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute, with which we have always had excellent and useful working relations in the most varied domains, including dissemination of international humanitarian law, which for us has been a source of inspiration in diverse fields.

We want to say that the studies undertaken and carried out by the Institute on various subjects, for example making medical care less impersonal, voluntary service and many others have always given necessary and rewarding cause for thought to all Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. We should also like to say that we are grateful to the ICRC, the League and the Swiss Red Cross, who took the happy initiative of founding this institution and supporting it for more than 20 years.

Our National Society is very interested in pursuing and developing its co-operation with the Institute, especially through the Warsaw Centre for the dissemination of international humanitarian law, which has been working for several years in our Society with the task of promoting the teaching of international humanitarian law in our country contributing to international activities. We desire in particular to collaborate more closely with the Institute in training leaders at university level, lawyers and doctors, in scientific research, in preparing doctorate tests, and perhaps in other respects as well.

To enable the tasks incumbent on the Institute's scientific Council to be carried out more easily, we suggest that the Council be enlarged and envisage giving it an international character. Our Society is ready to make its contribution to this.

Lastly, we consider that the way the Institute has worked, and the results of its work deserve very high marks, and that its activities are very important to the National Societies and should be continued and extended.

Finally I want to congratulate the new Director and to wish Mr. Aubert himself, and all the people responsible for

the Institute, further success in their work.

Dr. D. VENEDICTOV (USSR):

I think the work of the Henry Dunant Institute is very important and I believe its work during 20 years has been much more impressive than is suggested by the Report of 18 pages which we got typed with very broad spaces between the lines, even if there are two additions. But we all know that this Institute has done very good work, and the resolution in front of us puts a new emphasis on the increased work of this Institute.

Like everything, this resolution could have been improved from various points of view because during the debate, at this session, there was a number of suggestions made that deserve to be included in the Institute's studies: things like the role of Red Cross in peace, in development; broadening of the contacts of the Institute with, not only universities, but with various international institutes, like the Institute of humanitarian law, Institute SIPRI of peace, in Stockholm, Institute of international physicians for prevention of nuclear war and many other institutions and organizations.

I think there are a number of problems which may arise in relation to the proposed Third Red Cross Conference on Peace, which should take place in Mexico in three years' time. I think what Mr. Egge has said about the new methods of thinking in this age, peaceful solutions of conflicts, this study can be done. And of course we all hope that the Institute will have very good contacts and close co-operation with the newly-established Museum of the Red Cross, which we all await with great interest and where treasures of information will be collected, not only to be kept, but to be studied.

And that is why I pledge, on behalf of the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent, full support and co-operation to the Henry Dunant Institute and I promise that we shall be very active in encouraging this Institute and to supporting its work. And therefore, I shall resist the temptation to suggest amendments, and shall support this draft resolution as it stands.

Major Gen. A. JABBAR (Bangladesh):

At the outset, our delegation would like to commend the role of the Henry Dunant Institute in the development of National Societies.

We appreciate the decision of the Institute's General Assembly to launch a project on development studies from March 1986. I feel that these studies will have far-reaching consequences for the development of National Societies which, in the long run, will strengthen our Movement as a whole.

Our delegation fully supports the resolution and, as requested in its last paragraph, I would like to suggest that the Institute undertake a historical study, with the aim of compiling a compendium of all recommendations, resolutions, decisions adopted by International Conferences, Councils of Delegates, ICRC, League, Boards of Governors, General Assemblies, Executive Councils and various regional meetings, seminars and workshops, during the past 25 years.

This study should be published on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. That would be a very good climax for the celebration of an eventful year. This compendium will enable the components of the Movement to reflect on the trends and the evolution of the development process and development strategies of the Movement. It may also open our eyes, so that instead of concentrating on resolutions and rhetoric, we feel compelled to embark on the real business and real action to enable our National Societies to develop.

This has become very relevant in view of the declaration

of the year 1988 as the Year of Development. In spite of the millions of dollars' worth of development assistance channelled through governments to the least developed countries, the poor continue to remain poor in many parts of the world. Time has therefore come to have a fresh look at the so-called community development activities and transform them into community-based development programmes. Many National and International NGOs are now using a community-based development approach. The Institute may carry out research to educate the Red Cross world to transform development theory and ethics through our Movement's solidarity.

Incidentally, we have just learned from the memorandum of the Institute's President that a project to produce working papers on community-based development has already been undertaken, and I think it is a step in the right direction.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman):

I just want to ask you, have we the text of your proposed amendment? Because it is a little difficult to adopt any text if we do not have something to read. If you could do something we could take it later.

Major Gen. A. JABBAR (Bangladesh):

It is not an amendment to the resolution. I said: the resolution we support *in toto*. But it was only a suggestion as proposed in the third paragraph of the resolution asking for suggestions from sister Societies.

Mr. J. W. TALBOT (New Zealand):

The New Zealand Red Cross would like to record its admiration for what the Henry Dunant Institute has achieved; we appreciate there have been limits on the resources made available to it and are pleased that the situation is to be improved.

We also join with others in congratulating Mr. Hoefliger on his appointment as Director. We would like to make one comment relating to the way the Institute conducts its activities: it has been noted from the Report on Activities that the Institute is spreading its training activities outside Geneva. A number of courses have been held in various regions and our view is that that represents an important move in the right direction. We applaud it and would ask the Institute to keep in mind the training needs of National Societies in various parts of the world, and the need to make facilities accessible to them. It is hoped, for example, that training courses for National Societies' officials and volunteers might be conducted in more regions so that we can all have a greater opportunity to make use of the resources of the Institute.

We fully support the draft resolution.

Gen. P. VERRI (Italy) (*Original French*):

My remarks will be very brief. I should like first of all to associate myself with all those who have spoken to offer their very warm congratulations to the Henry Dunant Institute. Personally I have much admired the work done by the Henry Dunant Institute to develop and disseminate humanitarian law. I do not think it is necessary to quote all the works, courses and training periods brought into being by the Henry Dunant Institute, but as regards publications I should like to point especially to the book by Mr. Schindler and Mr. Toman entitled "*The Laws of Armed Conflicts*" and Mr. Meurant's work on voluntary service.

I should like to recall the very special links between the Italian Red Cross and Henry Dunant and in this connection I wish to remind you that this year, thanks to the initiative of the Italian Red Cross, the museum at Castiglione, near Solferino, has been restored. To mark this occasion we have instituted a Peace Prize to commemorate Henry Dunant. It will be awarded in the next few days to a descendant of his family. My very sincere thanks to the Henry Dunant In-

stitute, to Mr. Meurant, to his successor, and to its President, Mr. Aubert.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I think I have given the floor to everybody who asked for it. I now give it to Mr. Aubert.

Mr. M. AUBERT (President, Henry Dunant Institute) (*Original French*):

On behalf of the Henry Dunant Institute, and without going into details, I would like to thank all the speakers very sincerely. It is an encouragement and an incentive for Mr. Hoefliger, Mr. Toman and myself to feel that so many National Societies support us. I can assure you that we welcome your proposals to enlarge the scope of the Institute and will be happy to work with you all to make the Institute a centre of support for all National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I now propose to go on to adopt the resolution. I think we can adopt this one too by consensus. (*Applause*)

FUNDS AND MEDALS

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Item 8 on Funds and Medals should not detain us for too long.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE MEDAL

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You have received a report on the Florence Nightingale Medal and the Augusta Fund. You know that this medal is due to the initiative of the Hungarian Red Cross. I see that you do not want to ask any questions on this report, which is a standard one. We next come to the Joint Commission of the Empress Shôken Fund. Here I must give the floor to Mr. Aubert, who is the Chairman of this Commission.

EMPRESS SHÔKEN FUND

Mr. M. AUBERT (Chairman of the Joint Commission of the Empress Shôken Fund) (*Original French*):

I do not propose to submit to you today the report of the Joint Commission of the Empress Shôken Fund, because it is intended for the International Conference, not the Council of Delegates. This item is on the agenda only because the Joint Commission considered that the Council of Delegates should be informed in case it wished to express its opinion of the report and especially of amendments to the Statutes of the Fund.

I propose that the Council of Delegates merely approve the resolution submitted to it, namely that these questions be referred to the Conference, which under the Statutes of the Empress Shôken Fund is competent to take the final decisions. If there were any discussion or questions I should of course be prepared to reply.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Have you any questions for Mr. Aubert? Do you agree to accept this proposal? (*Applause*)

We shall accordingly pass on the question to the Conference, which will discuss it if necessary.

COUNCIL OF THE FOUNDATION FOR THE ICRC

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The question is somewhat similar for the Council of the Foundation for the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Mr. M. AUBERT (ICRC) (*Original French*):

Indeed, the problem is exactly the same but much less important. Here, too, the International Conference of the Red Cross will have to renew the term of office of Mr. Hoegh and Mr. Bergmann, and I shall make a very short report on the Foundation's activities. I propose that this item be referred to the Conference, but I am ready to answer questions.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Have you any questions about this report on the Foundation? Do you agree that it should be referred to the Conference? (*Applause*)

OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We now come to "Other Business". I know that under "Other Business" our colleague Mr. Hantos, President of the Hungarian Red Cross, wishes to speak.

Dr. J. HANTOS (Hungary)

I would like to share with you some ideas about the role and application of the Fundamental Principles in our Movement.

The ICRC's Report regularly covers dissemination and respect for the ideals and Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross and Red Crescent. I believe that concerning the future of our Movement this is a question of great importance. In the development of our 123 years' old Movement the primary task, to assist victims without any kind of discrimination, has been substantiated under specific Red Cross philosophy and has evolved.

This philosophy is reflected concisely in the Fundamental Principles which have evolved gradually, reflecting in this way the very process of change which has widened the scope of activity and the universality of the Movement. The four Fundamental Principles formulated in 1921 "Charity, Universality, Independence, Impartiality" were modified in 1952 as "Universality, Impartiality, Independence and Equality".

The Red Cross has no doubt relied, from the beginning, on the devotion and altruism which exist in the human being. This is why we consider the formulation and adaptation of the Fundamental Principle of Humanity, together with those Fundamental Principles which were accepted by the Twentieth International Conference of the Red Cross in 1965, a significant issue. Since that time all seven Fundamental Principles are read out at International Conferences, with due solemnity. There are several declarations about respect for the Fundamental Principles; I nevertheless do not think that due attention is paid to the examination of their practical application.

Why do I make mention of this question? Because I regard the Fundamental Principles as the most important cementing force which may guarantee the unity of our continuously-growing Movement. Perhaps it has never happened in the history of mankind that an initiative based on human generosity has found response in practically all countries of the world and has not lost its appeal, even after 120 years. On the contrary, it is still increasing. The maintenance of its appeal, its image in the world and its more effective activity depend on us. They depend on whether we apply the Fundamental Principles in unity. Is it reasonable to raise this issue? My experiences tell me to say yes. I start from the fact that the culture, way of life and condition of life of people in the world differ so much that comparison of certain social conditions is next to impossible.

Consequently, some people may assume that, in our successfully-spreading Movement, bringing together already 144 National Societies, problems may arise concerning the

understanding and application of the Fundamental Principles. This is a fact, but I consider it as a natural symptom of our development.

Do we really know these problems? Do we examine the reasons and motives for the diversity existing in the understanding and the application of the Fundamental Principles? The question may arise whether, 21 years after the formulation of the Fundamental Principles, we should study their practical application at all. I think so, especially as the well-known examination of the Principle of Voluntary Service, the decision accepted by the Twenty-fourth Conference in this respect and the studies written on this subject have all contributed to its better understanding and application.

Some of us may be worried that for example Independence and Impartiality or Neutrality are more complicated than the Principle of Voluntary Service. An elaborate study may perhaps reveal that there are major differences in the understanding and implementation of these Principles within the Movement itself. But, if there are such differences, we should not pretend they do not exist. It is my firm belief that we serve the unity and efficiency of our Movement if we try to find time to examine, in an adequate schedule, the application of each Fundamental Principle. This calls first of all for the active leading role of the International Committee. I do not propose any general debate on the Fundamental Principles but I feel it necessary to carefully monitor their effective implementation.

Our purpose is to preserve and to develop the attraction of our Movement. If we wish to attract more people, especially young people, to support our Movement, then we have to demonstrate first that our Fundamental Principles really represent the guiding principles of our everyday work and that we are able to establish real unity and successful co-operation, in our world full of tensions, for the welfare of our fellowmen in need.

Therefore, I request the International Committee to explore the possible methods of examining the application of each Fundamental Principle, by setting up a study group.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman):

Thank you very much Mr. Hantos for this very interesting and important statement. Speaking as the President of the ICRC, I can tell you that we will undertake such a study and that we will do it in conjunction with different National Societies which are interested.

I have just been informed that the Red Cross of Mexico will brief anybody who is interested on the consequences of the earthquake which happened this year. It is tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock.

Mr. Pascalis would like to give us some information on tomorrow's arrangements.

Mr. J. PASCALIS (Organizing Committee of the International Conference) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like to give you a message on behalf of the organizers of the International Conference, concerning tomorrow's opening ceremony. As you know, it will be honoured by Mr. Alphons Egli, President of the Swiss Confederation, and will be the subject of a live television broadcast. This requires discipline, and I would ask you kindly to be in your places at 2.45 p.m. sharp and therefore to arrive early enough to find out where your delegation will be placed. As you may know, this hall is only part of the hall to be used tomorrow. Hall II behind me will be revealed when the wall is taken away, and all these benches and tables will not be here. Some delegations will be placed here and others in Hall II. We have drawn lots to decide where each delegation will be placed. You will be able to consult a list down in the entrance hall showing how delegations are distributed over the two halls.

You will also be able to see at the entrance where your place is, just as you have done today. Once more, please be very punctual at this inaugural ceremony.

One other thing: for obvious reasons it is essential for each delegate to wear his badge, first of all because it is just as well for people to know whom they are talking to, and what language to speak to the delegates, and also because essential security precautions have had to be taken. We therefore rely on you to wear your badges and also to urge the people who are not represented here, by whom I mean government delegates, kindly to do the same. Thank you in advance.

About transport: would you please carefully consult the circulars in your pigeon holes. Please get them and read them carefully; all transport will leave early so that you can be here at 2.30 p.m. and be in your places by 2.45 p.m.

Finally I would ask you, when you leave your places, to take with you all the documents you want to keep. The others will be taken back.

Mr. A. HAY (Chairman) (*Original French*):

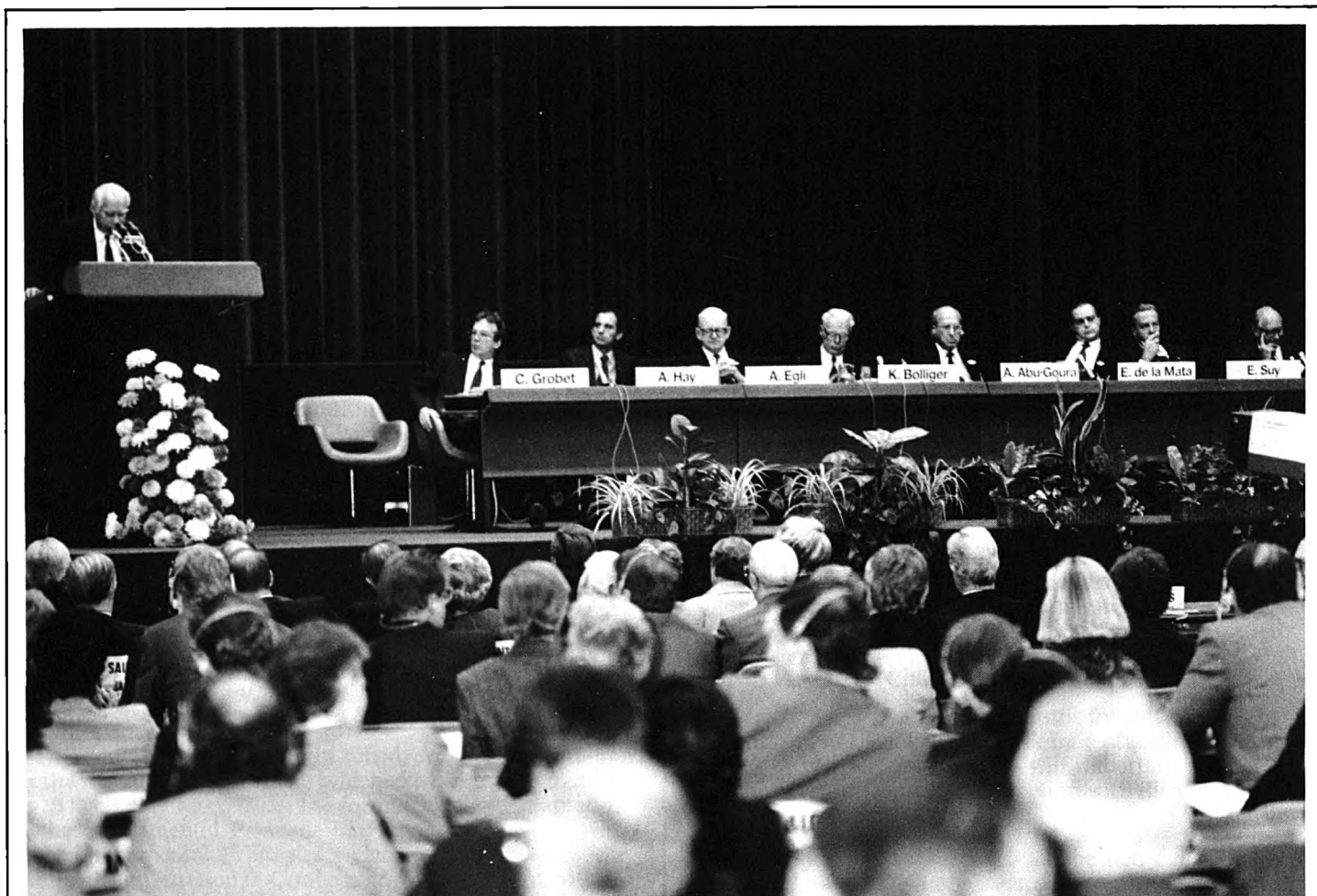
I don't know whether you have any questions for Mr.

Pascalis? Before ending this meeting I still have to make a communication which embarrasses me in relation to Mr. de la Mata, and I must apologize for this in advance. I have made a mistake and I hope you will forgive me, but it is essential to maintain Commission II's agenda item on the revision of the Regulations on the Use of the Emblem, because the document concerned is a purely technical one. It has been studied at length and the Conference has to approve it. I should think we can ensure that this does not overlap on anything else.

The next meeting of the Council of Delegates will be in Rio de Janeiro in November next year, as the League Assembly is to be held there.

As far as I am concerned, it only remains for me to say *au revoir*. I am very sorry indeed not to be coming here any more but I shall keep in touch with you as far as I possibly can. It has given me great satisfaction to work with you. I have many friends among you and I hope these friendships will continue. The meeting is closed.

(The meeting rose at 7 p.m.)



Opening ceremony, at the lectern: Mr. Alexandre Hay, President of the ICRC; On the podium, from left to right: Mr. Christian Grobet, President of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva; Mr. Bénédicte de Tschärner, Commissioner General and Subsequent Secretary-General of the Conference; Mr. Alphons Egli, President of the Swiss Confederation; Mr. Kurt Bolliger, President of the Swiss Red Cross and Subsequent Chairman of the Conference; Dr. Ahmad Abu-Goura, Chairman of the Standing Commission; Mr. Enrique de la Mata, President of the League; Mr. Eric Suy, Director General of the United Nations Office at Geneva; Mr. Jean Pictet, Former Vice-President of the ICRC and former Director of the Henry Dunant Institute.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

OPENING CEREMONY

23 October, 1986

at 3 p.m.

Musical introduction

SUMMARY: Welcoming address by Mr. Kurt Bolliger, President of the Swiss Red Cross — Formal reading of the Fundamental Red Cross Principles by Prof. Jean Pictet, former Vice-President of the ICRC and former Director of the Henry Dunant Institute — Address by Dr. Ahmad Abu-Goura, Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross — Address by Mr. Alphons Egli, President of the Swiss Confederation — Address by Mr. Christian Grobet, President of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva — Message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations delivered by Mr. Erik Suy, Director General of the European Office — Address by Mr. Alexandre Hay, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross — Address by Mr. Enrique de la Mata y Gorostizaga, President of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies — Official opening of the Conference by Dr. Ahmad Abu-Goura, Chairman of the Standing Commission.

WELCOMING ADDRESS BY MR. KURT BOLLIGER, PRESIDENT OF THE SWISS RED CROSS

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (*Original French*):

May I first welcome you all: the President of the Swiss Confederation, the President of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, the Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the President of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Director General of the European Office of the United Nations, and all participants in the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, both members and observers.

Ladies and Gentlemen, after these joyful songs from Geneva folklore, full of the joy of living and the hopes of youth, I have the very great honour, on behalf of the Swiss Red Cross, the host Society of this Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, to greet you all very warmly and wish you a cordial welcome to Switzerland and Geneva.

The motto "United for Humanity" and the emblem that is before you and which was chosen for our Conference illustrates the work that we all share. The black flame issuing from the globe of the world represents the crises and sufferings of our world. The Red Cross and Red Crescent shown as supporters symbolize the protection and assistance the world expects of us and all the hope it places on our efforts.

I hope, Ladies and Gentlemen, that you will find the organisation of this Conference satisfactory. We have deliberately made it simple and without any superfluous events. The Commissioner General, Mr. Bénédicte de Tschärner, and his staff have taken great pains to do everything that could facilitate your work and make your stay a pleasant one, whilst always keeping expenditure down to a reasonable figure, as the Red Cross should. In this connection my warmest thanks go to the Swiss federal authorities, the cantonal and communal authorities of Geneva, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Secretariat of the League and my own colleagues at the Swiss Red Cross and its Geneva Section, including their volunteers, for their support, whether financial or by making staff available to the Conference, by the services they have rendered, or merely for the moral support and confidence shown in us.

Other persons than myself will have occasion to bring you a message from the institution or authority they represent, and to tell you what they expect from the substance of our proceedings. I only wish to remind you that 85 years ago Henry Dunant of Geneva was awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize for his humanitarian work. It behoves us, particularly during this International Year of Peace, to do our utmost to show ourselves worthy of this heritage — not by making mere solemn appeals, nor by interceding in high-level politics, but through specific, daily humanitarian action which demands neither gratitude nor publicity.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now have great pleasure in calling upon Professor Jean Pictet for the traditional formal reading of the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross. It seemed to us that Professor Pictet was the ideal person for this. As a former Vice-President of the ICRC and former Director of the Henry Dunant Institute he was one of the principal advocates of the Additional Protocols signed in this very room in 1977. I would especially mention that it was he who drafted the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross, that were proclaimed at the Twentieth International Conference of the Red Cross held in 1965 in Vienna, and he is also the author of a highly appreciated and recognized commentary on them. Ladies and Gentlemen, I call upon you to rise for the solemn reading of our Principles.

FORMAL READING OF THE FUNDAMENTAL RED CROSS PRINCIPLES BY PROFESSOR JEAN PICTET, FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ICRC AND FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE HENRY DUNANT INSTITUTE

Mr. J. PICTET (*Original French*):

HUMANITY

The Red Cross, born of a desire to bring assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield, endeavours — in its international and national capacity — to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found. Its purpose is to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being. It promotes mutual understanding, friendship, co-operation and lasting peace amongst all peoples.

IMPARTIALITY

It makes no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions. It endeavours to relieve the suffering of individuals, being guided solely by their needs, and to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress.

NEUTRALITY

In order to continue to enjoy the confidence of all, the Red Cross may not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.

INDEPENDENCE

The Red Cross is independent. The National Societies, while auxiliaries in the humanitarian services of their governments and subject to the laws of their respective countries, must always maintain their autonomy so that they may be able at all times to act in accordance with Red Cross principles.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE

The Red Cross is a voluntary relief organization not promoted in any manner by desire for gain.

UNITY

There can be only one Red Cross Society in any one country. It must be open to all. It must carry on its humanitarian work throughout its territory.

UNIVERSALITY

The Red Cross is a world-wide institution in which all Societies have equal status and share equal responsibilities and duties in helping each other.

ADDRESS BY DR. AHMED ABU-GOURA, CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA:

Mr. President of the Swiss Confederation, Mr. President of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, Mr. President of the Swiss Red Cross, Mr. President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Mr. President of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Mr. Director General of the European Office of the United Nations, distinguished delegates and observers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

My first duty as President of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross is to express our heartfelt thanks to the Swiss Government and the Swiss Red Cross for providing us with this magnificent setting and for creating this auspicious start to our Twenty-fifth International Conference.

Five years ago in Manila, when I was elected President of the Standing Commission, I declared then that my policy would be based on the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross and on neutrality in particular, in order to promote better understanding and co-operation between the different components of our Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. This policy, that I have just outlined, has been my guide throughout these years.

In speaking about the International Red Cross, I say that the ICRC is renowned for its humanitarian intervention during armed conflicts. This huge institution is expected to exercise total neutrality and impartiality under all circumstances. On the other hand, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies is operative in time of peace. It brings succour and relief to victims of natural disasters. It aims as well at developing and enhancing the social service in quality and in quantity, through the National Societies.

Both institutions are supposed to maintain strong ties of co-operation based on mutual trust and understanding. This is an ideal perspective of what the relationship between the League and the ICRC should be.

Ladies and Gentlemen, after all the long years of service have these two mother organizations realized their shared humanitarian objectives? How did the world receive their services? And how does the world evaluate them? Is it you who will do that? However, if we examine the services we offer in different spots of unrest throughout the world, we inevitably reach one conclusion. That is, we are still followers; in the sense that our actions and presence still follow the disaster and do not come before it. Our role is still restricted to alleviating the consequences of wars and the miseries of man. Though the personnel involved in humanitarian field work has increased many times during the past ten years, the quality of this work has remained the same.

We have not yet reached the stage when we could prevent—or should I say — eliminate the scourge of war. It is about time we got to the core of the human suffering instead of just treating its consequences.

This year, 1986, is proclaimed by the United Nations as the Year of Peace. On this occasion, we should ask ourselves: "What have we contributed to peace?" In 1975, we had our first World Red Cross/Red Crescent Conference on Peace in Belgrade. Nine years later, that is, in 1984, we had a second conference that opened in Aaland in Finland and closed in Stockholm in Sweden. This latter conference ended by addressing a message to the world community. In this

message I quote: "The Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is deeply concerned by the tension, violence, racial discrimination and violation of human rights in many parts of the world. It recognizes that inequitable social and economic factors are major causes of unrest. It notes, with grief, that there are today over 30 international or internal conflicts fought with conventional weapons. In many of these conflicts, no distinction is made between combatants and civilians, the latter being often the target of deadly weapons".

To be added to these two international events, are the usual humanitarian tasks performed by the ICRC and the League, jointly or separately, on a regular basis. Nevertheless, we claim that the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement is a factor for reinforcing peace, and our motto as well as our objective is "Through humanity to Peace". Prospects for peace have always existed but what really lacks is the true intention, goodwill and dedication to reach this end.

Ladies and Gentlemen, on the other hand, if we regard the state of international humanitarian law, today, we shall find that it is very often violated and disrespected. Doubts are being raised over its applicability. Despite the fact that our age is the age of science, technology and space, and despite the fact that man has succeeded, to some extent, to tame nature to his own will, there is a predominant condition of unrest in the world. A certain threat looms over the destiny of mankind. Armament has enormously escalated over the past few years and even reached an unprecedented stage. Nowadays, it constitutes a heavy burden on States' budgets. The arms-race has drained a lot of money, expertise and time, which if directed otherwise for peaceful purposes, could have made the world a better and a safer place to live in. This frenzied competition has transcended the production of conventional weapons to the building up of nuclear arsenals and the establishing of star-wars defence plans. Existing stocks of arms could, if ever used, exterminate the source of life on earth fifty times at least. A nuclear threat would mean total devastation; in other words, the extinction of the human race. It is indeed extremely paradoxical and rather disturbing how man's ingenuity could be used in inventing means of destruction and obliteration. As humanitarian activists, we should stand up against this evil race. We should be united in our efforts to try to curb it. Furthermore, the world's expenditure on arms is ever on the increase. If we take into account the arms-race expenditure, it is about two million dollars per minute. This means: in three hours, it exceeds what is being spent by the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to feed the famine-stricken population of Africa during 1985. Just think of that.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we should not be discouraged by these facts. On the contrary, we should be more motivated to alter the *status quo*. This is a call for a re-awakening and a re-assessing of the priorities and needs. In fact, this is an ultimatum of what would become of our world if things continue the way they are. Therefore, I appeal to all Governments and organizations — governmental or non-governmental — to do their utmost to spare humanity such a destiny. I add my voice to the voice of millions of people aspiring to peace.

Finally, Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope the day will come when man can enjoy ever-lasting peace in a world free of worry, fear, distress and doubt. I am optimistic. I do have faith in our noble shared message of peace and humanity.

PEACE BE UPON THEE.

ADDRESS BY MR. ALPHONS EGLI, PRESIDENT OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

Mr. A. EGLI (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman and representatives of the Authorities of the Canton and City of Geneva, Ladies and Gentlemen, delegates to this Conference.

It is a pleasure and privilege for me to address you here on behalf of the Federal Council, to welcome to Switzerland all the delegations — many of them from distant lands — that have gathered here to take part in the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross. Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish every one of you a pleasant and useful stay in our country.

The last time such a Conference took place in Switzerland was as far back as 1925. It is accordingly an honour and a special pleasure for my country — the country in which the Red Cross came into being, that is the depository of the Geneva Conventions and the Protocols Additional thereto, and that has on its soil the headquarters of the International Red Cross — to welcome the Twenty-fifth Conference here today.

We attach great importance to this Conference. Its special feature is that it enables the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the League, the ICRC and the 165 States that are Parties to the Geneva Conventions to consider together the humanitarian problems — so many of them tragic ones — that we have to face nowadays. The Conference will make it possible to draw up an inventory of what has been accomplished in the principal areas of Red Cross activity and to compare this with the texts adopted at the last International Conference of the Red Cross, held in Manila in 1981. It will also be the occasion for thinking — which will, we hope, be thorough and useful — about what has still to be done, or improved and made stronger. The resolutions it adopts will point out the direction that will have to be followed over the next few years.

Another essential feature of this Conference that sets it apart from all others is that it is purely humanitarian, non-political and universal. This may sound wildly unrealistic, for most of the tremendous problems now facing us have a political context. All armed conflicts have political causes and consequences. And yet here in this hall representatives of countries that are fighting each other on the field of battle are sitting side by side. The Conference is not being held to single out guilty parties or denounce the actions of States. On the contrary, it offers an area of quiet in the storm that enables all countries, including those locked in battle, to meet — not to argue about their differences but to discuss the down-to-earth humanitarian problems they are up against. The heart of the discussion is the concern for the victims, about men and women and their distress and suffering. For that discussion to take place and be useful and fruitful in order that the cause of mankind can advance, in order that the suffering of the victims can diminish, it is essential for the universal and apolitical nature of the Conference to be maintained. Indeed, the apolitical nature of the Conference is enshrined in the Statutes of the International Red Cross.

And yet our wish to steer clear of political controversies must not make us forget the political importance of the issues which will be discussed here.

One of the main themes of the Conference will be compliance with international humanitarian law. Now, failure to comply with humanitarian law has political consequences as well as causes. And experience shows that an unsolved humanitarian problem soon becomes a political problem even more difficult to solve. We are convinced that greater humanity and respect for humanitarian law tend to lessen tension, to establish a climate ripe for renewed dialogue and for negotiation, and can contribute in a practical manner to re-establishing peace.

Peace, which Switzerland like other countries considers of primordial importance, has always been the ultimate aim of Red Cross activities. In this International Year of Peace, we welcome the opportunity this Conference affords the Red Cross to show how it makes a specific, concrete and substantial contribution to peace through its unique humanitarian activities throughout the world and by the dissemination of

its principles and ideals. Clearly, the importance of this contribution cannot be overemphasized.

The Conference will be dealing with a large number of complex questions. Switzerland's overriding hope is that the Conference will contribute to strengthening, spreading and unifying the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent and mark an important step towards improved implementation of international humanitarian law. Millions of men, women and children who are the victims of conflicts, disasters, ill treatment and situations of distress throughout the world expect it of us. Our efforts must be aimed at improving their lot.

On behalf of the Federal Council, I express the hope that the Conference will be a resounding success.

ADDRESS BY MR. CHRISTIAN GROBET,
PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF THE
REPUBLIC AND CANTON OF GENEVA

Mr. C. GROBET (*Original French*):

On behalf of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, I wish to welcome you to our city and tell you how honoured Geneva is to be host to the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.

Geneva is the birthplace of the Red Cross, and it attaches special importance to this humanitarian task to which, I would say, our destiny is closely linked. Genevèse looked on with pride as the idea of Henry Dunant, at the time considered a gentle visionary, took form and shape through the various Geneva Conventions and became universal.

At a time when international co-operation is finding it very difficult in many fields to instill a feeling of solidarity among peoples, the universality and cohesion of the Red Cross give particular cause for joy.

This does not mean that the Red Cross may rest on its laurels in complacent self-satisfaction. Its achievements are the fruit of 120 years of negotiations, co-operation and persistent effort to continuously strengthen the system of protection set up. Humanitarian law is not static. It evolves, and the peoples of the world look to you to reinforce humanitarian assistance.

In a tormented world, in which each day the press reports on another tragedy, brought about either by armed conflict, natural disaster or simply poverty, the Red Cross sheds a ray of hope, the only hope in sight for millions of human beings.

Your work is therefore especially important, whether you strengthen your organization to make it more effective, develop the means of bringing relief to the underprivileged, or reinforce humanitarian law for the benefit of the oppressed, especially in areas such as torture, which remains a blight on our civilization.

The International Conference of the Red Cross has not been held in Geneva since 1925. We are particularly happy and honoured to see you return to our city, one of whose missions is to contribute to the difficult task of restoring peace. We hope that the spirit of Geneva will guide your work and that you will achieve the results you hope for.

MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF
THE UNITED NATIONS, BY MR. ERIC SUY,
DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICE
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. E. SUY (*Original French*):

I am privileged to represent the Secretary-General of the United Nations today at the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross. Allow me to read to you the message he sends on this occasion.

“Clearly, the United Nations Organization attaches great importance to the work of this Conference and to its invaluable contribution to the humanitarian cause.

During the five years that have elapsed since the Manila Conference many parts of the world have continued to suffer the cruel consequences of war, natural disasters or famine, and the Red Cross has tirelessly carried out its noble mission, never failing to bring assistance to millions of human beings in despair, and accomplishing its task through the ICRC, the League and the National Societies.

The United Nations Organization, for whom the humanitarian cause is a fundamental objective, is aware that this cause needs firm and increased support from the international community, and it has never ceased to co-operate closely with the Red Cross. Thus the difficulties caused by failure to apply, or respect, the principles of international humanitarian law in conflict areas have led the United Nations to act on several occasions to support the admirable work of the ICRC and make it still more effective. My duties, as Secretary-General, have often led me in the course of informal contacts with representatives of conflicting parties, to urge them to apply the principles of humanitarian law to which their States have subscribed. Moreover, in particularly violent and murderous conflicts, I have made public appeals calling on the parties to exercise every possible restraint in the stricken areas, to ensure the safety of the civilian population and to satisfy its needs. I have also sent special missions to investigate the plight of prisoners of war and the use of prohibited weapons. At the request of the General Assembly, I have prepared and submitted to it reports on the most effective means of working out a new international humanitarian order.

The General Assembly itself realizes the serious problem caused by failure to apply internationally recognized humanitarian standards and in individual cases has adopted resolutions calling on the conflicting parties to co-operate with the ICRC. Many times, following the periodic survey of the state of ratification of the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions, it has launched an international appeal for a larger number of nations to subscribe to them. Respect for the individual and his rights in all circumstances is one of the primary objectives of the United Nations; accordingly regular contacts and, in some cases, exchange of information between the ICRC and the United Nations Centre for Human Rights has developed when delicate or problematic situations have arisen. In view of the repeated violations of humanitarian principles this highly necessary co-operation will, of course, be maintained on an increasing scale.

I should also like to emphasize the close co-operation between the Red Cross and the UN specialized agencies, such as WHO, UNICEF, FAO and UNDRO, in emergencies caused by conflicts or natural disasters. In the latter case, for example, we know that as soon as an emergency appeal is made the League takes immediate action to provide initial relief through its local Societies. The hardships caused by cyclones, earthquakes, floods and famines have led to a close association between the United Nations system and the League; that association has proved its worth in South-East Asia, in many parts of Africa, in Mexico and more recently at Armero in Colombia and in El Salvador. Since 1981, there has been a threefold increase in resources in cash, or in kind, or in the form of various services, used through the League to assist victims all over the world; these resources reached their peak last year and we in the United Nations have watched with admiration how they have saved lives and considerably reduced suffering of all kinds.

Our humanitarian objectives are identical, but our means and ways of action are different because the nature of our institutions is not the same.

In the last few years the manifold challenges confronting us — whether in the form of infractions of the existing inter-

national order or the horrors of natural disasters — have shown that activities of a single kind, however effective, could not alone enable us to reach our objectives, and that complementary activities and close co-operation were infinitely valuable.

We shall be faced with other major challenges, but I am convinced that through increased co-operation and joint efforts we shall be able to meet these challenges and so ensure the triumph of the humanitarian cause.

I sincerely hope that your deliberations will be fruitful and that you will meet with every success in achieving your objectives, which are also ours”.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is needless for me to remind you that the International Conference of the Red Cross is gathered here to help strengthen the presence of the entire Red Cross family and especially its response to all the suffering it encounters throughout the world.

We now propose to show you a film specially made on the occasion of this Conference, in which you will see for yourselves the challenges and tasks that lie before us.

(*Showing of the film “United for Humanity”*)

After these most disturbing and distressing pictures of the world today I shall call upon President Hay to deliver a message of hope from the International Committee of the Red Cross.

ADDRESS BY MR. ALEXANDRE HAY,
PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

Mr. A. HAY (*Original French*):

Mr. President of the Confederation, Mr. President of the State Council, Mr. President of the Swiss Red Cross, Mr. Chairman of the Standing Commission, Mr. President of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Mr. Director General of the European Office of the United Nations, delegates and observers to the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, ladies and gentlemen.

I must admit that it is not easy for me to address you all after seeing this extremely moving film. You may indeed perceive some discrepancy between my speech, which was obviously prepared beforehand, and the emotion we have just felt, and I do apologize for this.

As we have heard, the last time that the International Conference of the Red Cross was convened in Geneva was in 1925. Since that date, how many tragedies and acts of human folly have afflicted this world of ours! And yet there has been so much hope and so much evidence of man's will to survive and to improve life, to vanquish war, injustice and poverty, to bring about the reign of peace and justice in the respect for human dignity.

During this period, our International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement has adapted itself remarkably well to the developments, changes and upheavals which the world has experienced.

A glance back over the last sixty years will bear this statement out.

In 1925, our partner, the League, was six years old and still seeking its international legal status, which it received at the Conference in The Hague in 1928, where the first Statutes of the International Red Cross were adopted. The ICRC itself had been in existence and operational for sixty-two years, but its own status was still poorly defined and was likewise not officially confirmed internationally until 1928.

There were fifty-six National Societies in 1925, twenty of

them from outside Europe, so the majority of the independent States of that time were represented.

Thirty-four of these fifty-six National Societies and twenty-three Governments took part in the 1925 Conference.

It was precisely the governments that were closely scrutinizing the draft Conventions which the ICRC had been putting forward since the Conference of 1921. Much had been learnt from the 1914-18 war, and the issue was the protection of prisoners of war and civilian internees.

In 1929, a decisive step was taken: a Diplomatic Conference adopted the prisoner-of-war code which was later to ensure the protection of several million men captured during the Second World War. The same Conference recognized the red crescent as a protective emblem.

In 1925, States were not yet ready to discuss a Convention to protect civilians interned either in enemy territory or in occupied territory. There were those who maintained that the Red Cross was not in a position to concern itself with the question, and even that by doing so it was "betraying the cause of peace". In reality, there was a reluctance to admit that in the years to come civilians would most likely be the primary victims of war.

It was not until the Tokyo Conference in 1934 that governments finally accepted that humanitarian law could also be extended to protect civilians. They took up a draft submitted by the ICRC and, by a tragic irony of fate, planned to hold a Diplomatic Conference to examine it in 1940.

Thus it was that, during the Second World War, despite the recommendations which the ICRC had been making for most of the preceding twenty years, States were in no way legally bound to accept the presence of a Protecting Power or that of the ICRC to protect civilians in occupied territories. The Committee could aid only the very restricted category of civilians who happened to be on enemy territory.

Of course, the mere lack of a legal basis is far from explaining the plight of civilian victims during the Second World War. But there is no doubt that had there been a law of the type which the States had been unable or unwilling to consider in time, the ICRC would have had the solid basis for humanitarian intervention, of which it was actually totally bereft.

But at least the lesson was not forgotten after the war, as was apparent at the Stockholm Conference in 1948. Developments in humanitarian law have often come in response to horrors which no one had been able to prevent, and in 1949 that law was revised and, above all, supplemented. On the ICRC's proposal, the 1949 Diplomatic Conference adopted four Conventions: henceforth the wounded and sick, the shipwrecked and prisoners of war were to be better protected than in the past, as were civilians, whether interned or in occupied territory. Moreover, from that point on, humanitarian law was also extended to non-international armed conflicts, to civil wars.

Having helped to lead States towards an appropriately adapted humanitarian law, it was in Toronto in 1952 that the Movement endeavoured to dress the wounds which it itself had suffered in the War. On this occasion it precisely defined and confirmed its own organization and its Statutes, which had been approved in 1928.

In Vienna in 1965, the Movement strengthened the coherence of its components by unanimously proclaiming the "Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross", which have just been read to us, and the safeguarding of which has been entrusted to the ICRC.

The Istanbul Conference of 1969 marked the beginning of keener interest on the part of governments in the ICRC's operational activities and in what respect for international humanitarian law really entails.

In Tehran in 1973 the Conference re-examined certain pro-

posals which the ICRC had vainly tried to have accepted at the 1957 Conference in New Delhi. This was the beginning of a process of reaffirmation and development of humanitarian law, which was to lead to the adoption of the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions in 1977: humanitarian law now protected civilians against the effects of fighting, was adapted to conflicts associated with decolonization, and afforded protection during internal conflicts.

1977 was also the year of the International Conference in Bucharest, which was the starting point for an in-depth review of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, its mission and its internal structures. It was also the year when the Movement adopted the Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace, which had been drawn up by the League in 1975 in Belgrade.

The 1981 International Conference in Manila testified to renewed interest in the ICRC's operational activities and in the question of respect for humanitarian law — a subject which is of central concern to Commission I during the present Conference, while Commission II is examining the updating of the Movement's Statutes, which were adopted in 1928 and amended in 1952.

So we can see what a remarkable development our Movement has gone through, a development in which the International Conferences are the milestones and demonstrations of that vitality and capacity for adaptation despite the difficulties inherent in any discussion of themes which are both important and precarious.

If we briefly go back over previous International Conferences, we can see that each one of them resulted in significant or even major progress either for the Movement itself or for international humanitarian law:

- 1928: *The Hague*; the first Statutes of the International Red Cross were adopted. The draft Conventions protecting prisoners of war became a reality one year later in 1929.
- 1934: *Tokyo*; the draft Convention protecting interned civilians or those in occupied territories was presented. The outbreak of the Second World War prevented the intended Convention from being drawn up on the basis of the draft.
- 1948: *Stockholm*; the drafts of the four Geneva Conventions, which were to be adopted in 1949, were presented at this Conference.
- 1952: *Toronto*; the Statutes were revised, recent events being taken into account.
- 1957: *New Delhi*; draft regulations were proposed by the ICRC to afford better protection for civilians against the effects of hostilities.
- 1965: *Vienna*; this Conference saw the adoption of the "Fundamental Principles" which ensured the Movement's cohesion and enabled it confidently to face a second century of existence.
- 1969: *Istanbul*; the Conference spoke for the first time of the application of the Fourth Convention in occupied territories and of respect for human rights.
- 1973: *Tehran*; being brought up to date humanitarian law now afforded better protection for civilians during fighting and was adapted to new forms of conflicts.
- 1977: *Bucharest*; by accepting the Report on the Reappraisal of the Role of the Red Cross and by adopting by consensus the Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a factor of peace, the Movement provided itself with guidelines for the future.
- 1981: *Manila*; respect for humanitarian law has become an issue for the whole community of States as well as for the entire Movement.

As the history of our Movement has shown, it has been able to adapt itself to the changing realities of history without losing its essential elements. It has succeeded in keeping alive the flame of tradition while discarding the ashes. Faithful to its principles and faithful to the victims for whose sake it exists, it has been able to keep up with the times while avoiding politicization, to continue being useful while remaining true to itself, and to adapt to the ever-changing present without surrendering itself to passing trends.

A tree cannot stand upright, cannot live, without its roots, though these are hidden from view. To know those who have gone before us and the times in which they live is to know our roots and the soil that nourishes them. It is also to know ourselves better, so that we can more fully live the present, which is constantly generating the future.

The broad outlines of the future are already apparent: in a world threatened by chaos where extreme standpoints are hardening, there is an essential role to be played by our world Movement founded on humanitarian law and the Fundamental Principles of universal import. There is a role for a Movement capable of doing humanitarian work effectively, without discrimination, and in a spirit of peace to help all those who, both in time of war and in time of peace, expect from us that grain of human kindness which will restore their dignity.

ADDRESS BY MR. ENRIQUE DE LA MATA Y GOROSTIZAGA, PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS AND RED CRESCENT SOCIETIES

Mr. E. de la MATA (*Original Spanish*):

Mr. President of the Confederation, Mr. President of the Council of State, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, delegates and observers.

I address you in my capacity as President of the League, that is to say, the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, which comprises 145 countries with more than 250 million people, who now belong to our international Movement.

First, I should like to associate myself with the expression of appreciation to the authorities and to the people of Switzerland who, once again, have extended their very kind hospitality to us.

To speak on behalf of the League signifies voicing the universality and pluralism of all the National Societies you so worthily represent, that are meeting here in Geneva on such important occasions as our recent General Assembly and this Twenty-fifth International Conference.

In the course of our General Assembly, we adopted a considerable number of resolutions and appeals to the international community which, in the next few days, will be submitted to the honourable Government Representatives for their consideration in the hope that after debate, they will be adopted and subsequently implemented.

It is especially important that we have made our position clear regarding problems which affect many people and nations, problems such as that of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

In our General Assembly, in calm and profound debate, many sensitive, controversial matters were dealt with. It was a genuine dialogue, inspired by the spirit of the Red Cross, thanks to which we have been able to reach solutions in which all have shared.

I should like to point out that we have been capable of self-criticism — a courageous and sincere undertaking — and we have recognized the defects and weaknesses of our executive system as well as its achievements, though the latter have been less publicized.

It is my view that the most important achievement has

been the public acknowledgement of our mistakes and the search for ways of putting them right.

Few international organizations can manifest better equilibrium: not only have we the satisfaction of our successes but also the ability to make a sincere avowal of our shortcomings.

This genuineness and this courage, together with the willingness to take the most effective measures to improve and overcome shortcomings, is the best guarantee that the credibility that is the foundation of our proposal to increase international solidarity and co-operation, will be maintained.

We have also unhesitatingly and unreservedly analysed the principal world problems of the present time with the clear intention of facing fearlessly the demands of the modern world and of the near future.

As part of this policy of renewal, the League has promoted new Statutes for the International Red Cross and accelerated their preparation. Our intention has been not so much to find new rules, for no rules are perfect, as to encourage expression of the League spirit in up-to-date terms. More important than the words, there will always be the ideals and the desire to give better service to those of our institutions needing assistance, protection or relief.

If the humanist spirit is strengthened by the new rules, this Conference will take its place among those that have made history in the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

If we are to offer an adequate response to the hopes raised by the Red Cross in the modern world, we shall have to make a competent examination and diagnosis of present conditions.

Many years have gone by since the Red Cross was founded, and the world is now completely different.

In those years, we have left the age of the donkey, the camel or the elephant for that of vehicles and interplanetary satellites that are moving towards the new space age; an age in which mankind is preparing to discover new sources of prosperity in the constellations and the ocean depths.

To my way of thinking, the three most significant features of the change are:

1. The increase in population, which, if it continues at its present rate, will mean that the world population at the beginning of the next century will be practically double that of the year 1900.

Figures are very important but they are not everything. If we think hard we shall see that the greatest growth will be in the countries with the least resources, and will cause problems of displacement of population and its concentration around the big towns. These are already full to overflowing and suffer from flagrantly insufficient health, educational and food services, all of which are alarmingly unable to offer any possibility of work or of subsistence consonant with human dignity.

Two of the factors that make peaceful co-existence difficult are delinquency and the vast increase in the abuse of drugs.

If, to this situation, you add the fact of migration by displaced persons and refugees, there will be examples of collective nomadism by the end of the 20th century. Nomadism in search of asylum, food and refuge; nomadism entailing the break-up and separation of families, in which the worthiest humane values are forgotten.

All this will happen as a natural result of a world economy still growing in a disorderly fashion and revealing the difficulties that many countries are having in meeting their liabilities. A good — and incomprehensible — example of this maladjustment is agriculture, which in many coun-

tries produces surpluses with all their attendant problems, whereas in other countries large numbers of children are dying of hunger.

2. Another feature of the change is the spectacular technical progress whereby human intelligence gives access to a world that would have been unimaginable only a few years ago. We are aware that the present generation will incur terrible responsibility if it proves unable to direct its investigative energies towards peaceful use of the results already obtained and those that will doubtless be obtained in the immediate future.
3. Another feature of the present situation is the arms race to acquire weapons whose powers of destruction are greater every day. I do not have to dwell on this subject because everybody knows the Red Cross attitude to it; but one thing that does have to be pointed out is that for the first time in the history of mankind it is now possible to put an end in a few minutes to the sum total of human achievement, and wipe out every trace of human presence on earth as though it had ever existed. The experts say this is possible today; and today the armaments policy that started for dissuasion purposes has reached levels that suggest that it may be uncontrollable, much as we might want to control it. It looks as though we have precious little time left to decide our own destiny for ourselves.

Side by side with the arms race, violence and conflicts are increasing and extending their lethal effects over endless years. Nobody seems capable any more of putting an end to the wars in Central America, Africa or the Middle East. Together with all this violence goes something we must denounce as still more dangerous; and that is the moral disarmament of modern society and the loss of mankind's noblest values, so that humanity is degraded and deprived of a code of values that it feels to be reliable and sure and which guides it in public and private life.

This world, full of divisions, inequalities and dangers, is what we are going to hand down to the younger generation, to the young people now observing us sceptically and with some signs of fatigue — the fatigue of people who think they have already come back whereas in actual fact they have not yet been anywhere. This is serious, for no country can forge ahead unless its young people are creative and idealistic. The younger generation will have to take its place in a society — our society, adult society — with which it feels no identity, perhaps because we, are more interested in imposing our ways on them than in listening to them and being receptive to their lifestyle, their ways of self-expression. By acting in this way, we are reproducing the already existing division between the developed countries and the young countries now developing with difficulty.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the society

we belong to, the society to which the Red Cross and Red Crescent can be a symbol of hope, of a future that will be better and therefore more humane.

In a world, in short, continually evolving in a way that can transform noble ideas, which like peace, are universally accepted, into tangible facts of the everyday life of individuals and nations. That is really the important thing — to apply the idea of peace, meaning by peace a universal value that everyone wants, to the actual circumstances in which it flourishes and can be applied. In other words, we have to find, within the narrow limits of human life and family life, opportunities to behave in a way, and follow a cultural policy, that are conducive to peace. Peace is thus the ultimate objective — very nearly a Utopian one, but the Utopia is still attainable.

If we get any results, we shall have reached a worthy goal. Many other organizations and institutions are already moving in the same direction inspired by the humanism we cannot, must not, lose.

Proposals such as that by Pope John Paul II that there should be ecumenical non-denominational days of prayer for peace (like that of 27 October in Assisi) are given a tremendous reception by many different kinds of people whose enthusiasm clearly shows their burning desire for peace. This we undoubtedly share.

Faithful to our principles, and having before us the example of the many who gave their all, including their lives, in the service of Red Cross and Red Crescent ideals, we are approaching a stage in our history that leads towards a destiny that will, I hope, find justice, respect and co-operation among all men and all peoples of the world.

OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE BY
DR. AHMAD ABU-GOURA, CHAIRMAN OF
THE STANDING COMMISSION

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA:

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

After listening to the very wise speeches and extending thanks to the President of the Confederation and to the President of the Council of State of Geneva, I declare the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross open, wishing you all possible success in your humanitarian work, and may I ask you to consider those people who are suffering and waiting for your decisions.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Avanchet-Cointrin school choir, directed by Mr. Jean-Louis Dos Ghali, will now conclude this opening ceremony on a final note of hope, for which we thank them most sincerely.

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

23 October, 1986

5.30 p.m.

SUMMARY: Election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and Assistant Secretaries-General of the Conference and the members of the Drafting Committee of the Conference — Motion by the government delegation of Kenya to suspend the representatives of the government delegation of South Africa from the proceedings of the Twenty-fifth International Conference.

ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMAN, VICE-CHAIRMEN, SECRETARY-GENERAL AND ASSISTANT SECRETARIES-GENERAL OF THE CONFERENCE AND OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Chairman of the Standing Commission):

In my capacity as Chairman of Standing Commission of the International Red Cross it is my privilege to open this meeting, the first plenary meeting of the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, and to introduce the first item on our agenda, which is the election of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and the other officers of the Conference. May I ask the Chairman of the Council of Delegates to submit to you the decisions of the Council of Delegates?

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

In accordance with the proposal of the Standing Commission, the Council of Delegates proposes that Mr. Kurt Bolliger, President of the Swiss Red Cross, be elected Chairman of the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (President of the Swiss Red Cross, Chairman of the Conference) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, dear friends, you have done me the honour of electing me Chairman of this Conference; the honour accrues to the Swiss Red Cross, your host society here in Geneva. I shall discharge this responsibility to the best of my ability, guided by the Fundamental Principles and ideals of the International Red Cross and by the Rules of the Conference. First it is my unhappy duty to address our friends from Mozambique who are mourning their Head of State, killed in an accident last Monday. I invite you all, ladies and gentlemen, to stand and observe one minute's silence, in memory of President Samora Machel and as a mark of sympathy for the delegation from Mozambique.

(*One minute's silence*)

Ladies and gentlemen, the Conference agenda is long and complex and our time is limited. This is not a Conference of speeches but one of concrete action. I should therefore like to remind you of two points. The first is Article II, paragraph 5 of the Statutes, which states that "(The Conference) may not deal with political matters or serve as a forum for political debate". This indicates the humanitarian nature of our proceedings. The second point is that we should at all costs avoid procedural discussions and focus our attention on the substance.

I shall do my utmost to keep to the general programme which, may I remind you, provides for four days of work in the Commission following today's plenary meeting, then two days of plenary meetings on Thursdays and Friday of next week. Whether we shall need the extra day, Saturday 1 November, will depend on you and your own discipline. Speaking for myself, I should prefer to close the Conference on Friday 31st before 6 p.m., and close it in the knowledge that we have accomplished useful and constructive work representing hope and aid for the suffering men, women and children of this world; and I trust that we shall go home from Geneva more united than ever for the sake of humanity. May I thank you once again for electing me Chairman

and for the confidence you have placed in me. (*Applause*)

I give the floor to President Hay and ask him for the proposals of the Council of Delegates for the Vice-Chairmen of the Conference.

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

The Council of Delegates proposes Her Royal Highness Princess Helen Shah, Chairman of the Nepalese Red Cross, and Dr. Dmitry Venedictov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the USSR Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, as Vice-Chairmen of the Conference.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You have heard the proposals of the Council of Delegates. Please indicate your approval. (*Applause*)

I ask President Hay for the proposals of the Council of Delegates for the post of Secretary-General.

M. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

The Council of Delegates proposes that Mr. Bénédicte de Tschanner, Commissioner General of the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, be elected Secretary-General of the Conference. (*Applause*)

As assistant Secretaries-General, the Council of Delegates proposes Mr. William Cassis, of the League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and Mr. Jean-Louis Cayla, of the International Committee of the Red Cross. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I take it that your applause indicates acceptance of these proposals. Someone is asking for the floor, I suppose on a point of order.

MOTION TO SUSPEND THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Ambassador D. D. AFANDE (Kenya, Government):

I have a point of order, Sir.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of the African delegations, to express our appreciation to the Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the President of the League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the Secretary-General of the Swiss Red Cross Society for having organized this important Conference, the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross, which is taking place in this historical city, Geneva, a city that has become synonymous with peace and international co-operation among nations.

I wish to put on record our profound appreciation to the Swiss Red Cross, the authorities of the Republic and the Canton of Geneva and other organizers of the Conference for their fraternal hospitality and the facilities put at the disposal of the delegates since their arrival in Geneva. In taking the floor, Sir, I wish, in the first place, to pay a tribute to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for the humanitarian work, protection and assistance to people in distress and the victims of oppression throughout the world, and for their efforts in the promotion of understanding, peace and co-operation among different people, founded on respect for the dignity of man, freedom and equality.

The African delegations attach great importance to the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross because of our strong belief that it would offer members of the International Red Cross Movement the opportunity to reflect, not only on its past tremendous achievements, but also on future challenges and the obstacles which impede the application of the fundamental humanitarian principles enshrined in the Statutes of the Red Cross Movement, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and other humanitarian principles. We believe that the International Red Cross Movement represents these fundamental human values.

The purpose of this intervention on behalf of the African delegations is to draw attention to the fact that a member of the International Red Cross Movement participating in this Conference does not honour the rules of international humanitarian law and the universally recognized humanitarian principles, the result of which is the continued exploitation and the social oppression of the black majority of the population by a system called *apartheid*.

As we all know, the Government of South Africa does not recognize any civil liberties or political rights towards the black majority in that country. The African delegations believe that the only way to restore human dignity and freedom for the oppressed people of South Africa is to dismantle the degrading system of *apartheid* in that country. For many years now, the international community has continued to condemn South Africa for these *apartheid* policies and practices as an evil and inhuman system. Indeed, the practice of this system and the denial of fundamental human rights and equality among this population constitute the root process of the conflict and instability which are obtaining now in South Africa.

In the face of the present intensification of the resistance and fight for freedom and equality by the oppressed people of South Africa, the Pretoria *régime* has become more aggressive in its internal oppression and increased its confrontation against its neighbours. Over the last few years, the international community has witnessed the magnitude of the violations of human rights, including the daily toll of innocent lives, torture and detention of the opponents of *apartheid* as well as the massive removals of urban workers to desolate reserves in the pursuance of the "Bantustanization" policy.

Externally, the *régime* has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia and has engaged in a ruthless campaign of destabilization and terrorism against its neighbours, in particular the Front Line States. In its desperate attempts to establish hegemony in South Africa, the racist *régime* of South Africa has resorted to the recruitment, training, equipment and deployment of mercenaries and armed bandits to cause human and material damage and undermine the social economic development, independence and sovereignty of the Front Line States and isolate the liberation struggle in South Africa.

In a nutshell, under the system of *apartheid* the reality and magnitude of the denial of all human rights can be seen in the daily violations of the rules of international humanitarian law and other humanitarian principles. However, in spite of the inhuman face of *apartheid*, the international community supports the determination of the people of South Africa to continue in their struggle for freedom, equality and social justice.

Mr. Chairman, over the years Africa and the entire international community have called on South Africa through the United Nations and other fora for the dismantlement of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society where its citizens would have equal rights, peace and freedom. Faced with the continued defiance of the South African *régime*, Africa has always believed that the only way that the majority of South Africans can participate in the running of their country and gain freedom is to isolate that *régime* and furthermore impose total and monetary sanc-

tions against South Africa. In this regard, we appreciate the recent and positive developments and pacific steps which were taken by the United States of America and the European Community.

Considering the intensification of resistance in South Africa, the African delegations call for increased moral and material assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, namely the ANC, PAC and SWAPO, as well as to the front line states, totally victims of that country's aggression. We call for the admission into the Conference, as observers, of these liberation movements, which are recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in accordance with the various UN General Assembly Resolutions.

Mr. Chairman, during the preparation for this Conference, the African Group in Geneva took up the issue of the participation of the South Africa Government representatives and the South African National Red Cross Society in the Conference. The Group expressed the views of the African delegations that the South African Government representatives do not qualify to represent the majority of the South African people. Indeed, the Group had hoped that this issue would be solved before the commencement of the Conference. We regret that we have not succeeded in our deliberations, and we now see the representatives of the Government of South Africa seated in this hall.

Accordingly, the African delegations have come to the following conclusions: (1) that the South African National Red Cross Society be allowed to participate in the Conference because of the important role and humanitarian activities it is carrying out in that country, and (2) that the representatives of the Government of South Africa be suspended from participating in the Conference; in other words, that they should not participate in this Conference. In making this proposal, Sir, the African delegations seek the support of other delegations in achieving this objective.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

First I should like to thank the Kenyan Ambassador for his laudatory remarks concerning the ICRC, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the Swiss Red Cross.

With regard to your motion to exclude the South African Government from the Conference, this is a very serious matter, for it involves no less than the exclusion of a member of the Conference who was invited in due form; in other words, to withdraw his right to participate. I think that you will agree to adding this point to today's agenda, and I am sure that you will also agree that we should first finish the election of the Bureau, that is, item 1, which will not take long.

I conclude from your silence that you do agree and I ask President Hay to kindly announce the proposals of the Council of Delegates concerning the Drafting Committee.

ELECTIONS (*continued*)

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

The Council of Delegates proposes that the government delegations and National Societies of the following countries be invited to nominate one member of the Drafting Committee for each of those countries: Burundi, Mexico, United Kingdom, Cuba and France (please note here that a representative of the French delegation will have to replace the one from a Monaco delegation put forward yesterday), the Chairmen of the drafting committees that each commission designates, one ICRC representative and one representative of the League.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You have heard these proposals. Do they meet with your approval? (*Applause*)

Thank you: the five countries are duly elected. I thank them for their contribution.

MOTION TO SUSPEND THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF SOUTH AFRICA (*continued*)

Mr. B. R. M. HOVE (Zimbabwe, Red Cross):

Distinguished delegates, I speak for the Zimbabwe Red Cross Society. I raise a point of order and I base my point of order on Article 13, which I want to refer to immediately: "If during a discussion a delegate raises a point of order the discussion shall be suspended and the point of order decided by the Chairman or, should the Chairman so desire, by the Conference". I raise the point of order and I am happy that though you proceeded with the business for a while you have given me the floor.

My point of order relates to what the distinguished delegate of Kenya has put before this honourable Conference. It takes precedence of any other business and therefore is before the floor. Mr. Chairman, at the very beginning of this Conference you enjoined this Conference not to deal with political matters and not to seek to use this forum for political debate. Mr. Chairman, I abide by that injunction totally.

The distinguished delegate of Kenya has not raised any political matter. He has raised a strictly legal matter. He has referred to the activities of a member of this Conference, namely the Republic of South Africa, which ratified the Geneva Conventions and by virtue of that, therefore, in law, is entitled to participate in these deliberations. But subsequent to that ratification, the Republic of South Africa has embarked on a course that goes to undermine the very substance, the very principles, of this august organization. The Republic of South Africa has in fact embarked on a war against humanity, whereas this august organization is dedicated to a course of a crusade in support of humanity. The Government of South Africa has in fact embarked on *apartheid*, which itself is a crime against humanity. Those are strictly legal matters, strictly legal matters in the eyes of public international law; therefore the distinguished delegate of Kenya has raised a strictly legal matter.

The same Republic has committed what we could call a sort of new type of crime. It is therefore incumbent upon the support of this organization to say that although South Africa ratified the Geneva Conventions, although by virtue of that action it is strictly entitled to participate in these deliberations, by virtue of its subsequent conduct it has invalidated its own conditions to continue to participate in this organization — a strictly legal matter.

The next point would be: is this organization competent to suspend the participation of the Republic of South Africa in these deliberations? The answer is in the positive, and there are precedents in international practices in law. At the United Nations, where, at its General Assembly, credentials are reviewed of each member, the Republic of South Africa's credentials were so reviewed and its continued participation was suspended; the United Nations Charter does not provide for suspension of a member or expulsion of a member, yet the United Nations took that decision. It is therefore competent for this body to look at the submission made by the distinguished delegate of Kenya and therefore of all of Africa.

Well, our rules do not provide, as I said, for suspension of membership or participation. But may I give you an example: we are all entitled to be here as delegates to participate in this organization. Suppose one of our members, Allah or God forbid, suppose one of our delegates here was mad, he went around knocking the head of everybody and harming everybody. Are we to raise our hands in the air and say we cannot exclude him, we cannot suspend him from continuing to participate, just because he is a delegate? Oh no, there is a rule of efficacy in law. If we are assembled here, and that example happens, we are entitled to get hold

of that member and say although you are entitled to participate in these deliberations, you are hitting everybody here, we suspend you for the time being until sanity has prevailed. So we keep him out for the time being.

The same applies, Mr. Chairman, to the Republic of South Africa. It has got to be kept out for some time until it ceases to wage war against humanity, until it ceases to wage war on the basis of *apartheid*, until it ceases to practice *apartheid*, which is a crime in international law. And this is a strictly legal matter. And therefore I urge on behalf of my society that all those who love and respect the crusade in support of humanity, who love and respect our organization and its principles should now be reminded that the principles for which we stand are continuously endangered by the activities of South Africa and we have had enough and we say: enough, no more.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank the delegate from Zimbabwe for his remarks and remind him that in reply to the Kenyan delegation I agreed to having this item included in the agenda. However, in the absence of any provision for the suspension of a member of the Conference, and particularly in the absence of any precedent in the history of the Red Cross, this Conference must first rule on its competence in the matter. It therefore seems essential to decide on this preliminary question and then, if necessary, to vote on whether the Conference can consider the motion put forward. There are ten minutes left for discussion on this point before our deliberations are adjourned so that we can attend the reception of the President of the Confederation. Who would like the floor?

Mr. H. LIMIHAGATI (Tanzania, Red Cross and Government):

Mr. Chairman, first of all I should make it clear that my country and my society support the motion moved by Kenya and supported by Zimbabwe. As the Zimbabwe delegation pointed out, this is a matter which is of grave concern to us, to the people who are neighbours of racist South Africa. We know what is going on inside there. We know that South Africa does not uphold the principles of our Movement and we shall not be ashamed to point out that, Mr. Chairman, this is a very very sad moment in our Movement. If this Movement does not condemn and expel South Africa from this Conference, then I will begin to doubt whether the Conference itself upholds the principles of humanity.

Mr. Chairman, I say this is a very sad moment. We have reached the crossroads. We cannot compromise on this issue. We have to show the example, the best example in the world, and it is the Red Cross Movement which can show the best example of upholding the very principles in which we believe.

Mr. Chairman, the earlier you decide on this issue the better for the Conference to continue. We support fully and we reserve the right to take the most serious measure today, and that will be a walk-out, as far as we are concerned.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

May I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to state your names before taking the floor. It is technically impossible to read your name cards, especially from the next room.

Dr. M. M. NALUMANGO (Zambia, Red Cross):

I wish to join my fellow colleagues on congratulating you on your unanimous election as Chairman of the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to draw your attention to the statements that were made by several delegations from southern Africa where they specifically brought to the attention of the League and Red Cross Societies the increasing numbers of displaced persons in southern Africa. Virtually all the countries of that region have a number of displaced persons and these numbers are increasing every day. We

believe that the root cause of this is *apartheid*. Mr. Chairman, the Red Cross does not only prepare itself for disaster preparedness but disaster prevention, and we feel that the root cause of displaced persons in southern Africa is *apartheid*.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Here I have to interrupt the discussion to enable you to attend the reception given by the Swiss Confederation and the Republic and Canton of Geneva at the Intercontinental Hotel. The session is adjourned.

(*Meeting adjourned at 6.30 p.m.*)

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(*Meeting resumed at 8.45 p.m.*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and gentlemen, we shall now continue our deliberations. Syria, Nigeria, Sudan, the Indian government delegation, the Yugoslav government delegation, the Pakistani Government delegation, the Holy See and the Nicaraguan Government delegation have now asked for the floor. I invite you, indeed I beg you always to state your name and whether you belong to a Red Cross or Red Crescent Society or a government delegation; otherwise we shall have difficulties with our minutes.

Mrs. S. ABDALLA (Syrian Arab Republic, Government) (*Original French*):

May I congratulate you and the other elected officers of our Assembly and wish you every success in the work of the Conference.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not cite all the crimes of *apartheid* and the hardships suffered by the black South African population, for they are known throughout the world. I wish, Mr. Chairman, to express our delegation's support for the proposal made by our friend the representative of Kenya regarding the suspension of the South African Government delegation from participation in the proceedings of this Conference, because this is a just and necessary attitude. I also wish to stress the distinction we draw between the South African Red Cross Society and the Government representative.

Mr. Chairman, you also raised the question as to whether this Assembly is competent to make a decision on the suspension or exclusion of a member of the Conference. My answer to this question is yes, for if this Assembly is entitled to modify the Statutes of the International Red Cross, it follows that it can come to a decision on this issue and, if you feel it to be expedient, it can be put to the vote.

Ambassador B. A. ADEYEMI (Nigeria, Government):

My delegation would also like to extend to you the warm felicitations of my delegation on your unanimous election and I believe that under your wise guidance our deliberations will come to a successful end.

My delegation would also like to make this modest contribution to the eloquent exposition rendered all around, this evening, on behalf of African delegations, by the distinguished Ambassador and colleague from Kenya and, as the record now testifies, that exposition has since been supported by all the delegations from Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

The issue before us, distinguished delegates, is a very clear and transparent matter: the case for the suspension of the Pretoria-based racist *régime* from participation in this Conference rests firmly and solidly on the bedrock of legality and international law. The Red Cross Movement remains the

biggest forum on which rest, today, the broad parameters of humanitarian law. It is a Movement founded on the universally accepted need to bring relief and succour to millions of people all over the world, people hit by natural or even man-made disasters. The Movement has performed non-discriminatory services in its relentless drive to ameliorate the sufferings of peoples of all races across continents. Against these noble objectives, Mr. Chairman, we can set what the South African *régime* stands for. This is a *régime* which has practiced racism with sadistic consistency for close to four decades. It has dehumanized the majority over which it has imposed itself. Thousands of blacks are incarcerated under an emergency law, most of them subjected to torture and even death. Its policies of brutality and repression have reached such horrid dimensions as to make the depredations of Nazism look like a picnic.

It is one *régime* that has not disguised its blatant use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy; beyond its borders, it has flagrantly violated international law by its diabolical acts of aggression against legitimate governments, particularly those in the Front Line States. It is one *régime* that has created more problems than any other for the Red Cross Movement, since its wicked policies have had the effect of sending waves and waves of African refugees across the South African border to neighbouring states. In the view of my delegation, Mr. Chairman, the *régime* forfeited its credentials to stay in this Movement the moment it passed the Group Area Acts and embarked upon its present dangerous course, bringing instability to the entire south African sub-region and constituting itself into a veritable threat to international peace and security.

The pertinent question, Mr. Chairman, is why should a noble organization like the Red Cross Movement retain in its breast a renegade *régime* that has no respect whatsoever for international, and in particular, humanitarian law. This organization owes it to posterity to say "No more!" to the racist *régime*. It has a moral obligation to preserve its credibility by suspending South African participation at this, and subsequent, Conferences of the Red Cross, until such time that the monstrous system of *apartheid* is abandoned, until humanitarian law, the bedrock of the Red Cross Movement, is respected in all its ramifications and until all races in South Africa, without exception, are granted elementary and basic rights consistent with the dignity of humanity and in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Ambassador A. M. A. HASSAN (Sudan, Government):

Mr. Chairman, I would like to extend to you my congratulations for your election to this eminent post and we are sure that you will be able to carry out your duties responsibly. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation and as Chairman of the Arab Group, I was requested to convey to the Conference through you, Mr. Chairman, the entire and total support of the Arab Group to the motion made by the distinguished Ambassador of Kenya and the Chairman of the African delegations to suspend South Africa's Government from participating in this session of the Conference.

Mr. P. K. UMASHANKAR (India, Government):

On behalf of the Indian delegation, we express our solidarity with the African group of nations. We share the view that the racist *régime* of South Africa, which does not respect international humanitarian law, and which has been systematically repressing the black majority, does not deserve a seat or a place in this august body. We strongly and wholeheartedly support the point of order raised by the African group of nations for the suspension of the South African Government delegation from participation in this Conference. We are of the view that this august body has the inherent and legal authority to decide this. In fact, a sufficient number of nations have already spoken on this issue and there does not seem to be any doubt on this score. We wish an early decision on this matter.

Dr. B. BOHTE (Yugoslavia, Government):

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am also taking the floor on behalf of the Yugoslav Red Cross Society. Mr. Chairman, I should like first to congratulate you and other officers on your election to your post, and sincerely wish to all of you great success, because we do think that this Conference needs at this very moment to be a successful one.

Mr. Chairman, our delegations entirely support the Kenyan proposal on the suspension of the government delegation of South Africa made on behalf of African delegations. We support this proposal for the very reasons already advanced by previous speakers. We are of the view that *apartheid*, as a crime against humanity, is the most flagrant violation of the basic humanitarian principles and thus also of the principles of the Red Cross Movement. We are convinced that this Conference has the competence to rule on the Kenyan motion in view of the lacuna in the statutory and procedural rules of the International Red Cross.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We have taken note that you were speaking on behalf of the Yugoslav Government and the Yugoslav Red Cross Society.

Mr. A. EZDI (Pakistan, Government):

Mr. Chairman, we would first of all like to congratulate you and the other members of the Bureau on their election.

My delegation fully supports the proposal made by Kenya on behalf of the African Group for the suspension of the delegation sent by the Pretoria *régime*. We do so because, as the United Nations has declared repeatedly, this *régime* does not constitute the lawful government of South Africa. Their representatives, therefore, have no place in the Conference as Government delegates.

But our support for the Kenyan proposal is based not solely on narrow legalistic grounds. The question raised here is more fundamental. It goes to the *raison d'être* of the Movement. If we are to remain true to its principles, if the Movement is to remain credible, the answer to that question can only be one. A *régime* which every day, in a thousand ways, by its words and deeds, denies to the majority of the people, to the people to whom the land belongs, on grounds simply of the colour of their skin, the dignity and equality that is inherent in every human being, a *régime* that by its racist ideology flouts the very principle of humanity which inspires our Movement, does not belong here. It cannot be permitted to remain in our midst. It must be told to go home, immediately and with a unanimous voice.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a question which concerns the African Group or the Third World alone. It is a question which concerns all of us, National Societies and Governments, and we hope that our answer to this question will be clear and unequivocal. To do otherwise than to adopt the Kenyan proposal could undermine our Movement irreparably and cripple its ability to function effectively, not only in Africa but in many other countries of the world as well.

Monsignor J. MULLOR GARCIA (Holy See, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

Mr. Chairman, as head of my delegation, in my capacity as a diplomat of the Holy See and also as a clergyman, I must admit to having mixed feelings about participating in this discussion. I have the impression that my heart wants to applaud and join in with my African colleagues and that my head and my intelligence want to reflect, in spite of the high feelings that prevail.

I wish to state, Mr. Chairman, that my delegation is extremely responsive to the African position. I represent a person called John Paul II who is respected all over the world and who has repeatedly condemned, the sad, painful and humiliating phenomenon of *apartheid*. Furthermore, Mr.

Chairman, I feel like an African and wish to tell my African friends so. I have experienced and been humiliated by *apartheid* in South Africa and feel at one with my African brothers, with whom I lived for seven years in three very different countries, all opposed to *apartheid*: Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Niger.

Moreover, I am speaking on behalf of a delegation which maintains no diplomatic relations with South Africa. It is important that this should be known: the Holy See has no diplomatic relations with South Africa.

I am also speaking in the name of a Christian faith which has suffered because of *apartheid*. The Secretary-General of the Roman Catholic Episcopal Conference is in prison because of his opposition to *apartheid*.

All this having been said, Mr. Chairman, I find myself pondering various questions. The first is this: the Red Cross is the very essence of neutrality in relation to belligerents; any belligerents. This afternoon we saw a disturbing film showing thirty present-day wars and I wonder, if the International Red Cross had to choose between the belligerents in thirty wars, what would be the advantage, where then would be the efficacy and the greatness of the Red Cross? Thus, in reply to my first question, I believe that if we purely and simply adopt the proposal put forward by the distinguished Ambassador of Kenya, we should be creating a very grave precedent this evening for the Red Cross. Today we have to pass judgement on *apartheid*; but tomorrow or the next day we may have to pass judgement on other belligerents.

It is evident that there is conflict in South Africa. But — and this is my second question — do we not constitute a forum for discussion where we can say what we think? Why not allow the South African delegation to hear us and understand that *apartheid* is condemned by all men of good will?

My third question, Mr. Chairman, comes from the mind rather than from the heart: what will be the situation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the future, not only in South Africa and southern Africa, if every time we hold a Conference we have to pass judgement on different belligerents? What is the mission that the Red Cross still has to pursue in that martyred country, South Africa?

My fourth point, Mr. Chairman, dear friends, is this: we are living through a week of critical importance for the history of the world. This afternoon President de la Mata was kind enough to remind us in his introductory speech that on the fourth of this month John Paul II called on all belligerents in the world, whichever side they are on, to observe a holy truce on the 27th. On 27 October, for the first time in the history of mankind, representatives of all the religions in the world will meet in Assisi to pray for peace, think about peace and do something for peace. I wonder whether we too, by avoiding this scission within the Red Cross, could not join in that truce. Could not we, who despise and condemn *apartheid*, maintain an effective and authentic dialogue among ourselves, which would enable us to speak our minds and, I hope, make governments reflect about certain unjust methods and systems?

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I ask one last question: is no compromise solution possible? The speakers who have preceded me have offered many congratulations on your nominations as Chairman of this Assembly, and I echo their words. I now ask my colleagues to help you accomplish your task in the best possible way by forming a group which will seek a compromise solution. It is not appropriate for me to make concrete proposals, since I do not belong to any block or represent any political interest. I belong to a church which is also persecuted to some degree in the country in question, in the persons of certain clergymen of my own and other creeds. Yet I ask whether some agreement cannot be reached; if something cannot be done to ensure that everyone can express his point of view on this dispute, which constitutes a veritable ideological war among us.

Mr. Chairman, I wish that with your valuable help we could find a compromise solution which would condemn *apartheid* as it deserves to be condemned by the whole world, but which at the same time would allow the persons who represent it to engage in frank dialogue and possibly to change. We do not know, for we can never succeed in knowing, what lies in the heart of man and we do not know where this dialogue will lead. Perhaps in such an atmosphere of dialogue those persons may find in their hearts something new which would make their Government reflect and one day replace the iniquitous system of *apartheid* by one of peaceful coexistence.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The applause has certainly shown that your appeal for compromise has not fallen on deaf ears.

Ambassador D. D. AFANDE (Kenya, Government):

Mr. Chairman, in thanking the delegations which have expressed support to my motion, I would wish to inform you that the time has come when we should make a decision on the motion which I proposed, that the Conference suspend the government delegation of the Republic of South Africa from participating in the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.

Mr. Chairman I request that we take a vote on the motion. Furthermore, I request that the vote be by roll call.

Ambassador J. A. SANKEY (United Kingdom, Government):

I am not sure what your intentions are, but a number of delegations, including my own, have informed you of our wish to speak on this important issue. I know that our African friends, with their customary courtesy, will not wish to prevent other delegations from stating a view on this important issue, so I hope that I may appeal to them through you to allow us to exercise our right to speak in this debate.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ten delegations are listed. I propose that we hear them, then close the debate and put the motion to the vote according to the wishes of the Kenyan delegation.

Ambassador QIAN JIADONG (China, Government):

I speak on behalf of both the government delegation and the Red Cross delegation of China. In the first instance, may I also extend to you and to the other members of the Bureau my warm congratulations. We sincerely wish that under your able guidance our Conference will be a success.

Mr. Chairman, we have listened carefully to the previous speakers; the Chinese delegations consider that the motion put forward by the representative of Kenya on behalf of the African States that South Africa be suspended from participation in this Conference is a fully justified and a reasonable one. The crimes against the South African black population perpetrated by the racist *régime* of Pretoria constitute a grave challenge to human dignity and international justice and run diametrically opposed to the principles of the International Red Cross and the spirit of humanitarianism.

The perverse acts of the South African authorities have aroused great indignation among the international community. Many States and international organizations in defending the principles of humanitarianism have imposed sanctions of various kinds: political, economic and others on the Pretoria *régime*. It is only natural that the International Red Cross Movement, which takes the pursuance of international humanitarianism as its very purpose, should also react to the anti-humanitarian acts of the South African authorities. If it should remain silent and take no action, this would only cause damage to its own image. As was cited by the representative of Zimbabwe, it is not without precedent that the representation of a State is suspended in an international organization.

The Chinese delegations consider that for the good of the Movement itself the motion of the African States to suspend the participation of South Africa in this Conference should be accepted.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

May I ask the Secretary-General to read out the list of speakers, which is now closed.

Ambassador B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary-General) (*Original French*):

We have received requests from the following delegations: the delegation of Nicaragua, Government; the delegation of Cuba, Government; the Red Cross delegation of Costa Rica; the Red Cross delegation of Botswana; the delegation of Bangladesh, Government; the delegation of France, Government; the delegation of the United States, Government; the delegation of Zimbabwe, Government; the delegation of Burkina Faso, Government; the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Government; the delegation of the Netherlands, Government and Red Cross; the delegation of Switzerland, Government; and I have received some further names: the delegation of Angola, Government; the delegation of Western Samoa, Red Cross; the delegation of Liberia, Government; the delegation of Ecuador, Red Cross; the delegation of the United Kingdom, Government; the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Red Cross; the Viet Nam Government delegation; the delegation of Malaysia; and the delegation of the Philippines.

Ambassador G. A. VARGAS (Nicaragua, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

Mr. Chairman, as this is the first time that our delegation has had the honour of taking the floor during this Conference, may I first congratulate you on your election. I should like to inform the Conference that our delegation does not propose to speak on the substance of the issue before us, since the position of our Government is known to all: we are opposed to *apartheid*; we have no diplomatic relations with the South African Government.

Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, with your permission I should like to make some brief remarks. First, it seems to me that the Chairman must ensure that the Rules of the Conference are observed and I understand that the Kenyan delegation, on behalf of the African countries, has put forward a motion proposing the suspension of the South African Government. Subsequently the distinguished delegation of Zimbabwe, invoking the Rules of the Conference, requested that the Kenyan motion be put to the vote.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that we have engaged needlessly in a debate on the substance of this issue. If the Rules are applied strictly, I think that we must decide immediately on the proposal of the Kenyan delegation.

A discussion on the substance seems unnecessary. There is no doubt that no delegation in this Conference approves of the South African policy of *apartheid*. I do not believe that any delegation can support or justify it. Therefore it is a matter for the Conference to decide and, Mr. Chairman, I request that the Rules be applied.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for your proposal. I should like to point out that sixteen delegations are waiting to speak; thus it would seem that there is a wish among the delegates to have the opportunity of stating their opinion on this issue which is so important and, may I say, so decisive for the future of our Movement.

Mr. M. CARMONA JIMENEZ (Costa Rica, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

Mr. Chairman, I feel that there is a wall between you and me. In Costa Rica we do not like walls. When I asked for the floor it was to raise a point of order. However, I take

the opportunity to speak, because my point has already been made. I should like to ask as a matter of order that each speaker state whether he represents his Government or his National Society. At the beginning of this Conference we heard an explanation of the emblem, which protects the world of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent from the cloud hanging over it. Then, in three languages: "United for humanity".

Mr. Chairman, I feel that the words spoken here by the representative of His Holiness the Pope are worthy of consideration. Not wishing to dwell on differences, I am here beside the representatives of my Government; but one thing unites us, at this time: the independence of my Society. I do want to say to the representatives of Governments (who may be in the majority at this moment) that we consider the Red Cross to be a purely humanitarian affair, and not an affair of Governments.

Mrs. A. M. LUETTGEN DE LECHUGA (Cuba, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the delegation of the Cuban Government, may we first offer our congratulations to you and the other members of the Bureau and wish you success in your work.

We shall be very brief, Mr. Chairman, but want to assure the previous speakers of our support. With regard to the legality of the suspension of the South African Government from participation in the International Conference of the Red Cross, this Conference is held in accordance with the most elevated humanitarian principles, and endeavours to send out a message of hope and confidence to all beings who are suffering for different reasons and who see in our Movement a symbol of protection, help and relief from their ills.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

May I once again appeal to delegates to kindly state their names and whether they represent their governments or National Societies. This will make it much easier to keep the minutes of the meeting.

Lady R. KHAMA (Botswana, Red Cross):

I am speaking on behalf of the Botswana Red Cross Society. We agree entirely with everything that has been said by our sister Societies about the suspension of the South African Government delegation from this Conference.

Mr. A. K. H. MORSHED (Bangladesh, Government):

Mr. Chairman, just make a correction. I speak on behalf of both the Bangladesh Government and the Red Cross delegation of Bangladesh. Mr. Chairman, we would like to offer our sincere congratulations to you on your election. I will be very brief; I would like to state only our unreserved support for the Kenyan proposal in both its parts. The reasons for opposition have been stated by a number of previous speakers, but we would like to associate ourselves particularly with the remarks made by the distinguished representative of Zimbabwe.

Mr. J. MOUTON BRADY (France, Government) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, my delegation should have liked to have made a plea for both common sense and understanding. This is no longer necessary, however, now that we have heard the moving speech, with its high intellectual and moral content, of the representative of the Holy See. We entirely agree with his words and I wish merely to add one or two points.

Of course, like everyone else, we are absolutely opposed to *apartheid*; the position of the French Government on the matter is well known. If circumstances required, we should obviously agree to support a vote on a motion condemning *apartheid* in this Conference. However, that is not the primary issue before us today. It appears that what is being

called into question here is the whole future of the Red Cross.

We feel that by agreeing to enter into this discussion we are not abiding by our own principles, in particular the principle of neutrality, which reminds us that in order to gain the confidence of all parties the Red Cross does not take part in hostilities — and hostilities is the appropriate word here — or in any political, racial, religious or philosophical controversy. Furthermore, we feel that we are violating our own Statutes.

The Statutes are perfectly clear; and any association, organization or movement that does not respect its own Statutes is doomed. Such a precedent in the context of our Conference would be extremely prejudicial, because it would inevitably lead us along the road to a politicization that nobody wants. This is why, to our great regret, we have no choice but to vote against the competence of this Assembly to decide on the suspension of the representatives of the South African Government.

Admiral E. ZUMWALT, JR. (United States of America, Government):

The US Government regrets very much that this issue has been presented to the International Conference. As we have heard, there is no legal basis for the exclusion of a State that is a State party to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. South Africa is such a State. There is no basis in the Statutes of the International Red Cross or the Conference rules of procedure for even considering this question or having it put to a vote. What is more, it contradicts fundamentally the principle of universality which is one of the "Fundamental Principles" of the Red Cross Movement that have just been read to us by the distinguished Red Cross jurist, Prof. Jean Pictet.

We all know that South Africa is a troubled land. Its people are the victims of political strife: my Government, while working for a non-violent solution, has imposed the most far-reaching sanctions on the South African Government. It is in such circumstances that the Red Cross can play its greatest role.

The remarks of the distinguished representative of Botswana may cause us to recollect the slaughter of ethnic groups going on in other places around the world, which is not being discussed here. Just as we would oppose the expulsion from this Conference of the nations engaged in other discriminatory actions against whole populations, so we oppose the expulsion of South Africa.

It would be especially inappropriate for this Red Cross Conference, acting in the name of the Red Cross, to create by its action a situation in which it will be more difficult for the Red Cross to carry out its humanitarian mission.

We urge the Conference to support the Chairman and not to act in violation of its own Rules and Fundamental Red Cross Principles.

Mr. N. D. KITIKITI (Zimbabwe, Government):

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is speaking for the first time as a government delegation. We have nothing to add on the substance that has already been raised by the Chairman of our National Red Cross. Our delegation at this stage is now confused as to our proceedings. We have the floor to second the motion which has been presented by Kenya, raised under Article 13 of our proceedings, that we proceed to a roll-call vote forthwith.

Mrs. A. OUEDRAOGO (Burkina Faso, Government) (*Original French*):

I take the floor on behalf of the Government and the National Society. The Burkina Faso delegation fully supports the statement made on behalf of Africa by the distinguished Ambassador of Kenya, for the ideals of peace and humanity which guide the activities of the Red Cross cannot be

defended outside the context of human virtues such as justice and freedom. These principles require us to denounce the presence of racist South Africa within this great world organization of aid and generosity. In so doing, consider that the expulsion of *apartheid* is an urgent task for the human conscience.

Mr. S. NASSERI (Islamic Republic of Iran, Government):

I am speaking on behalf of the Government and the Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

First of all, allow me to congratulate you, on behalf of both delegations, and the members of the Bureau and wish you success for the important task that you and we all together have before us.

Mr. Chairman, I am speaking on behalf, as I said, of my Government and the Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The motion that was raised by Kenya, on behalf of the African Group, is not a question that is new to us. We are all familiar with the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa and the very long history behind it. It is true, as we have listened very carefully to the different delegations which have taken the floor on this very important matter, that the motto of our work here is to work for peace through humanity.

It is true that there are members here whose States and Governments are in conflict with each other. It is true that we should endeavour to implement international humanitarian law in all those conflicts. However, this does not mean that we should permit a situation here where the very essence of humanity is being undermined. It is not that we wish to deprive a State from being present and participating in debates here. And it is also not true that we do not want to establish dialogue among members. Indeed, we are here so that collectively we can promote international humanitarian law and ensure its implementation.

But when a State has chosen to embark on a policy which undermines the most fundamental principles of humanity, and not just as a temporary policy but as a permanent one, and practices this policy for many years despite the outrage the world community has shown against such policy, then what other choice remains? Is there then any other choice than for us to take serious action against it? And to take a serious action, as the distinguished delegate from Zimbabwe said, to bring sanity into South Africa.

Now, speaking of compromise, as some delegations have suggested, I believe you already have had a compromise motion presented by Kenya on behalf of African Group, as they very rightly supported the presence of the Red Cross Society of South Africa in this body, as they are involved in humanitarian activities in South Africa. However, we cannot, at the same time, as this would be contradictory, permit a Government to be present which practises a policy of *apartheid* directly against the humanitarian efforts that the Red Cross Society of South Africa is engaged in.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation believes that the representatives of the South African Government, the presence of these representatives, should be suspended so that *apartheid* will not be given a chance. It is common understanding that we should avoid political and controversial issues here. However, here we have a situation where there can be nothing but full consensus against *apartheid*, as no-one can ever support such inhumane policy.

So far as precedent is concerned, I believe this is a precedent we should establish. I emphasize once again, we should establish such a precedent so that we will not have representatives of States present who blatantly and continuously embark on a policy which is totally against the very essence of humanity. Mr. Chairman, we support fully the motion presented by the distinguished delegate of Kenya on behalf of the African Group.

Prof. F. KALSHOVEN (Netherlands, Red Cross):

I am speaking on behalf of the Red Cross delegation of the Netherlands and in conformity, Mr. Chairman, with established United Nations practice, I want to congratulate you on your election to this office.

It is hard, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, not to agree with the condemnation of *apartheid* we have heard tonight. Most of us, East and West, African and Asian, find the policy unpardonable. Several nights ago, the General Assembly denounced *apartheid* by acclamation. However, tonight in this our Red Cross Conference, we have the Governments assembled, Governments which have agreed to be bound by a set of rules designed to protect the helpless victims of war. Among these Governments are many which, from time to time, have violated the very rules we now seek to uphold. At Manila, five years ago, we passed resolutions with certain of these Governments in mind. We urged each of them to respect their humanitarian obligations to which they have agreed. Those Governments are still with us here tonight. Others are with us which also have violated the rules of our Movement. The violations continue but these Governments are here tonight voluntarily in the Red Cross spirit, in respect for humanity and the other fundamental principles of our great Movement. Even the Republic of South Africa is voluntarily among us, having chosen not to isolate itself from the Red Cross, even as it finds itself increasingly isolated from the rest of the world.

Why has not South Africa fully respected the fundamental principles? It has provided critically important access to the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit many persons who have been imprisoned for opposing the policies of *apartheid*. The Red Cross has been allowed to visit the families of those oppressed people and to give them hope, the very essence of humanity. Now, while the country may be on the verge of civil war, the Republic of South Africa, by its presence here, certainly appears to imply a willingness to be bound by the Geneva Conventions we hold sacred. Why cannot we preserve intact this last forum for humanity?

Mr. Chairman, dear delegates: let us not break the Red Cross apart when we are for once finally together. And with that I pass the word, with your permission, to the Government delegation.

Ambassador R. J. VAN SCHAIK (Netherlands, Government):

I also, on behalf of the Netherlands Government delegation, wish to congratulate you and the other members of the Bureau on their nomination.

First of all, I wish to underline that the Netherlands Government's position on the eradication of the unacceptable system of *apartheid* in South Africa is as firm as ever. A fundamental change in South Africa is long overdue. However, in the matter at hand, we have to give another view: primary consideration to the humanitarian tasks that have to be performed in favour of the present and future victims of the deteriorating situation in South Africa. The Red Cross Movement, and especially the ICRC, has been mandated to perform such basic humanitarian duties regardless of the political context in which suffering is inflicted. For the purpose of fulfilling their duties the universality of the Movement is a primary necessity.

My delegation, whilst understanding and in a very large measure sharing the feelings of abhorrence as expressed by many delegations here present, gives priority to ensuring further assistance to the victims of strife against *apartheid*. Today's vote, as asked for by the Kenyan delegation, is not about *apartheid*. It is a vote about the right, under the Statutes and Rules, of the representatives of a State party to the Geneva Conventions to participate in this Conference. The South African Government delegation, like any other delegation of a country that is party to the Geneva Conventions, is entitled to participate. If today we vote for suspen-

sion of participation by a delegation of a full member, tomorrow the stately humanitarian mandate and the independent function of the Red Cross Movement will be at stake.

Ambassador F. MUHEIM (Switzerland, Government) (Original French):

As the delegate of the country acting as host to the Conference and in view of the fact that it is our Red Cross, the Swiss Red Cross, that organized this Conference and invited the delegations here present, I should like to express the particular concern we feel over the motion to exclude the South African Government delegation from the Twenty-fifth Conference.

The Swiss delegation does understand the motivation behind this proposal. It would also like to mention that the Swiss Government unreservedly condemns the policy of *apartheid*, which is contrary not only to our own traditions and ideals but also to the humanitarian principles guiding the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and those recognized by the international community in relation to human rights. But that is not the question here. According to Article I of the Statutes of the International Red Cross, as has already been recalled, the International Conference is composed of delegations of the States party to the Geneva Conventions. South Africa has been party to those Conventions since 1952; it is therefore a member of the Conference by right and any decision excluding its delegation would be in violation of the Statutes of the International Red Cross. In addition to these legal considerations, I should like to stress that in general terms the exclusion of a member of this Conference would be contrary to the spirit and the very purpose of our Conference, which has a quite specific character.

It is evident that most of the strife confronting us takes place in a political context, and all armed conflicts have political causes and consequences. However, the primary mission of the Red Cross is to bring assistance to the victims of such conflicts. The statutory objective of our Conference is to ensure unity in the efforts of the National Societies, the International Committee and the League, with the support of the Governments. To preserve the neutrality, the unity and the universality of the Movement, the Statutes stipulate that the Conference may not concern itself with matters of a political nature nor serve as a platform for political debate; this provision exists to ensure that the necessary priority is given to humanitarian action. Now, let's be frank. The ICRC is active in South Africa: the evolution of the situation there has entailed a considerable stepping up of its activities recently and unfortunately it appears that a further increase cannot be ruled out. It is obvious that this action can be undertaken only with the co-operation of the South African Government. The exclusion of South Africa would therefore be prejudicial to the interests of the victims of *apartheid* themselves.

I should also like to recall that this Conference is the only neutral, apolitical and universal forum where all countries, particularly those in conflict or affected by internal unrest, can meet, not to argue over their differences but to discuss the concrete humanitarian problems confronting them. As the President of the Swiss Confederation recalled earlier, here it is the victim, that is, man and his distress, his pain and his dignity, who is at the heart of our discussions. To ensure that such discussions can take place and can be useful and constructive, to enable the cause of humanity to progress and the sufferings of the victims to recede, it is essential that the universal and apolitical character of the Conference be maintained. The exclusion of any country would remove part of this Conference's significance and value and deprive the Red Cross Movement of the possibility of undertaking activities that are especially needed in the present situation. Moreover, no member of the Conference has ever been suspended.

The exclusion of a member today would therefore constitute an extremely grave precedent which could be invoked in the future to exclude other governments of National Societies, thus opening the way to decisions whose adverse effect will ultimately be felt only by the very men, women and children that the Red Cross is pledged to help. I, too, was moved by the words of the distinguished representative of the Holy See. If we abandon dialogue we shall condemn ourselves to inaction on the humanitarian front. The very fact that we are not asked to suspend the South African Red Cross delegation seems evidence of this. I therefore call on the delegations to heed the appeal launched by the Holy See and seek a solution that takes the interests of all into account. What we must bear in mind above all is the absolutely primordial importance of preserving the principles of neutrality, unity and universality that are the very foundations of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

Mr. C. A. S. DE CARVALHO FONSECA (Angola, Government) (Original French):

As this is the first time that my delegation has taken the floor at this meeting I should like, on behalf of the delegations of both the Angolan Government and the National Red Cross Society, to convey my congratulations to the Chairman and all the members of the Bureau of this Conference.

Mr. Chairman, we do not feel that this is the right place to discuss political questions. We did not come here to debate political issues. Indeed, there are other places where South Africa can be condemned, as has already been done. However, Mr. Chairman, various arguments have been put forward in regard to the participation of South Africa. I wonder whether we can say that affiliation to the Geneva Conventions and respect for the most basic human rights are matters on which we cannot take a stand, under the pretext that we must remain neutral?

Countries with different political systems are represented here at this Conference. I suppose that every country has provisions dealing with, and defining crimes against, humanity. There is no political issue involved in this. Mr. Chairman, I ask myself whether we can, in the name of universality and impartiality, consider it right to accept the participation of the South African Government in this forum.

I speak on behalf of a country and a people that have known war for over 25 years: 14 years to win independence and more than 10 years to preserve that independence and their dignity as a people and a nation. Today we are still enduring the direct effects of war, a war always fomented by the racist *régime* of South Africa. Many persons present have no direct experience of the horrors of war; others know them very well. Forty years ago Europe was in the grip of war and fascism. I say, Mr. Chairman, that anyone who has lived through such horrors knows what I am talking about. Those found guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity during the Second World War were condemned at Nuremberg. Those who are committing crimes against peace and humanity in South Africa have no respect for the most basic human rights, the Geneva Conventions or the principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Must they continue to impose their policies without anything being done to stop them?

The South African Government has been participating in this forum for a long time. I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if the South African Government has not yet learned the principles of humanity, will it now learn to respect them by participating in this Conference? Are we right in speaking of impartiality and neutrality, or is this a form of passivity while such horrors are being perpetrated in South Africa?

Mr. Chairman, my delegation feels that we are not here to raise political issues but, for humanitarian reasons, that the participation of the South African Government delega-

tion must be suspended. We have accepted the presence of the South African Red Cross; we are very well aware that the objectives of this Conference are humanitarian ones. That is why the proposal put forward by the distinguished representative of Kenya is a true reflection of the consensus of the African Governments and the African Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, for humanitarian reasons.

Mr. M. S. SAPOLU (Western Samoa, Red Cross):

Mr. Chairman, first of all I would like to thank you very much for giving me the floor. With all due respect I want to say this, Mr Chairman: I hear in your introduction "The Red Cross delegation from Western Samoa".

I want to say this clearly: I am here primarily as a Red Cross person, not as a Samoan. And because of that my loyalty and the loyalty of the Samoan Red Cross is to the upkeep of the principle of the Red Cross, humanity, non-political. Although I speak, knowing very well I am a very small country and a newly accepted Society, I speak knowing that I am in the family of the Red Cross. That is my first point.

Secondly, because I am a Red Cross person, I uphold the principles of the Red Cross. I condemn *apartheid*, inhumanity, non-respect for humanity. I must apologize, I have never been to South Africa and experienced the sufferings of the black people of South Africa, experienced first-hand the sufferings they are enduring. I must also apologize that I have never been in any other part of the world where equally, if not more, the human right to survive has been violated. I would ask any party of this assembly, any Government which is pure, which has never violated humanity, to stand up.

I condemn what is happening in South Africa; I do not like to shake hands with the people who represent the Government of South Africa now. Not because I am a Samoan, but because I am a Red Cross person. Equally, I do not want to shake hands or talk to anybody else who violates human dignity. Mr. Chairman, this is my second point.

My third point, my colleague from Botswana took the words out of my mouth when she said: if we are to condemn the South African Government, why not every other Government and every other person in this hall that has violated humanity? Mr. Chairman, my Society does not want to be accused of being political or of hypocrisy in this debate. And I would like to go further than my distinguished colleague from Botswana. If the ICRC or the League finds that the Government of Western Samoa violates human rights, then I would be the one to move the motion to remove that Government from this body, from this Conference.

Mr. Chairman, my last words are these: I feel it is very hard to vote on this motion. You vote one way or another, you are still accused of not doing the right thing. And because of that our delegation will not vote on the motion as it stands. Why? Because we will be accused of being political and hypocritical.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Very special thanks go to the volunteer of the Western Samoan Red Cross from a volunteer of the Swiss Red Cross.

Mr. J. E. LLOYD (Liberia, Red Cross):

Mr. Chairman, taking the floor for the first time may I, on behalf of the Government of Liberia as well as the National Red Cross Society of Liberia, extend our heartfelt felicitations to you on your election and that of your Bureau.

Mr. Chairman, I take the floor, not to make any pronouncements on the pertinence of the action to suspend the Government of South Africa at this Conference; I think that many speakers before me have done so eloquently, both with heart and mind. My intervention, Mr. Chairman, coming

back to the Rules of Procedure, is to join the delegations of Zimbabwe and Iran and second the motion on the floor.

Dr. H. MERINO DE MUNOZ (Ecuador, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

Mr. Chairman, almost all the speakers have congratulated you on your nomination. For my part, I pray God that you will survive this Conference and that you will match the success obtained by Mr. de la Mata, President of the League, at the end of the Assembly of Red Cross Societies last week. At that meeting, peace was achieved. All the peoples of the earth came together in one embrace. Zimbabwe and South Africa actually exchanged compliments. There all the National Societies were recognized on the basis of universality, neutrality and humanity; but this evening it seems that the wind is blowing from another quarter. It appears that the governments have decided to place us in a situation which will deflect us from our path of progress throughout the world.

Mr. Chairman, governments are capable of making mistakes and of taking action in favour of, or against humanity. Political systems may be favourable or unfavourable; but from this comes our strength. As National Red Cross Societies, we are not the agents of our respective governments. We can even tell our own governments where they are going wrong. Now we are telling a government that it is making a very fundamental mistake.

The representative of the Vatican spoke with all the wisdom of the Church; the impressive content, profound philosophical meaning and rectitude of his address clearly expresses the line taken by the present pontiff. That does not mean to say that the Church has not been the object of criticism on many occasions. It was attacked at the time of the Inquisition, during the Holy War and the Spanish conquest of America, supported by the cross; but no one ever contemplated finishing with the Church.

Mr. Chairman, ideas are constantly in conflict and the world will know peace only when justice and reason prevail. This afternoon we are told that 30 armed political conflicts are now in progress throughout the world. What would become of us if we set about expelling the 30 governments involved? Many governments represented here have been accused of extortion, torture, persecution and abuse of power.

The Red Cross, as has already been mentioned, is one of the few fora in the world where such problems, however serious, can be discussed. It is, nevertheless, an Institution of men created for men. It is not a heavenly choir, although we do count on the Vatican's blessing. We must realize that while it is easy to stir up anger, resentment and violence, it is very difficult to calm, soothe and pacify; yet that is what the Red Cross must do in these times when violence is the common denominator.

I am not in favour, Mr. Chairman, of bringing in a vote under pressure; but I am strongly in favour of allowing people to speak and to express their opinions frankly, clearly and reasonably. I do not approve of talking about an opponent behind his back nor of praising a friend in his presence. The former is called cowardice; the latter flattery. Therefore I should prefer the South African Red Cross and Government delegations, who were invited here, to remain and listen to what the world, through its representatives, has to say about certain practices.

I feel that censure and reprobation of such ideas, procedures and methods is necessary; but I also say that the accused must be given the opportunity to defend himself. I think, Mr. Chairman, that we can censure and warn the South African Government and give notice that the Red Cross will not be able to invite it to future conferences as long as the practices in question have not been abolished.

Finally, I have a few words to say in defence of the Swiss Red Cross. You, Mr. Chairman, as host to this Conference, issued an invitation in due form; and once a guest is in one's

house it is not done to throw him out. In the future the Red Cross may not welcome him back. Your position, Mr. Chairman, is a very difficult one, and therefore I make a plea for common sense. We all came here to deal with human problems. In my opinion racial discrimination is anachronistic and reprehensible, for today it affects a large proportion of mankind. It must be eradicated definitively. This injustice must be remedied by the unanimous consensus of people like ourselves who raise a protest against it.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Special thanks for your plea in my favour, which will certainly add weight to those of Monsignor Mullor Garcia. I ask you all to take heart: there are only seven more speakers before the end of the debate.

Ambassador J. A. SANKEY (United Kingdom, Government)

First I would like to congratulate you on your high office and wish you well in your difficult task.

We are about to take a most important vote, with possibly serious consequences for the Red Cross Movement as a whole. We respect the sincerity of the African delegations who have raised this issue, the strength of their feelings and their support for the ideals of the Red Cross Movement. They are opposed to the South African Government's policy of *apartheid* and they feel it necessary to express this opposition by calling for the suspension of South Africa from this International Conference.

The British Government's position on *apartheid* is clear: we totally reject this policy which denies human rights and breeds hatred and violence. I state once again our revulsion at *apartheid*. It is precisely because there is a worsening situation in South Africa that the Red Cross Movement has a vitally important role to play in that troubled country. This is surely not the time to drive the South African Government from this Conference, but rather to insist on their remaining, so that we can emphasize the need for them to co-operate closely with the ICRC and to adhere strictly to the principles of the Red Cross. Indeed, the ICRC has no power to act on behalf of the victims of *apartheid* except with the permission of the Government concerned.

As the distinguished Ambassador of the Netherlands said, tonight's vote is not about *apartheid* but about the right under the Statutes and Rules of this Movement of a State party to the Geneva Conventions to participate in this Conference. It is essential not to politicize this Movement. We are therefore against the exclusion of the South African Government delegation from this Conference.

Ambassador E. MAKEEV (USSR, Government):

Mr. Chairman, the hour is late. The discussions have been prolonged and at this very late hour I have to speak English and not Russian! So I will be short. Since it is my first statement in this Conference, Mr. Chairman, I would like to extend to you and to the other members of the Bureau our hearty congratulations on the occasion of your election to the high posts at this Conference and I wish you all great success, since the agenda of our Conference is very serious and heavy.

Mr. Chairman, in the nuclear age, when the fate of humanity is at stake, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement can do a lot to contribute to the real implementation of the purposes of the Movement, that is, through unanimous and true peace; if peace is secured, all other problems will be solved. Secondly, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the government delegation and the delegation of the National Committee of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and in conformity with our well-known position on racial discrimination, *apartheid*, and human rights, I would like to support the motion of the delegation of Kenya, which was supported by many other delegations; that is, to suspend the participation of the government

delegation of South Africa in this Conference; as well as the proposal of the delegation of Kenya to invite national liberation movements of Africa to this Conference.

Mr. Chairman, the representatives of South Africa to the Twenty-fifth Conference have been appointed by a Government which is the product of racial criteria representing only a very small but dominant fraction of the South African population. South Africa's racial policies have repeatedly been condemned by the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, I note with regret the fact that some delegations are trying to justify and defend South Africa at this Conference, as well as in some other places, and here we also witness some sort of double standard. With regard to the question of the legitimacy of the Conference, I would like to state the following: it is perfectly legitimate for the Conference to take any decision, including the one proposed by the delegation of Kenya and other African countries, since the Conference is the master of this procedure.

Ambassador Nguyen THUONG (Viet Nam, Government) (*Original French*):

I am speaking on behalf of both the Viet Nam Government and the Vietnamese National Red Cross Society.

I join the previous speakers in expressing our congratulations to you, Mr. Chairman. At the same time we hope and trust that our Conference will have a successful outcome. We feel that its success will depend on how closely, under your guidance, we abide by the spirit of our Movement, that is, humanity and unity based on justice.

With regard to the subject under discussion, we Vietnamese, like the delegations of many non-aligned countries, fully support the proposal put forward by Kenya on behalf of the African group. We are all the more strongly convinced in that the proposal is well-founded; it is not put from a political position, as some have suggested, but from a legal standpoint, for its subject is a crime against humanity.

I should like to stress that this motion proposed by the African group is reasonable and moderate, since it makes a distinction between the South African Red Cross Society, which is entitled to participate in our meeting, and the South African Government. It does not demand the permanent or indefinite exclusion of the latter, as some delegates have suggested, but merely its suspension, which could be temporary if the Republic of South Africa abandoned its policy of *apartheid*.

My delegation therefore concurs entirely with the African group and requests that the motion proposed by Kenya be adopted. We agree with those who believe that such an action is not outside the competence of our Conference and that it will not detract from the vitality of our Movement. On the contrary, it is likely to increase confidence in the Movement, particularly on the part of the peoples of the Third World who are so often the victims of injustice and of racial and other types of discrimination.

Dato KHOR ENG HEE (Malaysia, Government):

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation we would like to congratulate you on your appointment, as well as the members of your Bureau.

Mr. Chairman, a number of speakers have already spoken for and against the motion and it is not my intention to add to the substance of the debate. To my delegation, the issue before us, the issue of the Kenyan motion on behalf of the African members, is not one of legality, politics, presidency or procedure. To us, the issue is one that touches the very heart of the principles that the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement stand for and work for. Mr. Chairman, as I look down at you, my attention is drawn to the motto that is in front of us: "United for humanity", and when I ponder over what has been spoken before me, and at the other words in front of me, "United for humanity", then the only course

open for my delegation is to speak on behalf of the motion just made by Kenya.

Ambassador H. J. BRILLANTES (Philippines, Government):

First of all, I offer to you appreciation and best wishes on behalf of the Philippines Government, the National Red Cross Society and our people of the Philippines, who believe in the moral aims, objectives and purposes of the Red Cross Movement.

So far we have listened to the statement made by our colleague from Kenya for and on behalf of all the delegations from Africa at this Conference as well as the supported statements made by some other representatives of Africa and also from some other regions of the world.

So, Mr. Chairman, we do not now discuss *apartheid*, because any further discussion on the question could only perhaps tempt us to be led away from the real issue before this Conference. We all condemn *apartheid*; I do not know of anyone in this room who would close his eyes to the negative if not pernicious effects of *apartheid*. I do not know of any person in this room who would ever justify that *apartheid* is a policy worth dying for.

Mr. Chairman, the President of the Philippines, President Aquino, in her statement before the General Assembly of the United Nations towards the end of September, condemned in no uncertain terms, in unmistakable terms, the policy of *apartheid* as pursued by a government which all of us know. Mr. Chairman, that statement of the President of the Philippines is the answer of the Philippines delegation to the Kenyan proposal as has been outlined before us some minutes ago.

But, Mr. Chairman, allow me to draw the attention of the Conference to an aspect which I feel we should all be aware of before we take any decision. We have been informed that this is the first time that the issue of *apartheid* is being discussed in this Conference, and we have been told, Mr. Chairman, that there are no rules in our Rules of Procedure nor in the Constitution, by-laws and Statutes, or past Resolutions, which would indicate to us how to deal with the question for the suspension of the right of a member to participate in the deliberations of this Conference. But, Mr. Chairman, we are discussing the question anyway and so, Sir, I would like, with your permission, to ask the following questions. If we all agree that the Conference is the master of its own Rules of Procedure then, in consequence, we must all accept that the Conference can decide, if it so dictates, that the matter of this suspension of a member from further participation in this Conference could be taken.

That, therefore, is the first question. And, from the tenor of the debate, a tally of the statements on this issue would seem to be very preponderantly in favour that the Conference, being the master of its own procedure, can take action one way or the other on the issue of suspension.

My second question, Mr. Chairman, is how does the Conference take a decision on its competence? How would you weigh the weight of influence of the views one way or the other? In other words, Mr. Chairman, are you going to strive for a consensus, or are you going to put the matter to a vote? Consensus is always desirable, it has not always been efficient, but at times it has proved a respectable course of action. But if you cannot attain consensus, Mr. Chairman, then are we powerless, that we cannot take any decision at all? Obviously the only resort, as we have learned from the United Nations system, is to take a vote. Then, Mr. Chairman, if you put this to the vote, what majority would be required for a decision to be taken by the Conference?

Another consequential issue is the duration and the weight of the decision. For how long would it be applicable? This, Mr. Chairman, has not been discussed in our debate. But I do not propose that we delay the decision because of

no actions or reactions taken on the consequential issues that I have explained. Then, Mr. Chairman, a thought comes to me: we have in the system of the Red Cross what we call a Standing Commission. If the Standing Commission had been able to present to us a list of officers in order for the Conference to function in order and normally, perhaps it may be asked whether this question now before the House has ever been discussed or drawn to the attention of the Standing Commission.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have raised all these points because of the importance of the question of *apartheid* and also, and even more importantly, because of our desire to keep and preserve the dignity and neutrality of the Red Cross. Mr. Chairman, it has been said that people who want to do good must be welcomed and must be encouraged to do more and greater still. Yet, it could also be said that under the cloak of humanity no one should be tolerated or given freedom to violate the very humanity for which we stand. Mr. Chairman, humanity and the dignity of man are indispensable. Any violation of humanity in one corner of the world has its negative repercussions in other parts of the world. And, as my colleague from Malaysia has said, I draw your attention to that poster: "United for humanity". Let us unite in defence of humanity and of the dignity of man.

Professor SON SONG PIL (Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Red Cross and Government) (*Original French*):

I should like to speak on behalf of the delegation of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Before dealing with the problem before me, I should like to express our gratitude and sincere thanks to the Swiss Government and Swiss Red Cross for their warm welcome to us and for their tireless efforts in ensuring the success of this august Conference. I also thank all the members of the Bureau just elected for accepting the responsibility entrusted to them by this Conference.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fully supports the proposal made by the delegation of Kenya, which is justified by several arguments on which I will not expand at present, as this has been done by previous speakers. The South African *régime* infringes both human rights and the spirit of humanity.

We therefore consider that the request which the majority of the delegations present has made to exclude the Government of South Africa is perfectly fair; and we accordingly request the Chairman to close the discussion and put the motion tabled by the delegations of Kenya and Zambia to the vote.

Mr. C. KELLY (Solomon Islands, Government):

First of all, I would like to thank you for your seat there. You have contributed very well in this session. Secondly, since the South African issue is very touchy, I would like to issue another topic which is, seeing we are talking about humanity, I would also like to talk about this nuclear issue in the Pacific Ocean.

We also wanted to have this nuclear-free Pacific, in the Pacific Islands; as I said it is very touchy: you have not condemned France as well for bringing nuclear weapons to the region. I would also like to put this to the floor. I wonder what my other delegates in the Pacific region will say about this. As the Solomon Islands, as I said, it is the Happy Isles of the Pacific, I would say that I do condemn France of being a nuclear power in the region. This is all I wanted to say, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. E. E. E. MTANGO (Tanzania, Government):

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to speak at the late hour. The earlier intervention was from the representative of the National Red Cross of Tanzania. This is therefore the first intervention from the government delegation.

Mr. Chairman, I congratulate you on your election, and

all other members of the Bureau. I would like to make, very briefly, two or three points. My original intention was simply to support the first and the second motions tabled by the delegation of Kenya, as well as to state that, if a vote will have to take place, this vote should be by roll call.

However, in light of the various interventions made during this meeting, a number of clarifications are necessary and I shall make them without taking much of your time. First of all, I think that we have to underscore the fact that there is no other Government in the whole world that has adopted, as its official policy, as the official philosophy of the Government, a policy of racism or the policy of *apartheid* which is the crudest form of racism. There has been only one incident known in history, and that was the Government of Adolf Hitler.

Mr. Chairman, we would therefore like to pose a question: suppose that Government was the one which was the subject of discussion tonight, would it still be possible for many delegates to raise the legalistic arguments we have just heard in order to keep that Government amongst us, to sit in this congregation of delegations who support the principles of the Red Cross, and our motto, united for humanity? Is this Government which is a subject of our discussion tonight a supporter of the principles which the rest of us are dedicated to defend? Does this Government respect humanity? Does it respect the principles in which we all believe? Mr. Chairman, it must be remembered that according to the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, any party which has failed completely to respect the principles enshrined in a given treaty loses the validity of its membership to that treaty; and the Government of South Africa in this case has lost all rights to participate in this Conference of respectable members of the Geneva Conventions.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, a question about a compromise has been raised; indeed, the proposal made by Kenya is a compromise. It is a compromise because, as you very well know, it does not reflect all the elements that were communicated in writing by the African Group. Therefore what we have proposed is a compromise and we have even gone further: not to demand for the expulsion of South Africa, but only the suspension of the participation of this Government.

Thirdly, I now address the question of duration. For how long is this suspension? We have answered this question in our proposal: South Africa will be suspended until it changes its racist policies, until it respects principles which we are united in humanity to support and then, at that time, the South African Government can come and sit among us as a member of our meetings.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we are taking a crucial decision tonight and I would like also to remind us, as we go to take a decision, as we go to vote, to remember that the vote here will send a message to the African continent. It will send a message of the commitment of all participants here to the common principles of the Red Cross or otherwise it is not necessary to elaborate how the African continent would interpret the decision of this meeting. I believe, from the statements that we have heard, it is very obvious to all of us, the message this Conference wants to send to Africa particularly to those victims who are being butchered daily by the racist *régime* of South Africa. This *régime*, which has been practising these atrocities, has even forbidden the international media to report on these criminal acts. And this is why, Mr. Chairman, the international community now does not anymore have the chance of seeing through their television screens the crimes that are being committed, the daily butchering of the majority of the population of South Africa as if they are animals.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The last country to have asked for the floor, Sweden, wishes to speak. Both its Government and its National Red Cross Society have asked for the floor.

Ambassador H.-O. OLSSON (Sweden, Government):

Like all the speakers, allow me to congratulate you and all the members of the Bureau on your election.

The attitude of the Swedish Government on the issue of *apartheid*, I hope, needs no further explanation. Indeed, the attitude of the Swedish population, as a whole, stands, I think I can safely say, 100 per cent behind its Government on the condemnation of *apartheid*. Likewise, without being, I hope, too chauvinistic, I hope I dare say that my Government, my nation, has always taken an *avant-garde* position on dealing with the practical consequences of *apartheid*. And I think I am allowed to say that we have a particular relationship with the so-called Frontier States of South Africa in working together with them to alleviate the consequences of *apartheid*.

Thus, I hope that when I go on to say that my Government regards this as a false issue, that this opinion is duly respected. It is said that we are here united for humanity. Yes indeed. But unfortunately the other side of that medal is that we do live in a world full of evil, where we have to seek a balance of evil forces and humanitarian forces. And precisely the Red Cross is, in our view, one of the appropriate forums for that.

I had a particularly moving experience a few hours ago, at dinner time, when my host told me how, some years ago—1945 precisely—under the symbol of the Red Cross and the actions of the Swedish Red Cross he was saved from the death camps of Europe. At that time, we could of course have condemned the *régime* that created the death camps of Europe, and so we did, but I mean that is not the point: the point is that we were able to save some lives, unfortunately far too few, but still this is the purpose, this is the meaning of the Red Cross, to counteract the effects of evil in the world. Certainly the *apartheid régime* of South Africa is evil, it represents pure evil to us; but it is precisely in order to combat the effects of that evil that we need a universal forum.

Brigadier B. WALLBERG (Sweden, Red Cross):

I am now speaking on behalf of the Swedish Red Cross Society. This issue at stake is really a very difficult one. There are no good solutions really. I believe that we all feel contempt for the system practised in the South African Republic, as our Ambassador has expressed here, where the black majority comprising 75 per cent of the population is being prevented from participating in the ruling of that country.

The Red Cross Movement strongly opposes racism and *apartheid* already through its Fundamental Principles. This was reiterated in the meeting we had in the General Assembly of the League, the other day here. Subsequently, there should be no doubt prevailing about our stand as to *apartheid* and racism. This being said, Mr. Chairman, I want to appeal to all the delegates to consider the forum in which we now are gathering.

Many speakers have referred to the Statutes. However much we support the legal argument, I really want to stress yet another argument in favour of universality. We believe that the world really needs at least one organization where dialogue prevails, where contacts should always be maintained. As the delegate from the Netherlands just said, we experience governments over and over again which do not respect international humanitarian law. Nevertheless, contacts are upheld, these governments are here, because we believe that the humanitarian objectives really require a dialogue and require contacts.

We do not expect *apartheid* to be disbanded as a result of such contacts very soon. But we believe that humanitarian objectives can be better achieved if dialogues exist, as compared with a situation where silence and no contacts prevail.

Let me add one thing. If we have any interest in reaching

out to the victims of *apartheid*, which will be necessary, do we believe that the possibilities for doing so would be better if we suspend the dialogue? The South African Red Cross, respected by us, as we know them, are trying their very best under difficult circumstances; we really wonder what would be the situation for them, and for the ICRC, now working in the South African Republic, if we follow the proposal made by the Kenyan Government?

Lastly, Mr. Chairman, to end up with whatever we decide today, I think it is very good that the South African Government delegation has been here, present here, so far, and has heard our discussions. Throughout the discussion it has been very clear how much all of us dislike and condemn their system, how much we wish a change to take place in the South African Republic. When we speak in favour of dialogue our motive is primarily the most paramount one for the Red Cross Movement: the main objective must always be to reach out to the victims, to the human beings in civil strife or other emergency situation.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We have now come to the end of our list of our speakers. Several of them have mentioned the very great importance of our decision, which in addition to the immediate effect of the motion could have very long-term consequences; this is a case without precedent in the long history of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, and I therefore decided to allow any person who wished to speak to do so, as was my right under Article 13 of our Rules of Procedure.

I should now like to say very clearly what we shall be voting about. I shall start by reading out once again Article I, paragraph 2, of our Statutes: "The supreme deliberative body of the International Red Cross shall be the International Conference. The International Conference of the Red Cross shall be composed of delegations of duly recognized National Red Cross, Red Crescent Societies..., delegations of the States parties to the Geneva Conventions and delegations of the International Committee of the Red Cross and of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies."

In the light of this text and of the opinions expressed in our discussion, and after consulting the already elected members of the Bureau who have succeeded the Standing Commission, I have to divide into two parts the motion submitted by the delegation of the Government of Kenya; I shall ask you first of all to answer this question: do you consider that the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross can suspend from its proceedings the delegation of a State party to the Geneva Conventions? If your answer is yes, you will have to answer the second question, which is: do you consider that the Twenty-fifth Conference should suspend from its proceedings the delegation of the Republic of South Africa? Those are the two votes which we must now take.

I am ready to proceed to the vote immediately, but I think it would perhaps be as well for us all to think a little before taking a decision. I therefore ask you for your opinion on the proposal to adjourn the meeting at this point and to

resume it in plenary session tomorrow at 9.30 a.m. by taking the vote.

(*Murmurs*)

I note that some of you oppose this proposal. Allow me to say one thing: the request has already been made that voting should be by roll call. There may be other requests relating to the method of voting. That will take up a lot of our time.

The delegation of Algeria has asked for the floor on the subject of my proposal. There will be one speaker for the proposal and one against.

Ambassador K. HACENE (Algeria, Government) (*Original French*):

I shall speak on two points. With all due respect to the Chair: Is it possible to split into two parts the motion submitted by the distinguished representative of Kenya? My second point is that the session should be brought to a close, as the delegation of Kenya has asked for a vote by roll call. My delegation supports that request.

Ambassador Dr. F. DANNENBRING (Federal Republic of Germany, Government):

On a point of order, my delegation shares the views expressed by a previous speaker and by yourself, Mr. Chairman, that we are dealing with a most important matter concerning the very essence of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

For this very reason, my delegation considers it appropriate that if, much to our regret, no consensus can be reached and if you rule for a vote, it should be taken by secret ballot. (*Applause*)

I am referring to Article 18, paragraph 4, of the Rules of Procedure, which reads as follows: "The vote should be taken by a secret ballot if ten delegations so request". I would like to inform you, Mr. Chairman, that my motion is supported by 22 delegations. If you so wish I would be prepared to read out the names of those delegations. With your permission, I will then do so. The motion is supported by Australia, the Australian Red Cross, Canada, the Canadian Red Cross, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, the Icelandic Red Cross, the Irish Red Cross, Japan, the Netherlands, the Netherlands Red Cross, New Zealand, the New Zealand Red Cross, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the Swiss Red Cross, the United Kingdom, the British Red Cross, the United States of America and the American Red Cross.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I note that more than 10 delegations call for a secret ballot. We must therefore proceed as follows: this vote will probably take us one or two hours, and I ask you to reconsider the motion that the debate should be postponed until tomorrow morning, with the vote starting at 9.30 a.m. The meeting is now adjourned.

(*End of the First Plenary Meeting,
at approximately 23.30 p.m.*)

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

24 October, 1986

at 12.20 p.m.

SUMMARY: Discussion regarding the suspension of the South African Government delegation from the Twenty-fifth International Conference (*continued*).

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and gentlemen, our deliberations now continue. You have had to put up with one adjournment after another, as the result of differences of opinion on legal matters and on procedure, which still divide the different factions, so to speak, of this Assembly. They needed time to agree among themselves and to make contacts between the various groups. I would ask you to be patient regarding the inconveniences to which you have been exposed.

The head of the delegation of the Government of Kenya is the first to have asked for the floor. I shall then call upon the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the President of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; both of them already asked for the floor last night, but I was not able to accede to their request for lack of time.

Ambassador D. D. AFANDE (Kenya, Government):

My delegation, on behalf of the African delegations at this Conference, put forward a formal and substantive motion which would have entailed the understanding that any further substantive debate cease forthwith.

As transpired later, in the course of the debate, and as you rightly said, Mr. Chairman, you wished that the issue, which we do agree is very important, be given to other delegations who wished to make statements. We agreed to this proposal in good faith, knowing very well that, according to the Rules of Procedure, we could have insisted on going ahead with our motion which, we had put it very clearly, would be voted upon by roll-call. We appreciated all the support which was given to our motion by distinguished colleagues from various delegations. And in this respect, we count on the support of all delegations which have traditionally given us their support with regard to the question of the racist policies of South Africa. In this regard, of course I refer to the Group of 77 of the Non-aligned Movement and all other peace-loving countries which have all along followed us in our struggle, or given us all the necessary support in our struggle to dismantle *apartheid*.

The issue at hand was not political, but humanitarian and we had expected that, knowing the views of the African delegations, and those which were expressed very loudly and clearly by many delegations, you, Mr. Chairman, would have taken appropriate action at the end of those statements to put to the vote the motion which my delegation proposed on behalf of the African delegations. What transpired at the end of last night's meeting and the dramatic way in which you adjourned the meeting left us doubtful as to whether you, Mr. Chairman, are following the Rules of Procedure. Nevertheless, we do respect the Chair; and we will continue respecting the Chair. Of course it is our view that the Conference in which we are all participating now is important.

Coming from Africa, I would speak on behalf of the African delegations that it is a desire of all African delegations here that the Conference should succeed and that the results of this Conference should go a long way to help the African population; the African majority in South Africa who are suffering; the under-privileged and less privileged people all over the world who need the assistance which is given by the Red Cross Movement. In this regard we had very much hoped that if the Chair had handled the issue the way we had expected and in accordance with the Rules

of Procedure, the matter would have been resolved very quickly last night, and we would all be here now discussing the substantive issues which brought all of us here to Geneva. We definitely do not expect and do not wish to be accused of having delayed the discussions which are expected to take place in this meeting.

Mr. Chairman, I have to express the disappointment of the African delegations at the manner in which the Conference was abruptly adjourned. And this despite the fact that a number of African delegations raised their cards on the points of order, insisting that the matter be resolved immediately.

Mr. Chairman, we do hope that with your wisdom, and now knowing our views in this regard, that we do rely, put all our hopes in your hands, that you will be able to guide this Conference to a successful conclusion and that we, in the African delegations, will continue giving you all the necessary support. In doing so we do not expect that we will sacrifice our goal, which we have already put very clearly, that the South African delegation, the Government delegation which is participating in this Conference, be suspended immediately from participating in this Conference. And we do hope, Mr. Chairman, that you now will be able to put to the vote the motion which I moved last night.

Mr. A. HAY (President, ICRC) (*Original French*):

I must immediately emphasize that I have no intention of influencing the vote or votes about to take place. Each one of you must vote according to his or her conscience.

I wish to endorse the many opinions expressed in yesterday's long debate. I share the feelings of the African countries who are rightly protesting against the practice of *apartheid*, for the ICRC's principles oblige it to condemn this extreme form of discrimination.

The representative of the Holy See has appealed to us to preserve the essentials of dialogue in a spirit of peace. I thank those of you who have voiced Red Cross principles and have in particular emphasized how important it is to maintain the principles of universality and neutrality, the only ones that can keep our Movement united. I do not propose at this juncture to protract the discussion on procedure or legal interpretation, but only wish to remind you that humanitarian law, to which all States here subscribe, is in fact the last bridge between conflicting States. Humanitarian law must still represent a minimum consensus of humanity around which the international community, so often torn apart by war, can still meet in spite of all that divides it.

The Red Cross does not regard neutrality as a passive attitude and therefore easy to adopt. On the contrary, it is the result of a firm determination to preserve an area of dialogue and compassion for the victims of conflicts, whose tragic faces we saw in the film shown at the opening ceremony.

I repeat that I do not wish to influence the vote. The ICRC can only respect the decisions of the Conference, but it hopes that wisdom will guide our debates and that the victims will not blame us for our decisions.

One of the delegates said in her speech yesterday that States violating international humanitarian law should be

excluded from this Conference. I cannot agree with her there, for this would interrupt the dialogue that this Conference is essentially concerned to promote in seeking a greater measure of humanity, and the victims of those violations would be left utterly defenceless.

My dearest hope is that this Conference, held in the city of Henry Dunant, will be the source of a new will shared by everyone, to do all we possibly can to make the world of tomorrow one of greater justice and humanity. In the words of Camus: "We must fight for truth, but take care not to kill it with the weapons we wield in its defence."

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank President Hay for this moving message from an institution that has the benefit of 122 years of experience and activity.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League) (*Original Spanish*):

We have reached a situation which I believe is a source of concern, deep concern, to us all. A situation that has been evolving in a variety of ways since the Conference began, until we have now reached the point where a vote by a method as yet undecided (voting is of course a democratic way of settling questions) is going to arbitrate between what are, to put it plainly, two strongly opposed points of view.

The truth of the matter is that the meaning of the discussions and our purpose here, which is to make this Conference a successful meeting of great benefit to the Red Cross (and when I say Red Cross and Red Crescent I mean the people receiving its protection and assistance), has been lost sight of. The truth of the matter is that we are opposing each other, or rather that there has been a clash of opinions, over questions some of which are purely a matter of procedure. What we started discussing yesterday was whether a delegation should be suspended. What worries me now is how to find a way to prevent 50 delegations from walking out of the meeting.

There has been a change of subject matter, a very great change. I think still more time is needed to find common ground. Obviously everybody shares the opposition to *apartheid*. *Apartheid* in itself is condemned by the Conference. In itself it is nothing until it is applied, until a given country, whatever country that is, adopts it. And then, what was previously condemned for humanitarian reasons has political repercussions but does not lose its humanitarian quality. This in practice leads to reactions that are very germane to this Conference, because of the humane aspect of the problem. Therefore, given that there is indeed a strong desire, as the Ambassador of Kenya has shown, to try and find a solution, in response to the appeals of many of yesterday's speakers and particularly of the Nuncio of His Holiness the Pope, it would undoubtedly be a good thing to try, right up till the last moment, to find a formula and a way out on which there was sufficient agreement and that was agreeable (if not fully agreeable, at least acceptable) to the opposing parties. Suspension has been mentioned; there are degrees of suspension; there can be suspension of all rights or of the right to speak or vote or attend meetings of Commissions; legal parlance has room for many formulas. Other claims put forward can also be satisfied if ways and means cannot be found by negotiation. We have not had a chance of knowing so far whether the attitude of the delegation of the Government of South Africa may at any time present a hopeful formula for all of us who think that humanitarian action should be intensified in that country; a formula to improve the channelling of aid and provide a better guarantee that international humanitarian law will be applied.

In my view, time spent in negotiation is not wasted; far from it. What we have to do is to find common ground and to fix that common ground. A vote can provide a drastic solution to the problem. A vote may settle the question, but I do not know whether it will bring us enough peace of mind

for us to make this Conference the great humanitarian success that we all want it to be.

I share democratic ideas and I believe that decisions arrived at by a vote are perfectly valid; but I believe that before voting one should see very clearly the subject matter of the vote. Of course, if the vote is taken in accordance with these procedures and within these limits, the League will abstain, but by doing so I do not want to set any precedent or prescribe any method of implementation. I only wish to explain that it is impossible to cast a vote in these circumstances, since several of us maintain that all that has been done so far is to adopt excessively rigid positions and that human intelligence (and precisely because we think as human beings) makes us do our utmost to find a means of reaching an agreement and of maintaining dialogue.

Because ultimately we need dialogue, we all need it, we need it for the sake of the Red Cross, we need it for the sake of its activities, it is required as part of our methods. If we come to the lamentable situation where a number of National Societies and government delegations walk out of the Conference, then I too shall wonder what will become of our Principles and particularly the Principle of Universality. The Conference would be a limited one, a reduced one, whereas we have gone to so much trouble to hold it and have the opportunity to discuss all these problems serenely; I ask you once more to go to the trouble of finding a point on which there can be dialogue, where we can all meet on common ground.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, Mr. de la Mata, for your appeal for the unity of our Movement and your suggestion that the meeting might again be postponed for further consultation. On this point I think I shall ask you later, ladies and gentlemen, and particularly the African delegations, to find out whether they too feel that need, or whether they are anxious to settle this matter once and for all.

May I meanwhile remind you of the point we have reached and tell you of the decisions taken by the Bureau following various negotiations this morning. Yesterday we discussed Item 1 of the agenda of the first plenary meeting, that is, the elections. These have not yet been finished. This item was interrupted on a point of order by Kenya on behalf of the African countries, with the support of many other countries and Societies, calling for the suspension from the Conference of the delegation of the Government of South Africa. The question being an important one, I gave the floor to some 40 delegations and long discussion ensued. I would again ask for your indulgence for not having immediately interrupted the debate and resumed discussion of matters of procedure. At the end of this debate I tried to sum up my impressions. These were that the debate had in fact been on two questions, the first of which was: "Is the Conference competent to suspend a member duly invited by the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent?" and secondly, if the answer to the first question is yes, "Does the Conference wish to suspend the delegation of the Government of South Africa?"

It was concluded from this debate that the Conference considers itself competent to take a decision on this question. The Bureau has endorsed that conclusion. It is consequently no longer necessary to spend any more time on this first question, which we consider to have been settled. You will have noted that the delegate of Kenya and other delegates have called for a vote by roll-call. Later on in the evening the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany called for a secret ballot. We had therefore to decide on the method of voting. I confess that I am not at all expert on this question, especially as although the proposed amendments to the Statutes to be discussed by Commission II are very clear on this subject, that is not the case of the Statutes now in force, which we have to apply to the vote now to be taken. I have therefore asked for legal opinions

and I shall ask the Secretary General, who is my personal legal adviser, to give you his opinion, and his personal opinion, on this subject.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

If you ask for my personal opinion I would refer to Article 18 of the Rules of Procedure of the Conference, which deals with methods of voting procedure. It enumerates three different modes or methods of voting and states that as a general rule votes shall be taken by a show of hands. That is how the Conference votes. There are, however, different procedures if they are requested by a certain number of delegations. There are two variants: the first is voting by roll-call, which is compulsory if five delegations call for it. The same Article states further on, however, that the vote shall be taken by secret ballot if ten delegations so request.

Speaking as a jurist — this is not an opinion on the substance but a legal opinion — I consider that this Article is clear. The call for a secret ballot must logically take precedence because this Article makes the barrier a little higher by requiring ten delegations for a vote by secret ballot. A vote that is asked for by at least ten delegations is therefore more difficult to get; this is the kind of vote that should be used in this case. The purpose of this provision must, I think, be to protect the minority in a big assembly, whatever that minority is and whatever its opinion, and give it complete freedom of expression.

This is how I interpret Article 18. I repeat that where there are two conflicting requests for types of voting this means that the call for a secret ballot must take precedence.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I believe this legal opinion is not shared by everybody, and I should like to apply the Rules of Procedure allowing one speaker for and one against. I believe that the delegation of Algeria wishes to put forward the contrary legal opinion.

Ambassador K. HACENE (Algeria, Government) (*Original French*):

With all due respect to our Secretary General, I would point out to him and to the Conference that nothing in Article 18 gives priority to a secret ballot; far from it. I shall read out this Article as follows: "As a general rule, votes shall be taken by a show of hands. The vote shall, however, be taken by nominal roll-call if five delegations so request. In this case, the National Societies shall vote first, then the States, then the International Committee and the League. The name of each Society and each State called upon to vote shall be decided by the drawing of lots. The vote shall be taken by secret ballot if ten delegations so request".

If we take this text literally, it can be seen (and everybody has recognized how artistically vague this Article is) that in order of priority the vote by roll call is mentioned first. The motion proposed by the Government of Kenya was not supported by five delegations, but by about ten times as many, approximately 50. The matter of support having been dealt with, I would point out that the contrary request was submitted after the motion tabled by the Government of Kenya. I confess that I, like all our African friends, am anxious for this, at present gravely endangered, Conference to succeed and I say frankly that since Kenya's motion came first, that since it met the required conditions and since Article 18 is not clear, what we expected yesterday was that priority should be given to a vote by roll call on this question. Had this been done, we should have simultaneously satisfied law, humanity and efficiency, and we should have been able to resume our work today.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for your legal opinion. I think the Assembly can see from it that it is very hard for a Chairman to know which legal opinion to adopt.

Ambassador R. J. VAN SCHAIK (Netherlands, Government):

The Netherlands Government delegation agrees with the interpretation of Article 18 as has been given by the Secretary General of the Conference. We recognize that legal problems are sometimes quite complex. Yet, we hoped, Mr. Chairman, that you, as the ultimate custodian of the rules of this Conference, could in fact endorse his statement.

My delegation, also on behalf of the other members of the Group of Western Government delegations, wants to make it clear that in our opinion a request for a secret ballot has precedence over a request for a nominal roll-call. The reasoning is as follows: Article 18 of the Rules, which has been quoted, in fact provides for different voting procedures. But the order in which these voting procedures are mentioned cannot lead to any other interpretation than that this specific rule of a vote by secret ballot overrules the preceding voting procedures mentioned in the Article. The revised Rules of Procedure, Rule 20, paragraph 6, even explicitly states that the request for a vote by secret ballot shall take precedence over a request for a vote by roll-call. These draft Rules of Procedure reflect in fact the letter of the existing Rules and the spirit and existing practice prevailing both at Conferences of the Red Cross and in any other fora.

Let me add that in most international and national legislative bodies nowadays this specific procedure of a secret ballot has priority over any other voting procedures. It is clear that this is a standing practice to protect minority views.

We appreciate that the Kenyan delegation, last night, gave the opportunity for a full debate before its motion was brought to a vote. But with due respect to the position of Ambassador Afande, we think that even if we had not had a debate, a request would have been made for a secret vote and that request would then have had precedence.

The delegations of the Western countries are very concerned about the trend in the debate which suggests that the Conference is an august body that can forgo any rules that have been established without reference to the Statutes and to the Rules of Procedure. We do need respect for the legal framework within which we work in order to preserve the credibility of the Conference and therewith the support given to the work of the Red Cross by our governments and peoples.

In conclusion I strongly urge that this Conference abide by the Rules that have been established, rules also established in all the international fora, that we abide by the voting procedures that have been laid down in the Statutes and the Rules of Procedure.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You have now heard one speaker for and one against the legal opinion submitted by the Secretary General of the Conference. I invoke Article 15 limiting discussions to that number and I think nothing would have been added to the discussion had other Societies or government delegations supported either opinion. Accordingly I think we must take a decision and I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to do so. I therefore propose to proceed to a vote by a show of hands on whether you want to follow the legal opinion that voting should be by roll-call, or the legal opinion that it should be by secret ballot. I therefore call on the Secretary General to tell you how this vote by show of hands is to take place. A point of order has been raised. Bulgaria has asked for the floor on a point of order.

Dr. K. IGNATOV (Bulgaria, Government and Red Cross):

On behalf of the Government delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on behalf of the Bulgarian Red Cross Society, I would like to propose formally a roll call on the question whether to have a roll-call vote or a secret

ballot vote, because it would be very difficult to simply count the votes by a show of hands in this hall.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank the delegate of Bulgaria for his proposal to vote by roll call on the method of voting. Does the Assembly support that proposal? (*Applause*)

Ambassador J. A. SANKEY (United Kingdom, Government):

In the case that there would not be a vote by a show of hands, my delegation would propose a secret ballot.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The delegation of the United Kingdom asks for a vote by secret ballot. Is that proposal seconded by ten delegations? After receiving a reply to my question, I shall call on speakers for the subsequent points of order. Algeria has another point of order.

Ambassador K. HACENE (Algeria, Government) (*Original French*):

With all due respect to the Chair and in spite of this morning's constructive discussions, my delegation has to note that the debate is again going off the rails and that we are running into the same trouble as last night. The Conference is already in grave danger; it is now being given its death blow — I do not use that phrase unadvisedly.

Mr. Chairman, there were two motions. The first was the Bulgarian motion; my delegation did not hear any question as to who supported it; the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom came next. It is granting him a favour to ask who supports him. Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to the Chair, we are making the same mistakes as yesterday.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

May I ask the delegate of Bulgaria if he is speaking on behalf of five Societies?

Dr. K. IGNATOV (Bulgaria, Government and Red Cross):

It seems to me that the reaction of the hall was very clear.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I now ask the United Kingdom delegate whether his proposal is supported by ten delegations?

Ambassador J. A. SANKEY (United Kingdom, Government):

In response to your earlier question I saw a forest of white cards raised.

Ambassador A. R. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

I do not think the direction this meeting is taking is the best possible one. One delegation made a formal proposal and you had already announced that you were going to put it to the vote. What was proposed by the representative of Bulgaria was a proposal regarding the way in which that decision should be taken. I think that if we keep on asking for votes by roll-call and then for votes by secret ballot there will be no end to the deliberations of this Conference.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that in accordance with Article 13 you take a decision. There is a formal proposal for a vote by roll call, which you were on the point of putting to the vote. I therefore think that the proposal submitted by the representative of the United Kingdom cannot be entertained, as he submitted it when the voting procedure had already commenced. I fully support the declaration by the representative of Algeria, and I ask that, if need be, you settle the matter without having to take a vote on whether voting is to be by secret ballot or by roll call.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I think that the situation being what it is, it would be wise to adopt President de la Mata's point of view and proposal to leave us more time to get together and restore the liaisons that seem to have been interrupted. I adjourn the meeting.

(*interruption*)

(*the meeting resumed at 3.00 p.m.*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and gentlemen, I much regret to have to inform you that the consultations between the various groups have not so far led to any result. We shall be obliged to continue our efforts this evening and I have to suspend the discussion until 9 a.m. tomorrow to allow for these additional consultations. I ask your understanding for this decision; I have taken it very reluctantly, but I think we should make a final effort to reach an agreement between the various groups represented in this Conference. I therefore adjourn the meeting until 9 a.m. tomorrow morning.

(*The meeting rose at 3.15 p.m.*)

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

25 October, 1986

9.45 a.m.

SUMMARY: Vote on the suspension of the South African Government delegation from the Twenty-fifth International Conference — Delegations' statements on their respective positions — Motion presented by the delegation of the Australian Red Cross for the adjournment of the Twenty-fifth International Conference — Vote — Report on the proceedings of the Council of Delegates — Appointment of the Conference Commissions — Opening of the procedure for the election of the members of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross — Report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross.

VOTE ON THE SUSPENSION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION FROM THE TWENTY - FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Welcome to you all, Ladies and Gentlemen, on this Saturday morning. We are unfortunately still dealing with Item 1 on our agenda of the first plenary meeting. I should therefore like to sum up the situation.

I think procedural discussions and interruptions of meetings, however useful they have been, have unfortunately lasted too long. I fully accept my share of the responsibility, but clearly these procedural debates are not getting us anywhere. The Conference has reached a critical point. It is urgently necessary to save it and enable it to start on the work the world and suffering humanity expect of us.

I have accordingly decided to make use of my powers to submit to you a proposal that should put an end to the debate. I do not see how I could continue to discharge my duties if the Conference did not accept my ruling on this. I wish to make clear that I am taking this decision under the powers defined in Article 13, which authorizes me to decide points of order. This is in no way an interpretation of Article 18, especially of its last paragraph concerning the vote by secret ballot. I have decided to submit to a vote by roll-call without further delay the motion proposed by the delegation of the Government of Kenya, which I shall now read out in the original language: "Motion by the Kenyan delegation on behalf of the African delegations that the representatives of Government of the Republic of South Africa be suspended from participating in the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross." In doing so I expect of all of you to accept the final result, whichever way you vote.

After this vote we shall continue to deal with the agenda. You will understand that it would probably be impossible for me to continue to bear the heavy responsibility of acting as Chairman if this last attempt were to fail.

We shall now go on to the vote. I ask the Secretary General kindly to proceed to the vote. Until the point of order before us at the moment is settled I shall not accept any other points of order.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, the vote will take place in accordance with Articles 17 and 18 of the Rules of Procedure of the Conference. Those Articles read as follows:

Article 17: "Each National Society and each State represented at the Conference shall have the right to one vote; the same shall apply to the International Committee and the League. Abstentions shall not be taken into consideration in determining the majority. The majority shall be half the total number of votes cast for or against a proposal, plus one. In the event of a tie, the motion shall be rejected".

Article 18: "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. In this

case, the National Societies shall vote first, then the States, then the International Committee and the League. The name of each Society and each State called upon to vote shall be decided by the drawing of lots".

The last paragraph does not concern this kind of vote.

(A roll-call was then taken of all delegations, first of the National Societies, then the States, and then the International Committee and the League.)

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, I have conducted a roll-call of all delegations and the result will be announced as soon as the votes are counted. Will the four scrutineers please accompany the Assistant Secretaries General to count the votes and monitor their work.

(Pause)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, the results of the voting are as follows. The following took part in the vote:

National Societies:	80 delegations
Governments: and the League,	111 delegations
Total:	192 delegations

159 delegations voted for the motion.
25 delegations voted against the motion.

There were 8 abstentions. In accordance with Article 17 of the Rules of Procedure abstentions are not taken into consideration in determining the majority. The required majority is therefore 93. The motion was thus adopted by 159 votes to 25⁽¹⁾.

I accordingly call upon the delegation of the Government of South Africa to withdraw.

I open the debate to speakers wishing to explain why they voted as they did. Who wishes to speak?

Ambassador J. B. SHEARAR (South Africa, Government) (*Original English*):

I inquired earlier whether I would have the right to make a statement.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):
Please leave this hall.

Ambassador J. B. SHEARAR (South Africa, Government) (*Original English*):

I add this under protest, Mr. Chairman. This was a travesty of justice and a travesty of legality and my Government will take full note of what has happened here today. Thank you. It is not we, Mr. Chairman, who are humiliated today.

(1) Detailed results of the vote, see page 98.

DELEGATIONS' STATEMENTS ON THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

I wish to explain why the ICRC did not take part in the vote that has just taken place.

I must first of all say that this situation is an unprecedented one in our Movement and that it must not form a precedent. There have in the past been International Conferences of the Red Cross at which two governments claimed to represent the same State party to the Geneva Conventions, and situations in which an authority asserted that it was the Government of a State that had not been recognized as a State.

Here, what has been questioned for the first time is the representative character of the delegation of the Government of a State which nobody denies is party to the General Conventions. Every State party to the Geneva Conventions is *de jure* a member of this Conference. As our Statutes now stand, it is therefore contrary to our Statutes to suspend the delegation of a member State.

What the ICRC is upholding in this affair is firstly the universality of humanitarian law and secondly respect for the Rules of Procedure of this Conference. Nothing in the attitude adopted by the ICRC on this occasion must be taken to mean that it recognizes that the Conference may disregard its own rules, or that the ICRC is taking sides for or against a State. In any event, I repeat, this unprecedented decision should not in any circumstances form a precedent for the future. For these reasons, the ICRC considered that it was not possible for it to take part in this vote.

The important thing now is to look to the future. I appeal to the Conference to look to the days yet to come with hope

and confidence. We have known other big crises in the past and have overcome them all. Let us now get down to work. There is still time to return to harmony and to act in such a way that the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross can achieve the work for which it was convened.

Mr. L. MARIN (Spain, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

I am speaking on behalf of a group of National Red Cross Societies which yesterday afternoon signed a document binding them to take no part in the vote. These were the National Societies of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Suriname and Uruguay. These Societies condemn *apartheid* as an extreme form of racism. They want the end of any form of racial discrimination; but we decided not to take part in the vote because we considered that the vote was being taken from political positions and that it violated the Rules of Procedure of the Conference. We also believe that several Red Cross principles, and fundamentally the principle of universality were transgressed.

Ambassador G. A. VARGAS (Nicaragua, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

Our delegation requests the Chair to make public the lists of votes cast.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for this proposal. Clearly, the results of the voting are included in the official records. The representative of the Government of Kenya has the floor.

Ambassador D. D. AFANDE (Kenya, Government):

Now that we have adopted the motion proposed by my delegation on behalf of the African delegations at this Con-

Detailed results of the roll-call vote on the suspension of the Government delegation of South Africa (25 October 1986)

FOR (159):

National Societies (77):

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Czechoslovakia, China, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea (Conakry), Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Korea (Democratic People's Republic of), Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Korea (Republic of), Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, USSR, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

States (82):

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bangladesh, Byelorussia, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea (Conakry), Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Korea (Democratic People's Republic of), Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Korea (Republic of), Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, USSR, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen Arab Republic, Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

AGAINST (25):

National Societies (0)

States (25):

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America.

ABSTENTIONS (8):

National Societies (3):

Malawi, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago.

States (4):

Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Guatemala, Paraguay.

League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (1)

REFUSALS TO TAKE PART IN THE VOTE (51):

National Societies (46):

Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Suriname, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Western Samoa.

States (4):

Costa Rica, Holy See, Monaco, South Africa.

International Committee of the Red Cross (1)

ference, I wish to thank the traditional supporters of the African cause in its struggle against the racist *régime* of South Africa. Our thanks also go to the Arab Group, the Asian Group, the Latin American Group, the Group of Eastern Socialist countries and China, as well as other delegations who do not belong to these Groups but gave us their support.

The success of this motion is indeed a reflection of the international community or international human compassion and determination of the international community to uproot this inhuman policy of *apartheid*, which is an affront to human dignity.

We, in Africa, are determined to fight this racist *régime* by all means at our disposal. And in doing so, we recognize this decision as a positive step in the long fight against the racist *régime*. While again thanking those who supported us, Africans will continue to urge them to maintain that solidarity in our struggle against *apartheid*.

Finally, I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your wisdom and guidance and I assure you of the continued support to you by the African delegations in your difficult task.

Mr. R. SCHUBERT (United States of America, Red Cross):

On Thursday evening we attempted, as it turned out belatedly, to get the floor but the debate closed without us.

As we reflected on the results of the evening, we were most distressed both because of the long-term repercussions of what had happened and the lack of opportunity to express our position. As much as we dislike and take the strongest exception to the various rulings of the Chair, including the decision to bring this matter to a vote, and the decision to preclude a secret ballot, we do now welcome the opportunity to put our several positions on the Kenya resolution into perspective.

For the leadership of the American Red Cross, the issue of suspension of a State party to the Geneva Conventions, even because of the much despised policy of *apartheid*, required soul-searching of the greatest intensity. For many years, the American Red Cross has been in the forefront of efforts to involve all elements of our society into our work and leadership. We are probably among the first of the predominantly white Red Cross Societies to have a black Chairman, Dr. Jerome Holland, whom many of you Red Crossers came to know and love as much as we. We were also among the primary sponsors in the Council of Delegates of the resolution condemning *apartheid*. As the Kenyan delegate has just so eloquently indicated, *apartheid* is an affront to all humanity.

Most importantly we genuinely feel the hurt, anger and frustration of our black Red Cross leadership here gathered as a consequence of the condemned *apartheid*. We have come, all of us, to admire their work and we care deeply for them as individuals. It would have appeared relatively easy for us to support the resolution; but it was not. First, quite simply, there is no way that an objective review of our governing Statutes can support suspension. There is a way to amend our Statutes to provide for such action. But that way was not used. We must be a body governed by law as opposed to reaction to the human emotion of the moment. Otherwise no one is safe, ever.

Second, suspension, properly or improperly generated, will only isolate the offenders from correction and from dialogue; does that accomplish anything in and of itself?

Third, if we establish this precedent without any support in law, who, and what will be next? Depending on one's political or ideological viewpoint, there are many governments in our midst who could not bear intense scrutiny. What would be the consequence of such a process in the destabilization of this house?

Fourth, apart from the legal consequences, now and in the future, what of the victims in South Africa? Will they receive better treatment or is it likely to be worse? Will the ICRC be restricted in visits to detainees? Will the South African Red Cross be impeded in its efforts by a Government no longer perceived by this body to be eligible to participate in this organization? If such turns out to be the case, is the price being paid worth the satisfaction gained in punishing the South African Government? As for the American Red Cross, we were not willing to take that risk. It was a matter of balanced conscience; we could not support the resolution. Our decision to vote non-participating was taken so that we could make the clearest possible declaration of opposition to any action proposed to be taken outside the confines of applicable law.

Our Red Cross Movement must continue to be a body grounded and governed by law or we will reduce ourselves to chaos, as we have so well demonstrated over the last 36 hours.

Mr. Chairman, I trust you will now give the floor to others who would like to express their explanations of non-participation. It is very important to them as it was to us.

Ambassador L. DAUGE (France, Red Cross) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, I should like to say a very few words to explain why the French Red Cross did not take part in the vote.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that we condemn *apartheid*, and our African friends know this very well. But we consider that the debate we have just witnessed, and its result, are in accordance neither with the letter of our Statutes nor with the spirit of the Red Cross. They are contrary to our conception of what the Red Cross should be. If our thousands of volunteers who work unselfishly day after day to alleviate human suffering could be present at this Conference, which is the supreme body of our Movement, they would be puzzled by what has been going on here for the past three days. They would be deeply saddened and discouraged. Those volunteers are the Red Cross of deeds, not words. The French Red Cross was thinking of these volunteers too when it decided not to take part in the vote.

Ambassador E. KUSSBACH (Austria, Government) (*Original French*):

I should like to say why my delegation voted against the proposal made by the delegation of the Government of Kenya.

First of all I should like to recall that the Austrian Government has on many occasions unhesitatingly, clearly and unequivocally expressed its wholehearted condemnation of the policy of *apartheid*. My Government considers that this policy, which is based on a false ideology of racism and discrimination and daily violates the basic rights of the great majority of the population of that country, that policy which is at the root of, and is responsible for, so much suffering and humiliation, and even for the death of thousands of human beings, is profoundly inhuman and totally unacceptable.

My delegation entirely shares the concerns, the emotion and indeed the distress of the African delegations. It very well understands their despair at a situation as critical and tragic as the present one in South Africa.

Nevertheless, I want to emphasize on behalf of my delegation, that we profoundly regret not having had the opportunity of voting on the crucial question of whether the Conference was empowered by the Statutes of the International Red Cross to decide to suspend members of the Conference from participating in it. If that vote had taken place my delegation would have voted against, as it considers that such a decision is contrary to the Statutes of the Interna-

tional Red Cross. Since we had no opportunity of making our position clear in this way, we took part in the vote that has just taken place so that, on the legal basis of the Statutes, we could oppose such a decision, all the more so as it contradicts the Fundamental Principle of universality which my Government has always upheld. In our opinion this Conference is, more than any other institution, the institution to which that principle must apply.

Quite apart from the legal question, my delegation cannot see — and I sincerely regret having to say so here — how the decision taken could be in the interest of the victims of the racist South African *régime*. My delegation considers that we must realize that the victims of the policy of *apartheid* now need more than ever the assistance and protection of humanitarian organizations, particularly the ICRC. Mr. Chairman, in the course of the debate several delegations expressed their anxiety and fear lest any decision to suspend the right of the South African delegation to take part in the Conference should prejudice the humanitarian work of the ICRC. I want to add that my delegation shares those concerns.

My delegation consequently deplores that the moving and realistic appeal made by the delegation of the Holy See was not given more attention and did not provoke the thought it deserved in the delegations that backed the proposal made by the delegation of Kenya. We sincerely regret that it was not possible for the delegations at this Conference, all of whom manifestly condemned the policy of *apartheid*, to make a joint effort to find a compromise acceptable to everybody.

For all these reasons, my delegation voted against the proposal made by the delegation of the Government of Kenya.

Monsignor J. MULLOR GARCIA (Holy See, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

I think that the night before last I said things that came both from my head and my heart. And I want now to say why the Holy See did not take part in the vote.

We did not take part in the vote because we too believe that the legal problems inherent in that vote had not been sufficiently elucidated; because the neutrality and universality that should always be associated with, in particular, the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross, although basically we agreed on the absolute iniquity of *apartheid*, may be seriously prejudiced thereby; and because I believe that in our debates, we lamentably confused human rights and humanitarian rights.

Lastly, because with this vote we introduced a serious precedent, that of approving the rule of force in the Red Cross, although the Red Cross should be a forum for unperturbed dialogue. This may one day be a *boomerang* that turns against us and against other countries that are suffering in body and soul from ordeals of this kind. Lastly, because in our view the Red Cross should be active in upholding the rights of the victims rather than in condemning their tormentors. The latter is the function of the International Court of Justice of The Hague and, of course, of the United Nations.

Also, because we are thinking of — and have grave doubts as to what may be — the future of the South African Red Cross Society and the future of the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross, four times a Nobel Prize winner, which has such a record of achievement to its credit.

I shall end with a few words for my African brothers, because they know that the delegation of the Holy See and the Head of the Holy See are fully on their side; they were very right to bring about this vote, because it is a very great ordeal for them to see their brothers, the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa, their brothers in blood and race, suffer every day. I want to tell my African brothers that I fully understand them, but that the Holy See is now thinking of the victims of *apartheid*, and that I hoped we could

have come to a compromise (unfortunately we did not) because I wanted to be able to tell the South African mission (had it been present here) that we, with our moral authority, purely and simply spiritual authority, we would have asked them before you all, in your presence, and especially in the presence of our African brothers, to put an end as soon as possible to the crime of *apartheid* and to change their policy. But this should have been said to their faces and not behind their backs; and I want to tell them loud and clear, if they are still near us, that the Holy See urgently demands, on the eve of the inter-ecumenical and interreligious Assisi meeting, that the terrible weapon of *apartheid* should be laid down, that this terrible weapon that mutilates the spirit, this inhuman and degrading weapon should be laid aside. I wanted to tell them so to their faces; they are not present but I say it so that my African brothers shall know that the Holy See is with them, even although at this instant we believed, for the reasons I have stated, that we should go beyond abstention by taking no part in a vote that may introduce an extremely serious precedent and may have serious consequences for Red Cross history and Red Cross activities.

Ambassador J. A. SANKEY (United Kingdom, Government):

I am speaking on behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community. The position of the member States of the European Community on *apartheid* is clear. In his statement to the United Nations General Assembly, on 23 September this year, on behalf of the Community and its twelve member States, the British Foreign Secretary said, and I quote: "The Twelve have repeatedly made clear their revulsion at *apartheid*. We have demanded that it should be abolished. We utterly reject the philosophy which denies opportunity or liberty to one person, yet gives ordinary rights and privileges to another solely on the basis of his or her colour. Such a system breeds hatred and violence".

However, today's vote was not about *apartheid* but about the right, under the Statutes and Rules, of the representatives of a State party to the Geneva Conventions to participate in this Conference. Every State party is entitled to participate, and the Twelve therefore voted against the suspension of the South African Government delegation. For the future of the Red Cross Movement and its mission strict adherence to the Rules and Statutes is important.

Ambassador E. KEKOMÄKI (Finland, Government):

The position of the five Nordic countries, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, on *apartheid* is very well known. Our governments have consistently condemned the South African Government's policy of *apartheid* as a breach of fundamental human rights and an affront to humanity.

The Nordic countries have voted, however, against the suspension of the South African Government from this Conference; we consider that universality is a basic principle of the Red Cross. We cannot accept the suspension of a member's right to participate, when such a suspension is a violation of the relevant Statutes and Rules.

Ambassador R. J. VAN SCHAIK (Netherlands, Government):

I am speaking on behalf of all Western States which have voted against the suspension of a State party to the Geneva Conventions. The position of all our governments on *apartheid* is well known: we absolutely reject and condemn this abhorrent policy, which blatantly discriminates against the majority of the population of South Africa.

The issue on which we have voted, however, is not South Africa's policies, but the unequivocal right, under the Statutes and the Rules of the International Red Cross, of delegations of States party to the Geneva Conventions to attend this Conference. It is essential that these Statutes and Rules be respected. Today's vote violates them, and this is why the proposal to exclude a State party to the Conventions

was vigorously opposed by our delegations. According to the Fundamental Principles, the Red Cross is a worldwide institution; universality is the key to the success of this Movement. The Fundamental Principles also state that the Red Cross may not engage in political controversies; this is the principle of neutrality, and we wish that this principle had been respected today.

We hope that this sorry episode can now be put behind us. If so, the Western delegations for which I am speaking will continue to contribute to the successful and positive outcome of our work on behalf of victims of conflict and disaster wherever they may be.

On behalf of the Netherlands Government delegation, I wish to add that we profoundly regret that some delegations that had asked for the floor before the vote were not given the opportunity to speak.

Professor F. KALSHOVEN (Netherlands, Red Cross):

On an earlier occasion in this plenary meeting, I had the opportunity to express the views of the Dutch Red Cross Society on *apartheid*.

Also, a few moments ago, in expressing the reason for, and stating the non-participation of, the Dutch Red Cross Society in the so-called voting procedure, I already expressed our view as to the unconstitutionality of this procedure. I will not revert to this point, but confine myself to expressing my total support for the explanations regarding the vote of non-participation that have been given by the Heads of delegations of the Red Cross Societies of the United States, France, and others.

I wish to address some brief remarks to those delegates who were the prime movers of the Kenyan resolution: Gentlemen, some time ago, you or your colleagues failed to achieve your goal at the Punta del Este meeting of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, so you have simply taken the next opportunity which happened to be an International Conference of the Red Cross; you have scored your point and so you can report this triumph back to your capitals. At the same time, in pursuing your goal, you have inflicted grave injury on the real victims of your action, i.e. the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement: it lies bleeding at your feet.

Ambassador ELIAS SOLEY SOLER (Costa Rica, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

The International Conference of the Red Cross must be humanitarian, non-political and universal. As Mr. Alfons Egli, President of the Swiss Confederation, very rightly said, "The object is not to single out guilty parties or to denounce States; on the contrary it is to offer an area of quiet in the storm that enables all countries to meet — not to argue about their differences but to discuss the practical humanitarian problems they are up against." These words and those of the distinguished representative of the Holy See would, it seems to me, lead people to think of the harmful consequences that this decision would have. That hope was unfortunately not realized, and this Conference took the decision of which we are all aware.

As everybody here knows, Costa Rica has always condemned *apartheid*. Our country broke off trade relations with South Africa more than 20 years ago; it also broke off diplomatic relations with that Government, specifically on the issue of *apartheid*. Our position is clear. We shall always condemn *apartheid* as a crime against humanity.

Together with the National Red Cross Societies that decided not to take part in this vote, Costa Rica considers that Red Cross Statutes provided no basis for the vote. In our view the decision violates the Statutes of the International Red Cross and attacks the principle of universality and the non-political character that the Red Cross should have and that has made it great in the past.

We fear for thousands and thousands of innocent victims

whose only hope is Red Cross help and relief. For this reason, and out of a sense of responsibility, we refused to take part in a vote that could set a serious precedent, as it was motivated by political matters alien to the humanitarian character inspiring the Red Cross.

Mr. H. LIMIHAGATI (Tanzania, Government):

Mr. Chairman, when the vote was taken you asked this august assembly to continue with the business in harmony.

I raise this point of order because I notice that some delegations are not addressing the Chair; instead they are now addressing individual groups or different persons. For a peaceful continuation of this Conference I would ask the Chair to request all the delegations to observe proper procedural form in addressing the Chair and not individuals.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I call your attention to the fact that we are in the middle of a debate that is taking place so that delegates may explain their vote. We continue with our list. The Swedish Red Cross has the floor.

Brigadier B. WALLBERG (Sweden, Red Cross) (*Original English*):

Already on Thursday evening I had the opportunity to express my delegation's views on this matter: our objection to the procedure that we have just completed was two fold: on the one hand, it represents, in our opinion, a violation of our Statutes. We do not think that our Conference can decide to suspend a member, whether a Government or a National Society.

Moreover, we feel a deep resentment about the fact that we have been deprived of our right to ask for a secret ballot. A secret ballot should always be accepted when requested and duly supported. This is customary in the type of free society we live in and are so proud of. We should be courageous enough to always protect the rights of minorities. We also feel and foresee a great difficulty in starting discussions about new Statutes which are already violated, so to speak.

The other strong arguments expressed concerned the principles of universality and independence. The Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement has been unique in that it has always maintained contacts with various *régimes*, in particular in very difficult situations of armed conflict and civil strife. After the vote of today we are not unique any longer. Political considerations are taking over and my Society deplores this very much. We believe very strongly that there should be at least one organization where dialogue prevails, where contacts are kept up, as I said a couple of days ago. We believe that our Movement's achievements in the humanitarian field over many years has proved that.

I shall repeat once again that we have understanding, full understanding, for all those of you who do not want to take part in a Conference attended by the Pretoria Government. We feel outraged by the Government of Pretoria, but we look upon the Red Cross as perhaps the one and only forum where these feelings of contempt and protest should not lead to an action of the kind we have just witnessed. These are our motives for not participating in the vote.

Last, but not least, I am glad that the South African Red Cross delegation is still with us. I sincerely hope that their important humanitarian work will not be seriously damaged by recent events at this Conference; the same goes of course for the work of the ICRC in South Africa and for us all in our efforts to reach the victims in South Africa.

Botho Prince of SAYN-WITTGENSTEIN-HOHENSTEIN (Federal Republic of Germany, Red Cross):

The delegation of the German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany did not participate in the vote. We are of the opinion that this vote violated the Statutes. Not only legal considerations induced us not to take part in the

voting, but also reasons which we consider important for our future work in the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

So as not to give rise to any misunderstanding, in our opinion, racial discrimination, of which *apartheid* is one form, is incompatible with the principles of the Red Cross. It is a deeply inhuman phenomenon that violates the dignity of man. I think that there are within the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement no differences of opinion on any other violations of the dignity and inviolability of man. We are against the use of arms; we are against torture, expulsion and punishment. Even to take a vote on this matter would mean that we have doubts about the validity of the principles of the Red Cross.

Every day we are confronted with new violations of human rights, with wars being fought and political errors being committed which will lead to hunger, distress and death for millions of people. It would never cross my mind, however, to ask the Red Cross to vote on a possible accusation or even suspension from the Conference of the Red Cross of those countries responsible for attacks against the unity and the dignity of man.

I respect the feelings of those who adopt a different position in this matter. However, I would like to ask the National Societies and the government delegations to consider why a National Society, such as the German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, adopts a different attitude for reasons of principle. If we create a precedent with the exclusion of one government delegation from a Conference, as has been done this morning, must we not expect that at one of the next Conferences another motion will be tabled, directed against a government which has caused war or the expulsion of people. If we change our different majorities during the vote, on such cases, might we not create the impression among the public that the Red Cross Movement tolerates war, expulsion and injustice, only because we are not able to establish a majority or because no motions are tabled at all.

Should we continue to work on the basis of this precedent, the principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence would be at stake. How can we hope to convince other States to accede to the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols if there is a possibility that they may find themselves accused before a body which is not competent to judge them? Would we not run the risk that countries would cancel their participation in the Conventions or abstain from ratifying the Additional Protocols?

Demonstrations such as the vote which has just taken place will be to the detriment of those who need our care and assistance. Political disputes within the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement will have a negative effect on our work; they will make our work more difficult and even impossible. We urgently request the government delegations participating in this Conference to leave political considerations aside so that we can give clear priority to humanitarian aspects and questions of international humanitarian law. We can only succeed if we stay united for humanity rather than divided.

Dr. D. D. V. VENEDICTOV (USSR, Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies) (*Original Russian*):

At a moment as moving as this it is not easy to speak in a foreign tongue, whether English or French. I will therefore speak Russian, being sure that my speech will be translated.

Our International Red Cross is the unity and reciprocal action of National Red Cross Societies, of the International Committee, of the League and of Governments.

But for the moment and because of this vote, most of the speakers have been Government representatives. There have been comparatively few speakers from the Red Cross itself. My Government's position, the position of the Soviet

Government, was already made clear here, in sufficiently exhaustive fashion, before the vote. I therefore wish to explain, on behalf of the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent, why we voted as we did.

We voted for the resolution submitted by Kenya, and I think that following the discussion and the speeches made before and after the vote, if there was then any doubt about what was going on in the International Red Cross and around the Red Cross, there is no such doubt at present; it has vanished.

We talk of the non-political character of the Red Cross. Nevertheless even the "*Tribune de Genève*" newspaper writes that in politics the Red Cross feels like a fish in water. In that case it is important not to trouble that water that nobody should start fishing in troubled waters; if they did they could easily hook all our Red Cross and thereby ruin its remarkable ideals.

We talk about the impartiality, neutrality, humanity and independence of the International Red Cross. But how can one remain impartial towards this unending crime against humanity, this deliberate, conscious, heinous crime promoted to the rank of state policy? Has not the Republic of South Africa already been warned many times and in various fora? Has it not been urged to amend its behaviour towards the black majority in its country?

Racism and *apartheid* are a crime against humanity. The Second World War showed what racism can do when raised to the rank of government policy and government ideology, a racism amplified by the means and techniques of modern warfare, compared with what they were 40 years ago. Whoever witnesses a crime and keeps quiet about it is its accomplice — and that complicity whatever its degree, remains a crime.

We remember a Second World War that ended with the Nuremberg Tribunal. Today we are not at a tribunal, but we are witnesses of this warning. Certain people should be reminded how far they can be carried along the path of crime against humanism, or in other words against humanity, and how such an adventure may end. But this can also serve to remind us all that when faced with this sort of crime we should not only express our compassion for the victims and their suffering; we should take real action by applying sanctions, at least the sanctions recommended by the United Nations.

We have seen exactly who, today, has tried to impose his standpoint on the majority of the delegations of the International Red Cross, and the numerous efforts made to do so even before the Conference and in its first days.

I shall make no comment at all on why these delegations or countries or governments are sympathetic towards the Government of South Africa. That is their business. But a fact is a fact, whereas their arguments are inconsistent. How do they attempt to justify today their disagreement with the majority of the members of the International Red Cross? By ideas of universality and humanism? If so, this is purely and simply a distortion of universality and humanism, with references to the Statutes and to procedure.

But the International Conference itself determines its Statutes and its procedure. We have seen attempts to use the regulations to impose one decision or another, but in that case let us try to improve our regulations. It seems to us that what has just happened is basically only a deformation of the truth, and of the spirit and letter of our Movement.

Lastly, with all due respect to the Red Cross delegations, how is it possible to say here that certain countries which failed to obtain the result they expected at Punta del Este are trying to get their revenge here? That is entirely political language. Why should we use such language in our respectable Red Cross Movement?

What is the real point? The whole point is that the world

has changed and that the International Red Cross must see those changes and take them into account. Basically, I agree with the statement already made that a new chapter has, in a sense, been started today, and with it, perhaps, a new era of development of the International Red Cross.

It is an era marked by a sudden increase in the danger of thermonuclear world war and its corollary, the extermination of the human race, and we must therefore prevent such an event at all costs.

There will be no cure. Only prevention is necessary here.

Our era is that of the liberation and development of new countries, of millions, hundreds of millions of human beings in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world.

It is an era in which we must be ready for all natural or man-made disasters and all disasters in general. We owe it to ourselves to educate young people in a spirit of humanism, peace and co-operation. The human rights of every individual and every people must be recognized, and first and foremost the right of every human being and every people to live at peace, in security, with the right to a healthy body and a healthy mind, so that they can work, be given the necessary education and use all their physical and moral strength and abilities.

Our era demands from us a new kind of thought, brave, dynamic and responsible, the thought of the thermonuclear age and therefore of dynamic action; that is an obvious fact. It is necessary for us all that in the International Red Cross Movement and in National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, not to mention the League, and similarly in the Council of Delegates and the International Committee of the Red Cross and in general at our Conference, that we should arrive at a sound conclusion for the future.

It has very rightly been said that today there has been an extremely important precedent. What, then, is going to happen in future? We must draw the right conclusions from that precedent.

Lastly we owe it to ourselves to raise even higher our ideals of humanism, peace, co-operation and compassion.

It is doubtlessly also necessary to reach practical conclusions on Red Cross procedure and working methods. We shall doubtlessly have to give more time to our consideration of the Rules of Procedure and the Statutes of the Movement.

I cannot, however, subscribe to the statement made here that we are no longer united. How is this possible? In what respect are we not united in our attitude towards suffering, threats of war and the demands of humanity, of our fellow human beings? It seems to me that this is an exaggeration; we *are* united, for the good reason that humanism united us.

Our Twenty-fifth International Conference has just overcome a great obstacle, a real reef across a stormy sea, and I should like to say, Mr. Chairman, that in these last decisive minutes you were indeed our captain, and held the tiller with a firm hand.

Now we must get down to work, for we have still a lot on our agenda. We must discuss questions that really involve our Movement, and practical problems.

The Soviet Red Cross organization and our delegation appeal to all delegates: let us go on without delay to practical and concrete work.

Major General B. EGGE (Norway, Red Cross):

I would like briefly to explain why the Norwegian Red Cross delegation did not take part in the vote. Let there be no doubt whatsoever that we are thoroughly opposed to *apartheid* and to all other violations of human rights.

The Red Cross principles of neutrality and impartiality are the basis for all Red Cross action; to observe these principles is the only way of guaranteeing access to all victims

of human suffering. We are a few individuals in this room who have been among such victims and have been rescued by Red Cross action. I express the hope that our African friends will not perceive our non-participation in the vote as an act of hostility. We hope that they will understand our position. In this spirit, I join the Swedish Red Cross delegation in expressing my strong satisfaction that the South African Red Cross delegation is still with us at this Conference.

General P. VERRI (Italy, Red Cross) (*Original French*):

The Italian Red Cross, whilst of course condemning the execrable policy of *apartheid*, wishes to be brief: it explains that it did not take part in the vote because it fully endorsed the motives, considerations and concerns relative to our fundamental ideals and mentioned in the course of these debates by the ICRC and by other National Red Cross Societies including those of Spain, France, the Netherlands, the United States, Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany and Norway, and in an especially pertinent and moving fashion by Monsignor the representative of the Holy See.

Ambassador F. MUHEIM (Switzerland, Government) (*Original French*):

The Swiss delegation has already, in the course of the debate, explained the reasons for its vote against the motion submitted by the delegation of Kenya. I shall not repeat the reasons then given, except to make perfectly clear that its vote can in no circumstances be interpreted as qualifying our condemnation of *apartheid*.

I must nevertheless express here our strong disapproval of the serious infraction of two of the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross, namely neutrality and universality. We deplore in the strongest possible terms the fact that political considerations have prevailed both over the rules governing the Red Cross Movement and over the humanitarian considerations which should be our only guide, thus deliberately endangering, in a specific situation, the practical application in the field of the two other Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross, namely humanity and impartiality.

It is, moreover, especially regrettable in our view that we should in this way have injured the feelings of very many National Societies which are concerned as much as governments by our work, if not even more so. However, Mr. Chairman, my delegation hopes that the Conference will now be able without further delay to tackle the extremely important questions on our agenda.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, may I have your agreement to close this explanatory debate on the voting once we have heard the ten delegations that have already asked for the floor? (*Applause*)

Thank you. The meeting is adjourned and will resume at 3 p.m.

(*Adjournment*)

(*The meeting resumed at 3.10 p.m.*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, we resume our deliberations. I shall start by reading out the list of delegations that have asked for the floor. They are those of New Zealand (Government and Red Cross), Japan (Government and Red Cross), Finland (Red Cross), United Kingdom (Red Cross), Ireland (Red Cross), Canada (Red Cross), Liberia (Red Cross), Australia (Government), Guatemala (Red Cross), Austria (Red Cross), Iceland (Red Cross), Argentina (Red Cross), Botswana (Red Cross), Nigeria (Red Cross), and Australia (Red Cross). If any of these delegations wishes to withdraw its request to speak, it is welcome to do so and I would ask you to be as brief as possible for the sake of our deliberations. I give the floor to the Government of New Zealand.

Mr. B. LINEHAM (New Zealand, Government):

In the difficult and trying circumstances in which we all found ourselves, the New Zealand Government delegation voted against the motion for suspension; to say, however, as one delegation did, that such a vote indicates sympathy with the South African *régime* is nonsense.

New Zealand's abhorrence of *apartheid*, our distress at the consequences of that evil system and our deep concern for *apartheid's* victims cannot be doubted by any member of the international community. In a different context, the New Zealand Government has expressed its opposition to the South African *régime* through its full commitment to the Commonwealth programme of action, including trade sanctions against South Africa.

We understand and respect the views of a large number of the delegations that supported the suspension of the South African Government *régime* and we are moved by the sincerity and the conviction of many of the statements made on Thursday night. New Zealand strongly upholds the principles of the Geneva Conventions and the Statutes of the International Red Cross. So, too, have we always upheld the principle of universality. We all heard the very strong concern expressed by the ICRC about the need to protect and preserve the principles that it strives to uphold, namely universality, unity and neutrality.

We are mindful also of the consequences for the ICRC, in the fulfilment of its humanitarian mandate in South Africa, if the participation of that country's Government in the Red Cross Movement is impaired by its suspension from this Conference.

As we have no diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor intend to, we would have preferred to be able to address any concerns we might have had about the *régime's* co-operation with the ICRC through this Conference. It is for all these reasons that we have had to register this difficult vote against suspension.

Mr. J. TALBOT (New Zealand, Red Cross):

The New Zealand Red Cross did not participate in the vote. We want to place on record the reason for this action. But first we associate ourselves with previous speakers, and we believe that all of us condemn the inhumane policies of *apartheid*. We believe, however, that the vote was taken in violation of the text and the spirit of the Statutes of the International Red Cross, and associate ourselves entirely with the position stated by Mr. Hay on behalf of the ICRC.

We believe the vote was taken in violation of the spirit and the principles of our Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, particularly those of impartiality and universality. We are also disappointed that the Conference could not find a consensus on how to deal with, and proceed on, this matter and that possibilities such as those proposed by the Holy See and the President of the League were not followed up so that we could continue our work in harmony and unity.

Three days ago we gathered here under the banner of "United for Humanity". Where now is our unity, our universality? We treasure these principles. These fundamental features of our unique Movement are central to the Red Cross and Red Crescent ethos. We fear that the vote places at grave risk the credibility and integrity of our Movement. We interpret the fact that so many National Societies did not participate in the vote as a reflection of the depth of concern felt within our Movement at this moment.

The Conference has made a decision that we could not participate in for the reasons given. Let us at least heed the expressions of concern for the future of our Movement and keep these uppermost in our minds in the deliberations to come.

Ambassador K. CHIBA (Japan, Government):

The delegation of the Japanese Government voted against

the motion put forward by the distinguished delegate of Kenya in the firm belief that the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross Movement, particularly that of universality, should not be undermined under any circumstances. However, our vote should not be construed as implying any change in the Japanese policy against *apartheid*.

The Government of Japan wishes to reiterate its condemnation of the South African Government's detestable policy of *apartheid*, which deserves more than all the denunciations expressed by many delegates in this Conference.

Furthermore, my delegation would like to emphasize Article 2, paragraph 5, of the Statutes, which stipulates that the Conference may not deal with political matters nor serve as a forum for political debate. It is our hope that this Article will be fully observed in the course of discussions to follow.

Mr. K. KOIKE (Japan, Red Cross):

The position of the Japanese Red Cross on *apartheid* is very clear: it is definitely against *apartheid*.

However, we found the voting which took place this morning in absolute contradiction with the Red Cross spirit. We cannot accept it and that is why we did not participate in it. The Japanese Red Cross strongly supports the statements made by the Red Cross delegations of the USA, France, Netherlands, Sweden and many others who spoke along the same lines.

Mr. P. STENBÄCK (Finland, Red Cross):

This is to explain why the Finnish Red Cross Society did not participate in the vote on the suspension of the Government of South Africa.

The Chair, through its conflicting rulings, created a situation which was unacceptable to us. We had no other means of showing our disagreement with the way the issue has been handled in this Conference than to refrain from participating in a vote which was so clearly against the valid Rules of Procedure of this very Conference.

The discussion has shown an unfortunate lack of knowledge and understanding of the nature and basis of the International Red Cross Movement. The principle of universality has not been understood. Events over the last two days may have repercussions which go far beyond the question of *apartheid* or the suspension of the South African Government. They unfortunately may have far-reaching implications for the whole Red Cross Movement, for its credibility and for its ability to accomplish its humanitarian mission based on impartiality, neutrality and universality.

In addition to the fact that the Chairman has permitted unconstitutional measures, we consider that this vote reflects ambitions other than humanitarian ones. Therefore, as a Red Cross Society, we had no wish whatsoever to take part in the vote. We deplore the practice of *apartheid* as everybody else does in this hall, but we find it essential that even the fight against this inhuman system should be pursued in such a way that it does not endanger the unity of the Red Cross Movement and does not violate the constitutional framework for our co-operation.

Sylvia COUNTESS OF LIMERICK (United Kingdom, Red Cross):

The British Red Cross Society endorses the American Red Cross statement of explanation of why we did not participate in the vote.

First, however, I want to emphasize that the British Red Cross also utterly condemns policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and all contraventions of human rights. The motion concerned suspension of a Government delegation not permitted under our Statutes. The Conference was not allowed to deal with this motion in a constitutional way, that is why we did not recognize this as a proper vote of this Conference. The Red Cross principles of universality, neutrality and impartiality have therefore been violated by

our unconstitutional vote. This creates a very dangerous precedent and we should reflect upon the implications.

The Red Cross and Red Crescent role is to tend the victims of conflict, civil disturbance and disaster, but the Red Cross's power to act depends on the trust placed in its integrity, impartiality, neutrality and independence. We feel it is our paramount duty to abide by our Constitution and to uphold our principles in order to ensure that our Movement is respected for its neutrality and impartiality, and that our humanitarian work can be carried out in all countries where the Red Cross and Red Crescent is needed.

Brig. Gen. P. D. HOGAN (Ireland, Red Cross):

The Irish Red Cross Society did not participate in this morning's vote and why did we take that stand? The effects of the vote on the humanitarian work of the Red Cross and Red Crescent and on the much prized and very precious universality of our Movement have been eloquently and adequately covered by the Chairman of the United States Society, with whose statement we fully agree, and by other speakers. So I shall not go over that ground.

I think we have made a grave mistake here this morning, a very grave mistake. We have set aside the rule of law. We are now a society without law, which means a society without the protection of the law. The rule of law will protect us all, rich and poor, the weak as well as the powerful. Whenever the rule of law is swept aside the only people to profit are the rich and the powerful, who will make new laws as they go along, to suit themselves; the poor and the weak will go to the wall. Coming from a country which is a relatively small one and very far from wealthy, I am concerned about this and I think some other people in this House, who are similarly placed, should also be deeply concerned about this. It is said that the rules can be changed; of course they can be changed. Any society or organization must evolve and develop, and this process will of course be reflected in its laws and rules; but there is a right way and a wrong way of changing rules. We have chosen the wrong way.

One does not change the law today to suit the decision of the day. You cannot move the goal posts in the middle of the football match. There is a proper way of changing rules, and in this society there is a proper way: if you do not believe me, read Article 13 of the Statutes which, to my mind, but I am not a lawyer, is quite clear. It is on page 413 of the 12th edition of the International Red Cross Handbook and reads as follows:

"Article XIII

1. 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.

2. 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."

So one does not change the Statutes in a moment.

The stance of the Irish Red Cross Society today is not a stance in support of South Africa. It is not possible for any thinking person to support the South African Government in its nauseating racialist laws and in its conduct. Their laws and their conduct to their black citizens stink in our nostrils so I say to the African delegations present and in deference to the Tanzanian delegate, I say to our African brothers, we are divided today on a point of law. But be not deceived or misled. We are with you.

Mr. A. S. FLEMING (Canada, Red Cross):

First I would like to make it perfectly clear that our delegation is solidly behind the condemnation of *apartheid*. We concur with the remarks of the representatives of the

USA, France, the Netherlands and many other delegations. In addition, we fear that the thousands of Red Cross volunteers in Canada, dedicated to the alleviation of human suffering, whom I have been mandated to represent, would have felt betrayed had their delegate at this Conference supported the political interference in our deliberations and the unconstitutional process we have just witnessed. Especially as this action that we have taken may result in more human suffering in the immediate future.

Alexandre Hay said: "This is an unprecedented decision which should not set a precedent," which I can only interpret as a poor decision. The question I ask myself is: is it worthwhile to continue in a Conference which starts so inauspiciously and could further undermine the Red Cross principles I am mandated to uphold?

Rev. J. E. LLOYD (Liberia, Red Cross):

I speak for the Liberian National Red Cross Society and those other Societies that may see my viewpoint.

Permit me to place on record that this Conference has opened a new page in the history of the Red Cross Movement and of the entire world. The decision reached here today is indeed reference-worthy. I have heard references made to the action of the African Group as being in violation of the principles of neutrality, universality and unity. That is because some people have not observed the principles of humanity in our action.

Much as it appears that the National Societies have violated these principles — neutrality, universality and unity—there are many honest points and views to consider. Even though all African States and National Societies, members of this Conference, are free and independent, we want total African liberation. We do not feel absolute freedom if our brothers are still enslaved under the inhumane system of *apartheid*, much as we sympathize with our sister Society in South Africa.

The move of the African Societies to support their Governments in the urgent and successful proposal to suspend the Government delegation of South Africa was not made because we are afraid of the consequences, but to provide further evidence that, as National Societies, we absolutely, totally and vehemently deplore, denounce, oppose and condemn all forms of violation of human rights and dehumanization be they *apartheid* or racism in any form, denial of freedom of speech, denial of the freedom of the press, physical and other forms of torture, enforced imprisonment, tribalism, nepotism, selfishness, political suppression in all its forms and all other acts that resemble inhumanity.

We, the leaders of the National Societies in Africa, are further armed with a weapon to fight every form of dehumanization, as this Conference will be used by us, the National Societies, to remind and correct our respective governments if we find them off target. The procedure established here today must be followed if and when it is reported that dehumanization and violation of human rights are being practised by any government party to the Geneva Conventions. I have the certitude that this precedent will apply to any government that violates the rule.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am still continuously getting requests to speak. Do you agree that we should declare the list of speakers closed and as comprising only the speakers I already mentioned to you? It appears that you do. Thank you.

Ambassador R. ROBERTSON (Australia, Government):

The Australian Government delegation voted against the motion suspending the South African Government delegation from this session of the International Conference of the Red Cross.

Our vote implies no diminution in the Australian Government's total opposition to *apartheid* and to the policies which sustain that repugnant system. The Australian Government is committed to the objective of bringing *apartheid* to an end as soon as possible, and to this end supports the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

It follows that we share many of the feelings expressed by African delegations in the course of this difficult, divisive debate. Rather, the Australian Government delegation's vote reflects my Government's firm view that continued participation by South Africa, both the Government and the National Society, in the International Red Cross Movement is essential. This view is based on the importance of the Geneva Conventions and in particular their relevance to South African armed attacks upon its neighbours. It is also based on the need to avoid any prejudice to the valuable work of the South African Red Cross Society or to the role of the ICRC in response to violence and oppression in South Africa itself and in Namibia.

The legal arguments are also clear. The principles of universality and neutrality of the International Red Cross are subscribed to by all and lie at the heart of the Red Cross Movement's effectiveness in carrying out its humanitarian tasks. Furthermore, my Government is convinced that Articles I and II of the Statutes clearly imply that this Conference does not have the competence to do what it was asked to do; it was in effect asked to override the Statutes of the International Red Cross.

I conclude with the practical observation that continued South African Government participation in this Conference could have assisted in maintaining its commitment to the Geneva Conventions and facilitated the work of the Red Cross Movement and its humanitarian role in South Africa, especially among those who stand in greatest need of its assistance.

Mr. J. TORIELLO (Guatemala, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

The Guatemalan Red Cross voted very decidedly not to take part. And it did not take part for the simple reason that the countries of Central America are in one of the most conflictive areas of the American hemisphere. In the present highly dangerous situation, at any given time we can rely only on the services, understanding and aid of the Red Cross.

I myself proposed two meetings to bring these delegations together so that we, as National Societies, might then offer our services to prevent relations being abruptly broken off. We do not want violence, and Guatemala has also maintained a position of neutrality.

We therefore believe that the stance we have taken shows our concern. We consider that such a situation is absolutely contrary to the Red Cross principles of impartiality and universality. Accordingly it is only logical that Latin America, especially areas that have suffered persecution and all kinds of misrepresentation, should be concerned for the stability of its National Societies and their development in a way that can serve the community. But as soon as they become politicized or can be said to be politicized, they become paralysed as was the case in two other countries at moments of political crisis.

For these reasons we did not take part. For these reasons we put forward an argument that is extremely important and that we must all bear in mind: what will happen tomorrow if three or four of the delegations here present get together in order to propose at a forthcoming meeting that the government of such-and-such a country be excluded because that government is violating human rights? We are all against abuses. The true philosophy of the Red Cross is a humanitarian one and there can be no member of a delegation who approves of abuses. I myself, and not in my

previous capacity as President of the Guatemalan Red Cross, have taken part in the battle against dictatorship and autocracy in my country and I understand and agree that the discriminatory abuses now being committed are absolutely prohibited by the Red Cross in accordance with its humanitarian principle and must be repudiated.

However, to bring such a political matter before this Conference not only threatens our stability; it also raises the even more serious question as to whether the Red Cross, on becoming a political forum, will still enjoy the reputation it used to have all over the world for impartiality, security, goodness and universality. The answer is no, it will not; the present situation and other such situations are causing us to commit *hara-kiri*.

In the League, we have had a President who has made strenuous efforts to avoid such situations. Over the last few years, there has been much more harmony and give and take; there has been progress and the desire to enhance the standing of our delegations. We have the example of our own Government, in my country that is now striving to uphold a democratic system against a tradition of military governments. The present situation, however, is one that eliminates impartiality, even within our own delegation, and will continue to do so for many years; the Guatemalan Red Cross has been, and still is, respected: that will be so whatever the government, whether of the extreme right or of the left, because we have striven to keep politics out of our National Society.

The present situation saddens me, because many delegates have come long distances to deal with matters that the Red Cross should deal with. The Red Cross must consider how its members can live together and help mankind. Naturally it has to oppose any abuse of principles; but its own delegations do this: the National Societies that have to face up to such problems in every country; the Societies that maintain their independence even under pressure, invoking the non-political character and universality of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and of the International Red Cross, which is accepted all over the world as a totally non-political and humanitarian movement. But how did a Conference such as this come to discuss an entirely political issue? It would be appropriate for the United Nations or the Organization of American States to do so; but it is not appropriate for the Red Cross. The Red Cross must concern itself with the wounded, the needy, people needing help. We must have compassion for the victims of abuses; but we cannot decide that a government must be expelled on the grounds that its subjects are suffering the consequences and seeking the protection of that magnificent emblem, the red cross, which we all respect.

For these reasons, the Guatemalan Red Cross decided not to take part in the vote; on no account should the Red Cross become a political institution.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I would ask you to be as brief as possible.

Mr. H. POLSTER (Austria, Red Cross):

The Austrian Red Cross did not take part in the vote for the suspension of the South African Government delegation from this Conference.

The Austrian Red Cross concurs with the previous speakers' explanations regarding their non-participation in this unconstitutional vote. I cannot add anything new to these explanations, but want to say that the Austrian Red Cross condemns *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa. At this very moment, I am thinking of the poor victims of the tragic events in South Africa today, and I want to finish my intervention with best wishes to the ICRC in the fulfilment of its extremely hard humanitarian work in aid of suffering people, especially after this problematic decision.

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Morocco, Red Crescent) (*Original French*):

The Arab National Societies which this morning voted for the proposal moved by Kenya would have preferred not to have to vote. We would have preferred the authorities responsible for this Conference and its organization to make the arrangements and take the steps necessary to prevent this state of affairs from arising.

The National Societies took up their position at the League General Assembly and Council of Delegates and allowed the Red Cross Society of South Africa a margin of confidence so it could show us that it respects the Fundamental Principles of the Movement. The African and Arab governments accepted this position and went even further by legitimizing the presence of the South African Red Cross Society.

We would also have hoped that the representative of the South African Government would leave the Conference of his own accord, knowing that his system of government is not accepted in our midst. By doing so he would have served the cause of humanity and the work of the Red Cross. Unfortunately, he did not do so.

The National Societies should not be accused of engaging in politics for in the two days that we have been here everything we have heard, everything that has gone on around us, has been nothing but politics. We feel a little ... I shall not say lost, but puzzled, by this situation.

Previous International Conferences of the Red Cross have dealt with *apartheid* and have condemned the *régime* and racial discrimination. We were even enjoined to take action against that system. How, then, can we National Societies be asked not to vote with our Government and to accept the presence of that system in our midst?

There is without any doubt a statutory problem, but for us the problem of racial discrimination — and I know what is going on in South Africa — has lasted too long and cannot be dealt with on a legal basis. It is feelings that make us act as we do. It may be that governments need a body such as the Council of Delegates, covering the whole Red Cross family, so that we can discuss among ourselves, it may be also that they need another body so that they can discuss political problems among themselves before arriving at the International Conference.

But we, the National Societies, are already in this difficult and delicate situation and we can but follow the feelings, inspirations and doctrines of previous International Conferences, for I do not see how the humanitarian activities and the solidarity demonstrated by all the National Societies present can be shared with the racist Government present here with us, or how we can plan the future of the Red Cross Movement with that Government.

That is why I believe that impartiality and neutrality cannot be anything else than affirmative action in the Red Cross. They do not mean indifference to other people's suffering.

Dr. G. MAGNUSSEN (Iceland, Red Cross):

By not participating in the vote this morning the Icelandic Red Cross was not lending its support to *apartheid* nor to the Government of South Africa. On the contrary, we feel that it is in the best interest of universality and sympathy with the victims in South Africa not to vote on this issue.

We sincerely hope that our African Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies will accept and respect our position. We are in total agreement with the statements made by the Red Cross Societies of Finland, Ireland and others before them, who were deeply worried by the decision taken this morning. Only two weeks ago today, my country hosted a summit meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America; we like to believe that that summit meeting was a step forward that brought us all that much

closer to peace in the world. Let us hope that the decision this morning will not turn out to be a large step backwards for the Red Cross Movement and humanity.

Dr. H. L. ADALBERTI (Argentine, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

I am grateful for this opportunity to address this honourable Conference as the representative of the Argentine Red Cross, to make a numerical and humanist observation which I request should be recorded in the minutes of this meeting.

Of the total of 123 National Red Cross Societies here present to take part in an election, 52 Societies decided to take no part and 3 National Societies abstained. These figures ultimately show that 40 per cent of the National Societies, and 90 per cent of the National Societies of the American continent, decided to strengthen the Red Cross spirit of abstention from politics and of impartiality and neutrality by rejecting any form of *apartheid* and respecting the slogan that guides this Conference, which is "United for humanity". Let us thank God that the true spirit of our mission, service to the community, still survives. And let those who still do not believe that we shall continue to defend those principles keep quiet.

Today political vanity has been satisfied, but no thought has been given to human beings; for our poor African brothers now suffering and unjustifiably oppressed will still, with the decision taken here today, continue to suffer — perhaps on a greater scale and in greater proportion, for lack of necessary aid. I repeat that today in spite of the wise words of the representative of the Holy See here present (I want to emphasize that) no thought has been given to human beings although human beings are, when all is said and done, the only genuine reason for our transit through this world. This is a pity.

Lady R. KHAMA (Botswana, Red Cross):

As far as the Botswana Red Cross Society is concerned, we have not suspended a government from participating in this meeting. We have suspended an illegal *régime* which only represents a minority of whites in that country. It does not represent the majority of the people in South Africa, who are denied all human rights and privileges.

When the day comes, in that country, when there is one man, one vote, then the representatives of that Government will be the right people to be seated in this Assembly.

Hon. Justice J. A. ADEFARASIN (Nigeria, Red Cross):

I want to speak in an effort to achieve peace. These have been very difficult days in which efforts have been made in search of peace, in search of harmony.

It has been very interesting to listen to the voices of various Societies explaining why they took the various stands they did. We respect the views they have expressed here; we respect them, but I want to say, that we have voted, and I want us to regard this as a position in which there are no victors, no vanquished.

I have nothing to say in favour of the *apartheid régime* in South Africa. They are violating everything for which the world Red Cross Movement stands. Among these ideals is humanity; they have shown gross inhumanity; they have shown divisions. The very policy of *apartheid* is inhuman, discriminatory. Human rights are not respected, and I think all delegates in this hall will agree with this.

The principle of impartiality is utterly disregarded; instead of it, we have racism and segregation, denial of human rights. As for unity, they stand for disunity; as for universality, theirs is a *régime* of isolation. There is not one word that anyone of us can say for them.

In the efforts which we have been making in the past few days, an answer was being looked for, a consensus whereby we could save ourselves from the tragedy of wasting all these

days. Many of our Societies have come from far-away places. My delegation has come from a very far-away place. There are delegates who have come from even further away than I have done, at great expense to our various Societies. We are very poor people, particularly those of us who come from Third World countries, we cannot afford these expenses, and it grieves my heart that we have wasted so many days running around in circles and settling nowhere. In the Red Cross Movement, leaders come and leaders go. Members of Societies come and members of Societies go. It is my belief, however, that despite of all this, the Red Cross Movement will stay for ever.

This is a momentous experience in the life of our Red Cross. We have never had such a turbulent time as in the past few days. Mistakes of the head may have been made, but certainly no mistakes of the heart. As I said, there are no victors in this room, there are no vanquished. We all agree that the *apartheid régime* is the most iniquitous régime.

Having reached this far, where do we go from here? Do we destroy everything that is decent because we think that a legal point of view has been wrongly adopted? Do we destroy this thing for which Henry Dunant stood and died because of the differences we have heard? Do we destroy ourselves and the teeming millions of blacks in South Africa who are suffering because we think a wrong step has been taken?

And therefore I appeal to all the Societies and governments assembled in this room. I am sure that they are men of good heart, men who consider the Red Cross Movement far above themselves. Men of vision, men who can do repair work. I want to think that all of us here are such men; if you were not, you would not have travelled such great distances to come here.

How would history judge us if we precipitated anything that would weaken the position of the Red Cross? Already newspapers and radios have been carrying news which make me hang my head in shame. I am sure that it is the same for all of us. Do you not think, my dear friends, that this is the time for us to call a halt, take no step, make no motion which would further disgrace us? Having heard all sides of this question, and fully sympathizing with, and respecting all of them, I wonder why can we not go on with our business? Why do we not want to bury the hatchet and recognize that the Red Cross, which has stood for well over 100 years, is still a very powerful instrument for peace?

Past is past. The future is ahead. Let it not be said that in our time, at this International Conference, the whole thing collapsed. If there be any person that is thinking of taking precipitous action to bring us to shame, please think of the Red Cross, think of the work we are doing, in all the theatres of disturbances all over the world. Any adverse report that comes out this afternoon in any of the papers, on television, on the radio, will be a step backwards.

The leader of my Government delegation joins me in appealing to this audience, governments and Societies, to bury the hatchet. Let us bury the hatchet. Long live the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement; long live the International Committee of the Red Cross; long live the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Please, take heed of this appeal; let us go ahead with our business.

Dato KHOR ENG HEE (Malaysia, Government):

During the debate on the motion to suspend the South African Government delegate from the present Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, I explained that the Malaysian Government delegation's position regarding the issue behind the motion proposed by Kenya, on behalf of the African delegations, was not a matter of politics, legality, presidency or procedure: it was an issue touching the very heart of the prin-

ciples for which the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement stands and which the Movement works for.

Moreover, the present International Conference is asked to unite for humanity, as the poster in front of me continues to say. As everyone in this assembly knows, and as everyone who has spoken on the issue has done without equivocation: *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. *Apartheid* is the very antithesis of what the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement stands for and of the principles this august assembly is committed to uphold.

In our view, it will be a mockery of the purpose of this International Conference if we allow the South African Government delegation, perpetrator of this crime against humanity, to attend this International Conference, dedicated to upholding the principle of humanity.

Is the suspension of the South African Government delegation an act that is illegal or unconstitutional, as some members would want this assembly to believe? In other words, has the Chair been a party to such an act by presiding over the session during which the South African Government delegation was suspended? Is the suspension a political act and if so, is it against the Statutes of the International Red Cross?

I must refer to the Statutes and to the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference to answer these questions. Our assembly is, after all, governed by the provisions of these documents. Article I, paragraph 2, says that "The supreme deliberative body of the International Red Cross shall be the International Conference". Article II, paragraph 1, says that "The International Conference shall have the power to take decisions within the limits of the present Statutes". Paragraph 4 of the same article, says that "The International Conference shall be competent to revise and interpret the present Statutes and Rules of Procedure".

Is the suspension of the South African Government delegation a violation of these provisions, or of provisions of the Statutes? Was the procedure adopted to decide on the motion to suspend the delegation of this *régime*, namely Articles XVII and XVIII, a violation of the Rules of Procedure? With due respect to the views of speakers who spoke otherwise and before me, the answer is no.

Ambassador H. J. BRILLANTES (Philippines, Government):

The Conference has surely noted that when the roll-call reached the Philippines the responses of the two sections of the Philippines delegation were not identical. These different responses did not arise from indifference or lack of transparency. Rather, they were the inevitable result of the respect and deference for dignity and independence each section holds for the other.

More important, the Government and the National Red Cross of the Philippines are fully and unconditionally committed to the aims, goals and objectives of the Red Cross Movement. To you and to the members of the Conference we are united in upholding unity for humanity and the protection of the dignity and worth of the human person.

We believe in the UN concept that we are all members of one big human family and are all endowed with certain inalienable rights and basic human freedoms. Yesterday was United Nations day. What did we achieve in this Conference during UN day? Fortunately, today, as we embark upon many more years, hopefully together, in search of the oneness and unity of human beings, we have at least taken a decision to begin our work, a decision which we had been searching for the last 48 hours if not more.

Mr. Chairman, allow me, in all humility, to congratulate you on the courage with which you have decided to discharge your duties and responsibilities as presiding officer of this Conference. Having been in your great country, specifically in this great city of yours, for a not incon-

siderable number of years, I can say that the firmness, the precision and the decisiveness with which you chartered our course of action today, were very Swiss indeed.

I plead for sobriety and goodwill. We have all cast our votes, I assume in full awareness of the consequences and in the best of faith on the part of our representatives. So the practice of explaining the votes, used perhaps indirectly to reopen the confrontation of views, which was inevitable in dealing with an issue, including its consequences, that is admitted by all to be one of the gravest crimes against humanity, cannot be commended.

I must also express my surprise, almost my distress, in hearing some very dear and respected friends and colleagues introducing into this Conference issues which are not relevant at all and which I am sure they know very well will be taken up in the appropriate forum which will be opened a few days from now. I plead that we should no longer muddle the issues, or deepen the divisions that have temporarily come between us.

I plead for sobriety and goodwill. I have noted the statement of my very good friend, the Ambassador of the Netherlands, who appealed, and in this I concur with him, that we should now leave behind us the almost rancorous procedure we have gone through. Let us not renew our recriminations; let us not reiterate our accusations or our criticisms; let us not even give vent to an expression of our dissatisfaction. Let us consider some positive elements and aspects of the decision we have taken.

To those who feel that the universality of the Red Cross Movement has been impaired by the decision on the suspension, I would like to address an appeal. They could perhaps decide, or at least consider, to use their positive influence to persuade South Africa, albeit very gradually, to abandon its lonely and solitary path and join the community of mankind in fully according and respecting all human rights and freedoms to which every human being is entitled. And those of us who joined in the vote should also, with understanding and compassion, encourage the National Red Cross Society in South Africa to take every possible action, to which we, including the Red Cross Societies, may give support within our means in order to extend the frontiers of human dignity in that troubled land.

I only plead for sobriety and goodwill. We should consider our organization as a dynamic organization. It is an organization that lives in a dynamic environment, and therefore it should be able to act with decisiveness and dynamism in dealing with the environment, the elements which may corrode the very fabric of its existence. Our organization must respond with clarity to the issues that could adversely affect humanity.

In conclusion, it is my view that our Rules of Procedure were meant to lend directions to our activities, they were not intended to make us captives of helplessness and inaction in the face of a rapidly changing world. I close with the words "Always united for humanity".

Mr. H. LIMIHAGATI (Tanzania, Red Cross):

I intervened this morning because I felt that references which were being made to individual Societies or Groups were not being addressed through the Chair. I made that intervention in good faith. But now a National Society has made reference to my Society; I feel obliged to ask your kind permission, Mr. Chairman, to reply as follows.

I know for sure that the Irish public knows very well what is happening in South Africa, but I am not quite sure whether the distinguished speaker, on behalf of the Irish National Society, knows very well what is happening in South Africa. If he does not know I pity him. It is a very unfortunate affair.

The actions which followed after the decision to exclude the South African Government from this Conference were

both shameless and uncivilized. I felt that the Conference was being assaulted; the Chair was being assaulted. None of these delegations here today would have done the same. The handing over of the credentials to you, Mr. Chairman, is just an aspect of what is happening in South Africa: total disrespect for humanity. If we had the opportunity, we would ask the organizers of this Conference to show us a video film of murders of innocent unarmed civilians and of small children being shot like animals of prey by the agents of the brutal and inhuman *régime* of *apartheid*. We have been asked to note that the blood which is being spilt in South Africa will go to our African brothers and sisters; we do not know this.

I wonder whether anyone who closes his eyes and shelters himself under the umbrella of legality has the right to speak so emotionally against such a simple gesture of solidarity with the dying millions in South Africa and in neighbouring countries in the name of humanitarian principles which we are gathered here to protect and uphold. I can only pray to the Almighty God to open the eyes of this National Society so that it can distinguish evil from justice. Justice is the cause that humanitarian law is intended to defend.

We need no sympathy; we have had enough of it. We need concrete action now to rid this world, this beautiful world, of *apartheid* policies.

MOTION TO ADJOURN THE CONFERENCE

Mr. A. G. TAYLOR (Australia, Red Cross):

The Australian Red Cross delegation endorses and supports the views expressed by earlier representatives of governments and National Societies that did not participate in the vote, and I do not wish to add extensively to the remarks already made.

There are, however, some other observations I would like to make. The theme of this Conference is "United for Humanity". In the light of the events which have occurred I am not sure that we can continue to make that claim with the same degree of confidence and conviction. The atmosphere is now so charged with emotion that we could all be excused, were we to find it difficult, if not impossible, to give our undivided attention to the serious matters still remaining on the agenda without being influenced, at least to some extent, by factors totally unrelated to the subject under discussion.

Delegates of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies represent tens of thousands of members and supporters of National Societies; those members and supporters expect that major international decisions will be taken in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust, understanding, harmony and goodwill. It is not essential that any of the remaining items of the agenda be decided within the next few days because the humanitarian work of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent will continue throughout the world wherever and whenever the need exists. A period of time away from the Conference, however, may well bring about the resolution of differences and the softening of attitudes. In the long-term interest of those Fundamental Principles, so dear to all of us, I beseech all delegations not to react too hastily to the proposition I am about to submit to you, but to consider it calmly, discuss it without emotion. It may well be a proposal without precedent in the history of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in international conference.

Unprecedented problems necessarily require solutions which also are without precedent. I heard with great attention the very fine speech made earlier by the very distinguished representative of Nigeria, a man for whom I have the highest personal regard, and I am sad in a sense that the proposition I am about to put might seem contrary to some of the views he has expressed.

In my view this proposition is forced upon me because

we are compelled to take a step which clearly registers our utter disagreement with the earlier decision. It is for all those foregoing reasons that I now move that this Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross be adjourned, without another date being fixed for its resumption. I request that the vote on this motion be taken by a secret ballot, and I am supported in this request by at least the following 16 Red Cross Societies, whom I shall now name: the Red Cross Societies of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, the United States of America, Ireland, Finland, Austria, New Zealand, Norway, France, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Liechtenstein, Iceland and Switzerland. I also suggest that if the motion is passed, the Standing Commission be asked to accept responsibility for reconvening the Conference at some more appropriate date in the future. If the motion is lost, the Australian Red Cross delegation will continue to participate to the utmost of its best endeavours and, as far as I know, so also will any other delegation associated with this move.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Obviously we must deal with this point of order without delay. But this proposal is an extremely important one, and I should therefore like to avoid any precipitate action, and give us a short space of time to reflect. Do you agree that the meeting should be suspended for 45 minutes? (*Applause*)

We shall resume the meeting at 5.30 p.m. for the vote.

*(The meeting was suspended at 4.40 p.m.
and resumed at 5.50 p.m.)*

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, before proceeding to vote I ask for your leave to give the floor for three minutes to the Ambassador of Cameroon, who for the last two days has been asking to speak to convey a message of gratitude.

Ambassador F.-X. NGOUBEYOU (Cameroon, Government) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, I know this is a serious moment, at which the peace of mind of all the delegations here is somewhat perturbed. May I nevertheless, in my maiden speech in this hall, discharge the pleasant duty of conveying to you the hearty congratulations of my delegation on your election as Chairman of this Conference, and to the Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and Assistant Secretaries-General of the Conference.

My delegation enthusiastically associates itself with the compliments, congratulations and thanks expressed at the opening ceremony by the Head of the African Group of Geneva to the organizers at all levels of this Conference.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation deplores the inelegant and discourteous attitude towards the Chair and all the participants in this important Conference shown this morning by one delegation just after the vote. We are, however, glad that this episode did not succeed, as the delegation which provoked it doubtless hoped it would, in disturbing the dignity and smooth progress of our proceedings. Accordingly by your leave I shall say no more about the vote that took place, or about the legitimate cause which unfortunately obliged us to hold that vote. All that is now part of history, and history will judge it.

Mr. Chairman, these few words are in token of our gratitude, because this Conference is being held two months, almost to the very day, after the terrible natural disaster in Cameroon. I shall not describe it in detail, as the sad memory it has left behind is still fresh in everybody's mind. I shall only say that it left 1,734 dead and 400 people suffering from burns, displaced 3,000 people and decimated all animal life within a radius of ten kilometres, as stated by the President of the Cameroon Red Cross Society at the League General Assembly held here on 19 October.

My delegation asked for the floor because it wanted to avail itself of the splendid and unique opportunity afforded by the plenary session of our Conference to give public thanks, heartfelt thanks loud and clear, on behalf of my country and especially of my Head of State, His Excellency Paul Billa, to the governments of all friendly countries, church associations, the League and all National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies which demonstrated to us their solidarity and generosity by giving us prompt and substantial aid. This came as a very timely and welcome addition to the efforts already made by the Government of Cameroon. I think I should say that this aid was not only material. It also took the form of the services of the technicians and specialists making a scientific investigation into the nature of the disaster.

We hope the outcome of their investigations will enable all volcanic countries exposed to the danger of similar emanations of poisonous gas to protect themselves against a similar disaster and will also enable my country to draw up a plan for future monitoring, prevention and action.

I am glad to say that with respect to one of the items on the agenda of our Conference, namely dissemination of international humanitarian law, Cameroon attaches great importance to this kind of humanitarian action. For example, since 1977 the International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC) and the Henry Dunant Institute have jointly organized a series of seminars on international humanitarian law for the entire African continent, with the support of the ICRC and the Cameroon Red Cross Society. The calibre and number of participants at each of these seminars show the interest they evoke in African governments and individuals.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of the Cameroon Government to the Henry Dunant Institute and its leaders for the Institute's unceasing efforts to make IRIC, and our capital Yaoundé, one of the centres for disseminating international humanitarian law, and to promote co-operation between these two internationally-minded academic institutions.

Knowledge of international humanitarian law is not an asset that Africa can do without; the African continent holds the melancholy record for the number of refugees, and has among the highest numbers of prisoners of war, political detainees, and seriously injured and displaced persons. Assistance to all these people, their protection, and attempts to remedy their plight require knowledge of the Fundamental Principles of relevant international regulations.

Cameroon has always applied the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols, which moreover it was among the first to sign and ratify. My country therefore considers that knowledge of these rules of international humanitarian law can do much to improve the treatment of the unhappy victims of political and military disturbances, alleviate their plight and help us to find ways for them to return to normal life. In other words, we believe that dissemination of international humanitarian law must be considered as an essential corollary of material aid.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, my delegation wishes to assure you in advance that it will play a constructive part in this Conference and desires its outstanding success.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Mr. Ambassador, may I express the condolences and sympathy of this assembly. I would ask you kindly to pass them on to the population so sorely tried by the disaster you have just mentioned.

Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to make a statement on behalf of the Secretary General and from myself personally: we are not members of the delegation of the Swiss Red Cross and take no part in its deliberations and decisions. I say this in answer to questions asked of us during the break.

We have got to deal with the motion of the Australian

Red Cross and its accompanying request for a vote by secret ballot. That request is supported by 16 delegations and we shall therefore proceed to a vote by secret ballot. So that we shall not be drawn into a long debate I have decided under Article 15 to give the floor to one speaker for the motion and one speaker against. Switzerland has asked for the floor on a point of order.

Mr. J.-P. BUENSOD (Switzerland, Red Cross) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, like yourself I was asked a number of questions during the break in this meeting, because some people were surprised that Switzerland was one of the countries mentioned by the representative of the Australian Red Cross Society.

All I want to say is that the Swiss Red Cross supports only the proposal that the vote on this motion should be by secret ballot. As far as the remainder of the question is concerned I want to emphasize clearly, because this is what has left doubt in some people's minds, that the Swiss Red Cross, the host Society that issued the invitation to this Conference, will remain at the entire disposal of its guests, whatever decision this Conference takes, right up until the end of the debates of this Conference. And since I have been asked this question direct, I want to make clear that the Swiss Red Cross wants the Conference to continue in spite of its rather difficult start.

No doubt we do not need a pause for thought after spending several days on debates which, when all is said and done, have proved rather barren; and I think that tomorrow, for which the Swiss Red Cross has arranged a programme of excursions, will enable everybody to relax and recover their peace of mind, so that from Monday onwards the Conference can successfully accomplish the programme it has set itself.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The Conference has taken note of that statement.

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Morocco, Red Crescent) (*Original French*):

I must apologize for raising my voice somewhat, but I submitted this point of order to your Secretariat half an hour ago, when the meeting began.

Mr. Chairman, you gave us a pause for thought for something much less important than the point this eminent assembly is called upon to decide today. You gave us a day and a half to think over things before we voted on a point of order submitted by the delegate for Kenya. Now you are going on to vote immediately without giving us any time to think things over. That is point number one.

Point number two, Mr. Chairman, is that the procedure must be respected. We have a proposal moved by our friends from various National Red Cross Societies represented by Australia. Under Article 9 of the Rules of Procedure "Proposals, motions and amendments, with the exception of points of order, shall be communicated in writing in advance to the Bureau and circulated by it to the delegates before being discussed". But I myself have received nothing. How can we be expected to discuss a proposal that has not respected Article 9 of the Rules of Procedure? We must respect rules of procedure and suspend the meeting until we have received the proposal.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank the speaker from the Moroccan Red Crescent and should like to draw his attention to the fact that Australia has submitted a point of order. This therefore has to be dealt with immediately, and that is what we are now doing. Exceptionally, I took the liberty of interrupting our meeting for one hour to give you time to think things over, but I do not feel that I can give you any longer without offence to

the delegate of Australia, who put forward this point of order.

We are consequently proceeding in accordance with Article 15 which says that one delegate may speak for, and one against the point of order.

Which delegation wishes to speak for the point of order?

Sylvia COUNTESS OF LIMERICK (United Kingdom, Red Cross):

We second the motion of the Australian delegation and I am in favour of the secret ballot.

Mr. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The Ambassador of Colombia has asked for the floor to speak against the point of order.

Ambassador H. CHARRY-SAMPER (Colombia, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

I have the honour to speak against the point of order at the express and considered request of the States party to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August, 1949 belonging to the group of developing countries known as the Group of 77.

The mandate entrusted to me is a unanimous one. The distinguished representative of the Australian Red Cross, with the support at this meeting of the distinguished representative of the British Red Cross Society, and on behalf of a group of National Societies, has proposed that this Conference should be adjourned indefinitely. The group of 77 has met and has considered the situation with all due care and dispatch; we are not in favour of this proposal. We do not believe that it would be either useful or right to adjourn the Conference. Some of the people here have come long distances and others were already here in pursuance of their official duties; and, after hearing what the distinguished Swiss speaker had to say, we know that we are still welcome and that we can go on with our work.

The Group of 77 wants the Conference to continue. We want it to continue so that it may preserve and strengthen the humanitarian spirit, the objective of humanitarian law and the objectives of the Red Cross Movement. We also want the Conference to continue in accordance with the gentlemen's agreement reached last night by the representatives of the various groups here represented. That agreement was specifically endorsed in this morning's presentation, and that is what enables us to be here this afternoon.

We willingly accept a secret ballot, which is one of the three ways of taking a decision laid down in the Rules. We do so in a Red Cross spirit, the spirit that enjoins us to staunch wounds, and we must do our duty; this takes precedence of any other consideration. I urge that a secret ballot should be held immediately.

Mr. Hay, the distinguished President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, for whom we all have a special regard, has complied with the rule to which I refer in a humble spirit that does him credit; that is, he has refrained from asking for the floor; and I feel honoured that he has asked me to express what he was going to say, which was that the ICRC and its President, while fully understanding the feelings giving rise to the proposal, consider that the Conference can and must go on, and must be a success, so as to prove that the Red Cross is a moral force promoting unity in a divided world.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, please be very disciplined during the vote so that we can get it over in the shortest possible time. This requires your co-operation and your discipline.

I call upon the Secretary General to remind you of the exact content of the motion and to give the necessary instructions for the vote.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

It is true that no paper has been distributed, and I would ask the delegation of the Australian Red Cross Society to correct me if I have incorrectly noted the text on which we are about to vote. This will be as follows: "That the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross stand adjourned without another date being fixed for its resumption." This seems to be correct.

I should like to suggest that to save time we retain the four scrutineers who gave us good service this morning, namely the representatives of the Malaysian Red Crescent, the Red Cross of Yugoslavia, the Government of Cameroon and the Government of Mexico. Do you agree? (*Applause*) I should now like to call Mr. Jean-Pierre Robert-Tissot, who is helping us on such votes, which are rather complicated because of the architecture of this building.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

As the Secretary General has just said, communications between the two Conference halls we are using are rather inconvenient. To save time, and so that delegates in Hall I, the upper hall, do not have to walk up and down long corridors and staircases we are therefore obliged to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that you proceed as follows: we shall first of all ask the National Societies in Hall II, the lower hall, to vote. The scrutineers and ballot box will then move to Hall I, on the delegates' right facing the rostrum, and we shall continue with voting by National Societies. Once this vote is over, to avoid having to take the ballot box down again and make the two-way journey twice, we shall proceed to the vote for the government delegations, this time starting with Hall I, where the ballot box will be already. When all government delegates have voted in Hall I the ballot box and scrutineers will go down to Hall II again, so that we can finish the voting.

This technical procedure is forced upon us, but we think that in the present circumstances it will be the quickest and most rational one.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

There are two points on which I must give you further information. The first is very important. It is that you must write *oui* or *yes* or *si* on your voting paper if you are for the motion submitted by Australia, that is, if you want this Conference to be adjourned. If you are against the motion, that is, if you want the Conference to go on, you must write *non* or *no* or *no*.

Point two, I should like to ask the scrutineers to come and stand next to the ballot box so as to supervise the voting.

Voting will start as soon as all the voting papers have been distributed. Would hall assistants please be as quick as possible.

Dr. D. D. V. VENEDICTOV (USSR, Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies):

I think it is necessary to explain what exactly should be written on the ballot paper, so that there is no misunderstanding as to what to write and what it really means.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

I am informed that what I just said was perhaps not altogether clear. You must write *oui* or *yes* or *si* if you want to vote for the motion submitted by the Australian Red Cross Society; that motion is, I repeat, that the Twenty-fifth Conference should be adjourned. You must write *non* or *no* or *no* if you are against that motion, that is if you want the Twenty-fifth Conference to continue.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The vote now begins.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

Has each delegation its voting papers? Apparently it has, in Hall II at least, and I will therefore be calling each delegation. When the name of their delegation is called out, delegates are invited to come and put their voting paper in the ballot box. I shall start with letter R.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Sudan has a point of order to make.

Ambassador A. M. A. HASSAN (Sudan, Government)

I would like to request that the Conference be informed of the number of voting slips distributed so far, before proceeding to the vote.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

This request is noted. I am waiting to be advised of the number of voting papers handed out in Hall I and Hall II. The hall assistants are now checking this number.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

Another request for explanations has been made and I can answer it at once. The Spanish delegation asks what significance is attached to a blank voting paper. A blank voting paper is in fact an abstention, but I would refer you to Article 17 reading "Abstentions shall not be taken into consideration in determining the majority". Therefore the only voting papers that count are those expressing either *yes* or *no*.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

The number of voting papers distributed is 240. We shall now proceed to the vote, beginning with National Societies and Hall II. I shall begin by calling on Romania.

(*Voting took place*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank Mr. Robert-Tissot and his assistants. We must now count the votes. If the proposal to adjourn the Conference is rejected, we shall continue with the agenda of the first plenary meeting which, with your help, should not take us more than an hour. I should perhaps say right away that if it is decided that the Conference shall continue, the Commissions will start work on Monday morning at 9 a.m. after a day of rest and, for those who have put their names down for them, excursions. The meeting is suspended until 8.30 p.m.

(*The meeting was suspended at 7.10 p.m. and resumed at 8.30 p.m.*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The results of the vote are as follows

Voting papers distributed:	240
Voting papers returned:	238
Invalid voting papers:	3
Valid voting papers:	235
Delegations voting for the motion:	52
Delegations voting against the motion:	178

There were 5 abstentions.

The majority is accordingly 116 votes. The motion is rejected by 52 votes in favour and 178 against.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I appeal for your co-operation and I beg you not to involve us in a general debate on this vote. It is our duty to start at last on the work we have to do.

I make a single exception for the author of the motion,

the Chairman of the Australian Red Cross Society, for a very short statement. Do you agree? The Chairman of the Australian Red Cross Society has the floor.

Mr. A. G. TAYLOR (Australia, Red Cross):

I am a man of limited intelligence, firm views and few words. I am pleased to congratulate those who do not share our views on the resounding success of this ballot. I give you and them, and all the other delegates, our unreserved undertaking that we shall continue to participate in the business of this international congress as if the event had not occurred. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We can now return to the agenda of the first plenary meeting.

We shall deal with item 2: Report on the proceedings of the Council of Delegates. Mr. Hay has the floor.

REPORT ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

The meeting of the Council of Delegates immediately before the Conference was opened by Mr. Kurt Bolliger, President of the Swiss Red Cross, the host Society.

In accordance with tradition, the ICRC was asked to chair the Council and I had the honour of performing that duty. Mr. de la Mata, President of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, was appointed Vice-Chairman.

As we have just seen from the previous item on our agenda, the Council of Delegates had to make proposals for the election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and Assistant Secretaries General of the Twenty-fifth International Conference. It also noted and approved the Standing Commission's proposals for the elections in the two Commissions. I shall revert to this subject when we come to Item 3 of our agenda.

What I should like to talk to you about now are the substantial subjects debated by the council. The first of these was the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Peace. The Council took note of the report by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace on its activities since the 1985 Council of Delegates and its supplementary report on its latest discussions, including its proposals for its future composition. The Council decided by consensus to adopt the Commission's suggestion that its membership should be increased.

Besides the ICRC, the League and the Henry Dunant Institute, the National Societies that organized the two World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conferences on Peace (Belgrade, 1975 and Aaland and Stockholm, 1984), namely the Red Cross of Yugoslavia and the Finnish and Swedish Red Cross Societies, are now permanent members of the Commission and will accordingly not be subject to re-election by the Council of Delegates. The Swedish Red Cross has proposed to alternate its membership of the Commission with the Finnish Red Cross, which like itself was the host Society of the Second World Conference on Peace.

The total number of members on the Commission has thus been raised from 15 to 17, and the number of member National Societies from 12 to 14. Six National Societies were re-elected, those of France, the German Democratic Republic, Mauritania, Egypt, Australia and Indonesia, together with the Red Cross of Yugoslavia as an *ex-officio* member. The six new Societies are those of Benin, Ethiopia, Brazil, Colombia, the Yemen Arab Republic, and Jordan, with the Swedish Red Cross as an *ex officio* member.

In conformity with the decision of the 1985 Council of Delegates, the Commission will submit an interim report to the 1987 Council of Delegates and a final report in 1989,

at which date it will make proposals for its future, if any, and its terms of reference and duration, for acceptance by consensus by the Council of Delegates of that year. The Commission already has a full programme; I would remind you of the following questions to which it is already giving consideration: implementation of the Belgrade programme of action and Aaland conclusions, and to instituting a World Peace Day. The Commission has compiled an historical study of World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day (8 May) and will report on the subject to the forthcoming Council of Delegates.

The Commission contemplates calling on a group of experts to help it with the study of the Human Rights and the Movement which the Council of Delegates asked it in 1983 and 1985 to carry out.

The deliberations of the Council of Delegates gave the Commission fresh food for thought; for example, one National Society suggested that there should be a Red Cross and Red Crescent Peace Prize, or a Red Cross and Red Crescent Peace Medal, for award to individuals, National Societies or organizations that had served the cause of peace.

Another National Society hoped that more would be done to educate young people in the spirit of peace, and it was suggested that the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace should be chaired alternately by the ICRC and the League.

The Commission will also consider whether it would be opportune to hold a Third World Conference on Peace.

The Council of Delegates also adopted by consensus three resolutions on peace, of which the first two have been sent to the Twenty-fifth Conference for adoption.

The first of these is a resolution on the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and the International Year of Peace (1986) inviting the Conference to adopt as a resolution the message sent to the international community by the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace, urging governments, National Societies, the ICRC and the League to make an active contribution to promoting this message and its application.

The second resolution relates to the development of the Red Cross and Red Crescent as a factor of peace.

Both resolutions will be submitted to the plenary meeting on 30 or 31 October for adoption. The dates will be fixed under item 2 of the agenda.

The third resolution submitted by the Inter-American Regional Committee of the Red Cross relates to the components of the Movement, who are asked to give the co-operation necessary for the Red Cross to be a real instrument of peace in Central America. This third resolution of the Council of Delegates will be sent to the Conference for information.

Lastly, the Council of Delegates has been informed that Mr. Huber, Chairman of the Commission, has resigned. The Council thanked Mr. Huber for having greatly contributed to the Commission's success and to the prestige it has gained in our Movement over the last ten years. The Council also thanked the National Societies leaving the Commission.

From April onwards I shall have the pleasure of acting as Chairman of this Commission and I look forward to co-operating with each of its members.

The Council of Delegates also heard a report on the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute. Mr. Maurice Aubert, Vice-President of the ICRC, in his capacity as Chairman of the Board of the Henry Dunant Institute, announced that Mr. Jean Hoefliger, at present ICRC Delegate General for the Middle East, had been appointed Director of the Institute. Many National Societies have expressed their satisfaction at this choice and have thanked the team that

has led the Henry Dunant Institute over the last few years, and in particular its former Director Mr. Jacques Meurant. Those Societies stated that the studies conducted by the Institute, such as that on voluntary service, had given them much useful food for thought.

Suggestions have been made as to the Institute's future activities, and particularly that National Societies should be helped to improve their training and development where necessary.

Lastly the Council of Delegates adopted by consensus a resolution on developing the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute.

Item 8 on the agenda of the Council of Delegates related to Funds and Medals; the ICRC submitted a report on the award of the Florence Nightingale Medal and the state of the Florence Nightingale Medal Fund and the Augusta Fund. The report was approved.

The Council of Delegates then noted the report of the Joint Commission of the Empress Shōken Fund, which proposes that the Fund's Regulations be revised. They cannot be revised by any organ other than the Conference, which is the only authority competent for the purpose. The Council of Delegates accordingly decided to pass this report to the Conference with a recommendation that the Regulations be approved. The Council proposes to the Conference a draft resolution approving the new Regulations of the Empress Shōken Fund. This subject did not form part of the Conference agenda and can be dealt with under item 4 of the agenda of Commission II.

The Council of Delegates furthermore noted the report of the Council of the Foundation for the ICRC. That Foundation is at present managed by a Council of seven members, two of whom are appointed by the International Conference of the Red Cross. The term of office of those two members expired with the opening of the Twenty-fifth Conference, which can either extend the term of office of the present holders (Mr. Hans Hoegh, Secretary General of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and Mr. Bengt Bergman, Under-Secretary General of the League) or appoint other leading personalities. The Council of Delegates invites the Conference to take a decision on this question; it too can be dealt with under item 4 of the agenda of Commission II.

Lastly, Dr. Janos Hantos, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Red Cross, has asked that the ICRC should consider the application of the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross with the help of a select group of National Societies. The ICRC has agreed to that suggestion.

The proceedings of the Council of Delegates again took place in an excellent atmosphere. All the proposals had previously been fully discussed with the National Societies, the League and the ICRC, and were accordingly adopted by consensus.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for this full and instructive report. We can now go on to item 3 of our agenda: Appointment of the Conference Commissions. What are the proposals of the Council of Delegates?

APPOINTMENT OF THE CONFERENCE COMMISSIONS

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

The Council of Delegates recommends that the proceedings of our Conference should be entrusted to two Commissions:

Commission I: International Humanitarian Law;

Commission II: General Commission.

For Commission I the Council of Delegates proposes, as suggested by the Standing Commission, that H.E. Ambassador Alioune Sene, Head of the delegation of the Government of Senegal, should be appointed Chairman; that Judge Darrell D. Jones, of the Canadian Red Cross Society, and Chief Justice Abdul Hamid of the Malaysian Red Crescent Society should be appointed Vice-Chairmen; and that Major Ali Hassan Quoreshi of the Bangladesh Red Cross Society should be appointed Rapporteur.

For Commission II the Council of Delegates recommends, as proposed by the Standing Commission, that Dr. Mario Villarreal Lander, President of the Venezuelan Red Cross, should be appointed Chairman and that Mr. Leon Stubbings of the Australian Red Cross Society and Dr. Dawit Zawde of the Ethiopian Red Cross Society should be appointed Vice-Chairmen. The Council of Delegates proposes that in view of the Commission's very full agenda it should have two Rapporteurs, namely Dr. Mohammed Nesh-Nash of the Moroccan Red Crescent Society for the item on the agenda of Commission II (revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross) and Mr. Rezső Szuchlik of the Hungarian Red Cross, for all the other items on the agenda of Commission II.

Formal ratification of these proposals by each Commission will be necessary.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Ladies and Gentlemen, you have heard these proposals. Do you agree that these two Commissions should be formed and do you agree with the proposals made? (*Applause*)

Thank you. These Commissions are accordingly in being; they will meet on Monday morning at 9.00 sharp in Halls I and II. I would remind you that the delegations themselves have to decide which of the two Commissions they want to take part in.

We now come to item 4 of our agenda: Opening of the procedure of the election of the members of the Standing Commission. I call upon the Secretary General to give you guidance on the formalities.

OPENING OF THE PROCEDURE FOR THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

As you may know, the Statutes now in force contain very few rules, but previous International Conferences of the Red Cross have established certain practices that it will be wise to follow on this occasion too.

For the time being, we need only organize the deposition of candidatures. Will all persons offering themselves as candidates please let me have their curricula before Wednesday, 29 October at 9.00 a.m., that is, at least 48 hours before the second plenary meeting. I shall come back to the programme shortly. Each candidature must be accompanied by a short personal history of the candidate.

Since the Tehran Conference we have applied the principle of fair geographical distribution to the Standing Commission and this idea will perhaps be followed this time too. I should also like to suggest that a relative majority should be applied as from the second ballot and an absolute majority at the first ballot.

May I have your agreement to these proposals? (*Applause*) Thank you. A number of candidatures have already been announced and curricula vitae have been distributed; I think it would be well for these candidates to be confirmed to the Bureau so that we are sure not to forget any of them.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We can now go on to item 5 on our agenda: Report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission. I give the floor to the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Abu-Goura.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Chairman of the Standing Commission):

"Introduction:

At the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross (Manila 1981) the following persons were elected members of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross:

Dr. A. Abu-Goura (Jordan);
Mr. J. Hantos (Hungary);
Mr. S. Ijas (Indonesia);
Mr. R. Kane (Canada);
Mr. K. Warras (Finland).

On 14 November, the Commission at its constitutive meeting appointed Dr. A. Abu-Goura as chairman, Mr. J. Hantos as Vice-Chairman, and Mrs. Y. Camporini (League) as Secretary of the Commission.

The ICRC appointed the President of the ICRC, Mr. A. Hay, and Mr. Pestalozzi who in April 1984 was replaced by Mr. Aubert, Vice-President. Regarding the League, the President of the League and Dr. V. Baltiyski, (President of the Soviet Red Cross) were representing the League up to the IIIrd General Assembly 1983; afterwards the League was represented by Dr. F. Buyoya (President of the Burundi Red Cross, and Vice-President of the League) and Dr. G. Rueda Montana (President of the Colombian Red Cross and Vice-President of the League). At the same time the Standing Commission requested that the President of the League should attend the meetings of the Standing Commission; since October 1985, General R. Espino represents the League; the President of the League was assisted by Dr. G. Rueda Montaña (Colombian Red Cross).

Since October 1981, the Standing Commission held eight ordinary meetings and three extraordinary meetings, (17 August 1982, 10 January 1985 and 17 January 1986).

The "three Presidents" met regularly between two meetings of the Commission either for preparing the meetings of the Commission or for discussion of important subjects such as the preparation of the Twenty-fifth International Conference.

Since 1981, the Commission discussed various subjects and notably the following matters:

Follow-up to the XXIVth International Conference

After exchange of experiences and consultations following the XXIVth International Conference, the Commission took note of a working document prepared by the Secretariat of the ICRC and of the League and asked that the content of the document should be raised again when preparing the XXVth International Conference.

Red Cross appeal signed by the three Presidents to the special Conference of the United Nations on Disarmament (June 1982):

After having taken into consideration the request from the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace regarding the dispatch by the "Three Presidents" of a Red Cross/Red Crescent appeal to the special Conference of the United Nations on Disarmament to be held in June, 1982 on the basis of Resolution XIII "Disarmament, weapons of mass destruction and respect for non-combatants" (Twenty-fourth International Conference 1981) and of Recommendation I of the IIIrd European Regional Conference (Budapest, May 1981) "The Red Cross and Peace", the Standing Commission instructed the "Three Presidents" to prepare such an appeal to be submitted to the United Nations Secretary General before the opening of the special session mentioned above and subsequently to all National Societies.

Award of the Henry Dunant Medal

In 1983, at the session of the Council of Delegates, the Standing Commission presented the Henry Dunant Medal to the following personalities:

Prof. W. Ludwig (German Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic);
Dr. M. Behamonde Ruiz (Chilian Red Cross);
Mr. H. Bennetzen (Danish Red Cross);
Dr. J. H. Felix (League delegate, member of the American Red Cross);
Mr. W. Bargatzky (German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany);
Mr. A. Mudarris (Saudi Arabian Red Crescent Society);
Dr. Rudione (ICRC delegate, member of the Indonesian Red Cross, posthumous).

In 1985, at the session of the Council of Delegates, it presented the Henry Dunant Medal to the following personalities:

Dr. Olga Milosevic (Red Cross of Yugoslavia); Mr. T. Sloper (Brazilian Red Cross).

Preparation of the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross 1986

In conformity with the Statutes of the International Red Cross, the Standing Commission has a specific function connected with the preparation of the International Conference and of the Council of Delegates. This duty, and particularly the drawing up of the agendas of these two bodies, gives the Commission the opportunity to allocate the subjects for debate and to make the arrangements of the International Conference in co-operation with the host Society. Consequently, the President of the Swiss Red Cross with the Commissioner General of the International Conference, Mr. B. de Tschanner, were regularly invited to attend the meetings of the Standing Commission when discussing the preparation of the Conference. Since April 1984, the Commission turned its attention to the preparation of this Conference, in co-operation with the League and the ICRC Secretariat and the Swiss Red Cross representatives.

For the first time, a letter was sent to the governments parties to the Geneva Conventions and which attended the Manila International Conference and invited them to inform the Standing Commission on any action taken in order to implement the Resolutions and Decisions adopted by the Twenty-fourth Conference. This information was passed to the League and the ICRC Secretariats for preparing the reports to be presented to the Twenty-fifth International Conference. Several governments replied, and it was taken into consideration in the appropriate documents. On the other hand, the agenda of the International Conference was sent to National Societies for comments before sending it officially to the members and observers to the Conference. The Standing Commission devoted a large part of an extraordinary meeting (January, 1986) to the preparation of the Conference. It was decided at that meeting that instead of three Commissions, the Conference should have only two Commissions. It also adopted the slogan of the Conference which is "United for Humanity".

Council of Delegates

The Standing Commission prepared, in conformity with the Statutes of the International Red Cross, the agendas of the meetings of the Council of Delegates of 1983, 1985 and 1986.

Second World Red Cross/Red Crescent Conference on Peace (Aaland, September 1984)

As this Conference was convened as an extraordinary meeting of the Council of Delegates, the Chairman of the Commission on Red Cross/Red Crescent and Peace, since April 1983, informed regularly the Standing Commission members on the preparation of that Conference. The Chairman of the Standing Commission also attended, with other members of the Standing Commission, meetings of the Peace Commission which was in charge of the preparation of the Peace Conference.

The Chairman of the Standing Commission chaired the opening ceremony of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace, bearing in mind that it was an extraordinary meeting of the Council of Delegates.

Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross

The two Co-Chairmen of the Joint League/ICRC Working Group on the revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross informed regularly, since September 1984, the Standing Commission on the work of the Joint Working Group.

The members of the Standing Commission expressed their

views many times on the Drafts of the Statutes and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross. The members of the Commission and of the Joint Working Group also met in order to exchange their opinions, in particular regarding the articles of the Draft Statutes dealing with the Standing Commission.

The Chairman of the Standing Commission sent, in April 1986, to all the participants of the International Conference, the Draft of the Statutes and of the Rules of Procedure.

Respect for International Humanitarian Law

In August 1982, the Standing Commission held in Geneva an extraordinary meeting which was devoted to the situation in Lebanon, in particular to grave breaches of international humanitarian law relative to armed conflicts and appealing to all National Red Cross and Red Crescent organizations to increase their assistance to the victims. The members also supported the appeals made by the ICRC to the parties to undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the Geneva Conventions in all circumstances and requesting the ICRC to continue its activities in Lebanon in accordance with the Geneva Conventions, in particular with the matters concerning prisoners of war.

The Standing Commission adopted a decision which recalls Resolutions X, 1977 and III, 1981 of the respective International Conference of the Red Cross and which reads as follows:

1. Invites the ICRC and the League to send to Lebanon at the appropriate time a delegation of the Red Cross to carry out a survey in co-operation with Red Cross and Red Crescent organizations in the said country on current and future humanitarian needs;
2. Supports the appeals made by the ICRC to the parties of the conflict to undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the Geneva Conventions in all circumstances;
3. Requests the ICRC to continue its activities in Lebanon in accordance with the Geneva Conventions in particular with all matters concerning the prisoners of war;
4. Encourages all National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and their governments and the international organizations to increase their assistance to the victims of the armed conflict in Lebanon;
5. Expresses its appreciation to the ICRC, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the National Societies that are carrying out the humanitarian operations in Lebanon.

This decision was sent to all National Societies.

In Amman, in January 1985, the Standing Commission held a new extraordinary meeting. The main item was the continued breaches of the Geneva Conventions. It was underlined that since the last International Conference of the Red Cross (1981) the ICRC had addressed itself to the International Committee to express its deep concern and call for more humanitarian actions and respect from all the States parties to the Geneva Conventions. Nevertheless, the situation has not improved.

In conclusion of that meeting, the "Three Presidents" (Standing Commission, ICRC and League) were authorized to send a letter to all States parties to the Geneva Conventions with:

- the appeals from the ICRC to the governments;
- Resolution VI of the Twenty-fourth International Conference;
- the message addressed to the world community by the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace (1984).

Other Activities

— Rules of Procedure of the Standing Commission

According to Article 24 of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross, the Standing Commission shall draw up its own Rules of Procedure.

Consequently, in April 1983 a first draft was proposed by the Vice-Chairman of the Standing Commission.

The members expressed themselves on the content of the

draft and in October 1983 the Standing Commission adopted its Rules of Procedure.

Conclusion

The Standing Commission notes that during the period under review, the Chairman of the Standing Commission has been regularly in contact with the President of the ICRC and the President of the League.

The Commission was regularly informed on the monthly Joint League/ICRC Statutory meetings at which questions of common interest to the two Institutions are dealt with.

Also, it was regularly informed on the current activities of both Institutions and specific publications or documents produced by the them were sent to the members of the Standing Commission."

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We now come to item 6: Other Business. Before I give the floor to Mr. de Tschärner for announcements on technical matters, are there any other items you would like to deal with now?

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

I shall begin with a question that is of interest to all of you, namely the programme of this Conference, in which there are a number of changes.

In spite of the accumulated delay, and also, perhaps, because of the work done in the last two days, we all need a day's rest. We therefore think that we should work all the better and perhaps more quickly if the Commissions began on Monday morning. We would then have three days, Monday the 27th, Tuesday the 28th and Wednesday the 29th, for the proceedings of the Commissions. Perhaps they could shed one or two items of their agenda and concentrate on essentials so as to finish within three days.

Thursday the 30th will be reserved for preparation of the reports and proposals to be submitted to the Conference. Plenary meetings could start on Friday 31 October and end with the closing meeting on Saturday 1st November. That has for some time past been held in reserve. If you have any problems regarding homeward travel you will find a Swissair office in the hall from Monday onwards.

As I said, the Commissions will meet on Monday at 9.00 a.m. Commission I will meet in Hall I, the upper hall. Commission II will meet here in Hall II.

I would remind you that it is customary to allow the press to be present at the proceedings of the Commissions unless the Commissions decide to meet *in camera*.

That is the programme. I have a few little things to add to it: on Monday at 8.00 a.m., in Hall 8, there will be a meeting of the members of the Bureau already appointed or elected, including the members already approached, that is, the Chairman of the Commissions and the two Vice-Chairmen of the Conference, who will also be asked to prepare the work of the Commissions.

I now come to information on the programme of entertainment. Tomorrow's excursions will take place at the times already announced. I would also remind you that the Genevese authorities invite delegates to a concert at St. Peter's Cathedral at 8.15 p.m. on Tuesday 28 October, to be followed by a reception at the Palais Eynard, which is open for the first time since its restoration. An invitation has been placed in all pigeon-holes.

Please do not leave anything here at the end of this evening's proceedings, as these halls will be rearranged for the Commissions to work in; take your documents with you. Places will not be marked at the meetings of the Commissions. You will find the panels identifying your delegations at the entrance and you may sit where you like.

I have an announcement to make that has been passed

to me by Ambassador Ali Hassan, Chairman of the Arab Group. He wishes to remind the Arab Group that it will be meeting on Monday morning the 27th at 8.30 in Hall 15, level D, of this building.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

To show you how guileless your Chairman is, I should like to end this meeting by reading out a note I made for last Thursday. It says: "6.15 p.m., end of meeting; 6.30 p.m.,

reception at the Intercontinental Hotel". I've learned a lot since then.

We have now come to the end of our agenda. Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall meet again at the Commissions on Monday 27 October at 9.00 a.m. I hope you will have a peaceful and restful Sunday.

The meeting is closed.

(The meeting rose at 9.20 p.m.)

FINAL PLENARY MEETING

Friday 31 October, 1986

9.30 a.m.

SUMMARY: First ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission — Resolutions presented by the Council of Delegates — Report of Commission II: General Commission — Announcement of the results of the first ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission — Report of Commission II (continued): discussion and adoption of the resolutions proposed — Second ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission — Report of Commission I: International Humanitarian Law — Announcement of the results of the second ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission — Report of Commission I (continued) Third and last ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission — Discussion and adoption of the resolutions of Commission I — Announcement of the results of the third ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission — Place and date of the Twenty-sixth International Conference — Organization of the Standing Commission: Chairman and Vice-chairman — Other business.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Our final plenary meetings will take place in the heat of the electoral campaign; you will then be able to give your approval to all the matters of substance worked out over the last few days. I should like to congratulate and thank you all for your intense and very constructive efforts.

There are three points on our agenda:

1. The election of five members of the Standing Commission;
2. The reports of the Commissions and the adoption of resolutions and recommendations;
3. The venue of the Twenty-sixth International Conference.

I suggest we deal with these items in the following order: we shall begin with the first round of the elections, go on to consider the two resolutions passed to us by the Council of Delegates, and continue with the report and draft resolutions of Commission II. If by then the votes are counted and a second ballot proves to be necessary, we can make arrangements for it then.

We shall next consider the report and draft resolutions of Commission I. A number of people have already asked for the floor and, if the Conference agrees, they could speak at that time. We shall then go on to a third ballot, if necessary, and shall finally have to decide on the venue of the Twenty-sixth International Conference.

May I have your agreement to this procedure? (*Applause*)

I have your agreement. Thank you.

ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION (FIRST BALLOT)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We now go on to elect the members of the Standing Commission. In accordance with our agenda, we shall proceed to that election, and for this we shall first of all have to appoint five scrutineers.

Mr. T. LASSANA (Mauritania, Red Crescent) (*Original French*):

My delegation has received from my Government a telex, of which you have a copy, in which my Government informs us that the delegation of the Mauritanian Red Crescent is also empowered to represent the Government of Mauritania. I would accordingly ask you to note this.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Your information is noted.

We shall now appoint the five scrutineers. The Bureau has approached various people and now proposes the representatives of the delegations of the National Societies of Canada, China, the German Democratic Republic, Portugal and Tunisia. Do you agree that these five persons should act as scrutineers for this election? You do agree. Thank you. The Committee of Scrutineers will be assisted by two

secretaries, Mr. Robert-Tissot of the League and Mr. Kosirnik of the ICRC. I now call on Mr. de Tschanner to explain a number of technical details.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

Under Article 22 of our Rules of Procedure the five members of the Standing Commission elected by the International Conference are elected by ballot. I would remind you that at the first plenary meeting the Chairman mentioned the possibility of following at this election the simplified procedure whereby the election is limited to two ballots; but the Bureau recommends, and has decided to follow, the procedure laid down in Article 22 requiring an absolute majority in the first and second ballots, and a relative majority in the third ballot, if a third ballot is held.

The absolute majority mentioned in Article 22 is half the number of the delegations taking part in the election, plus one. Abstentions or invalid votes will not be taken into consideration. By 9.00 on Wednesday morning, on the expiry of the time allowed for depositing candidatures, the Bureau had received nine candidatures, and each candidate's curriculum vitae was distributed to your pigeon-holes on Thursday morning. Those persons are, in alphabetical order:

- Dr. Ahmad Abu-Goura (Jordan) (Red Crescent);
- Mrs. Véronique Ahouanmenou (Benin) (Red Cross);
- Dr. Janos Hantos (Hungary) (Red Cross);
- Mrs. Mavy Harmon (Brazil) (Red Cross);
- Mr. Byron Hove (Zimbabwe) (Red Cross);
- Mr. Soehanda Ijas (Indonesia) (Red Cross);
- Dr. Guillermo Rueda Montaña (Colombia) (Red Cross);
- Botho Prince of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein (Federal Republic of Germany) (Red Cross);
- Mrs. Stefa Spiljak (Yugoslavia) (Red Cross).

Lastly, I would remind you again that the principle of fair geographical distribution was approved at the Twenty-second International Conference. There is however no regional list. Each delegation will have to take this principle into account as it sees fit.

Mr. Chairman, might I now suggest that you give the floor to Mr. Robert-Tissot so that he may proceed to a roll-call of the delegations.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

Before the vote, voting papers will have to be distributed. That will be done at once. Meanwhile, I shall say a few words on how we shall proceed. This time we shall start by voting in Hall I. As you know, we have to take the vote in two stages because of the layout of the building.

This vote will not follow the procedure adopted at a previous vote: this time I shall call on the National Society and the government of each country, or the government alone, or the National Society alone, according to the country. The National Society has of course only one vote and so has the government, but we shall naturally take into account cases where delegated powers have been given to a

government to vote on behalf of its National Society, or to a National Society to vote on behalf of its government, as has just been done for Mauritania.

The voting papers bear as many names as there are candidates, that is nine names. Please signify your choice by putting a cross in the square following the name of each candidate. May I draw your attention to the fact that you may not vote for more than five candidates. You have five candidates to elect, and the voting paper must show which five persons you want to elect. Any voting paper bearing more than five names will be declared invalid.

Obviously, if you want to vote for only two, three or four candidates out of the nine you can do so and your voting paper will still be valid. All that matters is that it should not bear more than five names.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Are there any questions on procedure, Ladies and Gentlemen? There are not. We shall therefore wait until all the voting papers are distributed.

The voting papers have now been distributed. The number of papers distributed will be announced in a moment. Have all delegations their voting papers? Are there any remarks on the content of the voting papers? There are not. We can start calling the delegations.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

We shall start with Hall I and the Congolese Red Cross. As I said, I shall call first on the Red Cross or Red Crescent Society and then on the government. Delegates are asked to come and put their voting papers in the ballot box, which in Hall I is on the delegates' right looking towards the rostrum. Will the scrutineers appointed please take their places around the ballot box. I shall now begin the roll-call.

(Voting took place.)

All delegations have now been called. The ballot is ended.

Will the secretaries assisting the scrutineers please let us know the number of voting papers distributed. Mr. Cassis and Mr. Cayla are counting the votes; will the scrutineers please go to Hall 8 for the count.

RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED BY THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Whilst we await the result of this first ballot, I propose to resume work on the two resolutions adopted by the Council of Delegates. The first of these is on the International Year of Peace (1986) and the second on Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace. May I ask Mr. Hay, who chaired the Council of Delegates, to be good enough to present these two texts, which were not studied by the Commissions. All that has to be done is to note that they were adopted by the Council.

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

As Chairman of the Council of Delegates, I reported to you on its proceedings and informed you that it had adopted by consensus resolutions on the Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace, and on the International Year of Peace 1986, both of which the Council transmitted to the Conference. The Council's intention had been to have the Conference adopt these resolutions, as is still mentioned in the draft resolution on the International Year of Peace (1986) and the Red Cross.

I shall make the following remarks: first of all, both texts were very thoroughly discussed by the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, both at the League Assembly and in the Council of Delegates, so as to arrive at a text unanimous-

ly accepted by consensus. We must however admit and recognize that the governments represented here have never had an opportunity of stating their views on these texts or of negotiating them and so can hardly be asked to adopt them. Clearly, one cannot be asked to adopt a text to which one has not personally contributed.

We therefore propose that the Conference should take note of both resolutions. I am told that this has already been done in Commission II. It has not been done in Commission I, but I think the Conference may reasonably be asked to note the two resolutions which you now have before you and have had the opportunity of consulting.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

May I ask whether the assembly agrees with this procedure? (*Applause*)

(See Resolution XXVI "The Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace" and Resolution XXVII "International Year of Peace 1986")

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, you have so decided.

Professor S. AKKERMANN (German Democratic Republic, Red Cross):

Red Cross and peace is a challenge for us all, for the world of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, for all other peaceful forces in the world and last but not least for the governments whose representatives are here with us at this Conference.

We must strive for earth-bound activities. This means being courageous in demanding that others follow good examples in strengthening peace. The details are outlined in the resolutions under discussion. For all these reasons we are very much in favour of these resolutions, and we want to call upon all delegations, especially the government delegations, to join the Red Cross and Red Crescent world in demanding true and lasting peace.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Are there any comments regarding the Resolution on the Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace?

There are none. The Conference accordingly takes note of both resolutions.

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS I AND II AND ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

REPORT OF COMMISSION II — GENERAL COMMISSION

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We can now go on to the proceedings of Commission II. Will the Chairman of that Commission, Dr. Villarroel, and Rapporteurs, Dr. Nesh-Nash and Mr. Sztuchlik, please join us on the rostrum.

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Rapporteur) (*Original French*):

REPORT OF COMMISSION II — GENERAL COMMISSION

Chairman:	Dr. Mario Villarroel Lander (Venezuela)
Vice-Chairmen:	Mr. Leon Stubbings (Australia)
	Dr. Dawit Zadwe (Ethiopia)
Rapporteurs:	Dr. Mohamed Nesh-Nash (Morocco) (for Item 2 - Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross)
	Mr. Rezső Sztuchlik (Hungary) (for the other items on the agenda)

- Secretaries: Mrs. Yolande Camporini (League)
Mr. Paul-Olivier Vallotton (ICRC)
Mr. Daniel Kinnear (League)
Mrs. Marie-Jeranne Macheret-Niklev (League)
Miss Florianne Truninger (ICRC)
- Drafting Committee: Dr. Guillermo Rueda Montaña (Colombia), Chairman
Dr. Qamar Ahmed Khan (Pakistan)
Miss Alina Kusmierczyk (Poland)
Mr. Manning G. Warren III (USA)

Agenda

1. Election of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen, the Rapporteurs and the members of the Drafting Committee
2. Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross:
 - 2.1 Draft Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement,
 - 2.2 Draft Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement;
3. Revision of the regulations on the use of the emblem (follow-up to Resolutions XXII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference);
4. Financing:
 - 4.1 Financing of the ICRC by governments (follow-up to Resolution XVII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference),
 - 4.2 Financing of the ICRC by National Societies (follow-up to Resolution XVIII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference),
 - 4.3 Financing of League programmes by governments through National Societies;
5. The International Red Cross and refugees, including follow-up to Resolution XXI of the Twenty-fourth International Conference;
6. ICRC/League policies in emergency situations:
 - 6.1 Nutrition policy,
 - 6.2 Medical supplies,
 - 6.3 Relief operations, including "Principles and Rules for Red Cross disaster relief";
7. Development of National Societies as a contribution to national development (follow-up to Resolution XXV of the Twenty-fourth International Conference);
8. Report from the League's General Assembly (including follow-up to Resolutions XII, XXIV and Decision IV of the Twenty-fourth International Conference);
9. Follow-up to other resolutions of the Twenty-fourth International Conference, in particular Resolutions XIX (The role of voluntary service in the Red Cross), XX (Joint Commission for National Society Statutes), XXIII (Involvement of volunteers in Red Cross community services), XXVI (The role of medical personnel in the preparation and execution of Red Cross emergency medical actions) and XXVII (International year of disabled persons);
10. Other business.

The agenda has been unanimously adopted with the reservation, on a proposal by the Bureau of the International Conference, that Item 3 of the agenda, Revision of the Regulations on the Use of the Emblem, should be deleted for lack of time. The same decision was previously taken by the Council of Delegates. Deletion of this item should not therefore give rise to any problems.

The item on refugees should normally have been referred to Commission I for consideration, but since the Commission was ahead of schedule and had approved the Statutes by consensus, it was able to deal with the subject of refugees.

Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross

On the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Villarroel Lander,

Mrs. S. Spiljak, Co-Chairman of the Joint League/ICRC Working Group on the revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross, presented a report on the work done since April 1982, at first by the League Working Group and subsequently by the Joint League/ICRC Working Group. Originally, she said, the revision was begun on the initiative of the League following a decision to that effect by the Executive Council. The ICRC joined in the revision in April 1984, when a Joint League/ICRC Working Group was formed. Mrs. Spiljak detailed the points introduced into the Statutes, notably Article 2, which is for governments, and Article 3, which is for National Societies. She also drew attention to the addition to the Statutes of texts previously adopted by various Red Cross bodies; some of these texts, such as the Fundamental Principles or the Red Cross definition of peace, now appeared in the Preamble.

The ICRC had joined in the League proceedings and a joint Working Group had been formed of which Mr. Pestalozzi of the ICRC and Mrs. Spiljak were Co-Chairmen. Mr. Pestalozzi said in his speech that the ICRC and the League had worked out a text jointly for submission to and adoption by the International Conference. After its approval by the ICRC Assembly and by the General Assembly of the League, that text had been transmitted to this International Conference. Mr. Pestalozzi endorsed Mrs. Spiljak's statement and mentioned with pleasure the excellent atmosphere at all the proceedings of the Joint Working Group.

After both Co-Chairmen had spoken, the Chairman of the Commission said that since the texts under consideration concerned only members of the Conference, only those members would be allowed to speak in the discussions, but that observers would be allowed to speak once the Commission had adopted the texts.

As soon as the general discussion began, the representative of the Netherlands Red Cross congratulated the Joint Working Group on its excellent results and said that although his Society had observations to make on the draft texts of the Statutes and Rules of Procedure that had been prepared, it was willing to approve the draft Statutes and Rules of Procedure as a whole by consensus provided they were not amended in any way. If they were amended, he would feel obliged to propose certain amendments that were likely to provoke long discussion.

About 40 delegations supported the Netherlands Red Cross proposal, some of them saying that they would have amendments to put forward if discussion were opened but were anxious to be co-operative and were therefore also prepared to join in the consensus if the Statutes were adopted without alteration. Those delegations were as follows: Argentina (National Society and Government), Austria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Great Britain, Hungary, India, Indonesia (Government), Italy, Japan, Libya, Malaysia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland (Government), Tunisia, USA, USSR and Yugoslavia.

Several delegations thanked the League and the ICRC for the tremendous amount of work they had done and for the League's initiative in first proposing the revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross. They said the new draft texts did away with certain weaknesses and were an improvement on the texts now in force. Some delegates said the new texts were not perfect but that this was unavoidable with documents prepared in a spirit of compromise.

The President of the League said he wished to associate himself with the congratulations heaped on the Working Group. Their texts deserved applause, but in his view it would be a good thing to restore to them the provision in Article XII of the present Statutes that the three Presidents should meet between the sessions of the Standing Commission.

The representative of the Government of Israel stated that, in view of the non-recognition of the emblem of the Red Shield of David, he was unable to associate himself with the consensus. However, after one delegation had expressed regret that the matter should be put to the vote because of the opposition of only one member, the representative of Israel withdrew his objection on condition that it was recorded in the Conference report (this will be duly done).

The representative of the ICRC congratulated the members of the Joint Working Group and, in particular, Mrs. Spiljak. He expressed regret that Article XII relating to the three

Presidents had been eliminated from the draft text but confirmed that, in any case, they could hold a meeting at any time if they so desired and thus apply Article XII in practice. Although aware of shortcomings in the draft, it was the view of the ICRC that the new Statutes and the Rules of Procedure should be approved without alteration. This would show public opinion that the Movement was united and such evidence was greatly to be desired at this particular time.

In thanking the various speakers, the Chairman observed that there was a consensus for a proposal to the plenary session that it should adopt the drafts without amendment.

Decision

By consensus and by acclamation, the draft Statutes and Rules of Procedure were adopted by Commission II and passed to the plenary session for final adoption. The Commission agreed that the plenary session should determine the date on which these texts should become effective.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank Dr. Nesh-Nash for his excellent report.

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Rapporteur) (*Original French*):

With your permission, I should just like to tell the assembly that we had expected a difficult debate in Commission II, but the spirit of dialogue, brotherhood and friendship there was, I cannot say was surprising, but exceeded all possible expectations. I think we worked in a very unique Red Cross spirit, thanks to the dexterity of our Chairman, Dr. Mario Villarroel, and the understanding and co-operation of all the delegates present.

Mr. Chairman, I should be grateful if you would give the floor to Dr. Villarroel, Chairman of the Commission, who has a proposal to make regarding the entry into force of the texts.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We can only join in the thanks you have given Dr. Villarroel and should like to include you in them.

Dr. M. VILLARROEL LANDER (Chairman, Commission II) (*Original Spanish*):

Before adopting the new Statutes of our Movement — I hope by consensus and acclamation — we have to decide on what date they are to come into force. We could of course say now that this date should be the day after the end of our Conference.

I have however another proposal to make to this august assembly. In 1862, a book was published that contains the origin of the Geneva Conventions and of our Movement. That book is well known to you all; it is called "A Memory of Solferino", and it is the masterpiece that led to the foundation of the ICRC in February 1863. It also led to the Conference of October 1863, which resulted in the First Geneva Convention of 1864 and the First International Conference of the Red Cross, held in Paris in 1867.

We can therefore say that we are all the children of Henry Dunant and of his book "A Memory of Solferino". The book was published on 8 November 1862, and I therefore propose to this august assembly that it should fix the date of entry into force of our new Statutes as 8 November 1986, 124 years after the publication of "A Memory of Solferino". I think this would be the best homage and tribute to our founder Henry Dunant; may his name always be with us and his ideals and achievements guide us in our work.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for this excellent proposal regarding the entry into force of these two documents. May I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to approve by your applause the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. (*Applause*)

The Statutes are approved. I would ask you to signify your approval of the Rules of Procedure of the International Red

Cross and Red Crescent Movement in similar fashion. (*Applause*)

(See Resolution XXXI "Adoption of the Statutes and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement".)

Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen. Our gratitude goes to all who have worked for years to compile these two documents, and particularly to the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Villarroel, and its Rapporteur, Dr. Nesh-Nash.

We now come to the draft resolution proposed by Commission II. May I make clear that for each resolution delegations may, of course, ask for the floor, either before the resolution is adopted, for delegations wishing to propose amendments to the text, or after it is adopted, for delegations wishing to explain why they voted as they did or why they abstained from voting.

We shall now take the resolutions contained in Annexes I to 16 in turn. The Rapporteur has the floor.

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

After item 2 on the Statutes, and as item 3 was eliminated from the agenda of Commission II, the discussion continued on item 4, **Financing**.

Under this item the following two sub-topics were discussed:

- 4.2 Financing of the ICRC by National Societies, and
- 4.1 Governments, and
- 4.3 Financing of the League by governments through the intermediary of the National Societies.

The first two sub-topics were introduced by Dr. Rueda Montaña (Colombia), Chairman of the Commission for the Financing of the ICRC. Dr. Rueda explained that the so-called 50 per cent rule, under which National Societies were requested to pay to the ICRC half of what they paid as a statutory contribution to the League, was changed in Manila in 1981. Under the new system voluntary National Society contributions to the ICRC were based on the principle that the total would cover 10 per cent of the ICRC's regular budget of the preceding year. However, due to substantial increases in the ICRC's budget called for by the great number of conflicts it had to act in, this target could not be reached. In fact it covers only 4 per cent of the ICRC's regular budget. Considering these circumstances, the Commission suggests that the expected yearly increase of a National Society's voluntary contributions to the ICRC should not exceed 10 per cent. It was suggested that National Societies voluntary contributions to ICRC should be based on their scale of contribution to the League.

Two draft resolutions were then presented entitled "Financing of the ICRC by National Societies" and "Financing of the ICRC by governments".

In the discussion, the following main points were raised: in its increasing activities, the ICRC should be given increased support; in many countries, economic problems (currency regulations, inflation) make it extremely difficult for National Societies to enlarge their cash contributions; possibilities for joint financing of League — ICRC actions should be looked into, also involving commercial approaches; a National Society indicated as a matter of principle that the regular budget of the ICRC should be covered by governments, but that it contributed regularly to the ICRC's special appeals; some governments stated that although they could not afford to contribute much more to the ICRC's regular budget, they answered most special appeals of the ICRC.

The proposal that the number of members of the Commission for the Financing of the ICRC be extended from 9 to 12, was welcomed, especially as it did not really represent increased costs, as the Commission's meeting usually coincided with Red Cross statutory sessions. One National Society suggested that financial experts also be included in the Commission.

The Brazilian Red Cross asked that the voluntary character of National Society contributions to the ICRC should be clearly reflected in the resolution. This request was supported by some other National Societies. With this slight change, the two draft resolutions were adopted by consensus.

Mr. M. Aubert, Vice-President of the ICRC, gave information on the Foundation for the ICRC, stressing the financial and moral value of all contributions.

Item 4.3 "Financing of League Programmes by Governments through National Societies" was introduced by Mr. Al Mehdi Bennouna, Treasurer General, and by Mr. Hans Hoegh, Secretary General of the League. The Treasurer General emphasized that development should be linked to relief, and that so far funds offered for the much-needed development effort, especially in Africa, are very small. This point was also raised by Mr. Hoegh, who said in 1985, the proportion of funds available for relief and development was respectively 95 per cent and 5 per cent.

He also emphasized two other problems the League has been facing: on the one hand, very often, contributions in kind are not accompanied by the cash necessary to service them (internal transport, warehousing, distribution), and on the other hand, if there is no provision for regular evaluation, the projects can get out of control. After this introduction one National Society called for drawing up more development projects, and another stressed the continuing need for contributions in kind.

The document (C.II/4.3/1) was accepted by consensus.

Mr. Aubert (ICRC) presented a draft resolution including the revised regulations for the Empress Shōken Fund. Giving information on how National Societies have benefited from the Fund, he said that on this 75th Anniversary of the Fund, the new improved regulations offer better perspectives for the future. Several National Societies expressed their thanks for the support they had received from the Fund.

The draft resolution presented by the Council of Delegates was adopted unanimously.

In resuming its session in the morning of 28th October, the Commission received a message whereby the Bureau of the Conference congratulated Commission II for its efficient work under the able leadership of its Chairman Dr. M. Villarroel Lander (Venezuela).

Item 6. ICRC/League Policies in Emergency Situations:

- 6.1 Nutrition Policy,
- 6.2 Medical Supplies,
- 6.3 Relief Operation including "Principles and Rules of Red Cross".

Answering a telex message from the Lebanese Red Cross, the Chair addressed an appeal in the name of the League to all National Societies present to send blood and plasma to Lebanon in co-ordination with the Blood Programme Department of the League Secretariat.

Under item 6, a document on nutrition policies (6.1) and a document on medical supplies (6.2) were introduced by Dr. A. Kisselev (League) and Dr. R. Russbach (ICRC) respectively.

Dr. Kisselev stressed that the paper was made together with ICRC after consultation with WHO experts. He further indicated that it covered food donations as well as nutrition policies. In the debate, Mr. Hoegh said that in this field an evaluation of the League's actions in Africa and of its mistakes was important. Many Red Cross and especially government delegations supported the draft resolution submitted, entitled "Nutrition and Food Donation Policy in Red Cross Emergency Operations". Some found that more flexibility had to be maintained as to how governments should take into account Red Cross policies in this field. To increase the efficiency of food aid and avoid such traps as ruining local markets and the sale of goods on the black market, these policies should be adhered to; food aid should be integrated into the overall relief action. One National Society suggested that a guide be prepared for National Societies to better understand these policies and to draw up a world map of food needs both for normal situations and hypothetical emergency situations. National Societies should organize nutrition teams. Another delegation suggested that food parcels be limited to 25 to 30 kilos.

The draft resolution presented by the League and ICRC was adopted by consensus, with minor changes introduced by the drafting committee.

The paper on medical supplies was introduced by Mr. Russbach (ICRC), who pointed out that it was a product of both the ICRC and the League, but due to different conditions

of League and ICRC action, the standard lists too were different for the two institutions. In the discussion that followed, all speakers supported the draft resolution submitted on this question, with the only reservation specifying how better National Societies should consult the League or ICRC when answering their appeals relating to medical supplies.

With this change, the draft resolution presented by the League and ICRC was adopted by consensus.

Mr. Lendorff (ICRC) commented on the Document on ICRC Relief Operations (C.II/6.3/1). He indicated that the role ICRC plays in relief is based on International Humanitarian Law, as assistance to conflict victims is part of protection. The main current problems are unsolicited goods, although this has decreased lately, and delays in transit, high customs duties etc.

The paper was accepted unanimously.

Under item 6.3.2. Mr. Bennouna (League) and Mr. Aubert (ICRC) presented documents C.II/6.3/2 and C.II/6.3.2 add on the modifications of Articles 5, 14A and 20B of the "Principles and Rules for Red Cross Disaster Relief". In Articles 5 and 14A the proposals for modification were requested by a Decision of the IIIrd General Assembly of the League (1983) asking for more efficiency and better auditing of relief operations, and for speeding up League action in an emergency. Article 20B provides for a procedure to ensure detailed auditing of an international Red Cross operation. In the discussion, attention was drawn to a good co-ordination of emergency relief action, both within the Red Cross and in its contacts with other agencies.

All the proposed amendments were approved unanimously, with minor changes in the French text of Article 5 (*see Documents C.II/6.3/2 and C.II/6.3/2 add*).

The Chairman then gave the floor to Mr. M. Beer, former League Secretary General, who spoke as representative of the Independent Humanitarian Commission chaired by Sadruddin Aga Khan. He pointed out how in recent years emergency relief has changed in a revolutionary way. A big advantage for the League is that its Volags Committee continues to function. It is easy to start a relief action, but difficult to stop it; one more reason that all action should be linked to development.

Item 7. Development of National Societies as a contribution to national development (follow-up to resolution XXV of the Twenty-fourth International Conference).

The Document on this subject (C.II/7/1) was presented by Mr. Hans Hoegh (League) and commented on by Mrs. J. Egger (ICRC). Mr. Hoegh stressed that much work had still to be done to help to create self-reliant National Societies. Mrs. Egger explained that in development, the ICRC is concentrating on National Societies in conflict situations and on National Societies in formation. In the debate that followed, a National Society asked for guides, pamphlets and other tools a National Society could use for its further development. Others placed emphasis on new approaches to development including studies "from disaster to development" and on equality among participating and operating partners. A need was expressed for well conceived, realistic development projects.

The Vietnamese Red Cross gave thanks for the support it had been receiving for its "Friendship Hospital".

The draft resolution submitted by the Norwegian Red Cross on this subject, co-sponsored by the National Societies of Nicaragua, Lesotho and Mauritania, was adopted by consensus.

At this point, Mrs. Mariapia Fanfani, Vice-President of the League, informed the Commission on the Truce of God called by Pope John-Paul II at Assisi on the 27th October, which she attended. This was a unique event for the cause of peace, and Mrs. Fanfani handed an olive branch she had received from the Pope to the Commission Chairman. The representative of the Holy See expressed thanks for this Red Cross tribute to the Pope's initiative, and expressed his appreciation for the message the President of the League sent to the Pope on this occasion.

Item 8. Report from the League's General Assembly (including follow-up to Resolutions XII, XXIV and Decision IV of the XXIVth International Conference).

This item covered the Report for the period 1981-1986. After an introduction on the blood transfusion programme by Mr. A. Britten (League), Mr. Hoegh (League) said that this five-year period was one of growth for the League. Its members had increased from 128 to 144. More emergency aid than ever was solicited. In this perspective, he especially welcomed the fact that World Red Cross Day 1988 will be dedicated to development.

The Commission then examined a draft resolution submitted by the Norwegian Red Cross and co-sponsored by the National Societies of New Zealand, Netherlands and Colombia on how to prevent the dangers facing unaccompanied children.

With a clarification to be worded by the Drafting Committee concerning movement of minors with parental consent, the draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

Item 9. Follow-up to other resolutions of the Twenty-fourth International Conference, in particular Resolutions XIX (The role of voluntary service in the Red Cross), XX (Joint Commission for National Society Statutes), XXIII (Involvement of volunteers in Red Cross community services), XXVI (The role of medical personnel in the preparation and execution of Red Cross emergency medical actions) and XXVII (International Year of Disabled Persons).

Mr. P. Gaillard presented a report of the Joint ICRC/League Commission on the Statutes of National Societies (Resolution XX, Manila). The Commission dealt with the Statutes of 16 National Societies in formation and with modification of Statutes of 37 National Societies. It responded also to proposals by the League Executive Council to help to accelerate the recognition of National Societies in formation. One Red Cross delegation raised the point that a National Society was free to modify its Statutes if it observed the Red Cross principles.

The report was accepted by consensus.

The topic of voluntary service was introduced by Miss M. Esnard (League) and Mr. M. Aubert (ICRC, President of the Henry Dunant Institute) (Resolutions XIX and XXIII, Manila). In her report, Miss Esnard gave a summary of replies from National Societies, where youth involvement, the need for community service programmes, workshops, and for bringing together volunteers and professionals was emphasized. She also paid tribute to the success of the 1983 meeting of volunteers in Mexico.

The President of the Henry Dunant Institute stressed that the Institute had made two important contributions to the debates on voluntary service:

- a study of voluntary service in the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, and
- the organization of a Round Table on Voluntary Service, in April 1986.

The Institute is aware that in the future, as part of measures for the development of the activities of the National Societies, it should seek to promote voluntary service.

A lively debate followed on whether volunteers should be paid or not. The practice being very different from one National Society to another, Mr. Meurant answered that a remunerated volunteer is not the same as paid staff. Other delegates stressed the high responsibilities volunteers assume in their National Societies and the need for National Societies to strengthen their youth services, giving them the importance they require.

In regard to the recommendation made to the National Societies that they should draw up guidelines for recruitment, the author of the study on Red Cross voluntary service in today's society, explained that this had been a conclusion of the April 1986 Round Table. The question was to decide what methods should in practice be used to broaden recruitment.

The draft resolution presented by the League and the ICRC was adopted by consensus with slight modifications.

The Commission then heard and approved the report given by Dr. Russbach (ICRC) and Dr. Kisselev (League) on the role

of medical personnel in emergency medical actions (Resolution XXVI, Manila).

Information on the follow-up to Resolution XXVII (Manila) concerning the Year of Disabled Persons (1981) was given by Dr. Russbach (ICRC) and Mr. H. Hoegh (League). The ICRC is involved in assisting disabled and war-mutilated people in many countries and a booklet is available on these activities. Mr. Hoegh congratulated the ICRC for the work done and talked about this silent disaster where the Red Cross has an increasing task in prevention. This is done through the immunization drive of the Child Alive Programme and by other means.

Some National Societies and governments expressed their appreciation for the work the ICRC has been doing in assisting disabled conflict victims.

In his closing remarks, Mr. Hoegh highlighted the continuously pressing needs to help the disabled, asking for much better results than those achieved by the 1981 International Year of the Disabled.

The draft resolution presented on this subject by the League and ICRC was adopted by consensus with minor changes.

Item 10. Other business.

The Government delegation of the USA expressed its regret that no solution had yet been found for the problem of the emblem in relation to the Magen David Adom of Israel and asked that National Societies enter into a *de facto* relationship with this Society, and also that the question of the emblem be further examined.

The German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany presented a draft resolution on disaster relief in case of technical disasters. The Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR supported the draft saying that, having been adopted by the League General Assembly, it was now a draft of that body.

The draft resolution was adopted by consensus.

Dr. Nesh-Nash (Morocco), Vice-President of the League Health and Community Services Commission, introduced a draft resolution, already approved by the League General Assembly, on the health hazards of tobacco smoking and on suspending smoking in all Red Cross meetings.

After a short debate on whether it was for the Conference to decide on it and when it should really enter into force, the proposed draft was adopted by acclamation.

The draft resolution on the non-therapeutic use of drugs, also already approved by the League General Assembly, was presented by Mr. Belchior (Brazil), Vice-President of the Health and Community Services Commission of the League. A few modifications on the exact terminology of drug abuse, and the responsibility of both consuming and producing countries, were suggested for incorporation by the Drafting Committee, and the draft resolution was adopted by consensus.

At this point the Red Cross delegation of China took the floor to express its thanks to the League, including the National Societies involved, who helped to construct the new training centre of the Chinese Red Cross. The representative of the Red Cross of China handed a special diploma to the President of the League, Mr. Enrique de la Mata. In his answer, the League President thanked the Red Cross of China for this token of solidarity and friendship towards the League.

The draft resolution on "Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace", coming from the Council of Delegates, met with procedural problems raised by some government delegations. For that reason, on the proposal of the Chairman of the Commission, supported by the Swedish Red Cross, the Commission, instead of adopting it, took note of it by consensus.

Item 5. The International Red Cross and Refugees, including follow-up to Resolution XXI of the Twenty-fourth International Conference.

Considering the progress Commission II made in its deliberations, it was possible to restore item 5 on "Red Cross and Refugees" to its agenda.

The topic was introduced by Ms. D. Miserez (League) and Mr. Kosirnik (ICRC). Ms. Miserez stressed that the Red Cross deals with refugees, displaced persons and returnees and that

the League recently made special efforts to discuss these problems with National Societies in regional workshops and strengthened its co-operation with the UNHCR. All this, based on an important resolution adopted in the XXIVth International Conference of the Red Cross (Manila, 1981) can be regarded as a cornerstone in Red Cross work with refugees.

Mr. Kosirnik emphasized that the prime responsibility for dealing with refugees lies with governments and that the role of the Red Cross, though important, is only subsidiary. He declared that military attacks on refugee camps caused serious concern. An important task for the Red Cross was to give assistance and protection to refugees in the country of first asylum, which can lead to voluntary repatriation or final settlement in a third country. He then presented a draft resolution on the subject. Several Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies and governments then took the floor. All expressed appreciation for the League/ICRC report and for the action in this field of these two institutions. They also approved the main content of the draft resolution.

The following opinions were also expressed:

- A National Society can give substantial help to its Government in this field, thereby improving the services refugees are offered;
- A unique element of Red Cross action is the tracing service essential to help to reunite families;
- Displaced persons and their voluntary return should also get adequate attention;
- The physical and mental integrity of refugees should be a primary concern in any resettlement programme — more co-operation in this area would be welcome, e.g. through seminars organized with League participation;
- An observer recalled the pioneer role of the Red Cross in dealing with refugees, dating back to the period of the League of Nations.

It was suggested that the Red Cross should also play a role in trying to avoid conflicts through mediation, work for peace and against poverty. Some governments and National Societies reported on their activities in this field and described the difficulties they faced in receiving refugees, or what was termed "illegal immigrants", as often such population movements spread over years, with increasing difficulties for voluntary repatriation or resettlement in third countries. Local integration is often a very sensitive issue, due to the great number of refugees and the cultural, economic and sometimes even security problems the local population is faced with because of the presence of refugees. The Tanzanian Red Cross, referring to disaster preparedness in southern Africa, introduced a proposal drawing attention to the rapidly increasing number of refugees and displaced persons in the region. To improve their ability to face this situation, National Societies of this region called for a special League Programme co-ordinated with National Societies and the ICRC, covering both material assistance and training, to begin in early 1987.

The draft resolution on refugees, presented by the League and the ICRC, was adopted by consensus, with the provision that the main debated passages be reworded by the Drafting Committee after consultation with delegates who had submitted amendments.

The Chairman then announced that he would discuss with the Conference Bureau the question of putting the subject of the revision of the regulations and the use of the emblem to the plenary session of the Conference, if possible.

At the end of the meeting, the Chairman thanked all delegations for their constructive contributions and was in turn congratulated by all for the efficient manner in which he had chaired Commission II.

With this the Commission exhausted its agenda. There remained one question that had still not been fully decided, and the Chairman announced that he would discuss with the Conference Bureau the question of whether to put the subject of the revision of the regulations and use of the emblem to the plenary session of the Conference.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you Mr. Sztuchlik for your very full report. Dr. Nesh-Nash wishes to make a statement. He has the floor.

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Rapporteur) (*Original Spanish and French*):

I should like merely to correct an error. Page 14 of the report in English says Dr. Belchior comes from Bolivia, but he belongs to the Brazilian Red Cross.

On page 5 of the English text and page 3 of the French text Austria is said to support the Statutes. The speaker was not the representative of the Austrian Red Cross, but of the Government of Austria.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The assembly has duly noted Dr. Nesh-Nash's corrections.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST BALLOT FOR THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I shall suspend discussions on this subject for a moment to inform you of the results of the first ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission:

voting papers distributed:	234
voting papers returned:	232
invalid voting papers:	3
valid voting papers:	229
absolute majority:	116

The following are elected:

Botho Prince of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein (145 votes) and Dr. Abu-Goura (123 votes).

We heartily congratulate both these successful candidates. The following candidates also received votes: Mr. Hove (97); Mr. Hantos (94); Mr. Ijas (94); Mrs. Harmon (91); Mrs. Spiljak (84); Mrs. Ahouanmenou (67) and Dr. Rueda Montaña (66).

A second ballot is therefore necessary. Will candidates wishing to withdraw from the second ballot please let me know before noon so that new voting papers can be prepared.

REPORT OF COMMISSION II (continued)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We shall now continue with the report of Commission II; I suggest that you ask for the floor when any subject on which you want to speak is discussed in the context of the relevant resolution. Do you agree with that procedure?

Mr. R. SCHUBERT (United States of America, Red Cross):

We would like to make a correction in the report on page 13 of the English text under item 10: **Other business**. The text should read: "The American Red Cross" (and not the Government delegation of the USA) "expressed its regret that no solution had been found", etc.; this was a very important matter for the American Red Cross and we wanted it to be clear as to the origin of the intervention.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We note that declaration; has the Rapporteur any comments? The Rapporteur agrees.

Dr. G. PONCE CABALLERO (Bolivia, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

I should like to point out an error on page 14 of the report in Spanish that was mentioned a little while ago. In fact Dr. Belchior is from Brazil, and the delegate who presented the draft resolution was Dr. Gaston Ponce Caballero from Bolivia, who is the Vice-Chairman not of the Health Commission but of the Development Commission.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Your remarks have been duly noted. Does the Rapporteur agree?

Ambassador A. DAOUDY (Syria, Government) (*Original French*):

I should like to express my delegation's reservations regarding item 10 of the Rapporteur's report, because this question was accidentally raised by one delegation without the matter being taken any further. The pre-eminence given by the Rapporteur to this question accordingly meets with the strictest reservations on the part of the Syrian delegation, and I request that these reservations be mentioned in the final report of the Rapporteur of the Conference.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We shall now consider the draft resolutions. I propose that we mention only the titles, without reading out the resolutions in full. Do you agree to that proposal? It is so agreed. The Rapporteur has the floor.

Mr. R. SZTUHLIK (Rapporteur):

The first draft resolution concerns the financing of the ICRC by National Societies. There was basically no change in the draft originally submitted, only the word "voluntary" was added on the proposal of some Red Cross delegations. The Commission adopted the amended text by consensus.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does any delegation wish to speak? No delegation wishes to speak. Is the resolution adopted? Resolution XXIV is adopted.

(See Resolution XXIV "Financing of the ICRC by National Societies")

Mr. R. SZTUHLIK (Rapporteur):

Regarding the draft resolution on the financing of the ICRC by governments, no change was requested in discussion in the Commission, and the resolution was adopted by consensus, without any modification.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does anybody wish to speak? Nobody. Can you adopt the resolution as it stands? The resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution XXV "Financing of the ICRC by governments")

Mr. R. SZTUHLIK (Rapporteur):

The draft resolution on the foundation for the ICRC was discussed, but there were no proposals of modification; it was adopted by consensus in the Commission, without any change.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does any delegation wish to speak? No delegation wishes to speak. Is the resolution accepted? The resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution XXXIV "Foundation for the ICRC")

Mr. R. SZTUHLIK (Rapporteur):

Information has been given on the draft resolution presented by the Council of Delegates concerning the Empress Shôken Fund; there were no formal proposals of modification, and the draft resolution was adopted by consensus in the Commission.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does anybody wish to speak? Nobody. Can you adopt this resolution? Thank you for your approval. The resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution XXXII "Revision of the Regulations for the Empress Shôken Fund")

Mr. R. SZTUHLIK (Rapporteur):

A draft resolution is entitled "Nutrition and food donation policy in Red Cross emergency operations". There was a wide discussion on the subject and minor modifications were introduced by the Drafting Committee. The draft resolution was adopted by consensus in the Commission.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does anybody wish to speak? Can you adopt this resolution by consensus? (*Applause*). The resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution XVIII "Nutrition and food donation policy in Red Cross and Red Crescent emergency operations")

Mr. R. SZTUHLIK (Rapporteur):

Draft resolution on medical supplies in Red Cross emergency operations reads as follows:

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The XXVth International Conference of the Red Cross,

Aware that the physical and mental health of victims is affected by any emergency,

Recognizing that in relief operations health personnel must have the appropriate medicaments and medical supplies at its disposal when they are needed, in order to provide efficient assistance to victims,

Recalling that, especially in relief operations, medicaments and medical supplies may be dangerous if used by other than qualified health personnel,

Being anxious to avoid misuse of medicaments and to obtain the maximum results from relief operations with limited financial and manpower resources,

Recommends

1. That each National Society and government wishing to participate in League/ICRC relief operations requiring medical relief supplies should limit their gifts to the needs identified by the League or ICRC in prior consultation with these organizations;
2. That any gift of medicaments or medical supplies to a League or ICRC relief operation should be in accordance with guidelines issued by the League/ICRC, under the supervision of qualified health personnel;
3. That National Societies and governments participating in Red Cross relief operations should use the WHO Standard List of Drugs and Medical Equipment for League operations and the Standard List of Medicaments and Material for ICRC operations;
4. That all medicaments and medical supplies provided through the ICRC and the League should be packed and labelled in accordance with the guidelines issued by the ICRC or the League, depending upon the character of the operation.

This was a much-debated subject; a little modification was introduced concerning how exactly National Societies and governments should consult the League and the ICRC when answering appeals relating to medical supplies. Thus amended, the draft resolution was adopted by consensus in the Commission.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Bangladesh, Red Cross):

Four years ago, the Government of Bangladesh adopted a drug policy prohibiting the manufacture and import of drugs considered harmful and also ineffective. I do not mean that the WHO List of Standard Drugs falls into this category, but since our country, and I believe many other countries, do have a standard drug policy, I would like the donor countries and donor Societies to consult the National Societies before sending any drugs, medicine and medical equipment and to check whether these fall within the restrictive list or not.

I would therefore propose a small amendment to the second operative paragraph of the draft resolution. In the third line, after the words "issued by the League/ICRC" I

would like to propose a new wording, and I read: "and in conformity with the recipient country's drug policy, if any"; and the text then goes on "under the supervision of qualified health personnel".

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

I think this fits into the general idea and philosophy of the resolution. I would just like to make sure that I have correctly noted the proposed amendment, so I read again operative paragraph 2: "that any gift of medicaments or medical supplies to a League or ICRC relief operation should be in accordance with guidelines issued by the League/ICRC and in conformity with the recipient country's policy, if any, under the supervision of qualified health personnel."

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does the meeting accept this amendment? It does. The resolution, as amended, is adopted.

(See Resolution XIX "Medical supplies in Red Cross and Red Crescent emergency operations")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

The draft resolution about the development of National Societies as a contribution to national development was discussed and adopted by consensus in the Commission without any important modifications.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does the meeting accept the Commission's recommendation? It does. The resolution, as amended, is adopted.

(See Resolution XXII "Development of National Societies as a contribution to national development")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

The next draft resolution entitled "Assistance to children in emergency situations" reads as follows:

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The XXVth International Conference of the Red Cross,

Noting with satisfaction the progress of the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the draft Convention on the Rights of the Child, while drawing governments' attention to the fact that it is essential for that work to result in provisions granting protection comparable to and, if possible, greater than existing international instruments,

Being conscious of the major challenge that the plight of children in emergency situations, whether accompanied or not, represents to governments, National Societies and other relief agencies,

Deeply worried about the security of unaccompanied children, especially in emergencies,

Recognizing that children during emergency situations have the right of access to parental or family care to the greatest possible extent, and stressing the need for governments, National Societies and other relief agencies to take the necessary steps to ensure this,

Urges governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies especially to take care of children when emergency situations occur, and to protect them from all forms of physical and mental injury or abuse;

Urges governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies to take appropriate measures to combat the illicit international transfer and non-return of children and in particular to impose strict control on the international movement of unaccompanied children;

Urges governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies to take appropriate measures to identify unaccompanied minors as soon as possible, establish and maintain an individual file and ensure that tracing efforts are made with a view to family reunion;

Recommends governments and National Societies to take

appropriate steps for the successful rehabilitation of children who have been victims of emergencies;

Asks governments and National Societies to report to the next International Conference on the measures taken to assist the child in emergency situations.

Some modifications were suggested to make it clear that the term "control" concerned the forced movement of minors and not movement with parental consent. This idea was introduced in the draft, and with this slight modification the Commission adopted the draft resolution by consensus.

Mr. D. J. MOSS (United Kingdom, Government):

I would like to make a point which relates to the operative paragraph which starts "*Urges* governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies to take appropriate measures to combat the illicit international transfer, etc". The Rapporteur has quite rightly said that points were made in discussion in the Commission which in our judgement have not been reflected in the text. When the text was discussed the United Kingdom Government made clear that while we could fully support the first part of the operative paragraph we had doubts about the phrase which appears after the words "non-return of children". The phrase is: "and in particular to impose strict control on the international movement of unaccompanied children".

We said at the time that we thought that the Conference needed to take into account the normal legitimate international travel by unaccompanied children. This travel should not be hindered, and in these circumstances we suggested either that the operative clause should end after "non-return of children", and the last phrase thus dropped, or if it were preferred to retain the wording, we should make clear that it did not apply to the international movement of unaccompanied children with the consent of parents and guardians; that could easily be accomplished by adding to the present text the phrase "without the consent of parents or guardians", which would be the last phrase of this operative paragraph. So we are simply drawing attention to a modification which was, we thought, discussed and accepted during the Commission but does not seem to have been reflected in the wording.

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

As indicated in the report, this question was indeed discussed in the Commission and also within the Drafting Committee, and it was only a technical mistake that the end of this paragraph was left in, in the English version, because one of the first proposals of the British delegation was to stop at "transfer and non-return of children". So whatever comes after that is something which the Drafting Committee agreed to delete. The amended paragraph would thus read: "*Urges* governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies to take appropriate measures to combat the illicit international transfer and non-return of children"; the rest is deleted.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The meeting notes this correction. Does anybody wish to speak? Can you accept the resolution as now proposed? You can. The resolution, as amended, is adopted.

(See Resolution XX "Assistance to children in emergency situations")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

The draft resolution entitled "Red Cross and Red Crescent voluntary service in today's world" was the subject of a minor discussion concerning the role of Red Cross volunteers. The draft, presented by the League and the ICRC, was adopted by consensus with minor modifications.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Can the meeting accept this resolution? Thank you.

(See Resolution XXIII "Red Cross and Red Crescent voluntary service in today's world")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

The draft resolution entitled "The Movement and the United Nations' Decade of Disabled Persons" was adopted by consensus in the Commission, with some minor drafting changes.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does anybody wish to speak? Nobody. I ask you kindly to approve this resolution. Thank you.

(See Resolution XXVIII "The Movement and the United Nations' Decade for Disabled Persons")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

The draft resolution entitled "Disaster relief in case of technical disasters and catastrophes" was adopted by consensus in the Commission. The original text, submitted by the German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, had been approved by the League General Assembly. So the Commission made no modifications to the draft.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does anybody wish to speak? I ask you kindly to adopt this resolution. Thank you.

(See Resolution XXI "Disaster relief in case of technical and other disasters")

The next draft resolution concerns tobacco smoking and the suspension of smoking in Red Cross meetings on which the United States Government delegation has already made a statement.

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

There was a discussion in the Commission first on whether tobacco smoking was an issue for this body to decide and second on when the resolution should enter into force; there were no actual proposals, however, to modify the text. The Commission finally adopted the draft resolution by acclamation.

Admiral E. R. ZUMWALT (United States of America, Government):

The US Government delegation wishes to state its objection to the resolution on tobacco smoking. We expressed our concern about this resolution when it came up in Commission II and we, and I believe many others, did not join in what the Rapporteur of the Commission describes as acclamation. My Government does not consider that this resolution is appropriate for this Conference and would prefer that it be simply noted as a resolution of the General Assembly of the League. That was our understanding of the action in Commission II. If it is to be adopted by the Conference, we must ask that our objection be noted for the record.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Are you asking for a vote, or are you satisfied with the statement you have just made?

Admiral E. R. ZUMWALT (United States of America, Government):

We are satisfied with having our objection recorded and do not request that it be put to a vote.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

What you have requested will be complied with. Are there any other questions — from smokers, of course? There are none. I ask the assembly to accept this resolution. Thank you. Resolution XXX is adopted.

(See Resolution XXX "Tobacco smoking")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

The draft resolution on the abuse of drugs or rather, as some participants suggested, the non-therapeutic use of drugs was the subject of a discussion on how to improve the wording of the resolution and especially on how to render its terminology more precise. After changes were introduced by the Drafting Committee, the Commission adopted the draft resolution by consensus.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does anybody wish to speak? Nobody. I would ask you to approve this draft resolution. Thank you. The resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution XXIX "The fight against drug abuse")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

The Council of Delegates adopted by consensus the resolution entitled "The Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace". Proposals were put forward in the discussions in the Commission, and it was finally decided that this resolution of the Council of Delegates would not be formally adopted but merely taken note of by the Commission.

(See Resolution 2 of the Council of Delegates "The Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace")

Now we come to the draft resolution on refugees which reads as follows:

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The XXVth International Conference of the Red Cross,

Recalling Resolution XXI and the accompanying statement of the policy on International Red Cross aid to refugees adopted by the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross,

Conscious that the number of refugees, asylum-seekers and displaced persons has steadily grown over the past five years, creating even greater requirements for humanitarian aid, especially among the most vulnerable groups including women who are alone or who are single heads of families, unaccompanied children, the physically and mentally handicapped, and the elderly,

Recognizing that movements of refugees will continue until their causes are eliminated,

Welcoming the initiative taken by the 36th session of the UN General Assembly to establish the Group of Governmental Experts on International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees (UN Document A/41/324 of 13 May 1986) and noting the action being taken on this issue at the 41st session of the General Assembly,

Recognizing that persons displaced within their own country do not always benefit from the protection and assistance with which the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is at all times willing to provide them,

Sharing the concerns expressed by the 37th session of the UNHCR Executive Committee that military or armed attacks on refugee camps and settlements continue, since such attacks claim many victims particularly among women, children and the elderly in such camps and settlements as well as the host populations,

Recalling the primary function of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the field of international protection of, and material assistance to, refugees, and in the search for lasting solutions,

1. *Calls* upon States, in the search for lasting solutions, to address first and foremost the causes of movements of refugees from their countries of origin;
2. *Invites* governments and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to pursue their efforts in disseminating knowledge of international humanitarian law and the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross to ensure greater respect for the human person;
3. *Encourages* the Movement both to step up its own information and training activities and to take a greater part

in providing information aimed at better understanding and mutual acceptance between refugees and their host communities;

4. *Urges* the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to spare no effort to ensure that refugees and asylum-seekers receive humane treatment and decent material conditions in the host country;
5. *Reminds governments*, in a spirit of humanity, of their legal and moral obligations regarding refugees, in particular that of respect for the principle of non-refoulement, and encourages them to do everything possible to accelerate the procedures for consideration of asylum applications while maintaining fundamental legal safeguards;
6. *Requests governments* to permit the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to come to the aid of persons without any other suitable protection or assistance, as in certain cases where persons are displaced within their own country;
7. *Calls upon governments* to continue their on-going efforts to find in the near future a solution to the problem of military or armed attacks on refugee camps and settlements in accordance with the Conclusion of the 37th session of the UNHCR Executive Committee, and reaffirms the willingness of the Movement to assist in this endeavour;
8. *Asks governments*, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, National Societies, and non-governmental organizations to give special attention to the problems of refugees and displaced persons, particularly the most vulnerable groups, and to encourage them vigorously to pursue appropriate lasting solutions within the competence of the UNHCR;
9. *Pledges* the continued support and enhanced collaboration of the International Red Cross with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

This topic was taken up again by Commission II, and a very long and lively discussion followed concerning the difficulties experienced in this regard by some Red Cross Societies and Governments and also what services the Red Cross could offer in this field. As regards the draft resolution itself, some important remarks and modifications were introduced by participants, and the draft was adopted by consensus, with the provision that the Drafting Committee would consult those who had submitted amendments and take these into consideration in the final wording. This has now been done, and I would like to draw your attention to only one technical mistake in the last line of operative paragraph 8, on page 32 of the English text: after "appropriate lasting solutions" you should insert a comma, to read "appropriate lasting solutions, within the competence of the UNHCR". With this addition, the draft may be said to have been agreed upon in the Drafting Committee.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Bangladesh, Red Cross):

Although opinions were expressed in the Commission that displaced persons and their voluntary return should also get adequate attention, I wish to stress that returnees, people who return to their own countries, either voluntarily or under organized repatriation, often find their homes occupied or destroyed and their property dislodged. Being victims of circumstances, such persons also need humanitarian assistance. I believe that returnees do not fall under the charter of the UNHCR, and that is why National Red Cross Societies and governments should do all the more to assist and help alleviate the plight of returnee families. I would thus like to propose that the word "returnees" be inserted somewhere in the draft resolution; the most appropriate place would be in the fourth line of operative paragraph 8 after the word "refugees", if we insert a comma followed by the word "returnees". The rest of the resolution can remain as it is.

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

In the discussions on the subject of refugees, the situations of displaced persons and returnees were all considered.

Under operative paragraph 8, several other opinions were expressed and modifications made which ended in a careful balance of these different opinions. Personally I feel that it would not modify this balance if we included "returnees and displaced persons", after "refugees", and that this would still reflect the opinion of all those who discussed this matter.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does anybody object to the inclusion of the word "returnees"? No objection. Accepted. Are there any other remarks? Can you accept this resolution? Thank you. The resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution XVII "The Movement and refugees")

Mr. R. SZTUCHLIK (Rapporteur):

We now come to a draft text and amendments to the Principles and Rules for Red Cross and Red Crescent Disaster Relief, i.e. to rules 5, 14A and 20B. These amendments were discussed and approved as they stood; two of them, as I mentioned before, stemmed from a decision of the League General Assembly, and the third amendment to 20B came from both the League and the ICRC. In the French text of Article 5, a small technical change was suggested by one delegation and duly taken note of; there were no other proposals for modification.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Has anybody any proposals to make? Nobody. Can you go along with the Commission in its proposal to accept this resolution. You can. The resolution, as proposed by the Commission, is adopted.

We can accordingly return to the report that was submitted to you at the beginning. Does anybody wish to speak on this report? Can you approve it?

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Bangladesh, Red Cross):

On a slightly different subject, you will recall that last year the League General Assembly transmitted certain recommendations to this Conference for amending the conditions for recognition of National Societies. But since these conditions have already been included in the Statutes of the International Red Cross, which you have just adopted, the question of that amendment does not arise. My fear, however, is that the previous conditions for recognition which were approved by a former International Conference still remain in force unless this Conference automatically makes a decision to repeal them. As the Statutes just adopted incorporate the conditions for recognition, I think some sort of comment or decision is necessary to repeal the conditions previously in force.

Mr. J. MOREILLON (ICRC):

As always, I am impressed by the very clear mind of my friend Quoreshi. Indeed, the 1948 conditions of recognition have now been replaced by a new Article that has been introduced in the Statutes. But there is no need for a specific decision to repeal the 1948 resolution, because Article 21 of the new Statutes says that "the present Statutes shall replace the Statutes adopted in 1952 by the Eighteenth International Conference. Any earlier provisions which conflict with the present Statutes are repealed." Since the previous provision was in fact the resolution of 1948, we consider it as automatically repealed.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, Mr. Moreillon, for your explanation. Does it satisfy you, Major Quoreshi?

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Bangladesh, Red Cross):

I am quite satisfied with that interpretation.

Ambassador H. J. BRILLANTES (Philippines, Government):

I would like to draw attention to this resolution and the new section on the task of gathering information; and I read: "*Initial information*: to enable the League to act as the disaster information centre, ...". I should like to know what relationship is being envisaged between National Societies and the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization. It is my impression that the UNDRO is the main UN body in charge of gathering information on disasters and at the same time of organizing assistance by governments and charitable organizations to help disaster victims. Is it our intention now to set up another centre to gather information and assistance?

Mr. A. WIJGMAN (Sweden, Red Cross):

I am speaking on behalf of the Swedish Red Cross delegation and also in my capacity as Chairman of the League Disaster Relief Advisory Commission. I shall only briefly comment on the question just raised: I see no risk of duplication. I see no risk that UNDRO and the Red Cross Movement would try and do the same things and cause problems to each other. On the contrary, we have to bear in mind that UNDRO is an organization which is not operational; UNDRO's prime task is to gather information, to launch appeals and inform governments as well as UN Agencies about the situation in case of natural disasters in various parts of the world.

Now the League and the Red Cross Movement not only gather information, their main responsibility is to act and operate in the field. I believe that no matter what is said in this rule 14A, there are already good contacts and co-operation between UNDRO and the Red Cross Movement, primarily through the League Secretariat; contacts have also been established in the field, and I feel that we cannot do too much here; the world community needs both UNDRO and the League of Red Cross Societies, and I think it is perhaps important to stress that this unique characteristic of our Movement is that our National Societies make their own assessments and are not necessarily bound by assessments made by their respective governments. We make our own assessments and act according to them. Our assessments are mostly similar to those made by UNDRO, but there are, of course, situations where we differ. So I see no risk of duplication; I see no risk of any kind of competition. On the contrary, I think that given the world situation and the many disaster-prone areas, we need a strong UNDRO and a strong Red Cross Movement, and I think that the provisions suggested here are very well worded and will hopefully strengthen our work in the future.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League):

We fully endorse Mr. Wijkman's statement.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Does the Rapporteur wish to add anything? He does not. May I ask the delegate of the Philippines if he can accept these explanations?

Ambassador H. J. BRILLANTES (Philippines, Government):

I am not talking of competition or conflict; I am trying to view the situation so that we can promote maximum co-operation in disaster relief and information between all the entities concerned. I understand the explanation given by the Swedish representative, but it is precisely in this context that I have raised this point: if we are for greater co-ordination and co-operation, why do we not adopt a provision saying "To enable the League to play an appropriate effective role in gathering disaster information"? And the text would continue from there. We would thus duly acknowledge that there are other agencies already in existence in the field of disaster relief and not give the impression that we are trying

to help our own without recognizing the activities of existing agencies.

Mr. A. WIJGMAN (Sweden, Red Cross):

I see no conflict with the distinguished delegate from the Philippines. I should like to make the additional comment that requiring such information is not only a question of facilitating relief in general and the launching of appeals. On the part of the participating National Societies, those of us who by luck live in parts of the world where there are very few disasters and who on many occasions can raise funds and support relief work in disaster-prone areas, I think it is very important to be able to inform the public and our governments of the needs arising in each and every disaster situation. This is not only a question of co-operation with UNDRO; we have a right within the Movement to facilitate the gathering of this information, which is part of the background to this provision. This may appear a little selfish, but I think this form of selfishness is appropriate.

Ambassador R. J. VAN SCHAIK (The Netherlands, Government):

My delegation has no difficulties with Rule 14A. We fully recognize the right of National Societies to organize a disaster information centre. But, as Ambassador Brillantes has just said, what is important in the question of information on disasters is that all such information must at some stage be gathered together in one place, and UNDRO was established for that purpose. I would therefore like to place on record, without requesting an amendment to the rule, that it is the hope of my delegation that all information collected by the League will be conveyed to UNDRO.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank the Netherlands delegate for this proposal. There being no objection, the Netherlands delegate's point shall appear in the Minutes.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League):

We agree with this proposal to achieve better co-ordination of all efforts, and we recognize the responsibility of UNDRO in this area. I believe the Philippines and the Netherlands have given us a way of better discharging our task.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

President de la Mata's statement will most likely satisfy the delegates of the Netherlands and the Philippines.

There being no further comments, the resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution XXXIII "Amendments to the Principles and Rules for Red Cross and Red Crescent Disaster Relief")

We can now go on to adopting the report of Commission II as presented to you by the Rapporteur. (*Applause*). The Commission's report is therefore adopted.

I presume your applause was intended to express our very sincere and very heartfelt thanks to Chairman Vollarroel and the two Rapporteurs, Mr. Sztuchlik and Dr. Nesh-Nash.

Mr. B. de TSCHARNER (Secretary General) (*Original French*):

Our Secretariat service informs me that the report of Commission I and the resolutions will be available after translation and production at 4.00 p.m. We shall then be able to distribute to you all the resolutions in all three languages and the text of the report in English only. The Rapporteur's presentation of this report will of course be interpreted into both the other languages. Mr. Chairman, I should like to propose that the third plenary meeting should start at 4.00 p.m. with the second ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission. This would enable delegates to acquaint themselves with the documents that will by then have been distributed; after the

second ballot (which I would remind you the Bureau has ruled shall be decided by an absolute majority), we should go on immediately to consider the report of Commission I.

Mrs. A.-M. SUNDBOM (Sweden, Government):

As an old organizer of many international conferences, I suggest that we start with the election at 3 o'clock, because it will take an hour at the least. After the election, we can continue with the resolutions and the Report. I think everybody will appreciate saving some time.

Dr. D. D. V. VENEDICTOV (Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies):

My proposal goes even further. I suggest we start the election right now and continue at 3 o'clock.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for that proposal. I must inform you that we had to wait until noon to know whether any candidates were withdrawing; but none has done so. We are therefore now preparing the new voting papers.

Dr. S. MOKADDEM (Tunisia, Red Crescent) (*Original French*):

I wished to make the same proposal as the Swedish delegation has made, namely that we should resume work at 3.00 p.m. to elect the Standing Commission and then go on to the report of Commission I.

Mr. J.-P. BUENSOD (Switzerland, Red Cross) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, it is now only half-past twelve; I wonder whether we could not resume work at 2.30 p.m. with the election.

Ambassador R. J. VAN SCHAIK (The Netherlands, Government):

My delegation supports the Swiss suggestion.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I have just been informed that it would be technically possible to begin the second ballot at 2.30. Commission I's documents will obviously not be ready immediately when the meeting begins. I suggest we deal with the report of Commission I without your having had time to re-read these documents. Do you agree? It appears that you do. The meeting is accordingly closed. We shall meet again for the second ballot at 2.30 p.m.

*(The meeting was adjourned at 0.30 p.m.
and resumed at 2.30 p.m.)*

SECOND BALLOT FOR THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We shall now proceed to the second ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

For this second ballot, we shall proceed in the same way as this morning. Will the Assistant Secretaries General of the Conference please distribute the new voting papers. I would remind you that there are still seven candidates, of whom only three may be elected, two candidates having been elected this morning with an absolute majority. There are accordingly only three more candidates to be elected; any voting paper bearing more than three names will be declared invalid.

The remaining candidates are:

Mrs. Ahouanmenou (Benin);
Mrs. Harmon (Brazil);
Mr. Hantos (Hungary);

Mr. Hove (Zimbabwe);
Mr. Ijas (Indonesia);
Mr. Rueda Montaña (Colombia);
Mrs. Spiljak (Yugoslavia).

May the voting papers please be handed out immediately.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Now that all the voting papers have been handed out, may I ask whether there is any delegation without a voting paper? Apparently there is not. We can therefore vote.

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (League) (*Original French*):

I shall first of all ask the scrutineers to take up their positions near the ballot box. I would remind you that we shall follow the same procedure as this morning, that is, we shall at the same time call on the National Red Cross or Red Crescent Society and the Government. I would also remind you that you may not vote for more than three candidates. Will I please let me know when the scrutineers have taken up their positions.

(The vote now took place)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, Mr. Robert-Tissot. Whilst we await the final count we shall go on to consider the proceedings of Commission I.

REPORT OF COMMISSION I

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I should like to ask Major Quoreshi and H.E. Ambassador Sene to joint us on the rostrum.

Ambassador J. MOUTON BRADY (France, Government) (*Original French*):

We have just received the English text of the report of Commission I. If we were in the United Nations, the instructions we have had would oblige me to ask for consideration to be postponed until we had the text in French. We are here at the Red Cross Conference, and so I will not insist on this point, but we should nevertheless like to have the French text as soon as possible, if only to verify the text of the speeches made in our language.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Your request is completely justified. I was waiting to have H.E. Ambassador Sene beside me to ask the leave of the meeting to start our deliberations although only the English report is now being distributed. The French version will follow and be distributed as copies become available. May I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, whether you wish to suspend the meeting until the French version is distributed or whether I can begin our discussions on the basis of the English text. The resolutions in French are available and are being distributed.

Ambassador E. ARTACHO CASTELLANO (Spain, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

The Spanish Government delegation wishes to support the request of the French Government delegation. We are very pleased to know that the French text of the report of Commission I will shortly be distributed. We hope this will not be the only language in which it will be distributed; if feasible my delegation would like to have the Spanish version as soon as possible.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

It was because Ambassador de Tscherner knew that the documents would not be ready that he suggested postponing the meeting. So I shall now repeat my question to this assembly as to whether we may nevertheless begin the discussion?

Dr. M. NESH-NASH (Morocco, Red Crescent) (*Original French*):

Excuse me for delaying this honourable assembly still further, but I regret to inform you, Mr. Chairman, that my delegation has received neither the English version of the report nor any document in French. Accordingly, I should like to second your suggestion to suspend our proceedings, so that other delegations may have the documents and so that we can examine them before discussing them.

Miss J. CLAUWAERT (Venezuela, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

We too should like to have the texts in Spanish both of the draft report and of the resolutions, for we have not even the English version. I would appreciate if the meeting were suspended to give us time to study the texts.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

In accordance with the general wish of this assembly, we suspend the meeting until 4.00 p.m. and will announce its resumption by loudspeaker. I am told that will be at 4.00 p.m. This is a belated victory for Ambassador de Tscherner, who suggested as much to you this morning. The meeting is suspended until 4.00 p.m.

(The meeting was suspended)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I am informed that the report and the draft resolutions in French, English and Spanish have been distributed. I know that the full report still exists only in English and that we shall have to wait until tomorrow to have the report in French and Spanish. Since it will be read out and interpreted in full, I think we can proceed with our discussion on the basis of the report in English, the important thing being that you have before you the text of the draft resolutions in all three languages.

I propose that we do our best to finish this evening, with perhaps a break, but giving up a long interruption for dinner in town followed by resumption late in the evening. I would ask you kindly to signify your agreement. (*Applause*)

I shall now give you a broad outline of the possible course of our debates. We shall start by discussing the report and draft resolutions of Commission I. I shall probably be able to announce the result of the vote during the course of that discussion. There may possibly be a third ballot after which we will have a short break whilst awaiting the count of votes. We shall then go on to the item "Other business", and lastly we shall have the final session, the closing ceremony, at which only five speakers, who have already put their names down, will take the floor.

May I ask Major Quoreshi to guide us on Commission I's report.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

On behalf of Commission I, I have the honour of presenting to you the Report of Commission I on International Humanitarian Law.

REPORT OF COMMISSION I
— INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

1. **Election of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen, the Rapporteur and the members of the Drafting Committee**
 - 1.1 The meeting of Commission I was held from 27 to 29 October 1986.
 - 1.2 The Commission, endorsing the proposal made by the plenary meeting, elected the following members of the Bureau: Chairman — Mr. Alioune Sene (Government of Senegal) Vice-Chairmen — Judge Darrell D. Jones (Canadian Red Cross) — Chief Justice Abdul Hamid (Malaysian Red Crescent) Rapporteur — Major Ali Hassan Quoreshi (Bangladesh Red Cross)

- 1.2.1 The Commission appointed Mr. Dominique Borel and Mrs. Brigitte Lacroix of the ICRC, and Mrs. Lucianne Phillips of the League Secretariat as Secretaries.
- 1.2.2 The Commission elected representatives of Algeria, Denmark, Spain, USA and Soviet Union as members of the Drafting Committee.
- 1.3 Introductory statement by the Chairman.
 - 1.3.1 Ambassador Alioune Sene said in his introductory statement that this was the first time that a Government representative was elected to chair a Commission of the International Conference of the Red Cross. He said how proud and how moved he was as an African to be chairing the Commission. He pointed out that the Commission had been entrusted with a task of wide magnitude and this was, no doubt, a challenge, as the world was confronted with situations of wars, conflicts, internal disturbances on the one hand and with natural disasters such as drought, famine, floods and typhoons on the other. The situations were furthermore complicated because of the world economic recession and the ongoing arms race. He therefore said that it was more than time to encourage the international community to apply the existing legal instruments, as a means to counter-act violence and war.
 - 1.3.2 Mr. Sene recalled the growing importance of international humanitarian law in today's troubled world, drawing attention to the efforts made over a century to develop this law which was the vanguard against human hatred and barbarism. International humanitarian law contains moral principles. These contribute to peace, which starts in the minds of people, lies with national groups, and is founded on freedom, equality and enjoyment of human rights. In conclusion, he hoped that the Commission, which was embarking upon its tasks on 27 October, the day of truce requested by Pope John Paul II, would accomplish it in a spirit which was conducive to peace.
2. **Respect for international humanitarian law**
 - 2.1 **Report on the activities of the ICRC including follow-up to Resolutions III, IV and VI of the Twenty-fourth International Conference.**
 - 2.1.1 The activities of the ICRC were presented to the Commission in two documents, namely "Five Years of Activity, 1981-1985" and "Report on ICRC Activities, 1 January-30 June 1986" (CI/2.1/1).
 - 2.1.2 The President of the ICRC, Mr. Alexandre Hay, in a comprehensive address, gave an account of the activities of the ICRC and the humanitarian problems confronted since the XXIVth Conference. Mr. Hay began with the remark that over the past five years, the number of international and internal armed conflicts had risen sharply, requiring a substantial increase in the activities of the ICRC. He said that these conflicts had not only grown in number but also tended to last longer. Practices prohibited by international humanitarian law were becoming more and more common, and obligations on the part of the signatory States were too often neglected or scorned. Serious and repeated violations of international humanitarian law made the ICRC's humanitarian mission extremely difficult, and in certain cases impossible to carry out.
 - 2.1.3 Mr. Hay specifically mentioned violations of the Third Geneva Convention on the Protection of Prisoners of War, and pointed out that the prisoners were too often used as hostages by the belligerents. They were virtually deprived of protection by refusing to allow the ICRC to visit the camps where they were detained. He pointed out that, in some cases, even notification of capture was also not given. The detaining authorities usually denied allegations of such violations, but their refusal to grant ICRC

access to the prisoners of war bore ample testimony to the allegations.

- 2.1.4 Mr. Hay went on to describe a number of conflicts which were of particular concern from the humanitarian point of view. Despite the applicability of the Geneva Conventions, in about ten cases the ICRC had been unable to carry out its mandate of protecting the victims. In six other cases, it was only able to carry out the mandate partially. He stressed that it was incumbent on the concerned States, being Parties to the Geneva Conventions, not only to respect the international humanitarian law, but also to ensure its respect.
- 2.1.5 Turning to situations of internal disturbances and tensions, Mr. Hay pointed out that, although such situations were not covered by the Geneva Conventions, the ICRC intervenes using its right of humanitarian initiative recognized by the Statutes of the International Red Cross. The ICRC was also encountering difficulties in these situations, and it therefore needed the active support of the Conference.
- 2.1.6 Referring to the ICRC's "Appeal for a humanitarian mobilization" issued on 10 January 1985, the President of the ICRC recalled that in all civilizations and political systems there existed moral, religious, ideological and ethical imperatives which justified respect for those who cannot or are no longer able to fight, and which warranted humane treatment of such persons. "Only a concerted action by all the forces of universal humanitarianism, a mobilization of States and peoples, might raise in any decisive manner the level of respect for humanitarian rules in conflict...," he added.
- 2.1.7 He concluded his statement by presenting a draft resolution by the ICRC for adoption by the Conference. While deploring the difficulties encountered by the ICRC in its efforts to protect and assist all the military and civilian victims of armed conflicts and regretting that disputes about the legal classification of conflicts hindered implementation of international humanitarian law, the draft resolution invited all the Parties bound by the Geneva Conventions to respect fully their obligations and to authorize the ICRC to carry out its humanitarian activities.
- 2.1.8 Debate on agenda item 2.1.
- 2.1.8.1 Following the statement of President Alexandre Hay, a lengthy but lively debate took place. Some 48 government and Red Cross/Red Crescent delegations and two observers made statements. Some of them referred to the world situation, and others to specific armed conflicts. On several occasions, the interventions were interrupted by points of order requesting the Commission to avoid political controversy. The following main points emerged out of the discussion:

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

I shall interrupt my presentation for an announcement by the Chairman.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE SECOND BALLOT FOR THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I take the liberty of interrupting our debate to announce the result of the second ballot for the election of the members of the Standing Commission:

Voting papers distributed:	228
Voting papers returned:	227
Invalid voting papers:	8
Valid voting papers:	219
Absolute majority:	111

Mr. Hantos is elected by 118 votes.

The following also received votes: Mrs. Harmon, 91; Mr. Hove, 87; Mr. Ijas, 82; Mrs. Spiljak, 66; Mrs. Ahouanme-nou, 58; and Dr. Rueda Montana, 37.

A third ballot to be decided by a simple majority is therefore necessary. May I ask any candidates who wish to withdraw to let me know as much within 10 minutes so that we may prepare the voting papers for the third ballot?

REPORT OF COMMISSION I — INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW (continued)

Major A.H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The main points which emerged from the discussion on agenda item 2.1 were:

- 2.1.8.2 Some means should be evolved to strengthen the mechanisms for application of the Geneva Convention and to facilitate or allow the ICRC action in the current situations of conflict.
- 2.1.8.3 Several delegations supported the draft resolution annexed to the statement of the President of the ICRC, entitled "Action by the ICRC for persons protected by the Geneva Conventions", referring to the totality of the situations mentioned in the report.
- 2.1.8.4 One delegation expressed concern on the threat posed to international humanitarian law by terrorism, and the need to seek humanitarian and legal solutions to the phenomenon of "dehumanization".
- 2.1.8.5 Several delegations stressed that a total ban should be imposed on production and deployment of nuclear weapons which threaten mankind with total annihilation. It was also emphasized that the nuclear threat often referred to was in fact a deterrent as they are not used in the present-day conflicts. Conventional weapons used in numerous conflicts caused casualties to millions of people, and hence the Red Cross should concern itself more with the reduction or limitation of conventional weapons in order to ensure peace and prosperity in the world.
- 2.1.8.6 A number of delegations suggested that disarmament should be linked with the contribution of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent to peace. It was also proposed that the conclusions of the Second World Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent on Peace (Aaland/Stockholm, September 1984), endorsed by the Council of Delegates, should be adopted by the Conference.
- 2.1.8.7 While many delegations stressed the need to follow up the message to the world community and the selected Red Cross/Red Crescent initiatives adopted by the Second Peace Conference, some thought that convocation of a Third World Conference on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace at an appropriate time could give fresh impetus to the Movement's work for peace.
- 2.1.8.8 Several delegations referred to the issue of the protection of children in armed conflicts. Great concern was expressed on the inhuman practice of recruitment of children, especially below 15 years of age, in armed forces and their involvement in warfare.
- 2.1.8.9 While unanimously endorsing the proposal to appeal to all the Parties in conflicts to respect the rules of international humanitarian law and to ensure their respect, several delegations underlined the need for undertaking national measures for its implementation with a view to ensuring fulfilment of the obligation of States.
- 2.1.8.10 The Commission called upon the international community to take effective measures to prevent attacks on civilians and civilian targets, and thus violating of the Fourth Geneva Convention.
- 2.1.8.11 Some National Societies expressed the view that the ICRC should, on a regular basis, give information on its work in international as well as non-

- international armed conflicts, internal disturbances and tensions to keep the National Societies and international press abreast with case-specific examples of successful humanitarian actions. It should also study whether increased publicity contributes to prevention of abuses of human rights.
- 2.1.8.12 Some delegations affirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied territories and hoped that the Occupying Powers would respect the rules of international humanitarian law in territories under their occupation.
- 2.1.8.13 Necessity for propagation and negotiation for wider and extensive use of Protective Zones was suggested by one delegation as a practical measure for better protection of civilians, particularly the wounded, sick, women, children and old people. Need for large-scale campaigns to make civilians aware of their rights and duties under international law in conflict situations was also highlighted in this regard.
- 2.1.8.14 One delegation suggested that, although a Conference like this is important, it does not have sufficient scope to deal with the multifaceted implications of application of humanitarian law in armed conflict. It was therefore necessary to establish a forum where armed conflicts and modern techniques of warfare and their consequences could be discussed on a continuous basis.
- 2.1.8.15 It was of general consensus that obvious breaches of international humanitarian law should not be allowed to go unchallenged. All possible pressure must be put on of Parties in conflict which refuse to adhere to humanitarian rules and principles.
- 2.1.9 One delegation was of the view that the draft resolution proposed by the ICRC should not name any party to a conflict and preferred to have a generalized preamble of the said resolution. In view of certain other proposed amendments to the draft resolution, a Working Group comprising representatives of the governments of the USA and USSR, as well as those of the National Societies of Argentina, Denmark, Indonesia, Libya and Zimbabwe, should redraft the resolution which should be acceptable to all by consensus.
- The draft resolution CI/2.1/PR1/Rev.2 proposed by this Group was approved by consensus for transmission to the Conference.
- The delegation of the Government of Israel recorded a note of objection for including the seventh preamble in the draft resolution recalling the second operative paragraph of Resolution III of the Twenty-fourth International Conference, which did not have the words "in 1967" at the end.
- The representative of the Government of Sri Lanka, although a party to adoption of the draft resolution by consensus, objected to the mention of Sri Lanka on page 27 of the report of the ICRC President.
- 2.2 **Report on signatures, ratifications and accessions to the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions, including the follow-up to Resolution VII of the Twenty-fourth Conference (document CI/2.2./1)**
- 2.2.1 Mr. Hans-Peter Gasser, of the ICRC, introduced this point by referring to the history and purpose of the Protocols and to the state of their acceptance. He said that the Protocols strengthen considerably the protection of war victims, especially of the civilian population. As of today, 64 States were party to Protocol I and 57 to Protocol II.
- 2.2.2 After this introduction, 27 delegations took the floor. The Government delegation of Argentina and the Bahrain Red Crescent announced that their respective governments were soon to notify the accession to the two Protocols to the depositary State. Several other delegations declared that the internal procedure leading to notification was about to be completed, while others said that their governments had the firm intention to speed up the notification procedure.
- 2.2.3 Many delegations underlined the value of the Protocols which represent an important step towards a better protection of war victims. Whereas some delegations were unhappy with the slow acceptance of the Protocols, others thought that the number of ratifications was encouraging. It was however, generally accepted that in the end the Protocols must be accepted by all States so that the law of 1977 becomes as universally recognized as the 1949 Geneva Conventions.
- 2.2.4 Two delegations voiced their concern with some aspects of Protocol I. They mentioned specifically the widening of Protocol I's scope of application to wars of national liberation which, in their view, brought political elements into humanitarian law. They also found that the new rule in the status of combatants weakened the protection of the civilian population.
- 2.2.5 Some delegations expressed their appreciation to the ICRC for its relentless efforts to have the Protocols ratified by all governments.
- 2.2.6 At the end of the debate, the President of the ICRC appealed to all States which have not yet done so to ratify the Protocols as soon as possible. He mentioned once more the progress made by the adoption of the two Protocols which is an expression of faith in the strength of humanitarian law.
- 2.2.7 Several delegations expressed their support for the draft resolution presented by the Government delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. The ICRC also supported this text.
- 2.2.8 The Government delegation of Australia drew the attention of the Commission to an error in the English version of the report (C.I/2.2/1), chapter 2.2, where the name of Australia should be deleted. The Commission adopted the attached draft resolution CI/2.2/PR1 by consensus.
- 2.2.9 After its adoption, the Government delegation of France declared that, while associating itself with the consensus on the resolution, it recalled that France had acceded to Protocol II only and not to Protocol I.
- 2.3. **Identification of medical transport. Follow-up to Resolution VIII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference (document C.I/2.3./1)**
- 2.3.1. Mr. Yves Sandoz, of the ICRC, introduced the report on identification of medical transport, including the follow-up given to Resolution VIII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference. He emphasized that protection provided by medical transport during sea warfare depended to a large extent on the means available for identification. He said that there was a definite need for more modern methods of signalling and identifying medical units and transports protected by the Second Geneva Convention.
- 2.3.2 Resolution VIII, adopted by the XXIVth International Conference of the Red Cross in 1981, urges governments to do their utmost to ensure the formulation of rules and procedures for better identification of ships, craft and aircrafts. It also invites governments to ensure in peace time the necessary co-ordination between telecommunications services and medical services. Governments are required to provide medical personnel with modern communication and identification systems for the evacuation of the wounded, the sick and the ship-wrecked, especially in times of armed conflict.
- 2.3.3 Since the adoption of this resolution, the ICRC participated in the meetings of the International Telecommunication Union, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization for the exchange of views on various practical and legal concerns expressed in Manila. At the beginning of 1986, the ICRC consulted governmental technical naval experts to discuss the technical problems connected with the identification and signalling of medical transports. The

- ICRC also examined with them the possibility of drawing up a technical manual for ships' captains to facilitate implementation of new techniques related to the identification and signalling of ships, rescue crafts and aircrafts.
- 2.3.4 The ICRC then invited the Commission to examine the proposals of the International Lifeboat Conference for improving security of rescue crafts during armed conflict.
- 2.3.5 The ICRC representative concluded his statement by presenting the draft resolution CI/2.3/1/PRI/Rev 1 for consideration.
- 2.3.6 A brief debate took place. Two government delegations encouraged the ICRC to pursue the activities undertaken so far, and particularly contacts made with naval experts. One of them said that the envisaged rules should remain optional at the present stage.
- 2.3.7 The draft resolution was adopted for transmission to the Conference by consensus, with two minor modifications regarding its third preambular paragraph, as proposed by the Government delegation of Cameroon.
- 2.4. **Dissemination of knowledge of international humanitarian law and of the Red Cross principles and ideals, including follow-up to Resolution X and Resolution XI, "International Courses on the Law of War", of the Twenty-fourth International Conference (Documents C.I/2.4/1 and C.I/2.4/3)**
- 2.4.1 Mr. André Tschiffeli of the ICRC introduced the agenda item and documents C.I/2.4/1 and C.I/2.4/3, the former having been drawn up by the ICRC and the Secretariat of the League in response to Resolution X of the Twenty-fourth International Conference. He pointed out that, in becoming parties to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to Protocols additional to them, States commit themselves not only to respect them and ensure their respect, but also to disseminate knowledge of their contents. It is essential that persons responsible for applying provisions of any treaty must understand them first. Wide dissemination of the knowledge of international humanitarian law was, therefore, extremely necessary among the appropriate target groups, namely, the armed forces, National Societies, governmental circles, the academic world, medical circles, the mass media and the general public.
- 2.4.1.1 Mr. Tschiffeli described briefly the evaluation of the Second Programme of Action of the Red Cross with respect to dissemination of international humanitarian law and of the principles and ideals of the Red Cross covering the period from 1982 to 1985. He then referred to the Third Programme of Action (1986-1990).
- 2.4.1.2 Mr. Sandoz of the ICRC commented on document C.I/2.4/2 on national measures for implementation of international humanitarian law.
- 2.4.2 Mrs. Joanna Maclean, a representative of the League, fully supported the ICRC in the field of dissemination. She said that the League paid particular attention to three of the eight target groups outlined in the Programme of Action, namely, National Societies, youth and the general public. Considering the close link the League has with the National Societies, it was natural that it should urge and assist them in including an element of dissemination in all Red Cross/Red Crescent activities. As a part of development of youth, the League assists National Societies to educate, motivate and involve young people in humanitarian principles and activities. In this field, publication of dissemination materials and organization of meetings and seminars was mentioned.
- 2.4.3 During the debate that ensued, no less than 36 delegations spoke on the need for systematic dissemination of knowledge of international humanitarian law and the ideals and principles of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent. A number of delegations narrated various methods and techniques adopted in their countries for promotion of dissemination activities. The following main points were highlighted:
- 2.4.3.1 Dissemination being an informative and educational process, a careful strategy needs to be adopted, otherwise international humanitarian law may degenerate into a mere slogan.
- 2.4.3.2 The technique and level of dissemination of international humanitarian law and the Red Cross principles varied from country to country. In almost all countries, National Societies undertake dissemination activities in some form or other. There was an increasing awareness among governments of the value for dissemination as was found evident from the reports of many countries.
- 2.4.3.3 As the students and young children of today are the soldiers of tomorrow, still greater attention needs to be given towards this target group and the dissemination methods should be simple, interesting and innovative.
- 2.4.3.4 Although knowledge of the Conventions, principles of humanitarian law and those of the Red Cross included in the educational curricula at appropriate levels in several countries, educational authorities should be urged to do so in countries where it has not yet been done. The system of granting awards for seminars, masters and doctoral theses was reported by one country.
- 2.4.3.5 Joint Committees, representing different Ministries and National Societies, were reportedly set up in some countries in pursuance of Resolution X of the Twenty-fourth International Conference. The usefulness of such committees in laying down national dissemination policy, overseeing and co-ordinating various dissemination activities was recognized. The urgent need for the setting up of such committees in all countries was also emphasized.
- 2.4.3.6 A number of government and Red Cross delegations considered dissemination activities to be an indirect contribution to attainment of world peace. It was stated that, as war starts in the mind of man, the spirit of peace should also be inculcated in the mind of man. Dissemination of humanitarian principles was therefore thought to be the first step in building that spirit of peace.
- 2.4.3.7 At least in one country, conventions and other international instruments in the field of international humanitarian law have been integrated into national law. The Government attaches paramount importance to the dissemination, as wide and effective as possible, of principles, aims and norms of international humanitarian law.
- 2.4.3.8 One Government delegation, while urging a ban on trade in arms, was of the opinion that the wounds of humanity could not be healed without striking at their causes and hence suggested letting the slogan for dissemination be "United in bridging the gap between humanitarian law and the facts".
- 2.4.3.9 Some National Societies were in favour of national enactment for ensuring effective dissemination programmes. In case of such national legislation, all responsible organizations and agencies would be obliged to undertake dissemination activities in a professional manner.
- 2.4.4 **Draft resolution on dissemination of international humanitarian law and the Red Cross ideals and principles in service of peace**
- 2.4.4.1 This draft resolution (CI/24/PR2/Rev. 1) was submitted by the National Societies of Austria, Australia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Liberia, Malaysia, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Tunisia and Yugoslavia and supported by the ICRC.
- 2.4.4.2 The revised draft was placed before the Commission and several delegations spoke in favour of the draft and supported it. On the proposal of the Bangladesh Red Cross Society, a new operative paragraph 3 was incorporated and operative paragraph

- 6 was modified. Operative paragraph 2 was slightly modified on the proposal of the Government delegation of the United Kingdom.
- 2.4.4.3 The draft resolution as amended was then adopted by the Commission by consensus for transmission to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
- 2.4.5 **Draft resolution on national measures to implement international humanitarian law**
- 2.4.5.1 This draft resolution (CI/2.4/PR.3/Rev. 1) was proposed by the Norwegian Red Cross and the Netherlands Red Cross and co-sponsored by the Red Cross of Yugoslavia, the Egyptian Red Crescent and the ICRC.
- 2.4.5.2 While introducing the draft resolution, the President of the Norwegian Red Cross said that the very applicability of humanitarian law largely depended on the effective integration of its rules into domestic legal systems. Hence, the final goal to be achieved in this respect is entire conformity between national legislation and international humanitarian law.
- 2.4.5.3 The draft resolution was adopted by consensus for transmission to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
- 2.4.6 **Draft resolution on international courses on law applicable in armed conflicts**
- 2.4.6.1 The National Societies of Australia, Congo, Malaysia, Liberia, Norway and Tunisia, and the ICRC, jointly submitted this draft resolution (CI/2.4/PR.4/REV.1).
- 2.4.6.2 A number of delegations took the floor to support the draft resolution. The Government delegation of Egypt introduced an amendment to the last operative paragraph of the resolution, which was accepted by the sponsors.
- 2.4.6.3 The draft resolution was then adopted by consensus for transmission to the Conference.
- The French Government delegation later explained that it did not oppose the adoption of this resolution by consensus. It wished, however, to put on record that, as far as the first operative paragraph of the resolution was concerned, it would only teach or disseminate international humanitarian law instruments to the extent its country was party to them.
- 2.5 **Torture, including the follow-up to Resolutions XIV (Torture) and XV (Assistance to victims of torture) of the Twenty-fourth International Conference**
- 2.5.1 While introducing the subject, Mr. René Kosirnik of the ICRC recalled Resolution XIV adopted by the Twenty-fourth International Conference and said that, although forbidden by international humanitarian law and other instruments relating to human rights, torture continues to be practised in many countries. He stressed the role National Societies could play in creating public awareness and support for the struggle against torture.
- 2.5.2 Introducing the joint ICRC/League document C.I/2.5/1, he elaborated that, pursuant to the request of the Twenty-fourth International Conference and after seven years of negotiations, the United Nations General Assembly, on 10 December 1984, adopted the Convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment. He went on to say what ICRC was doing to combat torture.
- 2.5.3 The representative of the League, Dr. Gunn, stated that the League subscribed fully to the efforts for elimination of the inhuman and cruel practice of torture.
- 2.5.4 The following main points emerged out of the ensuing debate in which 12 delegations participated.
- 2.5.4.1 Torture is a severe crime against humanity and a violation of fundamental human rights. The world should spare no efforts to condemn the inhuman, cruel and degrading practice of torture and should take all appropriate measures to eliminate torture from the face of the earth.
- 2.5.4.2 A number of delegations stated that their national law prohibited torture and the law provided for deterrent punishment for anyone found practising torture.
- 2.5.4.3 A number of delegations reported that their respective countries have signed the UN Convention on Torture, while in some countries ratification of the Convention was under process. They reaffirmed their determination to continue the struggle against torture in the spirit of man's humanity to man.
- 2.5.4.4 A number of delegations reported that their governments contributed to the UN Voluntary Fund for the benefit of the victims of torture. Such contributions were encouraged by several speakers.
- 2.5.4.5 Humanitarian law and human rights are intertwined as the very impetus to codify and develop humanitarian law arises out of the recognition of human rights which ensures protection against violence, torture and abuse.
- 2.5.4.6 The success or failure which any Society achieves against the reprehensible act of torture depends ultimately on the strength of the human rights movement within a country, the level of consciousness of its law and order executives and the vigilance of its judiciary. It is unfortunate that, in spite of constitutional and legislative provisions, people will continue to be the victims of torture. It is, therefore, imperative that the victims of torture and their families should be given assistance in the medical and social field.
- 2.5.4.7 Information was provided by one Society regarding a rehabilitation centre operated by it for rehabilitation of tortured refugees. The Commission encouraged the establishment of such humanitarian service centres.
- 2.5.5 **Draft resolution against torture (CI/2.5/PR3)**
- 2.5.5.1 This draft resolution (CI/2.5/PR3) was submitted by the ICRC and co-sponsored by the governments of Argentina, Egypt, France, Mexico, Norway and Sweden and the National Societies of Egypt, France, Italy, Norway and Switzerland.
- 2.5.5.2 Several delegations supported the draft resolution and requested governments and National Societies to do their utmost to prevent and eliminate torture. A slight modification to operative paragraph 2 was introduced by the delegation of the Indian Government to the draft resolution, which was transmitted to the plenary meeting of the Conference by consensus.
- 2.5.6 **Draft resolution on assistance to victims of torture (CI/2.5/PR/Rev.1)**
- 2.5.6.1 The Swedish Red Cross, co-sponsored by the Red Cross Societies of Colombia, Ethiopia, Indonesia and the Netherlands, submitted this resolution. The representative of the Swedish Red Cross, while introducing the draft resolution, urged National Societies either independently or in co-operation with their governments to take the initiative to provide humanitarian, legal, medical, psychological and social assistance to the victims of torture.
- 2.5.6.2 The Commission adopted the draft resolution by consensus for transmission to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
- 2.5.7 **Draft resolution on assistance to victims of torture (CI/2.5/PR/2)**
- 2.5.7.1 This draft resolution was submitted by the Government delegation of Denmark. The delegate presenting the draft resolution said that the purpose of the draft was to make an appeal to governments concerning the need for further contributions to the UN Voluntary Fund for victims of torture. He hoped that a larger number of countries than hitherto would be in a position to react positively to the appeal. He was also of the opinion that the

- draft resolution was a natural follow-up to Resolution XV of the Manila Conference.
- 2.5.7.2 The Commission then transmitted the draft resolution by consensus to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
- 2.6 **Antipiracy efforts — Conventional weapons**
- A. Antipiracy efforts. Follow-up to Resolution V of the Twenty-fourth International Conference (document C.I/2.6/1)**
- 2.6.1 Mr. Pierre Keller, member of the ICRC, recalled in his introduction to the item the gravity of piracy and the need for adequate measures to counteract it, as requested in Resolution V of the XXIVth International Conference.
- The resolution urged States, the UNHCR and the ICRC, as well as any other interested organizations, to co-operate to the fullest extent possible in measures designed to assist regional and other efforts in eradicating piracy on the high seas and territorial waters.
- 2.6.2 Even if statistical data show a diminution in the number of victims for the period 1981-1986, they suffered the worst consequences of piracy acts.
- For the last five years, ICRC activities have mainly focused on support to measures aiming at improving protection of victims and at eradicating piracy. On the other hand, the ICRC actively participated in assisting National Societies of South East Asia in their tracing services to affected families.
- For its part, the League has assisted National Societies' activities in the region when faced with requests of asylum seekers.
- 2.6.3 A short discussion concluded this item.
- B. Conventional weapons. Follow-up to Resolution IX of the Twenty-fourth International Conference (document C.I/2.6/1)**
- 2.6.4 Mr. Christophe Swinarski of the ICRC introduced the report on the follow-up to Resolution IX of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross, stating:
- (a) That this report gives follow-up to the invitation made by the Conference in the last operative paragraph of Resolution IX;
- (b) That the ICRC followed the progress of international legislation on conventional weapons, particularly the developments on the applicability of the 1980 Convention on Conventional Weapons, its annexed Protocols and its unsatisfactory state of ratifications;
- (c) That the ICRC is willing, if requested by consensus, to facilitate the implementation of initiatives designed to prohibit or restrict the use of particularly cruel conventional weapons.
- 2.6.5 The Government delegation of Sweden introduced the draft resolution CI/2.6/PR3/Rev. 1, focusing on submarine mines and the antipersonnel use of laser, which was co-sponsored by the governments of Austria, Ireland, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, as well as by the Colombian Red Cross.
- 2.6.6 Several delegations, some of them voicing reservations on the Swedish-Swiss draft resolution, proposed or supported that a working group be formed, so as to submit to the Commission a draft to be adopted by consensus.
- 2.6.7 The Swiss delegation gave further explanation, mentioning that the draft resolution CI/2.6/PR.4 on this point, submitted by the Government delegation of USA, was largely based on the Swedish-Swiss draft.
- 2.6.8 A working group was set up consisting of government representatives of Austria, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, and the USSR. It was admitted that the group be open-
- ended, so it could decide by consensus to invite any interested delegation to join.
- 2.6.9 After the meeting of the working group, a draft resolution CI/2.6/PR.3/Rev. 2 was presented by the Swedish Government delegation as a compromise reached by the group for adoption by consensus. Two delegations submitted for the Commission's consideration their points of view on disarmament, with special attention given to current problems of nuclear disarmament.
- 2.6.10 The draft resolution was then adopted by consensus for transmission to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
- 2.6.11 A working paper entitled "Further Work relating to the International Humanitarian Law of Sea Warfare and Land Warfare", dated 30 October 1986, was presented by the Swedish and Swiss government delegations in connection with the resolution on the same subject.
- Draft resolution on the protection of children in armed conflicts (CI/2.6/PR1)**
- Draft resolution on the protection of the civilian population in armed conflicts (CI/2.6/PR2)**
- 2.6.12 Both draft resolutions were submitted to the Commission by the Finnish Red Cross and co-sponsored by the Swedish Red Cross. The chairman asked the Finnish Red Cross whether it was eventually possible to combine the two drafts.
- 2.6.13 Mrs. Denise Bindschedler, Vice-President of the ICRC, recalled that children, because of their particular vulnerability, were entitled to special protection and assistance. This was even more so in time of armed conflict, namely in the more recent ones, characterized by indiscriminate armed hostilities where victims were mostly civilians and children. In this new type of conflict opposing regular armies to guerrillas, one met too often young boys carrying arms and ready to use them without judgement.
- 2.6.14 The international community is trying to cope with this problem, particularly through steps taken by the UN Commission on Human Rights to draft a Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, the ICRC wishes to remind governments that it is essential that these endeavours lead to the adoption of provisions offering an equal if not a superior protection as provided for by the Geneva Conventions and the two Additional Protocols. These preoccupations are precisely reflected in draft resolution CI/2.6/PR1 before the Commission.
- 2.6.15 The French Government delegation supported both draft resolutions on the protection of the civilian populations in armed conflicts and on the protection of children in armed conflicts. It however expressed a reservation in relation to the mention of Protocol I in the second operative paragraph of draft resolution CI/2.6/PR1.
- 2.6.16 After a short debate, the two above-mentioned draft resolutions were adopted by consensus for transmission to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
3. **Tracing and reuniting families**
- 3.1 **Information on the activities of the Central Tracing Agency, including the follow-up to Resolutions I (Wearing of identity discs) and II (Forced or involuntary disappearances) of the Twenty-fourth Conference (Document C.I/3/1).**
- 3.2 **Tracing activities of National Societies**
- 3.2.1 Mr. François Perez of the ICRC introduced both agenda items. He stated that the Central Tracing Agency of the ICRC had been engaged since 1981 in implementing the recommendations of the Twenty-fourth International Conference, which requested it to consolidate its role as co-ordinator and technical adviser to National Societies and governments. The efforts had the objective of creating a strong and efficient national and international network for assisting the members of dispersed

- families. Families separated as a consequence of conflicts or natural calamities need to find the whereabouts of their kith and kin and exchange correspondence.
- 3.2.2 He went on to say that the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement offered a unique platform to develop a tracing network around the world. Referring to document C.I/3/1, he said that it highlighted the different areas in which the Central Tracing Agency had been active during the past five years. There was a need to harmonize the criteria for accepting requests received by National Societies. He completed his statement that setting up and co-ordinating a network of efficient tracing services was a long-term undertaking, but observance of common operating principles and well-established procedures were a guarantee of success.
- 3.2.3 The representative of the League Secretariat, Mrs. Esnard, said that the responsibility for tracing activities should be allocated and laid down in the National Disaster Preparedness Plan. She stressed that training of personnel engaged in tracing work, development of training aids and training of trainers are pre-requisites for development of an efficient tracing service. Importance of tracing should be emphasized during the training in disaster preparedness. In this context, she suggested that a Task Force should be set up at the League Secretariat for passing on useful information received from the affected National Society to the Society requesting news. National Societies not affected by any calamity should observe certain specific procedures which are currently being developed.
- 3.2.4 Following the introductory remarks by the ICRC and the League, 20 delegations participated in discussions. A number of National Societies reported on the organization and activities of their tracing services. The summary of the discussion is given below.
- 3.2.4.1 Separation of families as a consequence of conflict, internal disturbances, tensions or natural calamities causes great humanitarian problems. The Red Cross and the Red Crescent must strive hard to live up to their traditions by providing humanitarian assistance, eventually leading to the reunification of the separated families.
- 3.2.4.2 National Societies, particularly those prone to conflicts, must develop efficient and well co-ordinated tracing services to be able to come to the assistance of their communities in case of any eventuality.
- 3.2.4.3 Irrespective of nationality or the country of asylum or final settlement, national authorities should facilitate completion of official formalities expeditiously to ensure early reunification of divided families.
- 3.2.4.4 In spite of a resolution adopted by the Manila Conference in 1981 to prevent forced or involuntary disappearances, similar tragedies continue to occur, resulting in invisible and abstract suffering. The Red Cross and governments should take joint steps to prevent such disappearances.
- 3.2.4.5 National Societies should, in peacetime, establish a procedure with their respective governments regarding all tracing-related matters to enable them to assume the required tasks in emergency situations.
- 3.2.4.6 Efforts should be made to establish National Information Bureaux as provided for in the Geneva Conventions to ensure protection of prisoners of war and civilians during armed conflicts.
- 3.2.5 **Draft resolution on obtaining and transmitting personal data as a means of protection and of preventing disappearances**
- 3.2.5.1 The ICRC presented this draft resolution (CI/3.1/PR2) stressing the need for establishment of National Information Bureaux, for providing combatants to wear identity discs in time of armed conflict and condemning any act leading to forced or involuntary disappearances. The ICRC urged governments to endeavour to prevent them. The draft resolution was co-sponsored by 17 National Societies.
- 3.2.5.2 Several delegations of governments and National Societies supported the draft resolution. The Turkish Red Crescent Society expressed its willingness to join the co-sponsors of the resolution, which was adopted by consensus for transmission to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
- 3.2.6 **Draft resolution on National Information Bureau (NIB) according to Geneva Conventions III, Article 122, and IV, Article 136**
- 3.2.6.1 Introduced by the Swedish Red Cross, this draft resolution (CI/3.1/PR1) also received the support and endorsement of several delegations. The draft resolution, with minor linguistic modifications in the operative paragraphs proposed by the Egyptian Government delegation, was also adopted by consensus for transmission to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
- 3.2.7 **Draft resolution on co-operation by National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies with governments in the reunion of dispersed families**
- 3.2.7.1 The Canadian Red Cross Society, supported by the governments of Canada and Greece and 9 National Societies, submitted this draft resolution (CI/3.2/PR1). A number of speakers supported the resolution and affirmed their solidarity with its underlying spirit. The draft resolution, with certain modifications, was transmitted by consensus to the Conference for adoption.
- 3.2.8 **Draft resolution on the role of the Central Tracing Agency and National Societies in tracing activities and the reuniting of families**
- 3.2.8.1 The Bangladesh Red Cross Society, co-sponsored by the League and 22 National Societies, submitted this draft resolution (CI/3.2/PR2) highlighting the role of National Societies in tracing activities, particularly in the aftermath of natural disasters. The draft resolution not only emphasizes the mandate entrusted to the Central Tracing Agency by the Twenty-fourth International Conference, but requests governments to facilitate and support the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in this domain.
- 3.2.8.2 The draft resolution was then transmitted by consensus to the plenary meeting of the Conference.
4. **Conclusion**
- 4.1 All delegations, while speaking for the first time, congratulated the Chairman for his election to the high office of Chairmanship of the Commission. The Chairman reciprocated their felicitations. They also congratulated the members of the Bureau on their election.
- 4.2 There being no other business, the Chairman offered his sincere thanks and appreciation to all delegates and observers for their active participation in the deliberations and for fine co-operation, understanding and display of excellent humanitarian spirit. He also thanked the Bureau of the Commission, the Drafting Committee, the Secretariat and the interpreters. With the hope of maintaining the same spirit during the rest of the Conference, the Chairman then declared the meeting of Commission I closed.
- This ends the narrative part of the Report. We now come to the resolutions and I think that the Chairman would like to refer to the resolutions one by one.
- Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):
- Thank you, Major Quoreshi, and congratulations on your preparation and presentation of this full and complete report. (*Applause*)

ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF
THE STANDING COMMISSION (continued)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Before we continue, I give the floor to Dr. Rueda Montaña who has asked to make a personal statement.

Dr. G. RUEDA MONTAÑA (Colombia, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

I withdraw my candidature and in so doing wish to convey my thanks to all those who did me the honour of voting for me at this election. I also wish to draw the attention of the Conference to the principle of fair geographical representation and to urge it in its wisdom to promote Red Cross development in America by voting for the distinguished President of the Brazilian Red Cross, my friend Mrs. Mavy Harmon.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you Dr. Montaña for your statement and recommendation.

REPORT OF COMMISSION I (continued)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I now give the floor to the Chairman of Commission I, H.E. Ambassador Sene.

Ambassador A. SENE (Chairman, Commission I) (*Original French*):

I think there is little to add to the report just made to us by our Rapporteur, Major Ali Hassan Quoreshi, except to inform the assembly very briefly on a question to which Commission I asked me to pay particular attention. This was item 2.1 of our agenda, concerning the report by the President of the ICRC on respect for humanitarian law in armed conflicts and ICRC action in aid of persons protected by the Geneva Conventions.

This question was the central theme on Commission I's agenda and gave rise to a long and highly instructive debate, which as the Rapporteur said took place in a serene and courteous atmosphere that reflected a true humanitarian spirit. We must be glad of that.

In the course of this debate, all violations of humanitarian law committed in armed conflicts all over the world were assessed in the light of the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols. After the debate a negotiation group was set up. The Rapporteur has already told you who were its members: to these we must add the delegations of France and of the ICRC. The goodwill and spirit of understanding shown by the delegations of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and governments enabled this working group to produce a single draft resolution that was adopted by consensus with only one reservation made by the delegation of the Government of Israel with regard to paragraph 7 of the Preamble and which was recorded after the vote. In its preamble the draft resolution expresses the concern of all delegations regarding conflicts in which it is the duty of the ICRC to intervene; not only have those conflicts grown in number, they have also tended to last longer.

There is no need for me to take you through the draft resolution in detail. Its essential point is that violations of the Geneva Conventions in several conflicts have been identified, such as indiscriminate attacks inflicted on civilian populations, the use of prohibited weapons, the forceful displacement of civilian populations by occupation troops, the destruction of civilian housing in violation of the laws and customs of war, the treatment of prisoners of war, civilian internees and other persons captured, and violations in the conduct of hostilities and treatment of the civilian population. The resolution refers to Resolution III of the Manila Conference of 1981, which reaffirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Arab occupied territories in the Middle East in 1967.

Lastly the resolution also expresses in its preamble our concern at the difficulties encountered by the ICRC in its efforts to protect and assist all military and civilian victims of armed conflicts, including efforts to carry out effective relief operations.

The operative part of the resolution deals with violations of the Geneva Conventions and the need to allow the ICRC to fulfil its mission and, for example, help with the early repatriation, in stages, of prisoners of war, in accordance with the Third Geneva Convention. Here we have made a slight amendment to the text previously adopted by consensus. We have deleted the words "sick and wounded" because, as we know, the Third Geneva Convention covers the entire procedure for the repatriation of prisoners of war and includes of course the repatriation of sick and wounded. Prisoners of war are repatriated after the end of hostilities, unless belligerents agree to an exchange of prisoners within the context of an ongoing conflict.

This, in substance, is the content of the draft resolution, which recalls that the parties must not only fully execute their obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention and allow the ICRC to carry out its humanitarian tasks and inform the parties, while complying with the rules of confidentiality, on progress made in ensuring respect for international humanitarian law. This is, I believe, an essential contribution to the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

In conclusion, I would say that this debate will be a landmark in the history of our Movement, because all the speeches stressed the need to respect the values upheld by the ICRC and endorsed their common demand for human dignity. Beyond the contradictions that divided us, what was at stake was of course respect for a body of legal rules and principles established by us; it was also, and above all, the acceptance of these values and a will to translate them into action and endow them with a purpose. This assumes that humanitarian action, which is founded upon the principle of impartiality, is also based on the negation of prejudice and of racial, religious or other forms of discrimination. This is where in our view the unanimous rejection of *apartheid* acquires a crucial importance in the light of the history of our Movement. Red Cross humanitarian principles must evolve within the context of a changing world and meet the needs and aspirations of mankind at the end of the 20th century; they must strive to alleviate human suffering, but they must also and above all be concerned with the causes of such suffering and if possible eradicate them. We are sure that in trying to meet all the challenges I have just mentioned — the treatment of prisoners of war and civilian detainees, torture, the use of prohibited weapons, and *apartheid* — the Red Cross, with the help of the entire international community here represented, can accomplish its mission by using all its influence and moral authority — without prejudice to the so-called "crusades for an impossible ideal" which we are uniquely qualified to accomplish — because it shows discretion, devotion and efficiency in its efforts to assist and protect the victims of armed conflicts all over the world.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

May I congratulate you, Your Excellency, and thank you for your very instructive comments and for the unrivalled efficiency with which you directed the difficult and important debates of Commission I.

Will any person who wishes to comment on the entire report, but not on one of the resolutions presented, kindly do so now. The French Government has asked for the floor.

Ambassador J. MOUTON BRADY (France, Government) (*Original French*):

I should like first of all to address our very warm congratulations to the Chairman of our Commission and its Rapporteur for their work and for the excellent report which we fully endorse.

Nevertheless I have one slight reservation and would ask you to look at page 7 of the English text of item 2.2.9 which says that France ratified only Protocol II but did not ratify Protocol I. This is not quite what we meant, and we should like the text to read: France ratified Protocol II and does not intend to accede to Protocol I”.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

We entirely agree with the statement made by the distinguished Ambassador and the text will be corrected accordingly.

Ambassador P. ELIAV (Israel, Government):

The formulation of paragraph 2.1.9 of the Report, which refers to a statement made by my delegation, does not in our view reflect that statement correctly. My delegation would like the paragraph to read as follows: “The delegation of the Government of Israel recorded its objection to the inclusion of the seventh preambular paragraph in the draft resolution, because Israel had voted against the previous resolution referred to in the said paragraph.” Furthermore, the words “in 1967” did not appear in that resolution.

We would also like to express our regret that there was, again, a territorial singling out in the said paragraph, which we reject, and I would request you to ensure that this attitude is reflected in the records of this meeting.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The text as announced now is accepted, but I would request that the proposed modifications be handed over in writing to the Secretariat so that there is no further mistake.

Ambassador A. DAOUDY (Syria, Government) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, I intended to make only a little remark on the report, in response to your wish. But since the delegation of Israel has spoken on a particular paragraph I feel obliged to do the same. I want to speak of paragraph 7 of the preamble, which was included in the first resolution adopted by the Working Group mentioned by our distinguished colleague the Ambassador of Senegal.

I would not have spoken about this if the delegate of Israel had not spoken in the way you have just noted. A draft resolution had been approved by the Working Group and had been submitted to us in the Arab Group with the request that we should withdraw our draft resolution. We met for three hours. I was the Arab Group spokesman to our friends the representatives of the governments and National Societies elected by the first Commission. In all frankness, I was reluctant to accept this paragraph, which was added to the proposal or rather the unanimous project of the Working Group. When we see the flagrant violations of the Geneva Conventions, particularly in the light of the resolution of the Manila Conference, which devoted an entire two-page resolution to the situation in the Arab occupied territories, I feel that the Arab delegations showed a high degree of conciliation and compromise in allowing the Syrian delegate to agree on their behalf that they would content themselves solely with this paragraph. We agreed to a mere reference to the Manila resolution and withdrew our draft resolution enumerating the flagrant violations committed and still being committed by Israel in the occupied territories and occupied Lebanon. Let nobody presume to teach us any lessons here on the text which has been proposed and accepted. If anybody wishes to reopen the debate I too am willing to do so.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank the delegate of Syria for his explanations, which are noted. I interrupt our debate on the work of Commission I to go on to the third ballot in the elections to the Standing Commission and would ask Mr. Robert-Tissot to explain the distribution of voting papers.

THIRD AND LAST BALLOT FOR THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION

Mr. J.-P. ROBERT - TISSOT (*League*) (*Original French*):

We shall now start this operation for the third time. You are probably familiar with it by now. The voting papers are being distributed and you will see that for some unknown reason the technical services have decided that the fewer candidates, the bigger the voting paper should be. This time you will have to fold it in four.

Of the five remaining candidates, two are still to be elected to the Standing Commission. These five candidates are:

Mrs. Ahouanmenou (Benin);
Mrs. Harmon (Brazil);
Mr. Hove (Zimbabwe);
Mr. Ijas (Indonesia);
Mrs. Spiljak (Yugoslavia).

I would remind you that you must put a mark against two names and that any voting paper on which more than two names are marked will be declared invalid. You may not put a mark against more than two names. In spite of previous warnings we noticed at the second ballot that there were eight voting papers bearing four or five names. Once the voting papers have been handed out we can proceed with the vote.

(*Voting took place*)

REPORT OF COMMISSION I (continued)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We resume our deliberations on the resolutions of Commission I. Will the Chairman and Rapporteur of the Commission kindly join us on the podium.

We are examining the draft resolutions and I would ask the Rapporteur to give us his comments.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The resolution which Commission I adopted by consensus under point 2.1 of the agenda is given under the title “Respect for international humanitarian law in armed conflicts and action by the ICRC for persons protected by the Geneva Conventions”. Its adoption was the result of many hours of exchange of ideas, negotiations and joint efforts of the Working Group. I would now request you, Mr. Chairman, to place this draft before the Conference for adoption by consensus.

(See Resolution I “Respect for international humanitarian law in armed conflicts and action by the ICRC for persons protected by the Geneva Conventions”)

H.E. Mr. T. AZIZ (Iraq, Government):

The resolution, which we have just adopted by consensus, was designed to cover points of interest in numerous situations with diverse facts and characteristics. By choosing this approach Commission I avoided the need to deal with the large number of draft resolutions that have been submitted under point 2.1 of the agenda. In seeking the consensus approach on all the situations involved, it was inevitable to omit reference to details in a direct fashion and to adopt general formulations to cover the essential points at issue in each situation.

My delegation would certainly have preferred a resolution on the Iran/Iraq conflict of the type appearing in Document CI/2.1/PR10, proposed by 17 governments and 12 Societies to all of whom Iraq is profoundly grateful. However, in a spirit of co-operation and compromise, and out of the sincere desire to conclude the work of the Conference successfully, we have gone along with the consensus resolution in the hope that its adoption in this manner will enable the ICRC to carry out effectively its humanitarian tasks.

We feel that the relevant portions of the resolution cover the substance of the draft in Document PR10, and we shall continue to seek its implementation on the basis of that understanding. Iraq will continue to adhere to international humanitarian law, while at the same time expending all efforts necessary to put an end to the conflict through peaceful means.

We are grateful to the ICRC for its ceaseless efforts in this field. We are also grateful to the Turkish Red Crescent Society for its humanitarian assistance and the repatriation of POWs.

In view of the Iranian official declarations both here and in Tehran to readmit the ICRC to carry out its functions, the last paragraph of the resolution we have just adopted by consensus assumes the greatest importance. We sincerely hope that the ICRC will succeed in its task in Iran to protect the Iraqi POWs, failing which the ICRC is now authorized by the paragraph in question to inform all the States party to the Geneva Conventions. We certainly wish that the ICRC will not find it necessary to resort to this measure.

Finally, my delegation wishes to express its profound gratitude to the host country, the ICRC and all those who helped in the organization of this Conference and brought it to the success it deserves.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The assembly has noted your declaration and thanks you for your spirit of conciliation.

Mr. P. NAGARATNAM (Sri Lanka, Government):

When this resolution that has just been adopted with regard to respect for international humanitarian law was presented, both here in the plenary and in Commission I, it was in a spirit of co-operation that the delegation of the Government of Sri Lanka joined in the consensus. However, my delegation wishes to place on record that it has serious reservations regarding the reference made to Sri Lanka in the Report of the President of the ICRC on Respect for International Humanitarian Law delivered in Commission I on Monday 27 October. The delegation of Sri Lanka does not believe that the mandate of the ICRC permits it a role in the situation of the disruption of law and order in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka due to terrorist violence.

We therefore request that the position of Sri Lanka be reflected in the official records of this Conference.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Your request will be duly recorded.

Mr. A. WIJLMAN (Sweden, Red Cross):

I should like to add a few comments on this resolution just adopted by consensus. At the outset of the meetings of Commission I, the Swedish Red Cross delegation had the opportunity to comment upon the introductory speech made by Mr. Hay in the Commission, as well as on the Report on ICRC Activities over the last five years. We expressed our appreciation of the Report and in particular of the candid way in which Mr. Hay presented the ICRC's experiences, and we also appreciated the draft resolution submitted to the Commission. To us the speech, as well as the Report and the draft resolution, represented a step forward.

We believe that respect for international humanitarian law — and this comment goes for human rights legislation in general — must be followed very closely. Of course the very existence of international humanitarian law at the international, as well as the national level, is extremely important. History proves that. But in our opinion legislation is not enough. What is even more important is respect for, and adherence, to the Conventions. "Law remains a dead letter unless known and implemented". This is a quotation from a letter we have just received from the President of the ICRC.

Respect for the Conventions has at least two prerequisites: first, the Conventions must be known and understood. Thus dissemination is very important and we can do a lot better in this field. I think that later on there will be very sound suggestions as regards dissemination. Second, once known, the provisions must be respected. As regards the Geneva Conventions, I believe that in a conflict situation, even if goodwill is there, one cannot avoid military objectives dominating to such an extent that the most basic humanitarian objectives are neglected or at least not one hundred per cent respected.

This being said, however, no effort must be spared to ensure respect for humanitarian principles and objectives. The Red Cross Movement, notably the ICRC, has an important role in this regard. The same goes for governments party to the Conventions. To improve respect for the law, I believe in open discussion about its observance, and respect of the provisions is essential. In particular when we witness or experience violations of the provisions which are repeated and grave. Such a debate must, of course, pay due attention to the fate of the victims in each and every situation. The ICRC has adopted special guidelines on when to go public in case of violations of international humanitarian law. Their policy is one of caution.

In his speech, Mr. Hay referred to a number of conflict situations where the ICRC experienced special difficulties. Knowing the ICRC's policy of caution in this respect, I understand, and so does my delegation, that the ICRC must have very strong motives in favour of the draft resolution, in specifically mentioning conflict situations. I regret that it was not possible to reach a consensus in Commission I along the lines proposed by the ICRC. To the Swedish Red Cross delegation the draft resolution was balanced. It referred to conflict situations where protection and assistance to the victims are extremely difficult to provide. The draft resolution could perhaps have been more positive in its tone; it could have urged, in particular, parties to the conflict situations mentioned to facilitate the work in the future. The references could have been maintained. As it now stands reference is made to a single problem area, albeit indirectly, namely the occupied territories. By doing so, the balance, in our opinion, is not maintained.

I can only hope that the very existence of the Report, the speech and the draft resolution will help those of us who are in favour of more open discussion and can be used in our dissemination work back home.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, Mr. Wijkman, for your suggestions and criticisms. These have been carefully noted by the assembly and will be recorded in the minutes. The resolution is adopted. We go on to item 2.2. The Rapporteur has the floor.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The resolution under item 2.2 of the agenda is given under the title "The Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions". I have one point to add, not, however, in connection with the resolution. There has been a development in the field of ratification since we last met in the Commissions: on 30 October 1986, the Government of Bahrain informed the ICRC and the Swiss Government that it had acceded to the two Additional Protocols. This information was not discussed in the meeting of the Commissions and therefore could not be included in the Commission's Report. But I think this fact could be taken note of in the Report of the plenary session of this afternoon.

This draft resolution was adopted by consensus and the Conference may now be called upon to do likewise.

Mr. H. AZOCAR (Venezuela, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

The delegation of the Government of Venezuela would

like to make an observation on the wording of this resolution. In the Spanish text which the secretaries have distributed to us, operative paragraph No. 4 begins with the word "exhorta" (exhorts) all States. The French version of the same paragraph begins with the word "invite" (calls upon) all States. For the two versions to agree (the English version being "calls upon"), my delegation suggests that the Spanish version of this paragraph should begin with the word "invita", so that we may all approve this resolution by consensus.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I am sure the Rapporteur will take note of your suggestion and make the necessary correction. Can the assembly now adopt this resolution? You can.

(See Resolution II "The Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions")

We go on to item 2.3. The Rapporteur has the floor.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

We now come to the draft resolution transmitted by Commission I under point 2.3 of the agenda under the title "Identification of medical transport". This resolution is available and distributed to the distinguished delegates in all the languages, so I do not think there is any need for me to read it out. Mr. Chairman, you may kindly request the Conference to adopt the resolution.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Can you adopt this resolution? (*Applause*)

(See Resolution III "Identification of medical transports")

We now come to item 2.4. Major Quoreshi has the floor.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

There are three draft resolutions under item 2.4, the first is entitled "Dissemination of international humanitarian law and the principles and ideals of the Movement in the service of peace". This is the final version, and I now call upon the Conference to adopt the text. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for adopting this text.

(See Resolution IV "Dissemination of international humanitarian law and the principles and ideals of the Movement in the service of peace")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The second draft resolution under item 2.4 is entitled "National measures to implement international humanitarian law." (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The resolution is adopted.

(See Resolution V "National measures to implement international humanitarian law")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The third and last draft resolution under item 2.4 is entitled "International courses on law applicable in armed conflicts"; this resolution was adopted by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you.

(See Resolution VI "International courses on law applicable in armed conflicts")

We can go on to item 2.5.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

We have a first draft resolution under item 2.5, entitled "Torture", also adopted by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you.

(See Resolution X "Torture")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The second resolution under item 2.5 is entitled "A. Assistance to victims of torture" and was adopted by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You have adopted the proposal.

(See Resolution XI "Assistance to victims of torture")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The last draft resolution under item 2.5 is called "B. Assistance to victims of torture". (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The meeting has approved this.

(See Resolution XII "Assistance to victims of torture")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

We now have a resolution, produced by the Working Group after long hours of discussion and called "Further work relating to international humanitarian law of sea warfare and land warfare". The text was adopted by consensus, and a commentary on the draft resolution was distributed to the delegates yesterday. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You endorsed the consensus. Thank you.

(See Resolution VII "Work on international humanitarian law in armed conflicts at sea and on land")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The resolution which was attached to and distributed with the Report was unfortunately not the correct one; the uncorrected version was enclosed by mistake. There have in fact been minor corrections, particularly as regards the word "children", which has been amended to read "children under the age of 15 years", as proposed by the Government delegation of Egypt. The correct version, on a single page, was distributed later under the title "Protection of children in armed conflicts" and was adopted by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The Assembly has noted the change.

(See Resolution IX "Protection of children in armed conflicts")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The second draft resolution under item 2.6 was entitled "Protection of the civilian population in armed conflicts" and was adopted by consensus by the Commission. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You adopt the proposal. Thank you.

(See Resolution VIII "Protection of the civilian population in armed conflicts")

We now come to item 3.1.

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

Under item 3.1 were two draft resolutions. The first one is entitled "Obtaining and transmitting personal data as a means of protection and of preventing disappearances". It was adopted by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you.

(See Resolution XIII "Obtaining and transmitting personal data as a means of protection and of preventing disappearances")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The second draft resolution under item 3.1 has the title "National Information Bureau" (NIB) according to Geneva Conventions III, Art. 122, and IV, Art. 136. It was adopted by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The proposal is adopted.

(See Resolution XIV "National Information Bureau (NIB)")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

The resolution entitled "Co-operation between National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies with governments in the reuniting of dispersed families" was adopted by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

You have followed the Commission. Thank you.

(See Resolution XV "Co-operation between National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and governments in the reuniting of dispersed families")

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

We now come to the last of the 16 resolutions. This resolution was modified during the meeting of the Commission. Unfortunately, however, the corrected version was not attached to the Report, so I would like to indicate the corrections made by the Commission before the resolution was adopted. Operative paragraph 4, the first line of which reads: "asks governments to facilitate the work of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement", was amended to include after the word "facilitate", the words "and supports" and a full stop was placed after the word "domain" in the second line, the rest of the sentence being deleted. The adopted version of paragraph 4 thus reads as follows: "asks governments to facilitate and support the work of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement in this domain". The Commission adopted the final draft by consensus. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

The resolution is approved.

(See Resolution XVI "The role of the Central Agency and National Societies in tracing activities and the reuniting of families")

We now come to the vote on the report of Commission I.

Ambassador E. KUSSBACH (Austria, Government) (*Original French*):

Excuse me for reverting very briefly to the text of the report. My delegation had asked for the floor during the general debate, but unfortunately we did not have a chance to speak. I have two remarks to make. First of all, there is a correction my delegation would like to make to paragraph 2.2.3 on page 6 of the report, and I should like to propose two phrases that we think should be inserted. As the text of the report in front of us is in English I shall take the liberty of making our proposal in English.

We therefore propose that the following be inserted after paragraph 2.2.3: "Some delegations drew the attention of the Conference to the declaration to be made under Article 90 of Protocol I. They expressed their hope that the International Fact-Finding Commission should be established in the near future".

Secondly, paragraph 2.2.8 on page 7 confuses Australia with Austria. We therefore propose inserting after this

paragraph the sentence: "Austria should be added to the list in Chapter 2.2".

Major A. H. QUORESHI (Rapporteur):

As regards the first point, which refers to the International Fact-Finding Commission, I recall that this point was made during the discussions, but as it did not give rise to much debate, reference to it was not made in the Report. I have no objection, however, to including this sentence, as requested by the distinguished delegate from Austria, provided that no member of Commission I disagrees. As for the the second point regarding Austria's name not being added, there will be no difficulty in doing so if this is factually correct. Austria's name could be added to the list in paragraph 2.2.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We thus come to the adoption of the report of Commission I which I would ask you to adopt by acclamation. (*Applause*)

The report is adopted.

My heartfelt thanks go to His Excellency Ambassador Sene, Chairman of the Commission, and the Rapporteur, Major Quoreshi, for their excellent work and for the exemplary way in which the papers were presented.

Mr. R. I. GERALDSON (United States of America, Red Cross):

During these days of our Conference in this International Year of Peace, we have had moments of division and despair, as well as moments of unity and hope. Now that we are approaching the point of imminent conclusion and departure from Geneva, the American Red Cross delegation is asking for this brief moment of intervention.

I believe it was an ancient prophet who once said: "What is required of thee, O Man, but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly before thy God". Certainly for those of us in the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement there can be no question that we desire and embrace justice and mercy for all of mankind. The very epitome of our ethos is that of mercy and help to any who suffer and of justice unallayed and unalloyed for all men everywhere. Within our fellowship, there are a number of names for that person or entity or force which we revere above and beyond ourselves — whether that name be Jehovah or Yahve, or Allah or Ahura, the Great Spirit, our ancestral spirit, or even scientific humanism, there should be no division among us in the desire to work humbly before it. And so we appeal to all of our brothers and sisters in the Red Cross and the Red Crescent to walk humbly together and in a spirit of unity, that we may not fractionate the universality of our Movement, but rather that we may up-build it in the cause of harmony and co-operation and peace.

Although we have differences of culture and of colour, of dress and of denomination, of speech and of special interest, of political persuasion and of polemics, we are one in commitment to our great cause. We are the one organization in this troubled and fractionated world which has no axe to grind, no second agenda, no greed and no self-adulation. We are one in dedication to justice and mercy; let us also be one in humility and unity. Let us be one in the service of mankind, always united for humanity.

Let us disregard our differences. Let us emphasize those greater things which draw us together and minimize those lesser things which drive us apart. Let us not destroy or weaken the good that we do for the sake of any moment of triumph, any moment of retaliation or any moment of bitterness. Let us depart from this Conference, from this beautiful alpine country of Switzerland, on a mountain-top experience of peace and joy and unity. And so we appeal to all our fellow delegates to join in a single declaration of unity. We are one in spirit, let us also be one in action. Let us not ask for whom the bells toll; they toll, Mr. Chairman,

for you and for me and for all of humanity. Let us therefore declare with one accord our single purpose of serving humanity's needs. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for this moving appeal. The applause shows that it has not fallen on deaf ears. It will be recorded in the minutes of the Twenty-fifth Conference.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE THIRD BALLOT FOR THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMISSION

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We can now go on to announce the result of the vote.

Voting papers distributed:	227
Voting papers returned:	227
Invalid voting papers:	2
Valid voting papers:	225

Mrs. Harmon who received 124 votes and Mr. Hove 90 votes are elected.

I congratulate them.

PLACE AND DATE OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We now come to item 3 of the agenda, the venue of the next Conference.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Chairman of the Standing Commission)

In accordance with Article III of the Statutes of the International Red Cross, the International Conference should be convened and organized every four years, by a National Society or the International Committee of the Red Cross or the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. The Standing Commission received some verbal invitations for the Twenty-sixth International Conference of the Red Cross and they were recorded. Then, bearing in mind the question of fair geographical distribution — since 1952 there has been no International Conference of the Red Cross in the Americas — the Standing Commission received an invitation from the National Red Cross Society of Colombia. This invitation was supported by a letter from the Government of Colombia.

I have the honour and the pleasure to convey to the International Conference the decision of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross and to propose that the Conference accept this invitation. The date of the Twenty-sixth Conference will subsequently be fixed by the Standing Commission, in agreement with the organizing National Society. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank Chairman Abu-Goura for his proposal. May I conclude from your applause that you adopt it? You do.

Dr. G. RUEDA MONTAÑA (Colombia, Red Cross) (*Original Spanish*):

On behalf of the Colombian Red Cross Society, I wish to say that I am deeply grateful for the very great honour done to us by the Conference in choosing us to host the next International Conference. I shall take this opportunity to extend a very cordial invitation to all those present, and to all those not with us today, to attend this Conference, which is the first to be held in Latin America. Colombia will welcome you all with its proverbial generosity to the lovely city of Cartagena de Indias, a Spanish fortress in America and a symbol of its greatness. Cartagena today not only bears the stamp of that greatness, but is a modern city

of a developing people. It has besides the grace, charm and gaiety of the people of the Caribbean.

Ambassador H. CHARRY-SAMPER (Colombia, Government) (*Original Spanish*):

The unanimous choice of our country to host the Twenty-sixth International Conference of the Red Cross is a distinction for which we are most grateful. It is also an undertaking not only to offer the requisite logistic facilities but to do our best to uphold the Red Cross spirit and strengthen Red Cross resources all over the world.

Colombia is deeply grateful to the Red Cross for its efficient and generous aid and for the solidarity it showed and promoted in the Armero tragedy, which brought home to our stricken country how great was the task of the Red Cross.

Human suffering transcends the frontiers of race and belief. The International Red Cross and the National Societies bear witness to the feasibility of international action based on common values. These are also the values of humanitarian law, in which Colombia firmly believes. They are a focal point where dialogue and solidarity enable us to transcend all our differences. Colombia welcomes in advance all the governments and National Societies that will attend the Twenty-sixth Conference to accomplish a joint constructive effort under Colombian skies.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you for your invitation and your statement.

Professor Y. DARWISH (Egypt, Red Crescent):

It was the intention of the Egyptian Red Crescent Society to invite the International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent to be held in Cairo. But because we knew that the Colombian Red Cross Society had already submitted the invitation for holding this Conference in the capital of Colombia, we welcome the idea very much, knowing that it is based upon the principle of geographical distribution. We hope very much that according to this principle Africa will come next and that Egypt will then have the pleasure to invite the Conference to be held there.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank the Egyptian delegate for generously standing down in favour of Colombia, and we are sure that the newly elected Standing Commission has noted your offer.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Chairman of the Standing Commission):

I raise a point of order to draw the attention of the Chair to Article 23 of the Rules of Procedure: "After the election of the members of the Standing Commission those of them who are present at the Conference shall meet immediately to decide who shall be the responsible for convening the first meeting of the Commission".

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We shall now act in accordance with Chairman Abu-Goura's proposal and shall interrupt the debate for five to ten minutes so that the Standing Commission can be constituted. We shall then go on to the closing speeches. The meeting is suspended.

(The meeting was interrupted)

ORGANIZATION OF THE STANDING COMMISSION (CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN):

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Now that the Standing Commission has returned to the hall, will one of its members kindly inform us of decisions taken regarding its organization. May I ask President Hay to speak.

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

The Standing Commission has elected its Chairman, Dr. Abu-Goura, and its Vice-Chairman, Botho Prince of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We very heartily congratulate Chairman Abu-Goura and Vice-Chairman Botho Prince of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein and wish them every success in discharging their heavy responsibilities.

OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

We now come to the item "Other business". First of all I must apologize to the delegation of the American Red Cross for having mistakenly thanked their Government delegation when it was the American Red Cross that had made the statement. Does anybody wish to speak about Other business? Nobody. In that case I have a statement to make.

During the Conference, I received a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization accredited to the United Nations Office at Geneva, expressing the hope that the PLO could take part as an observer in the proceedings of the Twenty-fifth International Con-

ference of the Red Cross. The Bureau gave the fullest consideration to that request. It is aware that the PLO took an active part in the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law applicable in Armed Conflicts, and that it has declared that it undertakes to respect the Geneva Conventions and their two Additional Protocols. The Bureau has accordingly concluded that there would be a legitimate advantage in the PLO taking part as an observer in the International Conference of the Red Cross. In view, however, of the circumstances prevailing at this Conference, I have decided, in agreement with the Bureau, to pass on this request together with the Bureau's opinion thereon, to the Standing Commission, for examination in relation to the next International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent. The position is similar for other applications of this kind.

The Bureau's position and decision have been made in writing to the Permanent Observer of the PLO in answer to his letter. The Conference Bureau is aware that certain delegations object to this position and decision, but I can assure the Conference that they were adopted after careful consideration and following consultation with the parties concerned, so that our proceedings could reach a harmonious conclusion.

I can now ask the Presidents and Chairman of our three organizations, Mr. Alexandre Hay, Mr. Enrique de la Mata and Dr. Ahmad Abu-Goura, to join me here for the closing ceremony.

CLOSING CEREMONY

Friday, 31 October, 1987

at 7.00 p.m.

SUMMARY: Address by the Chairman of the Drafting Committee — Address by the President of the ICRC — Address by the President of the League — Address by the Chairman of the Standing Commission — Address by the head of the Swiss Government delegation — Closing speech by the President of the Swiss Red Cross and Chairman of the Twenty-fifth International Conference.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I give the floor to Mrs. Mastrapa Melero, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, who will submit a draft resolution to you.

Mrs. A. MASTRAPA MELERO (Chairman, Drafting Committee) (*Original Spanish*):

Mr. Chairman, many thanks for inviting me to join you on the rostrum to present a resolution which has a special significance for us. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, delegates and observers, on behalf of the Drafting Committee of the plenary meeting and the Drafting Committees of Commissions I and II at this Conference, we should like to express our gratitude for the facilities granted us so that we could accomplish our task. We are especially grateful for the facilities given to the Drafting Committees of Commissions I and II, who worked very hard to reconcile differing interests in the many resolutions they received; they did their utmost to make the resolutions satisfactory to all, and those resolutions have now been approved by consensus.

We also wish this august assembly to associate itself with us in the presentation of this draft resolution, which expresses heartfelt gratitude to everyone who made it possible to hold this Conference and carry it through to its conclusion.

A number of representatives of the various regional groups present at this Conference have asked us to inform the Bureau and Conference that they would have liked to be able to speak this afternoon to express their sincere thanks and appreciation for the facilities granted to them in their work, but that they are not doing so so as not to take up too much of your time; they have accordingly asked us to associate them with this draft resolution.

We hope to have your consensus, because we are all very grateful for the hospitality given us. We therefore take the liberty of presenting the following text for your consideration, on behalf of the Drafting Committee, and ask the Conference and everyone attending the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross to endorse it:

"Draft resolution of thanks, approved by the Drafting Committee of the plenary meeting; many representatives of regional groups have asked to be associated with it.

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

1. *expresses its gratitude* to the Swiss Federal Council, to the State Council of the Republic and Canton of Geneva and to the Administrative Council of the City of Geneva for their hospitality and the help and assistance they have given to the Swiss Red Cross in the preparation of the Conference,
2. *expresses its particular thanks* to His Excellency Mr. Alphons Egli, President of the Swiss Confederation, and to Mr. Christian Grobet, President of the State Council of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, for their presence and participation in the opening ceremony,
3. *thanks* the Swiss people and particularly the inhabitants of Geneva for the warm welcome extended to all the delegates and observers,
4. *conveys its thanks* to the Swiss Red Cross and to its President, Mr. Kurt Bolliger, for hosting the Conference,
5. *expresses its gratitude* to the International Committee of

the Red Cross and to the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for their invaluable contribution,

6. *thanks* the Bureaux of the Conference and of its Commissions, the Secretariat, interpreters, translators, technical personnel and all those who so untiringly contributed to the smooth functioning of the work of the Conference, as well as the representatives of the media."

This is the draft resolution we submit to the assembly for consideration. Many thanks on behalf of the Drafting Committee of the plenary session and of the regional groups here present that have asked to be associated with this resolution. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

On behalf of all the organizations and persons mentioned in your resolution, I should like to say that we are deeply moved by your message.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you have endorsed the resolution by your applause.

Mr. A. HAY (ICRC) (*Original French*):

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am both happy and moved in speaking to you before this Conference separates us, for this is my last opportunity of doing so. As you know, my term of office as President of the ICRC will expire in a few months time; I shall have been President of the ICRC for more than ten years.

In spite of the difficulties I have encountered, these ten years in the service of our noble humanitarian task have been the most satisfying ones of my life, for they have made me look upon the world with intense compassion for the countless victims of conflicts, and with a generosity, understanding, respect and friendship that have transcended both political frontiers and ideological divisions.

I had fervently hoped that the Conference ending today would be a success. Unfortunately, when it began it ran into serious difficulties that were painful to all of us. These led to a decision, admittedly a majority one, which despite our unanimous opposition to *apartheid* many of us still hold to be contrary to our Principles and Statutes.

But however stormy the hours we went through together, they must not keep us apart and make us resign ourselves to this, for we have no right to doubt the importance of our mission or the strength of the Red Cross and Red Crescent ideal.

As I said in my report to Commission I, humanitarian law is not always respected, and we can see that there have been serious violations of the most essential humanitarian rules. But is that a reason to doubt that those rules are valid, or to regard them as unsuited to the present time and ineffectual in the suffering caused by war? Certainly not, for however much it is violated, universally recognized humanitarian law is still, and can and must remain, the last bridge between conflicting nations, the last island of humanity in war. As we have just seen to our deep regret, our Fundamental Principles too may be jeopardized, but this is no reason to doubt that they are essential values and principles that we must all still be determined to regard as a rallying point, and that must continue to guide our actions.

What has happened at this Conference is one more ordeal in our history. It is not the first our Movement has had to overcome, and in the coming weeks and months, we shall have to make a calm assessment of its significance and scope. But let us not leave this Conference shaken in our firm conviction or in our attachment to the principles of humanity, neutrality and universality.

In facing this new challenge, we must not give way to pessimism or defeatism. On the contrary, we must reaffirm our will to overcome our temporary divisions. We shall then be able to recover the unity for humanity that is the strength of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and must always be our goal.

I want also to point out the achievements of this Conference: the Movement's new Statutes were enthusiastically approved by consensus; the resolution on respect for humanitarian law was adopted by consensus; the determination of States party to the Geneva Conventions to respect and ensure respect for humanitarian law was reaffirmed; the effort to ratify the Additional Protocols, although not unanimous, was nevertheless very strongly encouraged by the vast majority of participants, and the relevant resolution was adopted by consensus; the general interest of governments in the activities of our Movement was stimulated and was exemplified by the fact that a government representative acted as Chairman of Commission I, Commission II remaining under the leadership of a National Society. Both Chairmen proved to be excellent.

There were many other resolutions adopted by consensus on other very important subjects ranging from peace to development and from health to dissemination of humanitarian law. This is a rich harvest, and it is up to us to make of it the daily bread of our future activities.

I will not leave you today without heartfelt thanks to all of you who have been good enough to grant me your confidence and support me with your advice and friendship in my heavy responsibilities as President of the ICRC. I say to all of you: trust our Movement; let us work together to restore and strengthen our unity for humanity, as worthy heirs of the ideals bequeathed us by Henry Dunant. (*Applause*)

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

President Hay, this ovation speaks for itself. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for this message; not only will it figure in the minutes; it will be graven in our hearts.

Mr. E. de la MATA (League) (*Original Spanish*):

I shall be very brief, and I hope you will consider and accept such brevity as the very opposite of impoliteness to yourselves; for it is late, many of you want to get away, nearly all of you are tired (I think there is consensus on that) and we want to finish as soon as possible.

I therefore want to say very briefly that I join in the thanks and congratulations we have heard here, that I endorse all Mr. Hay has said, and that with all my heart I join in the affectionate applause you have given him in farewell. I repeat what I said on 23 October at the Opening Ceremony of this Conference; the words of my opening speech are, I still feel, very valid now that we have reached the end of our meeting. I think the time has come to think things over and draw constructive conclusions, of which this Conference can provide many.

I think we must approach the future without taking too many risks but taking certain risks, tackling questions that the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement of today must tackle and, of course, with an enthusiasm shared by all of us and that we can pass on to the millions of people who work for the Red Cross and Red Crescent all over the world, to whom I send my wishes and respect.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I think we can conclude this historic Conference in Geneva with increased faith in our

motto; by this I mean that this Conference should end with the real and sincere feeling that the Red Cross and Red Crescent are more than ever united for humanity.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, President de la Mata, for your appeal, which we shall all try to remember in our future work.

Dr. A. ABU-GOURA (Chairman, Standing Commission):

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been honoured today in being elected for my second term as Chairman of the Standing Commission. Many thanks to you, to everybody, to every individual at this Conference or outside this Conference, because we are all working together to serve humanity and peace.

At the same time, I would like to convey to you the thanks of the members of the Standing Commission who were elected. The sole policy which I follow will be the Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and in particular neutrality and impartiality to keep the balance among the different components of the Movement of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent. Our Movement is one of the biggest Movements in the service of humanity, but let us think at least one minute every day, let us think of humanity and peace, just one minute every day. It is not too much; it is very little. But it changes a lot of what we have in our minds. It gives us the time to think of those who are suffering, to think of the millions of people who are starving, to think of the millions of people who are mistreated. My policy, as I said, will be the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross and also keeping harmony among the different components of the Movement, the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Societies.

From now on until the Twenty-sixth International Conference, which will be held in Colombia, I wish you all the best in your humanitarian services, and I hope that we will carry our flags from every part of the world on our way to Colombia, and carry the Red Cross and the Red Crescent with a word of peace. Let us work for that, let us do our best to achieve that. Peace without social justice is impossible. So peace and social justice should be achieved together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you all the best after this very fruitful International Conference. I wish you all the best on your way back to your countries, to your people, to your Societies or to your governments, carrying with you new ideas and new thoughts.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

Thank you, Dr. Abu-Goura, for your recommendations and appeals. We wish you success and satisfaction in your important and difficult duties over the next four years.

Ambassador F. MUHEIM (Switzerland, Government) (*Original French*):

Late as it is, I must not fail to thank the Conference on behalf of the Swiss delegation for the resolution of thanks to the authorities of the host country which has just been adopted.

We are glad the Conference has, after a difficult start, ended in a spirit of understanding and co-operation; this was what we had aimed at from the start. We are among those who profoundly regretted the suspension of a Government delegation, even if this breach in our universality was only a temporary one.

Nevertheless, my delegation believes that our proceedings were successful. The principal decisions taken are undoubtedly very important ones for the future activities of Red Cross and Red Crescent institutions worldwide. First and foremost we must maintain the credibility, efficiency and scope of Red Cross activities in aid of victims of conflicts, natural disasters and distress everywhere, without

discrimination on grounds of nationality, race, religion, class or political belief.

Red Cross action is based on the support and voluntary contributions of the public and governments. It is therefore essential to continue and even increase this support, for the needs we have to meet in the modern world are unfortunately growing all the time, and there is no indication that this trend may be reversed in the foreseeable future.

I therefore want to enjoin especially the National Societies, many of which were deeply distressed by what happened at the beginning of this Conference, not to be discouraged, but to maintain and step up their invaluable services to all those in need of their help. I should like to assure the governments represented here that the Swiss Authorities will continue to give their full support to the Red Cross and especially to the ICRC whenever circumstances require. This is one of the foundations of our foreign policy which has and must continue to have the widest possible support of the Swiss population.

Mr. K. BOLLIGER (Chairman) (*Original French*):

I thank Ambassador Muheim for his optimistic and encouraging message.

We have now come to the end of this Conference, which has gone through moments of serious crisis and moments of grace. I have no intention of reviewing the crisis that took place at the beginning of our meeting, and we must be careful not to draw hasty conclusions from it. I do however want to express my firm conviction that the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement has an essential and irreplaceable mission to perform in the modern world.

Since its foundation, the Movement has always succeeded in adapting its humanitarian activity to new circumstances. Let us therefore look to the future and work together for true universality in our ideals and action.

I now come to the substantial work accomplished by this Conference. That work was considerable because of the commitment shown by all delegations and the great authority and wisdom of the Chairmen of our two Commissions, Mr. Sene and Mr. Villarroel, to both of whom I should like to pay very special homage.

The adoption by consensus of the new Statutes is the fruit of a very long and difficult process. All of you who have given it your time, your intelligence and your generous aid over the years can rejoice at this well-deserved result. I hope these Statutes will be a factor of stability and will draw us more closely together.

The resolution relating to the difficult but extremely important domain of respect for international humanitarian law is evidence of our determination to enhance the efficacy and influence of its provisions and to maintain the unity of our Movement in terms acceptable to all, without giving rise to controversy or making too many concessions.

I could quote other resolutions, but this would take too long. Every one of us will in any event read over the resolutions for a second or third time and try to understand their real impact and significance.

I should like to say a few words about the work of the Bureau, which met daily and sometimes twice a day to follow the proceedings and give guidance wherever necessary. I should like to thank all the members of the Bureau and also Dr. Venedictov, who as Vice-Chairman of the Conference was present at all these meetings, for their support and constructive contribution.

We can now hand over our responsibilities to the new

Standing Commission you have just elected. May I again very warmly congratulate all its members on their election and wish them good luck. They will have to bear very heavy responsibilities in the coming years.

I take the liberty of making one more short remark on the International Conference of the Red Cross. We cannot in all honesty deny that the very nature of the Conference should be a matter for reflection. Dialogue between governments and the Red Cross and Red Crescent is obviously essential, but there are many ways and means of maintaining that dialogue. The unity of our Movement can only benefit from an honest review of the matter.

I should be reluctant, Ladies and Gentlemen, to close this Conference without a word of friendship and gratitude to an eminent personality who has had a profound influence on the life of our Movement for some years past. Our friend Alexandre Hay, who has been President of the ICRC since 1976, will give up these duties in a few months' time. Mr. Hay, as Head of the ICRC you have been distinguished and polite in matters of form, but firm and upright in substance; these are the qualities of a true diplomat. You have negotiated with very high-level personalities in nearly all the countries of the world and have always succeeded in conveying the Red Cross message, even although, let us be honest, international humanitarian law has not everywhere always prevailed. The ICRC has not been discouraged or disillusioned by such setbacks, and that is all that really matters.

My dear friend, the Movement sends you its very warm wishes and thanks. We are glad that you will still be a member of the ICRC and that you will continue to serve the Red Cross by undertaking special missions for it.

We would ask you to accept these flowers for Mrs. Hay, who has sacrificed so much over the years.

Ladies and Gentlemen, last Wednesday was the 123rd anniversary of the signature in Geneva of what we may call the birth certificate of the Red Cross by the representatives of 16 participating States. After the mere four days of discussion in 1863, one of them summed up his impressions as follows: "The railway is taking Geneva's guests to 16 European capitals, giving them time to meditate on the surprising transformation that has taken place in themselves. This Conference will be unlike any other; they feel that they have new responsibilities; they have become men apart, who have ceased to share the ideas of their time. According to those ideas, the evils of war are inevitable; those men believe that such evils can be brought under control. The end of such suffering will depend only on the amount of energy devoted to its eradication. A new field has been opened to human activity; but how much remains to be done! We have to form an organization, and for this we have to overcome stubborn prejudice and indifference often conveniently disguised as resignation, and all too readily pretending to nobility."

This too, Ladies and Gentlemen, is a day of departure in 1986. We are still the responsible successors of those Red Cross pioneers and our aim has not varied.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I call upon you all to rise and meditate for one minute on what we have accomplished together and on the work that lies before us, and perhaps to pray as the religion of each one of you dictates for strength to be given us to forge ahead in our noble task.

(One minute's silence)

Finally, I should like to say a word of warm gratitude to our Secretary General for the tremendous work he has done, and through him to all the members of the Organizing Committee of which he was the Chairman and the many collaborators who worked day and night in the backrooms of

this Conference centre. I should like to give special thanks to our interpreters and to the writers of the Daily Bulletin, whose work was splendid and very much appreciated.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I look forward to seeing you at Cartagena and I have pleasure, on behalf of the Swiss Red Cross and the governments of Switzerland and Geneva, in wishing you an excellent journey home and courage to con-

tinue your work as members of the great Red Cross and Red Crescent family.

I now declare the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross over.

(The Conference rose at 8.20 p.m.)

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

A. RESOLUTIONS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS

(adopted at the final plenary meeting on 31 October 1986)

I

Respect for international humanitarian law in armed conflicts and action by the ICRC for persons protected by the Geneva Conventions

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken note of the ICRC's Annual Reports since 1981, the five-year report covering 1981 to 1985 and the half-yearly report for 1986 presented to the Conference by the ICRC and *having heard* the report on respect for international humanitarian law in armed conflicts, delivered by the President of the ICRC,

observing with concern the increase in the number of ongoing armed conflicts and the very long duration of several of the conflicts,

having taken note of the report of the President of the ICRC, particularly of the difficulties encountered by the ICRC in its efforts to protect and assist military and civilian victims of armed conflicts,

observing that the violations of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions in several of these armed conflicts seriously impede the humanitarian work of the ICRC and thus worsen the plight of the victims,

deploring the indiscriminate attacks inflicted on civilian populations, the use of prohibited weapons such as chemical weapons, the forceful displacement of civilian populations by occupation troops and the destruction of civilian housing in violation of the laws and customs of war,

noting a disturbing decline in respect for international humanitarian law, particularly as regards the treatment of prisoners of war, civilian internees and other persons captured in armed conflicts, and as regards the conduct of hostilities and the treatment of civilian populations in violation of the laws and customs of war,

recalling Resolution III of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross which reaffirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Arab occupied territories in the Middle East in 1967,

deeply concerned at the difficulties created for the ICRC in its efforts to protect and assist all the military and civilian victims of armed conflicts, including during the carrying out of relief operations,

1. *regrets* that disputes about the legal classification of conflicts too often hinder the implementation of international humanitarian law and the ICRC's work,

2. *appeals* to all Parties involved in armed conflicts to fully respect their obligations under international humanitarian law and to enable the ICRC to carry out its humanitarian activities,

3. *appeals* in particular to all such Parties to grant regular access to the ICRC to all prisoners in armed conflicts covered by international humanitarian law and to carry out the early repatriation by phases of prisoners of war in accordance with the Third Geneva Convention and further beyond its provisions as might be acceptable in the interest of humanitarian considerations,

4. *also appeals* to Parties to the Geneva Conventions to fully carry out their obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention and to enable the ICRC to fulfil its humanitarian tasks in that context,

5. *reminds* all Parties to the Geneva Conventions of their common obligation to respect and ensure respect for those Conventions in all circumstances and *invites* them to support the ICRC in carrying out its humanitarian activities,

6. *expresses its conviction* that the strict application of the Geneva Conventions could contribute to the peaceful settlement of conflicts,

7. *invites* the ICRC to inform all Parties to the Geneva Conventions, in accordance with the ICRC rules of confidentiality, of the progress made in the respect for and application of international humanitarian law.

II

The Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution VII adopted by the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having examined the ICRC report on signatures, ratifications and accessions to the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, adopted by consensus on 8 June 1977 at the Diplomatic Conference in Geneva,

confirming the interest of the International Conference in the reaffirmation and development of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts,

mindful of the need for consolidating and implementing the existing body of international humanitarian law and for the universal acceptance of such law,

particularly mindful of the need to protect the civilian population against the effects of hostilities and of the role of the ICRC, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and civil defence organizations in this respect,

1. *appreciates* the virtually universal acceptance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949,

2. *notes*, however, the fact that so far a more limited number of States have become Parties to the two Additional Protocols,

3. *appeals* to all States Parties to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to consider becoming Party also to the Additional Protocols at the earliest possible date,

4. *calls upon* all States becoming Parties to Protocol I to consider making the declaration provided for under Article 90 of that Protocol,

5. *requests* the ICRC, within its statutory mandate and in co-operation with National Societies, to promote knowledge of the Additional Protocols for the purpose of realizing the above objectives.

III

Identification of medical transports

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recognizing the need for continuous efforts to ensure that the means of identification and signalling of medical personnel, units and transport keep pace with technical advances,

noting with satisfaction the actions taken, following Resolution VIII of the Twenty-fourth Conference, by the competent international bodies, namely ITU, IMO and ICAO,

recalling amongst others the principles laid down in the Second Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, for the amelioration of the condition of wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea and, in particular, Article 43 of the Convention,

aware of the possibilities of technological developments to enhance protection,

1. *notes* the report by the ICRC concerning the actions taken pursuant to Resolution VIII of the Twenty-fourth Conference,

2. *stresses* the need for an expert approach, taking full advantage of technological developments, within the limits of the Second Geneva Convention,

3. *invites* governments to consider the proposals made by the International Lifeboat Conference,

4. *welcomes* the ICRC initiative to consider the possibility of drawing up, in consultation with governmental technical naval experts, a technical manual intended to facilitate the practical application of the Second Geneva Convention *and invites* governments to co-operate with the ICRC to this end,

5. *requests* the ICRC to follow up these matters and report to the Twenty-sixth Conference.

IV

Dissemination of international humanitarian law and the principles and ideals of the Movement in the service of peace

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolutions X and XI of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross and the resolutions of the previous International Conferences, as well as the *Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace* of the World Red Cross Conference on Peace (Belgrade, 1975), as adopted in 1977 and the conclusions of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace (Aaland and Stockholm, 1984),

noting with satisfaction that the ICRC, the League and the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies have accomplished new progress in the field of dissemination of international humanitarian law and the principles and ideals of the Movement, in compliance with the *Second Programme of Action with respect to dissemination of international humanitarian law and of the principles and ideals of the Red Cross (1982-1985)*,

noting that joint committees, composed of the appropriate ministries and National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies with the purpose of developing dissemination activities, as recommended by Resolution X of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross, have been set up in only a limited number of countries,

aware that, by its humanitarian work and the dissemination of its ideals, the Movement promotes a lasting peace, which is not simply the absence of war, but is a dynamic process of co-operation among all States and peoples; co-operation founded on respect for freedom, independence, national sovereignty, equality, human rights, as well as on a fair and equitable distribution of resources to meet the needs of peoples,

mindful that, according to Articles 47, 48, 127 and 144 of the First, Second, Third and Fourth 1949 Geneva Conventions respectively and to Articles 83 and 19 of the 1977 Protocols I and II respectively, States Parties have committed themselves to disseminate these treaties as widely as possible,

1. *takes note with satisfaction* of the joint ICRC/League

report on the dissemination activities on international, regional and national levels,

2. *requests* governments within their competence to continue the dissemination of the Geneva Conventions and other agreements containing rules of international humanitarian law applicable in international and non-international armed conflicts, not only within the armed forces but also within government circles, universities, schools, the medical profession, the general public and the mass media,

3. *recalls* Resolution X of the Twenty-fourth International Conference urging governments to set up joint committees representing appropriate ministries and National Societies for the development of dissemination activities,

4. *invites* the whole International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to persevere in its activities of dissemination of international humanitarian law in various circles and to support the efforts of governments to that purpose,

5. *urges* National Societies to continue and to develop, in co-operation with the ICRC and the League, the activities of dissemination of international humanitarian law on the national, regional and international levels through meetings, courses and seminars,

6. *invites* National Societies, in co-operation with the ICRC and the League and with the due assistance of the Henry Dunant Institute, to appoint and train experts who will be permanently in charge of dissemination and to co-operate with national authorities, in particular the joint committees on dissemination,

7. *accepts* the *Third Programme of Action of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement with respect to dissemination of international humanitarian law and of the principles and ideals of the Movement (1986-1990)*, as modified,

8. *requests* the ICRC and the League to submit a joint report to the Twenty-sixth International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent on international, regional and national dissemination activities, including the follow-up to the Programme of Action, as well as a comprehensive compendium of reports prepared by the States Parties to the Geneva Conventions and by the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

V

National measures to implement international humanitarian law

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

conscious of the fact that the Parties to the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols have undertaken to respect and also to ensure respect for these instruments in all circumstances,

recalling the duty of the States Parties to communicate to one another, through the depositary and, during hostilities, through the Protecting Powers, the official translations of the

Conventions and the Additional Protocols, as well as the laws and regulations they may adopt to ensure their application,

having examined the document presented by the ICRC on *Respect for international humanitarian law—National measures to implement the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols in peacetime*,

reaffirming that the very applicability of international humanitarian law depends largely upon the adoption of appropriate national legislation,

1. *urges* governments of States Parties to the Geneva Conventions and, as the case may be, to the Additional Protocols to fulfil entirely their obligation to adopt or supplement the relevant national legislation, as well as to inform one another, as stated above, of the measures taken or under consideration for this purpose,

2. *invites* National Societies to assist and co-operate with their own governments in fulfilling their obligation in this respect,

3. *appeals* to governments and National Societies to give the ICRC their full support and the information to enable it to follow up the progress achieved in legislative and other measures taken for the implementation of international humanitarian law,

4. *requests* the ICRC to gather and assess the said information and to report regularly to the International Conferences of the Red Cross and Red Crescent on the follow-up to the present resolution.

VI

International courses on law applicable in armed conflicts

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that States Parties to the Geneva Conventions have the duty of disseminating as widely as possible the provisions of these treaties and the other rules of international law applicable in armed conflicts, particularly among their respective armed forces,

considering also that many members of the armed forces still have little or no knowledge of the Conventions and other rules,

noting with satisfaction the efforts already made by the ICRC to help the competent national authorities to train officers responsible for providing instruction, within their respective national armed forces, on the Geneva Conventions and the other rules of international law applicable in armed conflicts,

noting the need for the ICRC to continue supporting States with a view to enabling them to meet their obligation, under the Conventions, to disseminate and thereby help to ensure respect for the Conventions and other rules,

1. *invites* the competent national authorities to step up their

efforts systematically to include the teaching of the Geneva Conventions and the other rules of international law applicable in armed conflicts in programmes of military instruction.

2. *encourages* the ICRC to continue organizing or sponsoring, on a regular basis, international courses on the Conventions and other rules for members of the armed forces, such as the courses organized by the International Institute of Humanitarian Law in San Remo,

3. *recommends* the ICRC to adapt the programmes of these international courses to the respective needs of jurists who have to interpret the above-mentioned rules, and of other commanding officers and senior staff officers of various military academies and military units,

4. *encourages* all States to send armed forces jurists and officers to the international courses organized either by the ICRC or under its patronage,

5. *recommends* that all States organize such courses on a systematic and continuous basis in their national military institutions, bearing in mind the international courses which are given in this field, to achieve some standardization of the teaching of the Conventions and other rules on an international scale.

VII

Work on international humanitarian law in armed conflicts at sea and on land

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling the general principle of the protection of the civilian population against the effects of hostilities, the principle of international law that the right of the Parties to an armed conflict to choose methods or means of warfare is not unlimited, and the principle that prohibits the employment in armed conflicts of weapons, projectiles and material and methods of warfare of a nature to cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering,

underlining that these principles are a fundamental part of the law in this field which has been continuously reaffirmed, clarified and developed,

recalling the adoption by a United Nations Conference, on 10 October 1980, of a Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects and of its annexed Protocols,

recalling also Resolution IX of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross,

noting that the international humanitarian law of sea warfare and land warfare could be clarified to facilitate the implementation of the principles referred to above and increase the respect for international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts in general,

believing that further efforts as to the reaffirmation, clarification and development of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts should be considered in areas relating to sea and land warfare, without prejudice to the need for further specific regulations later on,

A

1. *notes* the fact that international humanitarian law relating to land warfare to a large extent has been reaffirmed and developed and that some areas of international humanitarian law relating to sea warfare are in need of reaffirmation and clarification on the basis of existing fundamental principles of international humanitarian law,

2. *notes* the contribution and activities of, *inter alia*, the United Nations in this field *and stresses* relevant parts of the reports of the United Nations on this subject,

3. *appeals* therefore to governments to co-ordinate their efforts in appropriate fora in order to review the necessity and the possibility of updating the relevant texts of international humanitarian law relating to sea warfare,

4. *invites* the ICRC to follow these matters and to keep the International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent informed;

B

1. *notes* that, although international humanitarian law relating to land warfare has been subject to recent review, a number of issues need the continued attention of the international community,

2. *urges* all States that have not yet done so to exert their best endeavours to become Parties to the 1980 above-mentioned Convention and the Protocols annexed thereto as early as possible so as ultimately to obtain universality of adherence,

3. *notes* that, under Article 8 of the Convention, conferences may be convened, *inter alia*:

— to consider amendments to the Convention or any of the annexed Protocols,

— to consider additional protocols relating to other categories of conventional weapons not covered by the existing annexed Protocols,

— or to review the scope and operation of the Convention and the Protocols annexed thereto and to consider any proposal for amendments to the Convention or to the existing Protocols,

4. *notes with satisfaction* the adoption by the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross in 1981 of a resolution on conventional weapons, in particular on small-calibre weapons, *and also notes* the value of further work in this field,

5. *notes* the dangers to civilians caused by mines, booby-traps and other devices employed during an armed conflict and the need for international co-operation in this field con-

sistent with Article 9 of Protocol II attached to the 1980 Convention,

6. *notes* that some governments have voiced their concern about the development of new weapons technologies the use of which, in certain circumstances, could be prohibited under existing international law,

7. *appeals* to governments, with a view to meeting the standards laid down in international humanitarian law, to coordinate their efforts to clarify the law in these fields and exercise the utmost care in the development of new weapons technologies,

8. *invites* the ICRC to follow these matters and to keep the International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent informed.

VIII

Protection of the civilian population in armed conflicts

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

deeply alarmed by the reports on the activities of the ICRC covering the period 1981 to 1986,

noting that during this period the Movement has had to intervene in more than thirty armed conflicts,

noting further that most of these conflicts have been of a non-international or mixed character, only covered in part by existing international humanitarian law,

alarmed by the magnitude of the acts of unnecessary cruelty committed during these conflicts, often against innocent civilians,

noting that reprisal attacks not limited to military objects have been carried out in several armed conflicts,

deeply concerned by information that prohibited weapons, including chemical weapons, have been used in some conflicts,

recalling the many previous resolutions of the International Conferences of the Red Cross for the protection of civilian populations against indiscriminate warfare and against the use of certain weapons,

1. *appeals* to all States which have not yet done so to consider becoming Parties to the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions and to the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons of 1980, which both improve the protection of civilian population in armed conflicts,

2. *appeals* to all Parties to armed conflicts to require of their armed forces to strictly observe international humanitarian law and rules with regard to the protection of the civilian population,

3. *recommends* a universal campaign to make known to all,

not only to the armed forces, but to the civilians, the rights of the latter according to international law,

4. *requests* the ICRC to intensify its efforts to improve and secure the protection of non-combatants in non-international or mixed armed conflicts,

5. *encourages* an expanded use of protective zones in all armed conflicts,

6. *recommends* also that measures be taken to facilitate the use of modern telecommunication and rapid response systems as a means of protecting groups at risk.

IX

Protection of children in armed conflicts

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution XIII of the Sixteenth International Conference of the Red Cross concerning the protection of women and children in armed conflicts,

having taken note of the *Final Document* of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace in Aaland and Stockholm in 1984 and of the recommendations of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Symposium, held in San Remo in 1985, on the protection of children,

deeply concerned that in many parts of the world children continue to take a direct part in hostilities and are recruited into the armed forces,

recalling that, in conflicts where weapons are used indiscriminately, a significant proportion of victims are innocent civilians and especially children,

noting that children are especially vulnerable when they are separated from their families,

recognizing that children who have been trained to hate and have participated in atrocities of war are often mentally and morally crippled for life,

stressing that the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the two Additional Protocols of 1977 accord to children special protection and treatment,

1. *requests* governments and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to disseminate widely the provisions of international humanitarian law protecting children in armed conflicts, as well as publications concerning this question,

2. *recalls* that, in accordance with Article 77 of Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions, "the Parties to the conflict shall take all feasible measures in order that children who have not attained the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilities and, in particular, they shall refrain from recruiting them into their armed forces. In recruiting among those persons who have attained the age of fifteen years but who have not attained the age of eighteen years, the

Parties to the conflict shall endeavour to give priority to those who are oldest",

3. *recalls* also that, according to the Geneva Conventions and the two Additional Protocols, children under the age of 15 years who have taken direct part in hostilities and fall into the power of an adverse Party continue to benefit from special protection, whether or not they are prisoners of war,

4. *expresses its deep concern* that children under the age of 15 years are trained for military combat *and recommends* that in all circumstances children should be educated to respect humanitarian principles,

5. *recommends* that, according to the Geneva Conventions and the two Additional Protocols, all necessary measures be taken to preserve the unity of the family and to facilitate the reuniting of families,

6. *invites* governments and the Movement to do their utmost to ensure that children who have taken part, directly or indirectly, in hostilities are systematically rehabilitated to normal life,

7. *expresses its support* for the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights regarding the drafting of a Convention on the Rights of the Child *and stresses* that the protection accorded by the new Convention should be at least the same as that accorded by the Geneva Conventions and the two Additional Protocols.

X

Torture

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

deeply concerned at the increasing use of torture in the world,

noting with profound disquiet the development of ever more sophisticated methods of physical and psychological torture which inflict on victims suffering that at times does not leave any visible trace,

emphasizing that torture is a practice which not only injures the physical and moral integrity of its immediate victims but also harms their families and the entire society in which it occurs and that it casts the greatest discredit on those responsible for it and on States which authorize it, condone it, or are party to it,

recalling Resolution XIV on torture of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling also that that resolution requested the United Nations Organization to expedite the adoption of an international Convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,

1. *welcomes with satisfaction* the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 10 December 1984, of the Convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or

degrading treatment or punishment *and invites* States to ratify it,

2. *encourages* States and intergovernmental regional organizations to undertake or continue to work according to their rules and practices with a view to drawing up regional conventions against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, providing efficient supervisory mechanisms,

3. *requests* governments to continue and to intensify their efforts aimed at achieving, in addition to formal prohibitions, the actual elimination of all forms of torture,

4. *appeals* to National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies as well as to the League to continue and to develop their action to enhance public awareness of and support for the struggle against torture and to support all efforts, in particular those of the ICRC, designed to prevent and eliminate torture.

XI

Assistance to victims of torture

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolutions XIV and XV of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross on torture and assistance to victims of torture,

considering the experience gained from rehabilitation activities in a number of countries, such as humanitarian, legal, medical, psychological and social assistance to victims of torture,

urges National Societies, to take the initiative to give, either independently or in co-operation with their governments, humanitarian, legal, medical, psychological and social assistance to victims of torture in exile and, whenever possible, in their own countries.

XII

Assistance to victims of torture

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution XIV on torture adopted by the Twenty-third International Conference of the Red Cross in which all forms of torture were condemned, governments and appropriate international organizations were urged to do their utmost to eliminate such practices and Red Cross organizations were called on to co-operate in the realization of this objective,

recalling Resolution XV on assistance to victims of torture adopted by the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross which welcomed "current efforts within the United Nations to establish a Voluntary Fund for the victims of torture, enabling the fund, through established channels of humanitarian assistance, to extend humanitarian, legal and

financial aid to individuals whose fundamental rights have been severely violated as a result of torture and to relatives of such victims", and urged "governments to consider responding favourably to requests for contributions to such a fund",

welcoming the establishment in December 1981 in pursuance of General Assembly Resolution 36/151 of the United Nations' Voluntary Fund for victims of torture and the authorization of the Board of Trustees of the Fund to promote and solicit contributions and pledges,

taking note of the recent information provided by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the activities of the United Nations' Voluntary Fund for victims of torture,

noting with satisfaction that rehabilitation centres for torture victims have been established and their important role in providing assistance to victims of torture,

expressing its gratitude and appreciation to those who have contributed to the United Nations' Voluntary Fund for victims of torture and to the rehabilitation centres for torture victims,

1. *appeals* to governments in a position to do so to respond favourably to requests for further contributions to the United Nations' Voluntary Fund for victims of torture,

2. *requests* the ICRC and National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, as well as the League, to assist in making the Voluntary Fund and the existence of rehabilitation centres for torture victims better known.

XIII

Obtaining and transmitting personal data as a means of protection and of preventing disappearances

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling the principle by which families have the right to know the fate of their members, as laid down in particular in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1977,

deeply moved by the suffering caused to families when one of their members disappears, whether it is a question of unidentified servicemen on the battlefield, prisoners of war and civilian internees whose names have not been registered and transmitted, civilians who have been arrested, imprisoned or otherwise confined without their families being informed,

recalling Resolution I of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross on the wearing of identity discs and the relevant articles in the Geneva Conventions (First Convention, Art. 16 and 17; Second Convention, Art. 19 and 20),

recalling the articles of the Geneva Conventions (Third Convention, Art. 122; Fourth Convention, Art. 136), requiring each Party to a conflict to set up a National Information Bureau (NIB),

recalling Resolution II of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross on forced or involuntary disappearances,

1. *urges* the Parties to every international armed conflict to implement the provisions of Articles 16 and 17 of the First Geneva Convention, prescribing the wearing of identity discs by members of the armed forces, in order to facilitate the identification of the wounded and the dead and the forwarding of information concerning them to the Power on which they depend,

2. *stresses* the importance of establishing a National Information Bureau *and points out* that to do so governments which so wish may receive technical advice from the Central Tracing Agency (CTA) of the ICRC, in particular concerning preparatory steps to be taken in peacetime,

3. *condemns* any act leading to the forced or involuntary disappearance of individuals or groups of individuals *and urges* governments to endeavour to prevent them.

XIV

National Information Bureau (NIB)

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

mindful that the Geneva Conventions help to ensure protection for prisoners of war and for civilians during armed conflicts through the establishment of National Information Bureaux (Third Convention, Art. 122; Fourth Convention, Art. 136),

noting the obligation of States Parties to the Conventions to institute such Bureaux,

considering the National Information Bureaux to be one of the most effective means of protecting victims of armed conflicts,

1. *urges* States Parties to the Conventions to consider taking such measures as may be necessary to institute their National Information Bureau in peacetime in order for it to fulfil its tasks as soon as possible at the outbreak of an armed conflict,

2. *further recommends* that States Parties to the Conventions invite their Red Cross or Red Crescent Society as well as the ICRC to lend such assistance needed to establish the National Information Bureau.

XV

Co-operation between National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and governments in the reuniting of dispersed families

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

considering that, as a result of continuing international and

non-international armed conflicts and political tension, a large number of persons have been separated from their families,

recalling and reaffirming Resolutions XX, XX and XIX respectively of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth International Conferences of the Red Cross,

aware that not all of the dispersed families for whom the afore-mentioned resolutions were intended to afford assistance have yet been reunited in accordance with their wishes,

considering that there are also many people who, despite possessing an entry permit, are denied the right to emigrate to the country of their choice for purposes of family reunification,

conscious of the large number of refugees and deportees in many parts of the world and of the great suffering deriving from the separation of persons from their countries and families for reasons no longer always attributable to the Second World War or its aftermath as well as from uncertainty concerning the fate of family members,

expressing its gratitude to governments, the ICRC and National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for the successful co-operation that has hitherto taken place,

1. *reaffirms* the constant willingness of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to co-operate in humanitarian action, in reuniting members of dispersed families, in exchanging information regarding families and in facilitating the search for missing persons,
2. *calls upon* all governments to support the efforts of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies dealing with the problems of conducting searches and reuniting families,
3. *requests* governments to treat in a favourable and humanitarian manner the applications of persons who wish to leave the country and to be reunited with members of their families in a receiving State, which has declared its willingness to accept them, to give due and sympathetic consideration to such applications and to decide on them swiftly and in a humanitarian spirit, ensuring that no application receives unfair or discriminatory treatment,
4. *urges* National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to act as neutral intermediaries with their respective governments with a view to helping to solve these humanitarian problems,
5. *recommends* that National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies intensify their contacts and discussions among themselves and with the ICRC with a view to rendering mutual assistance in the reuniting of dispersed families, thereby helping to foster understanding and peace.

XVI

The role of the Central Tracing Agency and National Societies in tracing activities and the reuniting of families

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

acknowledging the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement's responsibility in helping to re-establish or maintain contact between members of families separated as a consequence of armed conflicts, tensions or natural disasters,

recalling the role which the Central Tracing Agency (CTA) of the ICRC plays as a co-ordinator and technical adviser to National Societies and governments, as defined in the report presented by the ICRC and the League and adopted by the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross,

noting that progress in this area has already been made throughout the Movement,

noting furthermore the steady increase throughout the world of situations resulting in mass movements of people and loss of any contact between family members,

recognizing that, in order to take effective action, the Movement must be able to rely on a sound network composed of all the National Societies' tracing services and the CTA, in liaison, when necessary, with the League Secretariat,

1. *emphasizes* the mandate entrusted to the CTA by the Twenty-fourth Conference, *congratulates* it on the initiatives already taken *and encourages* it to continue its efforts to co-ordinate activities, to harmonize operating principles and working methods, and to train responsible tracing personnel,
2. *congratulates* National Societies which have worked towards reuniting separated families *and calls on* them to pursue their efforts,
3. *requests* all National Societies to carry out to the best of their capacity the role which they are called upon to play as components of the international network for tracing and reuniting families,
4. *asks* governments to facilitate and support the work of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in this domain.

XVII

The Movement and refugees

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution XXI and the accompanying statement of policy on International Red Cross aid to refugees, adopted by the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross,

conscious that the number of refugees, asylum-seekers and displaced persons has steadily grown over the past five years, creating even greater requirements for humanitarian aid, especially among the most vulnerable groups (women who are alone or who are heads of families, unaccompanied children, the physically and mentally handicapped, and the elderly),

recognizing that movements of refugees will continue until their causes are eliminated,

welcoming the initiative taken by the 36th session of the United Nations General Assembly to establish the Group of Governmental Experts on International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees (United Nations Document A/41/324 of 13 May 1986) *and noting* the action being taken on this issue at the 41st session of the General Assembly,

recognizing that persons displaced within their own country do not always benefit from the protection and assistance with which the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is at all times willing to provide them,

sharing the concerns expressed by the 37th session of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' Executive Committee that military or armed attacks on refugee camps and settlements continue, since such attacks claim many victims particularly among women, children and the elderly in such camps and settlements as well as among the host population,

recalling the primary function of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the field of international protection of and material assistance to refugees, and in the search for lasting solutions,

1. *calls upon* States, in the search for lasting solutions, to address first and foremost the causes of movements of refugees from their countries of origin,

2. *invites* governments and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to pursue their efforts in disseminating knowledge of international humanitarian law and the Fundamental Principles of the Movement to ensure greater respect for the human person,

3. *encourages* the Movement both to step up its own information and training activities and to take a greater part in providing information aimed at better understanding and mutual acceptance between refugees and their host communities,

4. *urges* National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to spare no effort to ensure that refugees and asylum-seekers receive humane treatment and decent material conditions in host countries,

5. *reminds* governments, in a spirit of humanity, of their legal and moral obligations regarding refugees, in particular that of respect for the principle of non-refoulement, *and encourages them* to do everything possible to accelerate the procedures for consideration of asylum applications while maintaining fundamental legal safeguards,

6. *requests* governments to permit the Movement to come to the aid of persons without any other suitable protection or assistance, as in certain cases where persons are displaced within their own country,

7. *calls upon* governments to continue their efforts to find in the near future a solution to the problem of military or armed attacks on refugee camps and settlements, in accordance with the conclusion of the 37th session of the UNHCR Executive Committee, *and reaffirms* the willingness of the Movement to assist in this endeavour,

8. *asks* governments, the Office of the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees, National Societies, and non-governmental organizations to give special attention to the problems of refugees, returnees and displaced persons, particularly the most vulnerable groups, *and encourages* them vigorously to pursue appropriate lasting solutions, within the competence of the UNHCR,

9. *pledges* the continued support and enhanced collaboration of the Movement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

XVIII

Nutrition and food donation policy in Red Cross and Red Crescent emergency operations

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

aware that the physical and mental health of victims is affected by any emergency,

recalling that malnutrition is often one of the major problems identified during health assessments following emergencies,

recognizing that, since the factors which affect nutrition are many and complex and food distribution alone is not always the most appropriate response to nutritional problems, a professional approach is essential,

recognizing further that maximum advantage must be derived from available manpower and resources,

1. *recommends* that all Red Cross and Red Crescent nutritional programmes be integrated into the general health programme adapted specifically to each emergency operation,

2. *recommends* that any Red Cross and Red Crescent nutritional response, including food distribution, be undertaken within the framework of a clearly established Red Cross and Red Crescent nutritional programme which is effectively planned, monitored and evaluated,

3. *urges* that all nutritional programmes of the ICRC, the League and National Societies be developed in accordance with the *Nutrition and food donation policy in Red Cross and Red Crescent emergency operations* and be established under the guidance of nutritionists,

4. *recommends* that each government participating in food distribution and other nutritional activities through ICRC/League emergency operations, or on a bilateral basis with a National Society, take full account of the *Nutrition and food donation policy in Red Cross and Red Crescent emergency operations*.

XIX

Medical supplies in Red Cross and Red Crescent emergency operations

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

aware that the physical and mental health of victims is affected by any emergency,

recognizing that in relief operations health personnel must have the appropriate medicaments and medical supplies at their disposal when they are needed, in order to provide efficient assistance to victims,

recalling that, especially in relief operations, medicaments and medical supplies may be dangerous if used by other than qualified health personnel,

being anxious to avoid misuse of medicaments and to obtain the maximum results from relief operations with limited financial and manpower resources,

1. *recommends* that each National Society and government wishing to participate in ICRC or League relief operations requiring medical relief supplies should limit their gifts to the needs identified by the ICRC or League in prior consultation with those organizations,

2. *recommends* that any gift of medicaments or medical supplies to an ICRC or League relief operation should be in accordance with guidelines issued by the ICRC and the League, under the supervision of qualified health personnel and in conformity with the recipient country's drug policy, if any,

3. *recommends* that National Societies and governments participating in Red Cross and Red Crescent relief operations should use the *WHO Standard list of drugs and clinic equipment* for League operations and the *ICRC Standard list of medicaments and medical material* for ICRC operations,

4. *recommends* that all medicaments and medical supplies provided through the ICRC or the League should be packed and labelled in accordance with the guidelines issued by the ICRC or the League, depending upon the character of the operation.

XX

Assistance to children in emergency situations

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

noting with satisfaction the progress of the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the draft Convention on the Rights of the Child, while drawing governments' attention to the fact that it is essential for that work to result in provisions granting protection comparable to and, if possible, greater than existing international instruments,

being conscious of the major challenge that the plight of children in emergency situations, whether accompanied or not, represents to governments, National Societies and other relief agencies,

deeply worried about the security of unaccompanied children, especially in emergencies,

recognizing that children during emergency situations have the right of access to parental or family care to the greatest possible extent *and stressing* the need for governments,

National Societies and other relief agencies to take the necessary steps to ensure this,

1. *urges* governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies especially to take care of children when emergency situations occur and to protect them from all forms of physical and mental injury or abuse,

2. *urges* governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies to take appropriate measures to combat the illicit international transfer and non-return of children.

3. *urges* governments, National Societies, the League, the ICRC and other relief agencies to take appropriate measures to identify unaccompanied minors as soon as possible, establish and maintain an individual file and ensure that tracing efforts are made with a view to family reuniting,

4. *recommends* governments and National Societies to take appropriate steps for the successful rehabilitation of children who have been victims of emergencies,

5. *asks* governments and National Societies to report to the next International Conference on the measures taken to assist children in emergency situations.

XXI

Disaster relief in case of technical and other disasters

The Twenty-fifth International Red Cross Conference,

recognizing that technological developments in many areas constantly progress and that many States carry out nuclear activities,

being aware that in the development and application of existing and new technologies it cannot be totally excluded that at any time technical incidents can turn suddenly into serious accidents and disasters, which directly endanger the health and life of a great number of people,

recognizing that damaging situations of this kind can also occur below the threshold of disaster, which require immediate and preventive action on the part of all agencies called upon to help,

knowing that the effects of such serious accidents and disasters can—independently of where they occurred in one State—spread to the territory of other States,

being aware that these kinds of accidents and disasters require special and additional measures of prevention, assistance and mutual information and support, which must be planned and carried out both by States and by international organizations,

expressing the wish that to this end international co-operation may be reinforced and intensified,

acknowledging the fact that the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is more especially obliged to provide mutual assistance and support in any kind of disaster.

recognizing the necessity for the Movement to address itself more comprehensively and more intensively than up to now to the issue of possible dangers and consequences of technical and other disasters with a view to more adequate and improved assistance,

noting with gratitude that the members of the International Atomic Energy Agency meeting in Vienna recently adopted a Convention on early notification of nuclear accidents and on mutual assistance,

1. *requests* governments to intensify future international co-operation for the safe development and application of new technologies and to undertake efforts to conclude further bilateral and multilateral agreements on mutual, timely and comprehensive information as well as on measures for mutual assistance,

2. *recommends* to governments and international organizations when concluding such agreements and conventions also to take proper account of the capacity of their corresponding National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and of the entire Movement to participate in relief action and to include them in their information system at an early stage,

3. *further recommends* to governments vigorously to support their National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in their efforts to improve their capacity for assistance in this field,

4. *calls upon* National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to approach their governments in the manner outlined above and to undertake efforts that promote improvement of their own capacity for assistance,

5. *encourages* National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to intensify their efforts to arrive at bilateral and multilateral agreements and commitments to mutual assistance in case of major disasters of any kind,

6. *recommends* that the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the Henry Dunant Institute undertake a study concerning the possibilities and necessities of improved assistance from the Movement in case of technical and other disasters and that the results of this study be reported to the next International Conference,

7. *calls upon* the Movement not to slacken its efforts to support National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in their endeavour to conclude agreements for mutual assistance in case of technical disasters and all other kinds of disasters in as comprehensive a manner as possible and in the spirit of human solidarity and to carry out a regular exchange of experience.

XXII

Development of National Societies as a contribution to national development

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken note of the League Secretariat's report on the development of National Societies as a contribution to national development (follow-up to Resolution XXV of the

Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross),

recalling the objective of the *Strategy for the Development of National Societies in the Eighties*, being: the existence of a self-reliant Red Cross or Red Crescent Society in every country of the world, prepared to perform efficiently its task as a voluntary organization acting as an auxiliary to the public authorities,

expressing appreciation for the efforts of volunteers, sister Societies and others for the increase in number of recognized National Societies and Societies in formation,

observing that many National Societies in developing countries need further assistance to function as self-reliant Societies capable of providing services on their own,

1. *stresses* the need for developing National Societies to draw up and implement development plans, following the guidelines of the above-mentioned League report,

2. *urges* the League to assist National Societies in drawing up and implementing their development plans, in reviewing and evaluating the progress and in mobilizing adequate support,

3. *requests* the more firmly established National Societies and their governments to increase their development support to the most needy sister Societies in developing countries, taking into account the criteria and priorities for support laid down in the above-mentioned League report,

4. *recommends* the ICRC to further increase its assistance to developing National Societies, particularly in those countries and regions affected by conflict,

5. *recommends* that the Henry Dunant Institute develop programmes and publish studies on how Red Cross and Red Crescent disaster relief operations can better promote the development services of National Societies,

6. *calls upon* governments and organizations other than those of the Red Cross and Red Crescent to give substantial contributions towards the development of self-reliant and capable National Societies to enhance their potential to become valuable partners in national development.

XXIII

Red Cross and Red Crescent voluntary service in today's world

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling that the humanitarian work of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is in the main based on voluntary service, one of the Fundamental Principles of the Movement,

recalling that the new needs resulting from the rapid development of today's society and its socio-economic implications call for the establishment of new community-based services,

emphasizing the increasingly important role played by

volunteers in providing these services,

aware of the fact that, more than ever, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies are confronted with emergency situations and must be able to rely on an ever larger number of volunteers capable of coping with the consequences of conflicts, natural disasters or the flow of refugees,

taking into account the growing number of humanitarian aid agencies and groups,

1. *reaffirms* Resolutions XIX and XXIII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross regarding the role and involvement of volunteers,

2. *takes note* of the conclusions of the First World Meeting on Red Cross Voluntary Service (Mexico, 1983),

3. *expresses its gratitude* to the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the Henry Dunant Institute for their excellent report drawn up in consultation with the International Committee of the Red Cross,

4. *thanks* the Henry Dunant Institute for its constructive study on *Red Cross Voluntary Service in Today's Society*,

5. *invites* members of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to continue being extremely attentive to the status, rights and duties of volunteers, their motivation, their recruitment, their training, the integration and participation of volunteers in all phases of planning and implementation of activities, relations between volunteers and remunerated professionals, and finally the relations of volunteers with the other voluntary agencies,

6. *recommends* to National Societies, on the basis of the conclusions and recommendations of the First World Meeting on Red Cross Voluntary Service and of the Henry Dunant Institute study:

- a) to define—already in peacetime and in agreement with the competent authorities or organizations of their respective countries— the arrangements for co-operation, in the event of armed conflict, of voluntary medical personnel with the medical services of the armed forces, in compliance with Articles 24 and 26 of the First Geneva Convention, and with the civil defence services and other health institutions,
- b) to define, already in peacetime in agreement with government health services, the contribution which volunteers, be they on the same footing as military medical personnel or not, can make to tasks not specifically stipulated in Article 24 of the First Convention,
- c) to define with government and regional authorities the contribution which their volunteers should make in the event of natural disasters, in the context of national relief plans,
- d) to facilitate making qualified personnel available for urgent international humanitarian missions,
- e) to promulgate, if they do not already have one, a national charter for volunteers specifying their rights and duties,
- f) to take all suitable measures to ensure that volunteers and those they assist are protected both in their normal activities and in emergency situations,
- g) to lay down practical guidelines for the recruitment of volunteers, taking into account their qualifications and their aspirations, and also the needs to be met,
- h) to ensure that volunteers receive basic training on the Fundamental Principles of the Movement and specific

training adapted to the various tasks they may be called on to undertake; this applies in particular to medical personnel likely to be made available to the medical services of the armed forces,

- i) to encourage the participation of volunteers in the planning of programmes of activities and in their evaluation,
- j) to provide for a plan for the personal development of volunteers enabling them to improve their knowledge and have access to greater responsibilities,
- k) to review regularly their international structures at national, regional and local levels in order to adapt them to needs and activities, to ensure the best possible use of human resources, to reinforce the motivation of volunteers and develop their sense of responsibility,
- l) to set up and develop multidisciplinary teams with a view to integrated activities,
- m) to co-operate with voluntary agencies and groups and co-ordinate their activities, notably with respect to the identification of needs, the recruitment and training of volunteers, and the dissemination of humanitarian ideals in strict compliance with the Fundamental Principles of the Movement,

7. *recommends* to the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies:

- a) that it support National Societies which ask for help in drawing up guidelines for their policy on volunteers,
- b) that it continue co-operation with governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with voluntary service or other subjects in which National Societies play an active role, particularly through their volunteers,

8. *recommends* to the International Committee of the Red Cross:

- a) that it contribute to the supplementary training of volunteers with a view to their activities in case of conflict or similar situations,
- b) that it assist National Societies requesting such assistance in defining with the competent authorities the arrangements for co-operation by voluntary medical personnel in case of armed conflict,

9. *recommends* to governments that they support National Society efforts to develop their voluntary services, particularly in emergency situations,

10. *recommends* to the Henry Dunant Institute that, in close co-operation with the League and ICRC, it continue and encourage studies on voluntary service and that it organize symposiums, seminars and workshops on the different aspects of voluntary service, reinforcing all the while its training programme for National Society leaders, officers and volunteers.

XXIV

Financing of the ICRC by National Societies

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken note of the report submitted by the Commission for the Financing of the ICRC,

having noted with satisfaction an increase in the financial support for the ICRC by a growing number of National Societies,

noting the ICRC's financial needs arising from the increase in its permanent activities, as set out in the document entitled *The International Committee of the Red Cross and its future—Five-year Programme*, which was published in August 1985 and forwarded to all National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies,

recalling the resolutions relative to the financing of the ICRC adopted by previous International Conferences,

1. *thanks* National Societies which have, on the basis of Resolution XVIII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference, voluntarily contributed to the financing of the ICRC,
2. *invites* them to continue their efforts in order to enable the ICRC to meet the increase in its permanent expenditure,
3. *mandates* the Commission for the Financing of the ICRC to set each year, in conjunction with the ICRC, the rate of the National Societies' overall voluntary contribution to the financing of the ICRC's regular budget, this rate being expressed as a percentage of the regular budget expenditure and it being understood that the said rate shall on no account entail an increase of more than ten per cent from one year to the next in the contribution of each National Society and that each National Society's share in these contributions shall be equal to the percentage assigned to that Society in the League's scale of contributions,
4. *reiterates its appeal* to National Societies which have not yet contributed to the financing of the ICRC, by emphasizing the importance of demonstrating universal solidarity, even through symbolic contributions,
5. *urges* all National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to intensify their support for the ICRC in its approaches to their governments.

XXV

Financing of the ICRC by governments

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken note of the report submitted by the Commission for the Financing of the ICRC,

recalling that the humanitarian mandate of the ICRC is based essentially on the 1949 Geneva Conventions, to which 165 States are Parties, which have thereby undertaken to provide the ICRC with the means required to discharge that mandate,

considering the sizeable increase in the ICRC's permanent activities and the resulting increase in its expenditure, as shown in the document entitled *The International Committee of the Red Cross and its future—Five-year Programme*, which was published in August 1985 and sent to all governments,

recalling Resolution 11 of the 1949 Diplomatic Conference as well as the resolutions, adopted by numerous previous International Conferences, relative to the financing of the ICRC by governments,

1. *thanks* the members of the Commission for the Financing of the ICRC for their work to help increase the ICRC's financial resources,
2. *renews* the mandate of the Commission and decides to raise the number of its members from 9 to 12, one third of whom will be replaced every four years,
3. *appoints* the National Societies of the following countries to be members of the Commission: Algeria, China, Colombia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Kuwait, Mauritania, New Zealand, Panama, Romania and Spain,
4. *notes with satisfaction* that a number of governments—though unfortunately too few—have increased their contributions to the ICRC since the previous International Conference,
5. *appeals* to all States Parties to the Geneva Conventions to demonstrate more forcefully their financial support for the work of the ICRC.

XXVI

The Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recognizing that poor people in affected countries are most vulnerable to disasters, both natural and man-made,

referring to Resolutions XV and XVII adopted by the Twenty-third International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution 2 of the 1983 Council of Delegates which states that "a curbing of the present arms race might render it possible for substantial parts of the resources now being used for military purposes to be reallocated to development programmes directed at alleviating human suffering and responding to basic human needs",

emphasizing the potential of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to participate in raising the living conditions of the poor, particularly in developing countries, as expressed in the *Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace* and in the *Message to the World Community* at the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace,

urges the Movement, in its development efforts, to reduce tension by contributing towards a more just and humane society through development efforts, *inter alia*:

- a) by working towards a better balance between man and nature through protection and rehabilitation of the environment, in order to prevent and to improve the situation of the people living in disaster-prone areas, thus reducing the potential risk of unrest and conflict,
- b) by strengthening the capacity of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies as a contribution to national development and national humanitarian mobilization,
- c) by setting up long-term integrated programmes with a view to strengthening the capability of National Societies to cope with future disasters,

- d) by integrating the dissemination of international humanitarian law and its underlying principles in all national development plans,
- e) by paying special attention to improving health and nutrition through training and support services adapted to local needs, respecting traditions and securing the dignity of human beings,
- f) by contributing to practical and acceptable measures to solve demographic problems and to improve economic and social conditions, thus creating conditions for a more secure life,
- g) by setting aside adequate funds for long-term development programmes.

XXVII

International Year of Peace 1986

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

emphasizing in this International Year of Peace 1986 that the vocation of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, in conformity with the Fundamental Principle of humanity, is to prevent and alleviate human suffering, protect life and health and to promote lasting peace and international co-operation,

recalling the Movement's previous decisions and resolutions on peace and disarmament, the *Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace* and the *Fundamental Guidelines for the Contribution of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to a True Peace in the World* adopted by the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace,

welcoming with appreciation all efforts and initiatives, unilateral and multilateral, in favour of peace and disarmament, aiming at reducing the risks of war, undertaken especially in this International Year of Peace,

expressing, however, deep concern that the world is still facing continuous development and increased production of weapons of all types and that the use of weapons of mass destruction would have catastrophic effects for mankind,

deeply concerned by the inequitable social and economic conditions, the practice of racial discrimination and violations of human rights in many countries, as a major cause of tension and conflicts *and deploring* the ongoing armed conflicts in various parts of the world,

1. *takes note* of the *Message to the World Community* originating from the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace, which reads as follows:

"With 120 years' experience in the protection and assistance of victims of armed conflicts, natural disasters and other calamities, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement reaffirms that its own contribution to a true peace is expressed in its motto, "Through Humanity to Peace".

Sustained by its many millions of members, the Movement is determined to become ever-more active in the service of its humanitarian ideals.

In this positive spirit, delegations from 102 countries have met in Aaland, Finland's demilitarized "islands of peace", and in Stockholm. Some National Society members have come from countries which are actually at war or whose govern-

ments are strongly opposed to one another. Nonetheless, the atmosphere throughout the Conference has been one of mutual respect, tolerance and consensus — the very basis for a common ideal.

The Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is deeply concerned by the tension, violence, racial discrimination and violation of human rights in many parts of the world. It recognizes that inequitable social and economic factors are major causes of unrest. It notes, with grief, that there are today over 30 international or internal conflicts fought with conventional weapons.

In many of these conflicts, no distinction is made between combatants and civilians, the latter being often the target of deadly weapons. This lack of distinction violates the fundamentals of international humanitarian law.

The Movement is particularly alarmed by the continuing production of weapons of all types, including nuclear, chemical and space weapons.

For the Movement, peace is not just the absence of war but a dynamic process of co-operation among all States and peoples. It is based on the amicable settlement of disputes, respect for human rights, and the fair and equitable distribution of resources. True peace is firmly founded on respect for international law and on mutual understanding.

The Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement therefore reiterates its dedication to the alleviation of famine and the improvement of health worldwide. It will continue its relief work for the distressed, refugees, displaced persons and victims of armed conflicts, whether they are civilians or prisoners.

Respect for humanitarian law is essential to peace. The Movement therefore entreats governments to ratify existing humanitarian conventions, to respect them and to ensure their respect. For its part, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement will continue to pursue the development and wide dissemination of international humanitarian law.

Through appropriate educational programmes, the Movement will continue to meet the aspirations of young people and to promote among them the ideals of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent.

At its Second World Conference on Peace, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement urges all governments to strive constantly for co-operation, solidarity and friendship among peoples everywhere, by genuine dialogue.

It exhorts all governments to work unceasingly for gradual and controlled disarmament—both of conventional weapons and of all weapons of mass destruction, which threaten the very existence of mankind.

It appeals to all adults and young people to dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to promoting the dignity of man and to respect humanitarian values, so making a personal commitment to true peace worldwide.

In the spirit of this Conference, with National Society representatives concentrating on what binds them together in the Red Cross and Red Crescent, the Movement trusts that the world will go "Through Humanity to Peace".

Attached and forming a part of the above-mentioned message was a list of Red Cross and Red Crescent selected initiatives for peace emanating from, and recommended by the Second Conference:

"Dissemination of knowledge of international humanitarian law

1. National Societies should develop more effective means to disseminate knowledge of international humanitarian law among all sections of their population, through their existing or future activities. This dissemination should be an integral part of all major development programmes.
2. The ICRC should study whether it is feasible to establish

standard tests to determinate the level of knowledge of international humanitarian law in the armed forces.

Respect for humanitarian Conventions

3. National Societies should co-operate with their governments, Parties to the Conventions, in order that they respect, and ensure respect for, international humanitarian law worldwide.
4. The Movement should support efforts now being made for a convention banning the production, testing, storage and use of chemical weapons.

Protection of civilians and children

5. The Movement, alarmed by the increasing civilian casualties in armed conflicts, should induce governments and other political powers to observe the protection granted to the civilian population by international humanitarian law.
6. The Movement urges the establishment of zones where civilians can live safely in times of armed conflict.
7. The Movement should support all efforts to protect children in situations of armed conflict and to prevent their participation in hostilities, at least before the age of 15.

Peace education and training

8. A basic curriculum for peace education, emphasizing training in the solution of conflicts, should be jointly developed by the ICRC and the League. Education based on this curriculum should be encouraged, especially for young people.
9. The ICRC should be invited to develop a programme for training its delegates in all forms of negotiation, including mediation in humanitarian and other fields.

Development activities

10. Disaster prevention, aimed at the protection and rehabilitation of the environment, should be an important component in all major development programmes—so reducing the risk of drought, floods and the ensuing unrest and potential conflict.
 11. National Societies should work unceasingly, on the basis of Red Cross and Red Crescent solidarity, to overcome hunger and other calamities, eliminate their long-term consequences thus diminishing potential threats to peace.
 12. National Societies should contribute to practical and acceptable measures to solve demographic problems, diminishing tension in areas where population growth exceeds food production, where applicable.
 13. National Societies should intensify their efforts to support primary health care, particularly in developing countries.
 14. Since development helps reduce inequalities, themselves causes of tension, National Societies should devote more effort to this area, preferably within the framework of the League's *Strategy for Development*.”,
2. *urges* governments, National Societies, the ICRC and the League to actively contribute to the promotion and implementation of this message.

XXVIII

The Movement and the United Nations Decade for Disabled Persons

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution XXVII of the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross on the International Year of Disabled Persons,

noting with satisfaction the setting up by the ICRC of the Special Fund for the Disabled *and appreciating* the results achieved,

noting that the period 1983-1992 has been designated the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons,

aware that in general insufficient support or attention is being directed towards the problems of the disabled,

recognizing that much physical and mental disability can be prevented by the implementation of simple and effective measures, such as vaccination,

1. *recommends* that National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies seize every opportunity to strengthen the activities of existing national organizations which focus on the physical, mental and social needs of the disabled,

2. *urges* National Societies to find ways of supporting national programmes which focus on the prevention of disability,

3. *invites* States also to co-operate, especially financially, with the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement for the benefit of the disabled,

4. *recommends* that National Societies take the necessary steps to ensure the fullest possible participation of the disabled.

XXIX

The fight against drug abuse

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling Resolution XXX of the Twenty-first International Conference of the Red Cross (Istanbul, 1969), Resolution 11 of the Executive Committee of the League in 1976 and Decision 39 of the General Assembly of the League in 1985,

considering the results of the Seminar on Drug Abuse (Rome, 1978), the conclusions of the World Congress “Health—Drug Dependence” (Sundvollen, 1985), and the National Societies’ replies to the questionnaire on drugs,

conscious of the results of the work of the Group of Red Cross experts on drug abuse among young people,

taking into account the spread of drug dependence all over

the world, shown by the continued dissemination of drugs among young people,

1. *requests* governments:

- a) to consider the drug problem as a whole, in both consumer and producer countries,
- b) to consider the potential human resources that the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement could mobilize for the prevention of drug abuse or for treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts,
- c) to give special and adequate economic and technical support to drug-producing countries, particularly those whose economies are in a depressed state, in order to promote effective action against drug production and illegal drug trafficking,
- d) to adopt the measures necessary to combat trafficking in drugs and substances used in their manufacture,

2. *recommends* the League:

- a) to consider the fight against any kind of mental suffering or known dependence as a major Red Cross and Red Crescent priority,
- b) to resume, broaden and intensify co-operation with the World Health Organization and other governmental and non-governmental organizations in this connection,
- c) to choose the elimination of drug dependence as the theme for the 1989 World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day,
- d) to promote Red Cross and Red Crescent regional congresses, with the co-operation of governments, on the subject of drug abuse,
- e) to follow-up on the proceedings of the Group of Red Cross experts on drug abuse,

3. *requests* National Societies:

- a) to form groups of experts on this subject to assess the most urgent problems on which attention and efforts should be concentrated, notably in the countries worst hit by the problems of drug dependence,
- b) to work out a strategy of intervention in the form best suited to the prevention of drug abuse,
- c) to pay special attention to social welfare programmes for the rehabilitation of drug addicts with the co-operation of public and private institutions,
- d) to consider the importance of basing all activities for prevention of drug abuse and for the rehabilitation of drug addicts on the commitment of young people within the Movement.

XXX

Tobacco smoking

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

recalling various resolutions of the World Health Assembly on the health hazards of tobacco smoking,

considering that tobacco smoking is incompatible with the attainment of *Health for All by the Year 2000*,

considering that passive smoking violates the right to health of non-smokers,

1. *urges* National Societies:

- a) to establish, in case of need, programmes of education

and public information on the effects of the use of tobacco,

- b) to support measures of the World Health Organization for the implementation of strategies on smoking control,

- c) to encourage the total ban, restrictions or limitations on tobacco advertising,

2. *suggests* that smoking should not be permitted in the meetings of the International Conference, Council of Delegates, General Assembly and Executive Council of the League, all committees and other subsidiary bodies of the Movement and in meetings of, or sponsored by, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

XXXI

Adoption of the Statutes and of the Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

prompted by the wish to further the humanitarian work of the Red Cross and Red Crescent,

1. *adopts* the *Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement* and the *Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement* in the form in which they are presented to the Conference,

2. *decides* that they shall enter into force on 8 November 1986, the anniversary of the publication, in 1862, of Henry Dunant's book *A Memory of Solferino*.

XXXII

Revision of the Regulations for the Empress Shōken Fund

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken cognizance of the report of the Joint Commission of the Empress Shōken Fund,

1. *thanks* the Joint Commission for its management of the Empress Shōken Fund *and approves* all the provisions made by it,

2. *requests* the Joint Commission to transmit this report to the Imperial Family of Japan through the intermediary of the Japanese Red Cross Society,

3. *approves* the new Regulations for the Empress Shōken Fund, the text of which is as follows:

REGULATIONS FOR THE EMPRESS SHŌKEN FUND

(Approved by the Sixteenth International Conference of the Red Cross, London 1938, and revised by the Nineteenth International Conference, New Delhi 1957, and the Twenty-fifth International Conference, Geneva 1986)

Article 1 — The sum of 100,000 yen in Japanese gold presented by H.M. The Empress of Japan to the International Red Cross on the occasion of the Ninth International Conference (Washington, 1912) to promote "relief work in time of peace", was increased to 200,000 yen by a further gift of 100,000 yen from their Majesties The Empress and The Dowager Empress of Japan, on the occasion of the Fifteenth International Conference, (Tokyo, 1934). The Fund was further increased by a gift of 3,600,000 yen from H.M. The Empress of Japan, on the occasion of the Red Cross Centenary in 1963, and by successive contributions from the Government of Japan since 1966 and from the Japanese Red Cross Society. This fund shall be entitled: "The Empress Shōken Fund".

Article 2 — The Fund shall be administered and its revenues distributed by a Joint Commission of six members chosen in their personal capacity. The Joint Commission shall be composed equally of three members appointed by the International Committee of the Red Cross and three by the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; the quorum shall be four. The Chairman of the Joint Commission shall be on a permanent basis one of the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross whereas the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies shall provide the Joint Commission's Secretariat. The Joint Commission shall meet at Geneva, in principle at the headquarters of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Article 3 — The capital of the Fund shall remain intact. Only the revenues provided by interest on it shall be used for allocations awarded by the Joint Commission to meet all or part of the cost of the activities enumerated below, any balances not utilized being used to increase either the capital of the Fund or subsequent allocations:

- (a) Disaster preparedness
- (b) Activities in the field of health
- (c) Blood transfusion services
- (d) Youth activities
- (e) First aid and rescue programmes
- (f) Activities in the field of social welfare
- (g) Dissemination of the humanitarian ideals of the Red Cross and Red Crescent
- (h) Such other programmes of general interest for the development of the activities of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Article 4 — National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies wishing to receive an allocation shall make the necessary application through their Central Committees to the Secretariat of the Joint Commission before 31 December of the year preceding that in which the allocations are to be made. Applications shall be supported by full details concerning the particular activity selected from among those specified in Article 3 above.

Article 5 — The Joint Commission shall examine the applications mentioned in the previous Article and shall make such allocations as it considers just and suitable. It shall each year communicate the decisions it has taken to National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Article 6 — National Red Cross and Red Crescent 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.

Article 7 — National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies shall send to the Joint Commission, not later than twelve months after receipt of the allocations, a report on the use of the allocations received.

Article 8 — The announcement of distribution shall take place each year on 11 April, the anniversary of the death of H.M. The Empress Shōken.

Article 9 — A sum which shall not exceed six per cent of the annual interest on the capital shall be set aside to cover the cost of administering the Fund.

Article 10 — The Joint Commission shall present to each International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent a report on the current financial situation of the Fund, the allocations which have been made since the preceding Confer-

ence and the use made of those allocations by National Societies. The International Conference shall transmit this report to the Japanese Imperial Family through the intermediary of the Japanese Red Cross Society.

XXXIII

Amendments to the Principles and Rules for Red Cross and Red Crescent Disaster Relief

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross

1. *decides* that Article 5 shall henceforth be worded as follows:

"Ways and means of assistance"

Red Cross assistance to victims is given free of charge and without any distinction as to nationality, race, religion, social condition or political opinion. It is made available on the basis of the relative importance of individual needs and in order of their emergency.

Red Cross relief is administered with economy, efficiency and effectiveness. Its utilization is the subject of reports, including audited accounts of income and expenditure, reflecting a true and fair view of its affairs."

2. *decides* that Article 14 A shall henceforth be worded as follows:

"Initial information"

To enable the League to act as the disaster information centre, National Societies shall immediately inform it of any major disaster occurring within their country, including data on the extent of the damage and on the relief measures taken on the national level for assisting victims. Even if the National Society does not envisage appealing for external assistance, the League may, after having obtained clearance from the National Society concerned, send a representative to the spot to gather the information it needs. When due to circumstances it is not possible to obtain such prior clearance immediately, the League should spare no efforts to secure the required clearance in the shortest time possible."

3. *adopts* the following new Article 20 B:

"Auditing accounts"

The League/ICRC may, in certain exceptional circumstances, not be fully satisfied with the way in which resources for League/ICRC operations and programmes are managed and accounted for by either participating or operating Societies.

In such circumstances, the League/ICRC is authorized to entrust a qualified League/ICRC representative to look into the matter.

The National Society in question is requested to ensure that the League/ICRC representative, in consultation with the auditors of the Society, has access to such of the records of the Society as the League/ICRC representative considers necessary for the purpose of his task."

XXXIV

Foundation for the ICRC

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross,

having taken note of the report submitted by the Council of the Foundation for the ICRC,

1. *accepts* the conclusion of the members of the Council of

the Foundation stating that at present this Foundation cannot play a more active part in covering ICRC expenditure because of the numerous steps already taken as regards fund raising,

2. *thanks* the members of the Council of the Foundation for the work they have accomplished,
3. *renews*, within the Council of the Foundation, the mandate of:

Mr. Hans Høegh,
Secretary General of the League
of Red Cross and Red Crescent
Societies,

Mr. Bengt Bergman,
Under-Secretary General of the
League of Red Cross and Red
Crescent Societies.

XXXV

Appointment of the members of the Standing Commission of the Red Cross and Red Crescent

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross

elects the following as members of the Standing Commission of the Red Cross and Red Crescent for the period up to the next International Conference:

Dr. Ahmad Abu-Goura (Jordan),
Botho Prince zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein
(Federal Republic of Germany),
Mrs. Mavy A. A. Harmon (Brazil),
Dr. Janos Hantos (Hungary),
Mr. Byron M. Hove (Zimbabwe).

XXXVI

Place and date of the Twenty-sixth International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross

1. *endorses* the Standing Commission's recommendation

gratefully to accept the offer made by the Colombian Red Cross to hold the Twenty-sixth International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent in Colombia,

2. *asks* the Standing Commission to fix the place and date in agreement with the host Society.

XXXVII

Thanks

The Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross

1. *expresses its gratitude* to the Swiss Federal Council, to the State Council of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, and to the Administrative Council of the City of Geneva for their hospitality and the help and assistance they have given to the Swiss Red Cross in the preparation of the Conference,

2. *expresses its particular thanks* to His Excellency Mr. Alphons Egli, President of the Swiss Confederation, and to Mr. Christian Grobet, President of the State Council of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, for their presence and participation in the opening ceremony,

3. *thanks* the Swiss people and particularly the inhabitants of Geneva for the warm welcome extended to the delegates and observers,

4. *conveys its thanks* to the Swiss Red Cross and to its President, Mr. Kurt Bolliger, for hosting the Conference,

5. *expresses its gratitude* to the International Committee of the Red Cross and to the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for their invaluable contribution,

6. *thanks* the Bureaux of the Conference and of its Commissions, the Secretariat, interpreters, translators, technical personnel and all those who so untiringly contributed to the smooth functioning of the work of the Conference, as well as the representatives of the media.

B. RESOLUTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF DELEGATES

(adopted on 22 October 1986)

1

Composition of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace

The Council of Delegates,

having taken note of the Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace on its activities since the Council of Delegates of 1985,

1. *thanks* the Commission for its works and the proposals which it made regarding its composition,

2. *approves* the new composition of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace, now made up of the following members:

- the National Societies of Australia, Benin, Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, German Democratic Republic, Indonesia, Jordan, Mauritania, Yemen Arab Republic,
- as *ex officio* members, the National Societies which organized the two World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conferences on Peace, *i.e.* Yugoslavia and Sweden (the latter alternating with the National Society of Finland),
- the ICRC, the League and the Henry Dunant Institute.

2

The Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace

The Council of Delegates,

having adopted the draft resolution on the Red Cross and Red Crescent development and peace,

transmits this draft resolution for adoption to the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.¹

3

The Movement as a factor of peace

The Council of Delegates,

recalling Resolutions XXIII (1963), 4 (1979) and 1, 2 and 3 (1983) of the Council of Delegates and the *Fundamental Guidelines* adopted at the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace (Aaland and Stockholm, 1984),

bearing in mind Resolution 2 adopted at the ordinary meeting of the Inter-American Regional Committee of the Red Cross (CORI) held in Panama City from 26 to 28 June 1986,

considering that that resolution established a special Commission consisting of the Presidents of the Red Cross Societies of Central America and under the chairmanship of the President of CORI with the task of submitting to the Thirteenth Inter-American Conference a report on and proposals for activities designed to foster peace in accordance with the Fundamental Principles of the Movement in that region of the world,

1. *strongly urges* support and encouragement for that resolution by strengthening the mandate given to the Commission established at the CORI meeting in Panama,

2. *greatly appreciates* any contributions and suggestions which might be offered to that Commission by the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and sister National Societies,

3. *urges* the components of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to give the co-operation needed so that it will be a true factor of peace in the Central American Region,

4. *transmits* this resolution for information to the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.

4

International Year of Peace 1986

The Council of Delegates,

having adopted the draft resolution on the International Year of Peace 1986,

transmits this draft resolution for adoption to the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.¹

5

Development of activities of the Henry Dunant Institute

The Council of Delegates,

aware of the important role played by the Henry Dunant Institute since its foundation, *and appreciating* the services it has rendered to the entire International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement,

having noted the report on the activities of the Henry

¹ See Resolution XXVI, p. 163

¹ See Resolution XXVII, p. 164

Dunant Institute since the Twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross,

1. *expresses its gratitude* for the positive results achieved by the Henry Dunant Institute during this period,
2. *encourages* the Henry Dunant Institute to:
 - a) pursue its activities in the fields of research, training and publications in the service of the Movement,
 - b) continue its support of the ICRC and the League in the dissemination of information on the principles and ideals of the Movement,
 - c) strengthen its contribution to efforts to disseminate knowledge of international humanitarian law,
 - d) pursue the programme of development studies designed to evaluate the impact and the quality of Red Cross and Red Crescent activities and to reinforce those of National Societies,
 - e) broaden its contacts with National Societies and universities, by placing at their disposal a documentation centre for material on international humanitarian law and the Movement,
3. *encourages* National Societies to contribute to the activities of the Institute:
 - a) by suggesting research topics of a humanitarian nature, the study and the publications of which would be useful to their activities,
 - b) by facilitating arrangements for trainees at the Institute in order to ensure a more thorough training of National Society officers, particularly in regard to the international activities of the Movement and to international humanitarian law,
 - c) by placing at its disposal, wherever possible, qualified personnel able to participate in the accomplishment of certain of the Institute's specific tasks,

- d) by assisting in the organization of seminars on such topics as the Red Cross and Red Crescent, international humanitarian law and other specific subjects intended for their own members or for others not belonging to the Movement,
- e) by aiding with the production and distribution of its publications and supplying useful material for its documentation centre,

4. *invites* the ICRC, the League and National Societies to provide the Institute with the necessary means for the pursuit and development of its activities and for the implementation of specific projects.

6

Approval of accounts

The Council of Delegates

approves the accounts of the Florence Nightingale Fund, the Augusta Fund and the Empress Shôken Fund.

7

Place and date of the next Council of Delegates

The Council of Delegates

decides that its next meeting will be held in 1987 at the same place and on the same date as the General Assembly of the League.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

Reports presented jointly by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

The International Conference and its provisional agenda: presentation and explanations (CD/2/2-P-C.I-C.II)

Funds and medals

Report of the Joint Commission of the Empress Shōken Fund 1982-1986 (CD/8/2)

Respect for international humanitarian law:

Dissemination of knowledge of international humanitarian law and of the Principles and ideals of the Red Cross (C.I/2.4/1)

Respect for international humanitarian law:

Dissemination of international humanitarian law and of the Principles and ideals of the Red Cross, answers of the governments to the ICRC memorandum and of the National Societies to the joint League/ICRC questionnaire (C.I/2.4/3)

Respect for international humanitarian law: struggle against torture (C.I/2.5./I)

Revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and of the Rules of procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross (C.II/2.1/1)

The International Red Cross and refugees (C.II/5/1)

ICRC/League policies in emergency situations:

— nutrition policies

— medical supplies (C.II/6.1 6.2/1)

Report of the Joint ICRC/League Commission on National Society Statutes (C.II/9/1)

Reports presented by the International Committee of the Red Cross

Funds and medals

— Florence Nightingale Medal (including the Augusta Fund)

— Council of the Foundation for the ICRC (CD/8/1)

Report on ICRC activities (1 January — 30 June 1986) (C.I/2.1/1)

Respect for international humanitarian law:

Report on signatures, ratifications and accessions to the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions (C.I/2.2/1)

Respect for international humanitarian law:

Identification of medical transports (C.I/2.3/1)

Respect for international humanitarian law:

National measures to implement the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols in peacetime (C.I/2.4/2)

Respect for international humanitarian law

— anti-piracy efforts

— conventional weapons (C.I/2.6/1)

ICRC relief operations (C.II/6.3/1)

— in conjunction with the Secretariat of the League

Tracing and family reuniting (C.I/3/1)

— in consultation with National Societies and the Secretariat of the League:

Revision of the regulations on the use of the emblem of the red cross, of the red crescent and of the red lion and sun by the National Societies (C.II/3/1)

— and the Commission for the Financing of the ICRC:

Financing

— of the ICRC by governments

— of the ICRC by National Societies
(C.II/4.1, 4.2/1)

Reports presented by the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

Financing (C.II/4.3/1)

Amendments to "Principles and rules for Red Cross and disaster relief" (C.II/6.3/2)

Report from the League's General Assembly (C.II/8/1)

— in co-operation with the ICRC and the Henry Dunant Institute:

Development of National Societies as a contribution to national development (C.II/7/1)

Report presented by the Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross

Report of the Chairman of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross (P.5/1)

**Report presented by the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
and the Henry Dunant Institute in consultation with the ICRC**

Voluntary service

— the role of voluntary service in the Red Cross

— involvement of volunteers in Red Cross community services (C.II/9/2)

Reports presented by the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace

Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace (CD/6/1)

Supplementary Report of the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace (CD/6/1 bis)

Report presented by the Henry Dunant Institute

Report on the activities of the Henry Dunant Institute (CD/7/1)

Reports of the Commissions of the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross

Report of Commission I — International humanitarian law (P.2/C.I)

Report of Commission II — General Commission (P.2/C.II)

Reports submitted by Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

Barbados	Korea (Republic of)
Benin	Lebanon
Burma	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
Canada	Mongolia
Chile	New Zealand
China	Pakistan
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Denmark	Rwanda
Ethiopia	Singapore
German Democratic Republic	South Africa
Germany (Federal Republic of)	Spain
Guyana	Switzerland
Hungary	Trinidad and Tobago
Indonesia	Turkey
Iran	U.S.A.
Ireland	U.S.S.R.
Italy	Viet Nam
Japan	Yugoslavia
Korea (Democratic People's Republic of)	Zambia



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